Spring 5-23-2019

Killing Silence: A Path to Increasing Homicide Solvability in Urban Communities

Dennis Thornton
University of New Orleans, drthorn1@my.uno.edu

Killing Silence: A Path to Increasing Homicide Solvability in Urban
Communities

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

Dennis R. Thornton

B.C.J. Loyola University-New Orleans, 1991
M.A. Indiana State University, 2010
M.S. University of New Orleans, 2016

May, 2019

Acknowledgments

Though this research took several years to complete, it advanced from the insights and direction of several people. First, it is with great appreciation I wish to thank my Dissertation Chair, Dr. Bethany Stich, who exemplifies great wisdom, profound guidance, and the proper motivation into making this work a reality. Next, I wish to thank my complete Dissertation Committee respectively, to Dr. Pam Jenkins, who provided valuable direction with my research methods, coding of data and her many excellent recommendations. To Dr. David Gladstone, who supplied insightful knowledge in helping me to maintain the focus of this study on the relationship between the citizens and law enforcement. Lastly, to Dr. Guang Tian, for his skillful knowledge in keeping this research quantitatively relevant throughout this study.

In addition to the practical and instrumental assistance above, I received equally important support and encouragement from my UNO/PLUS cohorts, especially Tom Harrington and Genny May and my UNOTI associates. To Mr. David Lambour for his invaluable advisement throughout my coursework and dissertation preparation. It is with deep appreciation I acknowledge the following:

Ms. Carol Short for her meticulous editing, and reminding me to keep my professional experience in my research.
Ms. Delinda Swanson for paying attention to all the significant details when I could not.
Mr. Kevin Brown for his excellent assistance as a moderator, along with Mr. Ian Severson, Ms. Brittany Waggener, and Mr. Peter Webb for their excellent aid with the NIFI deliberative forums.
To the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office, in allowing me to gain the experience in police work and to later understand the relevancy of this research.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My parents, Denis and Stella Thornton, instilled in me, from a young age, the value of knowledge. To my siblings, Lisa Gandolfo, Jeffrey Thornton, Christopher Thornton, and Eileen Parra, for their support during this work. My sons, Daryl Thornton and his wife Elizabeth, David Thornton and his wife Amy, along with my granddaughter Masie for being patient as this research evolved. Lastly, I wish to thank Alisa Frayle, for remaining loving, supportive and forgiving, and always being there for me every step of the way.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

Relatively low rates of homicide solvability result in law-abiding citizens being forced to co-exist with known murderers, which is detrimental to a community's psyche. This condition happens disproportionately in neighborhoods where crime is high, cohesiveness among its members is weak, and the citizen/police relationship is little or non-existent. This research seeks to understand, "How murder solvability rates can improve in marginalized communities?" through four theoretical lenses. Using the city of New Orleans as a case study and holding Social Disorganization Theory constant, Spiral of Silence, Habitus, and Dramaturgy were utilized to understand why individuals who witness violent crime do not come forward. From these theories, nine assumptions were formed connecting the literature to this inquiry. Using a mixed methods approach, data was collected from a variety of instruments: a survey (both web-based and in-person), a questionnaire, and two deliberative forums. The questionnaire in conjunction with the Kettering Foundation and the National Issues Forum Institute (NIFI) quantitatively compared New Orleans data with that of national responses. While the data collected support all nine assumptions, five of the nine account for 82% of the data. Of these five, none originated from the Spiral of Silence theory, two originated from the Habitus theory, and three originated from the Dramaturgy theory.

Keywords: Urban Policing; Social Disorganization; Spiral of Silence; Habitus; Dramaturgy; Solvability

Chapter 1: Introduction

Why does justice fail certain segments of our population? Of the many diverse groups within our nation, our African-American citizenry are required to contemplate this issue consistently. High crime rates, particularly homicides committed in African-American communities, receive a great deal of attention. Observing this from the outside, it is easy to subscribe to the common perspective, "neighborhoods high in crime and signs of disorder are especially prone to developing reputations as bad and best be avoided" (Sampson 2012, 143). Sampson's statement has more to do with the stigmatization of these communities and the inhabitants who reside there, instead of discussing poverty and racial inequality. Geography pales in comparison to the cost of the human suffering over the loss of a loved one to violence. Public policy tends to "normalize" violence in the black community and thus, this position, "undoubtedly is partially responsible for the lack of an ongoing objective assessment of the problem" (Rose & McClain 1990, 3).

Solving crimes, particularly crimes that resulted in the taking of so many lives within the same community, warrants particular attention from various disciplines especially within the fields of criminal justice and urban research. "Police cannot fulfill their mission without effective communication with the citizenry and public support" (Delattre 2011, 28). It is the concept of "public support" of law enforcement where members of the African-American community would benefit from ensuring justice is served to apprehend transgressors who commit terrible crimes in their neighborhoods. Concepts such as mistrust and fear of the criminal justice system are prevalent in our current climate regarding crime, law enforcement, and race relations. Why aren't the

police the first option these communities turn to when a violent tragedy occurs in their neighborhoods? Why would a portion of our citizenry believe it would be more perilous to cooperate with law enforcement during a murder investigation than to remain silent to authorities, consequently tolerating the offender to go unpunished?

Recently, various encounters between African-Americans and law enforcement resulted in negative publicity. Furthermore, legal action is demanded from inner-city residents to address claims of unjust and over aggressive tactics, particularly over events ending in the deaths of African Americans. Debating the justifications for certain police actions can be arduous at best, yet the public perception is cause for concern. Central to this issue is the assumption that minority community members are treated insensitively by law enforcement and that they are selected for enforcement based on race and locality. Mac Donald states, "The anti-racial profiling juggernaut must be stopped before it obliterates the crime-fighting gains of the last decade, especially in inner cities" (2003, 9). Residents of marginalized neighborhoods concur that, "the dirty little secret of policing is that the Supreme Court has actually granted the police license to discriminate" (Alexander 2010, 130). Obviously, these two perspectives are in juxtaposition to one another with a great deal of ambiguity in between. It is within this ambiguity where further research is essential to understand how the depth and breadth of mistrust many minorities harbor towards law enforcement affects crime solvability.

To be clear, people can commit several different kinds or acts of crime with the intent to achieve wrongdoing. The "mental element" or "*Mens Rea*" as Chesney states is a requirement for crime to occur.

There can be no crime large or small, without an evil mind. It is, therefore, a principle of our legal system, as probably it is of every other that the essence of an offense is the wrong intent, without which it cannot exist (Bishop: Chesney, 1939,627).

The "*Mens Rea*" is a legal requirement to prove guilt at a criminal trial. This research concentrates primarily on street level violence in its examination of the citizen/police relationship and how it (or lack of it) impacts witness cooperation. Other forms of criminal activity, like various types of white-collar crimes, crimes against children, human trafficking etc. all affect the quality of life in a community and may equally cause harm; "Some corporations can be twice as deadly as a street offender, and thus, white-collar crime can be even more dangerous than, for instance, street crime" (Essay.ws, 2019, p. 1). However, they are outside the scope of this study.

Communities that sustain levels of diverse crimes, such as the ones mentioned above, often require (or are subjected to) controversial policing methods and practices in the name of effective public safety outcomes. Citizens should have the confidence that law enforcement can prevent crime before it occurs or at least minimally solve crimes after they happen. Sometimes, citizens seeing a police officer on patrol ready to respond to a call for service or encounter an incident first-hand is sufficient; unfortunately, many criminal acts require investigations conducted with some form of police specialization. Street-level violence has been met with a proactive police response in many U.S. cities over the last three decades. In the 1990s the New York City Police Department began a measure to reduce street-level crime, known as "quality-of-life" policing.

Under the initiative, police commanders are to give priority to reducing crime by aggressively targeting so-called quality-of-life offenses and arresting violators for vagrancy, loitering, prostitution, littering, graffiti, panhandling, public drunkenness,

vandalism, minor drug use, excessive noise, public urination, and related breaches of public order (Rosenfeld, Forango & Rengifo, 2007, 356).

The "quality-of-life" initiative resulted in a policing practice known as "order-maintenance policing (OMP)," a function designed to engage individuals in urban neighborhoods, on city sidewalks, where law enforcement believed these crimes were occurring or about to occur. The police action consisted of either discontinuing the activity or in many cases arrest. Leadership within the New York City Police Department, along with theorists Wilson and Kelling, initiators of the concept of Broken Windows, believed that OMP could prevent crime and lower rates of homicide and robbery. Several years later, some research concludes, "that the impact of aggressive order enforcement on the reduction in homicide and robbery rates in New York City during the 1990s was modest at best" (*ibid*, 356).

Furthermore, these law enforcement practices are perceived as overzealous in their use of racial profiling, "stop and frisk," order maintenance, and narcotic enforcement. By understanding the interpretation of these police practices by African Americans, along with studying the policies of law enforcement, this research seeks to understand what, if any, connection these may have to the lack of witness/police cooperation. It should be noted that this study is certainly not interested in sacrificing the public safety or undermining the police's effort in abating crime. Instead, it aims to comprehend the gap that exists between communities and law enforcement that prevents justice from being served in neighborhoods plagued the most by crime, particularly focusing on, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?"

The Problem Defined

   Within our contemporary collection of crime-drama television shows and films, real-life documentaries, and the media coverage of police work, one would hope that there is a positive perspective of law enforcement's ability to solve a crime. In actuality this is far from the truth, particularly in neighborhoods plagued with crime and a distrust of the police. Unlike residential areas that hold higher confidence in their public safety officials, citizens in poorer, disconnected areas often view the law enforcement personnel that patrol their neighborhoods as incompetent, ineffective, and uncaring. At the heart of this sentiment is law enforcement's track record in solving crime. There is a fear that the police will not apprehend violent offenders. Observers of high crime rates and law enforcement's interaction with the public in marginalized neighborhoods often echo perceptions like,

> But for all this focus on the severity of punishment, America's biggest problem is that most criminal offenders aren't likely to get caught; their certainty of punishment is very, very low. That not only suggests to would-be criminals that they can probably get away with a crime, but it also tells communities more broadly that if they want justice, they can't rely on the police—and maybe will have to take matters into their own, sometimes violent ends (Lopez, 2017, 2-3).

As alarming as this quote is, it also points to law enforcement's inability to apprehend many violent offenders responsible for killing others in communities across the nation. The clearance rate in the US for homicide, negligent homicide and manslaughter is abysmal. To appreciate the gravity of this social dilemma, "If you are murdered in America, there's a 1 in 3 chance that the police won't identify your killer." Moreover, "the national clearance rate for homicide today is 64.1 percent. Fifty years ago, it was more than 90 percent" (Kaste, 2015, p. 1). In 2016, it dropped to 59.4 % (Statista, 2016, p. 2).

The use of theories is beneficial in the search for understanding a social dilemma and discovering a pathway to remedy the problem.

> Theories provide complex and comprehensive conceptual understandings of things that cannot be pinned down: how societies work, how organizations operate, why people interact in certain ways. Theories give researchers different 'lenses' through which to look at complicated problems and social issues, focusing their attention on different aspects of data and providing a framework within which to conduct their analysis. Just as there is no one to understand why, for instances, a culture has formed in a certain way, many lenses can be applied to a problem, each focusing on a different aspect of it (Reeves, Albert, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p. 631).

Therefore, this literature review will cover Social Disorganization theory and how it helped develop the concept that "place" matters in relation to criminality. It then covers how this theoretical assumption led to the practices and methods that have had the unintended consequence of fracturing the relationship between police and the impoverished, minority neighborhoods they serve. In order to better understand how this came to pass, the Spiral of Silence theory, the Habitus theory and Dramaturgy theory are explored. Since human engagement is in the form of communication, and in this case communication with an entity of authority, the theories of Spiral of Silence, Habitus and Dramaturgy are appropriate lenses for this investigation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

From the lenses of both urban studies scholarship and criminal justice literature, the relationship between the minority citizenry and the police has sustained a tenuous association at best. Scholars of police practices and methods in the U.S. often examine the differences in which law enforcement provides public safety services to impoverished neighborhoods compared to areas that are more affluent. Many citizens residing in these disadvantaged communities would likely say you do not need to be a scholar to notice the differences, which they frequently interpret as unfair, oppressive and hostile. Others note that how the police behave has more to do with the number of criminal acts committed in poor communities, not the impoverished nature of the community itself. This view suggests that the stricter more discriminatory practices of policing manifest from the fact that more criminals commit unlawful acts in neighborhoods inflicted by poverty, thus requiring a more aggressive approach. These explanations neither address the complexity of the problem nor provide an understanding of the affects associated with a weak law enforcement-citizen relationship. This research seeks to fill this void, explain why this disconnect exists, and suggests that a healthier connection could lead to higher crime solvability and better public safety.

Social Disorganization Theory

Wilson states, "social scientists have rightly devoted considerable attention to concentrated poverty because it magnifies the problem associated with poverty in general: joblessness, crime, delinquency, drug trafficking, broken families, and dysfunctional schools" (Wilson 2009, 7). Beginning shortly after World War II and leading up to the 1964 Civil Rights Movement, several social scientists and police

administrators were concerned with inner-city crime. In 1942, Shaw and McKay "specifically argued that criminal behavior was transmitted intergenerationally in neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization and additionally high rates of delinquency in certain Chicago neighborhoods persisted in low-income, heterogeneous (usually immigrant) areas over many years" (Sampson 2012, 37). Social disorganization theory suggests where an individual resides, could enhance the likelihood of a person becoming a criminal offender.

"Unlike theories centered on 'kinds of people' explanations for crime, social disorganization theory focuses on the effects of 'kinds of places'—specifically, different types of neighborhoods—in creating conditions favorable or unfavorable to crime and delinquency. Poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks decrease a neighborhood's capacity to control the behavior of people in public and hence increase the likelihood of crime" (374).

Within the Chicago neighborhoods, Shaw and McKay concluded "neighborhood ecological conditions shape crime rates over and above the characteristics of individual residents" (374). Sampson points out that, "many other independent studies of American cities during this postwar period largely confirm the Chicago School (University of Chicago) prediction that spatial differentiation occurs along dimensions of socioeconomic, family, and ethnic status" (Sampson 2012, 40). Even prior to World War II, the Chicago School, "proposed that cities were divided into numerous functioning natural areas which exhibit distinct physical and cultural characteristics" (Berry and Kasarda 1977, 35). These studies on delinquency and crime patterns fostered the development of police practices and methods of the 20th century.

From World War II and into the 2000s, America's urban landscape endured various changes with regard to their ethnic and socioeconomic makeup. Along with this change, historical shifts relative to urban geography and crime prevention that modified

policing occurred. See Figure 1. New laws and/or policies resulted from social change within communities the police serve.

Figure 1. Social Disorganization Theory: Key Events and Theoretical Shifts
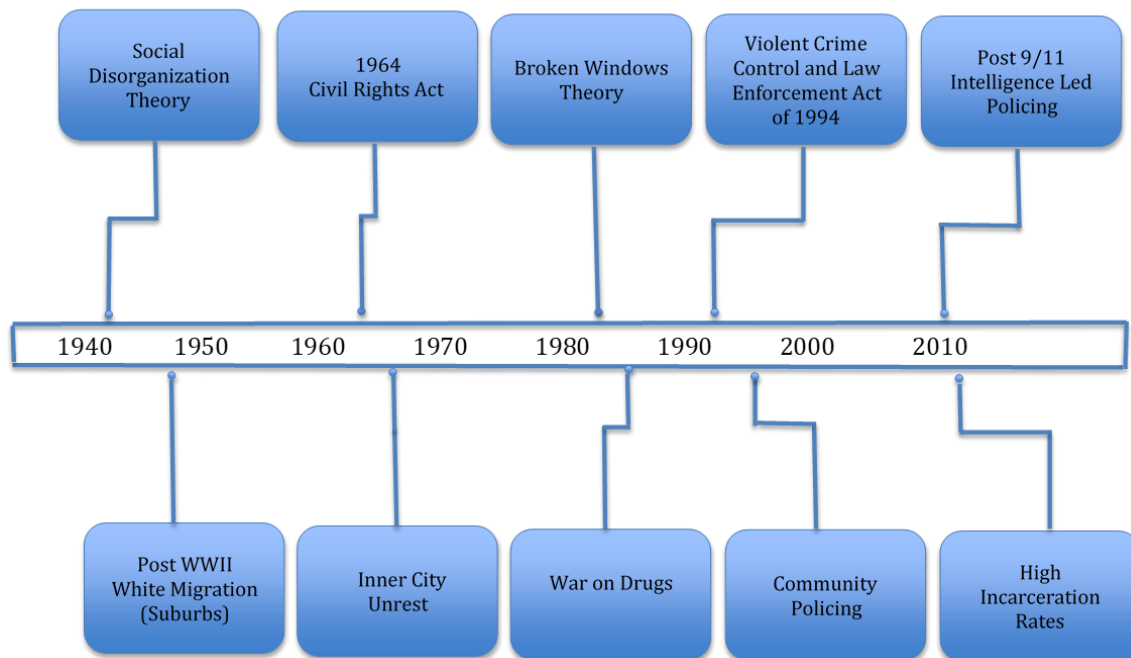
White flight.

After World War II urban American landscapes were changing with the expansion of the suburbs as many white people migrated out of city centers into open tracts of land. Housing was affordable and offered more in size; homeownership and pleasant landscapes drew families into the suburb (Warner, 1978, 157). Through the lens of social disorganization theory this shift in migration created an urban underclass. Goode and Maskovsky point out in their ethnographic work regarding power, politics and impoverished people in the U.S. that, "popular and political rhetoric sensationalized the pathologies of the poor, fueling a near-fundamental moral panic among the middle class as they themselves faced economic insecurity" (2001, 7). With law enforcement having

9

far less African American representation than Whites and the white flight migration

continuing for many years, the community disconnect between urban citizens and their

police was well underway.

Although it is difficult to measure what the police/citizen relationship was like

during this shift in migration, what is apparent are the changing views by some on urban

America, a view that is far less favorable of the people left behind. In terms of urban

scholarship observers are heavily influenced by the overwhelming images of urban

decay, civil disturbance, and fiscal bankruptcy that punctuated the urban environment

from 1950s to the 1980s (Goode & Maskovsky, 2001). For example,

> The right has been concerned to demonstrate how 'moral bankruptcy' has
> produced an urban 'underclass' isolated from market forces and the larger society,
> unwilling to take responsibility or action necessary to improve urban America
> (Goode & Maskovsky 2001, 444).

Civil rights and inner city unrest.

Another shift began in the way social disorganization was viewed in terms of

public space and law enforcement's ability to maintain order. Especially in the 1950s and

1960s, the enforcement of segregation and Jim Crows laws, which had an oppressive

effect on many African Americans resulting in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

As African Americans began to have improved mobility and access to more public space,

fears of many whites also increased. Lofland notes, "for some humans, the public realm

is fearsome because it is populated by fearsome strangers: mobs who challenge legitimate

rule; outcasts whose social marginality is equated with sinfulness, criminals who rob,

rape maim and kill; males whose prey is women" (2009, 152). Coupled with this was the

growing rate in which African Americans were clarifying their own identity, both

politically and from a historical standpoint. "The black movement redefined the meaning

of racial identity, and consequently of race itself, in American society" (Omi & Winant 1994, 99). During the struggle in America with segregation and social inequality, it was the institution of law enforcement's duty to enforce the laws impartially, which unfortunately was not always adhered to.

Central to this research is police mistrust and its impact on citizens in impoverished neighborhoods. In some such communities when trouble occurs, the police may not be the first entity called. As Wilson reflects, "where crime is high and police protection is low", exists "an informal but explicit set of rules developed to govern interpersonal public behavior and regulate violence" (2009,18). Wilson echoes Anderson's thoughts that the code of the street "is actually a cultured adaptation to a profound lack of faith in the police and the judicial system—and in others who would champion one's personal security" (*ibid*, 19).

Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 and the war on drugs.

Building on the social disorganization theory, research began to look at how police behave in "place" utilizing different policing practices. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 under President Bill Clinton's administration addressed a multitude of crime related issues plaguing our nation in the midst of the crack-cocaine epidemic. Some observers praise the bill for assisting in enhancing community-policing capabilities, crime prevention measures and providing recourses for at risk youths, while other criticize the Act as a key contributor to the mass incarceration problem.

For example, the theory of broken windows, developed by Wilson and Kelling argues that allowing unattended decay to property and overlooking minor violations

11

within neighborhoods foster more crime. The two were advocates of order maintenance on behalf of law enforcement to aid in the reduction of crime and potentially enhance the quality of life within socially disorganized areas. In their 1982 study, New Jersey Foot Patrol, Wilson and Kelling found that blighted properties (and property owners who fostered unkempt structures) and the surrounding areas became a haven for crime. The "broken window" eventually became an iconic slogan to describe the relationship between disorder and crime. Within the analysis, "if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken…one unrepaired window is a signal that no one cares and so breaking more windows costs nothing" (Kelling & Coles 1996, 19).

Based upon this theory many police departments adopted this "order maintenance" policing with the New York City Police Department leading the way. In implementing such practices departments focused upon sidewalk activities of the inner city. The rise of the crack epidemic warranted some intervention to abate soaring drug activity and higher crime rates. Thereby, police were paying closer attention to sidewalk and street corner activities in urban settings in a misguided effort to prevent further criminal acts from occurring.

Broken Windows has been re-visited along with its connection between disorder and crime. Sampson questions whether disorder has a direct impact on crime "Instead of conceiving of disorder as a direct cause of predatory crime, we consider first whether or not disorder is part and parcel of crime itself" (Sampson 2012, 126). Sampson's view of disorder does not suggest that the social disorganization theory as a concept is unworthy, but instead is a scrutiny of the Broken Windows theory.

On the other hand, the Broken Windows theory also fostered the development of some of the attributes of community policing, which relies on community input and the informal aspects of self-policing. As Delattre explains, "Community policing throughout the United States relies on the insight of Wilson and Kelling that the police role in maintaining order is to reinforce the informal control mechanisms of the community itself" (2011, 360).

Mass incarceration and private prisons.

Another aspect that is often connected to place and its connection to criminality is the number of arrests, often in minority communities that then contribute to high incarceration rates. Beyond policing, "Between the crime and the return to right and virtue, the prison would constitute the space between two worlds the place for the individual transformation that would restore to the state the subject it had lost" (Foucault 1977, 123). Though it is unclear exactly what Foucault would think presently regarding the substantial rate of incarceration in the United States, the word "appalling" comes to mind.

In *Addicted to Incarceration; Corrections Policy and the Politics of Misinformation in the United States*, Pratt pulls no punches in his description of not only defining the problem with the method and frequency in which we imprison our citizens for their transgressions, but also the public policy guidelines that ensure that our correctional institutions thrive even as our public safety methods and practices come further into question. Pratt notes, "We have constructed the biggest prison system on the planet" (2012, 37).

Within the last 10 years, a consorted effort has been made to re-visit policies on incarceration and to consider reducing the rate in which individuals, particularly blacks, are sent to prison. African Americans are prime targets for mass incarceration because of a multitude of social issues: poverty, lack of employment and the need to survive by participating in an underground economy. This economy, which among other components involves the sales of narcotics and the drug culture, make them prime for law enforcement action. Bourgois claims, "I cannot resign myself to the terrible irony that the richest industrialized nation on earth, and greatest power in history, confines so many of its citizens to poverty and to prison" (2003, 318).

Pratt explains, "Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) and Wackenhut—two of the largest private prison firms in the United States—have actively financed legislators in key committee positions to create and push legislation that would stiffen prison sentences" (2009, 96). All this is an effort to help maintain a sizable population of prisoners inside the borders of America for profit. Local communities where these private prisons are maintained also benefit as the greater the number of inmates, the better it is for the local economy. Pratt sums up the situation by stating, "Policies that get developed in an effort to purportedly fight crime (e.g. mandatory minimum sentences, elimination of parole release and other reentry services, and so on) can end up, and in the long run worsening the social conditions that breed crime in the first place" (2009, 98).

9/11 and the shift in policing.

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, policing was again redesigned, this time around intelligence as our nation became more concerned with foreign enemies. Elements of community led policing were abandoned for intelligence led policing. Post 9/11

14

policing, particularly in urban lower income neighborhoods, took what was/is perceived as resembling military tactics with the advancement of specific lethal and non-lethal weaponry. This leads some to suggest that law enforcement now resembles more of an occupying army than police as public safety officers existing to protect and serve. Fisher argues, "Although militarized policing doesn't provide added protection from crime and domestic terrorism, it alienates innocent people, cost money the country can't afford, turns public servants into combat warriors and, in a free nation, is inappropriately oppressive" (2010, 73).

This militarization has resulted in a broad spectrum of criticism ranging from accusing police of rudeness to outright murder and has been well publicized. In many cases, law enforcement has been branded as "occupiers" and viewed by citizens with apprehension and as unapproachable. For example, when it comes to aggressive law enforcement tactics to decrease crime, the national practice by U.S. law enforcement of "stop and frisk" is questionable. Oberholtzer states, "In 2002, when Mr. Kelly took office, officers stopped 97,296 New Yorkers, and the city reported 587 homicides. Last year (2011) those numbers were 685,724 (referring to people stopped) and 532 (referring to a number of homicides). To what extent does this data support a reasonable return on investment –financially with regard to the civil rights of those being searched? Are 588.000 more stops of civilians for the crime of walking suspiciously worth a possible link to 55 less homicides" (2012, p. 2). While the usefulness or harmfulness of "stop and frisk" methods are not uniformly agreed upon, what is clear is that law enforcement agencies still answer to city and county officials and must show crime reductions efforts as they perform their duties.

Furthermore, Social Disorganization theory did little to address the concept of bias in police work. Banks, Eberhardt & Ross noted, "For most of American history, racial discrimination was legally permissible, and racial bias was openly espoused. African Americans, in particular, were regarded as inferior to Whites and subjected to the most rank forms of overt discrimination" (2006, 1169).

Police bias.

Bias harbored among some of the law enforcement community also fuels the discussion concerning racial profiling, the legitimacy of stop and frisk investigations and where proactive police is employed. According to Banaji, "The connection between mind and society is an extremely important one that should not be forgotten" (2017, 4). Thereby, he developed the Implicit Association Test (IAT) which exposes the cultural dilemma people encounter when associating White people with "goodness" and Black people with "badness." Moreover, "The IAT is widely considered, today, to be the most influential test of unconscious bias" (*ibid,* 7). Central to this part of the discussion is the relevance of implicit bias to different forms of police functions, principal encounters where officers conduct stop and frisk investigations, decision on when or if to make an arrest, and use of force incidents.

In an effort to minimize the effect of this bias, some police agencies have begun to re-think "high-crime areas" and the methods by which they are policed. In changing how police focus on specific geographical areas, "Hot Spots Policing" or "Place-based Policing" are now practiced in some US cities as an alternative to targeting whole neighborhoods. "Place-based focus stands in contrast to traditional notions of policing and crime prevention more generally, which have often focused primarily on people…

over the past two decades, a series of rigorous evaluations have suggested that police can be effective in addressing crime and disorder when they focus in on small units of geography with high crime rates" (Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, 2018, p. 1).

Policing and the use of force.

It could be said that the police-community divide has never been wider than this point in our history. Many influences come to mind, the Rodney King tragedy (Los Angeles, March 3, 1991) and the more recent police actions involving the deaths of Eric Garner (New York City, July 17, 2014), Michael Brown (Ferguson, MO, August 9, 2014), Laquan McDonald (Chicago, October 14, 2014) Freddie Gray (Baltimore, April 12, 2015) Philando Castile (Falcon Heights, MN, July 16, 2016) and Terrence Crutcher (Tulsa OK, September 16, 2016). These regular news headlines almost certainly further strain the relationship between law enforcement and the citizenry it was sworn to protect. Understandably, many of the above-mentioned incidents began with legitimate police involvement, meaning law enforcement were summoned to these occurrences to perform duties to investigate but resulted in civil outrage over the use of force in their response. Contained within this discourse are juxtaposed perspectives. The public, usually a segment residing or connected to the minority community, believes that the force used in each of these incidents was unwarranted and illegal. Law enforcement argues that their actions were lawful, meeting resistance and non-compliance with the necessary force to protect the officer(s) and end the encounter.

Legal cynicism: Variance in place and police practices.

The concept of legal cynicism according to researchers David S. Kirk and Andrew V. Papachristos, "is the product of two related influences: (1) neighborhood

17

structural conditions and (2) neighborhood variation in police practices and resident

interaction with the police" (2011, 1198). Drawing on the work of both Wilson and

Anderson, Kirk and Papachristos state,

> "Direct experiences with harassing policy may influence an individual's cynicism, but this cynicism becomes cultural through social interaction…cynicism constrains choices for resolving grievances and protecting oneself because individuals are more likely to presume that the law is unavailable or unresponsive to their needs." Furthermore, as a result of this constraint, "individuals may choose to engage in their own brand of social control because they cannot rely upon the law to assist them (*ibid,* 1203).

Some legal cynics of law enforcement argue that their suspicion and distrust of

police stems from a system of unfairness, which holds citizens more accountable to report

crime and cooperate with investigations than law enforcement itself. Police silence and

deception is the manifestation of police corruption. Barker notes, "Sooner or later every

police officer who engages in corrupt acts or observes fellow officers engaging in corrupt

acts will face the possibility of having to lie under oath to protect himself/herself or

fellow officers" (1996, 54).

If rules are perceived to apply differently to law enforcement as opposed to the

rest of the population, this stymies meaningful engagement between the two. As Barker

states, "The agency does not want to be criticized as having one set of rules for officers

accused of misconduct and crimes and another when 'citizens' are involved" (*ibid,* 73).

There cannot be an appearance of a double standard for law enforcement. Asking citizens

to potentially risk their safety to identify a law-breaker and then testify in court is severe

enough, having a double standard for law enforcement only exacerbates this issue.

Reporting a crime to the police, primarily when the witness can provide detailed

information regarding a suspect's identity, actions and whereabouts is easier said than

done. The fear the informer sustains should not be understated. Unlike in many middle-class white neighborhoods, a witness of color from a socially disadvantaged neighborhood is likely contending with the possibility of real-life consequences as a witness for the state. Leovy explains,

> The reluctance of witnesses to testify was the primary reason, so many murder cases went unsolved. In 2008, lack of witness cooperation was the number one impediment to finding suspects in 108 homicide cases in the city of Los Angeles—or 40 percent of all cases in which a witness played a role (2014, 74).

In *Ghettoside*, Leovy argues the primary dilemma for a witness is the prospect of relocation. The term "Ghettoside" (often describing black on black inner-city killings) is fraught with negative connotations. Many municipalities are not equipped or funded to meet the demands of witness relocation. "For such tormented souls, witness relocation programs were not especially helpful… Where do you relocate a homeless person? The next block?" (*ibid,* 75). Beyond relocation, being labeled a "rat" or "snitch" is more than just an unfavorable name; it also targets informants for abuse and retaliation. "Detectives made moral appeals to try to persuade people to cooperate despite their fear. But for many witnesses, testifying presented a quandary—they had to consider their safety and that of friends and relatives against their duty to the state" (*ibid,* 77*).*

This lack of cooperation in criminal investigations and the nature of the working conditions in socially disorganized areas takes a toll on the officer's psyche. For police officers working in these areas, "Ghettoside was where patrol cars were dinged, computer keyboards sticky, workdays long, and staph infections antibiotic-resistant. To work down there was to feel a sense of futility, forgo promotions, and deal with all those stressful, dreary, depressing problems poor black people had" (*ibid*, 27).

Technology.

In an effort to combat these challenges, the use of Body-worn cameras (BWC) by

law enforcement officers is now a common practice among many police agencies.

> BWC's are a case in point. An increasing number of law enforcement agencies
> are adopting BWC programs as a means to improve evidence collection, to
> strengthen officer performance and accountability, and to enhance agency
> transparency. By documenting encounters between the police and the public,
> BWC's can also be used to investigate and resolve complaints about officer-
> involved incidents (Miller and Toliver, 2014, 31).

The use of body cameras seems to be a suitable piece of technology to improve

transparency and accountability and as a means to soothe citizens' fear that law

enforcement operates unrestrained and unaccountable. With the focus on "one's

behavior," the deployment of BWC's for police officers was originally palatable to the

public. However, during officer interaction with citizens, the citizens' behavior changes

as well.

> When officers tell citizens that the cameras are recording their behavior, everyone
> behaves better. The result of this study strongly suggests that this increase in self-
> awareness contributes to more positive outcomes in police-citizen interaction
> (*ibid,* 32).

But what about the police-citizen interaction when it comes to public cooperation in

solving a violent crime? In 2014, a Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) argued,

> Although body-worn cameras can offer many benefits, they also raise serious
> questions about how technology is changing the relationship between the police
> and the community. Body–worn cameras not only create concerns about the
> public's privacy rights but also can affect how officers relate to people in the
> community, the community's perception of the police, and expectations about
> how police agencies should share information with the public (*ibid,* 32).

Law enforcement should articulate protocols and methods to utilize BWC technology,

while at the same time also maintain citizen privacy. The task force report goes on to

state that, "when the public does not believe its privacy is being protected by law

enforcement, a breakdown in community trust can occur" (*ibid,* 32). When investigating a crime requires interviewing witnesses while donning an activated BWC, getting the necessary information can be more challenging.

21st century policing.

In the first decade of the 2000s our criminal justice system and policing shifted again in its mission with respect to public safety. Instead of focusing on crime and punishment and aspects such as the Social Disorganization theory as a cause for crime, law enforcement began concentrating on the community itself and community policing practices. This is evident in President Barack Obama's creation of the President's Taskforce of 21st Century Policing. Within the taskforce's final report, they concluded that the current citizen/police relationship in America is insufficient and that, "Trust between law enforcement agencies and the people they protect and serve is essential in a democracy" (2015, p. 9-61).

President Obama assembled law enforcement leaders, law school professors, educators, and community organizers into a cadre tasked with brainstorming the problems and potential solutions to policing. This task force constructed six pillars, which became the core tenets which policing, the community and other government entities should strive to attain.

Within each tenet, the report ascribed specific recommendations.

- Pillar One, Building Trust & Legitimacy "Law enforcement culture should embrace a guardian—rather than a warrior—mindset to build trust and legitimacy both within agencies and with the public."

- Pillar Two, Policy and Oversight "law enforcement agencies should…aim to reduce crime by improving relationships, increasing community engagement, and fostering cooperation."

- Pillar Three, Technology and Social Media "Implementing new technologies can give police departments an opportunity to engage fully and educate communities in a dialogue about their expectations for transparency, accountability, and privacy."

- Pillar Four, Community Policing & Crime Reduction "Law enforcement agencies should, therefore, work with community residents to identify problems and collaborate on implementing solutions that produce meaningful results for the community."

- Pillar Five, Training & Education "Today's line officers and leaders must be trained and capable of addressing a wide variety of challenges including international terrorism, evolving technologies, rising immigration, changing laws, new cultural mores, and a growing mental health crisis."

- Pillar Six, Officer Wellness and Safety "(1) encouraging and assisting departments in the implementation of scientifically supported shift lengths by law enforcement and (2) expanding efforts to collect and analyze data not only on officer deaths but also on injuries and near misses." (*ibid,* 9-61).

Many of the recommendations in the report point out the need for newer concepts to aid in forging a better alliance between law enforcement and the public. Some deal

with law enforcement applying procedural justice (imposing a sense of fairness during enforcement) practices. "Law enforcement agencies should consider adopting preferences for seeking 'least harm' resolutions, such as diversion programs or warnings and citations in lieu of arrest for minor offenses" (*ibid,* 43). Though the recommendation appears progressive and fair to some, it could appear to be "weak on crime." Along similar lines, "In order to keep youth in school and to keep them from criminal and violent behavior, law enforcement should work with schools to encourage the creation of alternatives to student suspensions and expulsions through restorative justice, diversion, counseling, and family interventions" (*ibid,* 48).

Social Disorganization Theory and its Implications

This literature review covered the Social Disorganization theory and its resulting implications on the police and many of the practices and methods thus employed throughout the past several decades. This research seeks to add to this literature by understanding this historically fragile and at times volatile relationship between impoverished communities and the police that serve them. Spiral of Silence, Habitus, and Dramaturgy, are utilized to assist in understanding why certain segments of the population do not engage with law enforcement to help solve violent crimes.

Spiral of Silence Theory

In 1974, Noelle-Neumann posited, "People have a sixth-sense if you will, which allows them to know the prevailing public opinion, even without accessing a poll. People have a fear of isolation and know what behaviors will increase their likelihood of being socially isolated" (63). Noelle-Neumann contends that, "People are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated… Public opinion can be

described as the dominating opinion which compels compliance of attitude and behavior in that it threatens the dissenting individual with isolation" (*ibid*, 43). This theory explains how difficult it can be for some to share information, particularly if that information goes against the popular belief of others. The desire not to share information with law enforcement, especially in the case of murder, defies our system of justice. At the core of this inquiry is an attempt to understand the nexus between the lack of victim/witness cooperation with law enforcement institutions after violent crimes occur and the level of mistrust harbored by citizens towards these institutions in general.

Reviewing the anti-snitching phenomena is significant to this discussion. The desire not to inform on others for whatever reason is nothing new. Typically aimed at inner-city youth and often spread through popular culture, the stop-snitching message is report crime and face retaliation (Slocum et al, 2010, 1064). Slocum and her colleagues' note that an often-strained relationship between an impoverished neighborhood and law enforcement contribute to this phenomenon. "The police are often viewed as ineffective or uncaring." (Seabrook 2009; Kennedy 2008, 8) The stop-snitching movement allows criminals to enhance their personal lot by providing information to authorities on others involved in criminal activity (Rosenfeld, Jacobs, and Wright 2003). Slocum et al discovered "that neighborhood poverty is related negatively to youths' willingness to report crime and that relationship between these variables is linear" (2010, 1065).

This reluctance extends beyond youth through adulthood. Among many residing in disadvantaged neighborhoods conflicting messages between civic responsibility to report crime is countered with the concept of "mind your own business" and is often a source of contention. Woldoff and Weiss (2010) suggest the anti-snitching code is being

24

used to control and silence many law-abiding citizens who witness crimes. Stigma is frequently attached to someone who provides crucial information on another to authorities regarding criminal events. Fear, alienation and retaliation are the most apparent.

Two pivotal moments within the anti-snitching phenomenon highlight this. The "2004 release of an underground DVD about witness intimidation called *Stop Fuckin' Snitching*. This 108-minute film, produced in Baltimore and distributed widely on the Internet, features drug dealers in Baltimore neighborhoods threatening to harm all who interfere with their criminal activities, including those who "roll over" on their peers in exchange for lighter sentences" (Woldoff, Weiss 2010, 199). The second was the CNN Anderson Cooper report on the topic of "urban snitching" on *60 Minutes* in April of 2007. Cooper suggests that "hip-hop" endorses a "stop snitching" message aimed at black urban youth that implores listeners to refrain from police cooperation in *all* circumstances, whether simply reporting crime or becoming an informant (Court, Sharman 2007).

Habitus Theory

In Habitus, Bourdieu posits, "A mechanism exists whereby individuals internalize structured experiences and develop approaches to deal with future action thus reproducing and modifying objective social structures" (1984, 170). Bourdieu's theoretical framework of Habitus reveals that a connection exists between external social structures and the internal guiding principles of individuals. This guided Morris' 2007 examination of adolescent students as they encounter bullying and conflicts with other students in schools in Ohio. Morris conducted ethnographic research into the lives of

students from two high schools, the first comprising of 91% African American with an estimated 76% of the schools' population being economically disadvantaged. The second was 98% White, with 54% requiring some form of government assistances. He found that students from both schools when confronted with some form of conflict from another student would rather settle the issue with the other student then resort to alerting a teacher, disciplinarian etc. Morris found that within the opinions of both economically disadvantaged African American and White students, a distrust for authority existed. Many students believed that confronting their aggressor (either verbally or physically) was a better alternative to being identified as "snitch" among their peers (Morris, 2007).

Dramaturgy Theory

Another theory considered for this investigation is the sociological theory of Dramaturgy advanced by Goffman (1959). Utilizing Frame Analysis, an approach from communication studies, Goffman addresses two aspects, the concept of performance and the difference between staged and un-staged activity. He suggests that theatre could be a representation of actual real-life interaction, and that many different forms of human contact could be viewed in terms of a theatrical performance. Manning expands upon Goffman's concept of Dramaturgy to law enforcement. In his 2001 publication, Manning begins with the theory of Wilson and Kelling's Broken Windows, relegating it to nothing more than, "merely a programmatic statement that has been used to buttress a range of activities by police, from sweeping the homeless away, to arresting people for drinking beer on their front steps" (Manning 2001, 316). Manning states, "Much police research focuses on citizen-patrol interactions and crime control features of policing, to the exclusion of political and organizational concepts such as compliance, leadership,

26

legitimization, and the socio-political rhetoric and imagery police employ" (*ibid,* 316). Viewing policing as drama, Manning states, "Dramaturgy best explains social action when analyzing behavior arising under conditions of uncertainty… Because the police are required to act, and often to act quickly, yet cannot fully foresee their actions' consequences, tensions—or unresolved contradictions between actions and the formal public mandate—remain" (*ibid,* 317).

With the three theoretical considerations of Spiral of Silence, Habitus and Dramaturgy along with considering New Orleans as socially disorganized, this research will examine the citizen/police relationship and its impact on the elevated unsolved homicide rates.

Chapter 3: Research Methods and Design

The Case for New Orleans

Local data was collected primarily from within the City of New Orleans. The demographics of New Orleans have been reshaped since the devastation of Hurricane Katrina. Population estimates reveal that there are now 91,274 fewer African Americans residing in New Orleans as of 2017 compared to 2000 (datacenterresearch.org, 2019). The Data Center Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau indicates from the 2000 Census compared to population estimates of 2017, there are 231,044 (2017) compared to 323,392 (2000) African Americans, 121,086 (2017) compared to 128,871 (2000) Whites, and 21,929 (2017) compared to 14826 Hispanics (any race). It also indicated that, "In Orleans Parish, the share of the 2017 population that is African American—while lower than in 2000 when it was 66.7 percent—continues to represent the majority of city residents at 59.0 percent" (datacenterresearch.org, 2019).

Law enforcement has customarily labeled neighborhoods sustaining higher volumes of calls for service and higher frequencies of felonious acts as "high crime areas" and, thus, policed more assertively to lower the rate of crime. The labeling of a "high crime area or neighborhood" in this dissertation translates to impoverished areas in the city of New Orleans. In 2012, the poverty rate for New Orleans was 27% compared to a national average of 15% (Philanthropy News Digest, 2012). Despite the marvelous distractions of Mardi Gras, yearly festivals, an abundance of history and culture, and endless great food, New Orleans has consistently sustained record high crime rates.

Additionally, in recent decades the city's police department has come under severe scrutiny, particularly in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. During this time, due

to several criminal investigations of its officers for cases of homicide against African

American citizens, the United States Justice Department conducted an investigation of

the New Orleans Police Department's performance of its police services to the city.

Widespread allegations of excessive use of force by officers, inaccurate reporting of

crimes, inability to competently address the victims of sexual assault and mental health

problems became some of the talking points describing the police departments

shortcomings.

The New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) is the chief law enforcement agency

for the City of New Orleans. The department's jurisdiction encompasses both the entire

city limits and the boundaries of Orleans Parish. This somewhat unique jurisdictional

responsibility tasks the NOPD with providing public safety services for all of Orleans

Parish. The department has eight police districts. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. Eight Police Districts within the New Orleans Police Department (The Times-Picayune, 2016).
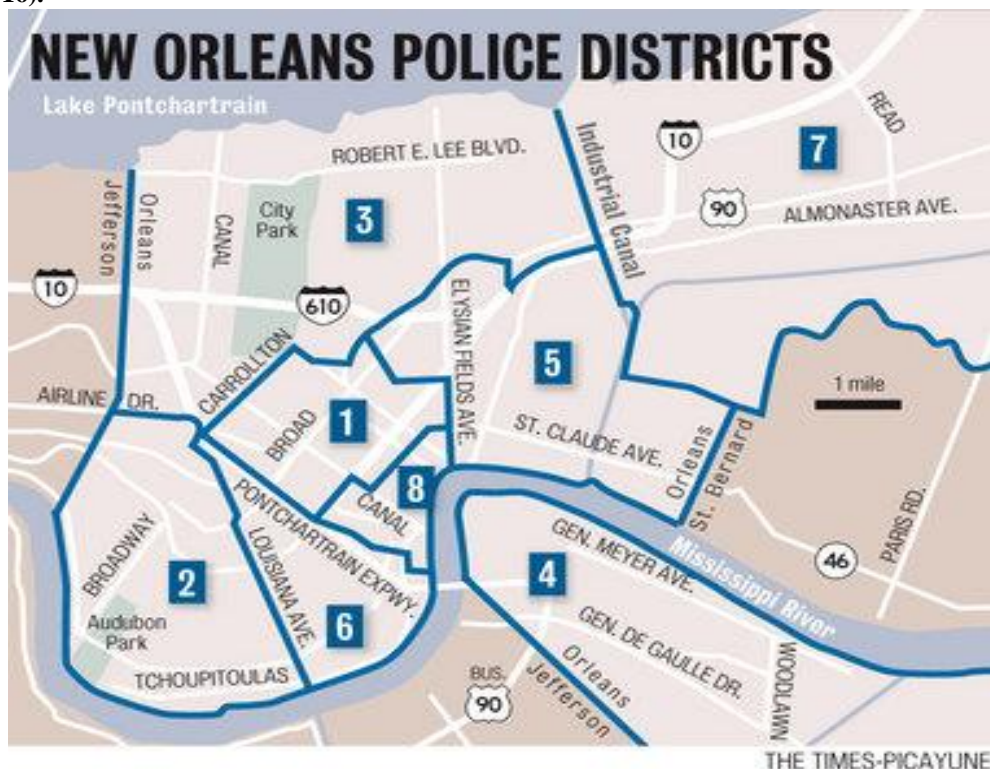
In July 2012, the following was announced to the city,

> The consent decree filed today is the most extensive and far reaching in this
> nation's history," New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu said. "The people of this
> city should rest assured that together with the Department of Justice we will
> fundamentally change the culture of the NOPD once and for all (WDSU, July 25,
> 2012).

Several months after this announcement, The United States District Court for the

Eastern District of Louisiana authorized a consent decree for the New Orleans Police

Department. This decree would be framed as an agreement between the United States

Federal Court and the City of New Orleans to reform through the structural changes some

of the methods and procedures practiced by its police department.

On January 11, 2013, in a federal court filing, a federal consent decree was framed

in United States vs. The city of New Orleans. The order was an apex to a whole host of

legitimate concerns many citizens, civic leaders and various business and public entities

had regarding how the New Orleans Police Department policed the city. Regarding the

decree's background,

> In May 2010, the United States Department of Justice ("DOJ") formally notified
> the City that it was initiating an investigation of the New Orleans Police
> Department for an alleged pattern or practice of unlawful misconduct, pursuant to
> the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, 42 U.S.C. §14141
> ("Section 14141"); and anti-discrimination provisions of the Omnibus Crime
> Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, 42 U.S.C § 3789d ("Safe Streets Act"); and
> Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, 42 U.S.C § 2000d (Title VI)
> (1-2).

Contained within the contents of the decree were 18 subsections addressing a

variety of subjects regarding practices the New Orleans Police Department was required

to either modify, enhance, develop or curtail. See Table 1.

Table 1. New Orleans Police Department Consent Decree Procedures

	NOPD Procedures Under Review
1	Policies and Training Generally
2	Use of Force
3	Crisis Intervention Team
4	Stops, Searches, and Arrests
5	Custodial Interrogations
6	Photographic Line-ups
7	Bias-Free Policing
8	Policing Free of Gender Bias
9	Community Engagement
10	Recruitment
11	Academy and In-service Training
12	Officer Assistance and Support
13	Performance Evaluations and Promotions
14	Supervision
15	Secondary Employment System
16	Misconduct Complaint Intake, Investigation and Adjudication
17	Transparency and Oversight
18	Agreement Implementation and Enforcement

To date, the consent decree is still imposed whereas, then, the police department was mandated to comply, develop and improve on all of the 18 subsections listed in furtherance of a better citizen/police relationship. Based upon these issues as outlined, New Orleans is an appropriate case study for this research.

Mixed Methods Research

This investigation utilized an exploratory sequential mixed methods design. Creswell explains, "In the exploratory sequential approach the researcher first begins with the qualitative research phase and explores the views of the participants" (Creswell 2014, 16). Mixed methods design combines the advantages of both to enhance the research process and to support the findings (See Figure 3). Additionally, the researcher, along with those who view the study, will come away with a more comprehensive understanding of the issue under review. On the other hand, combining the two methods

could make the elements of the total design even more complex and potentially more time-consuming. Care was taken to ensure that the design of the study did not go off track or change objectives.

Figure 3. Research Data Collection Path

Data collected from participants within the New Orleans area from both web based surveys and in-person interviews was examined. Additional were data obtained from structured questionnaires produced by the National Issues Forum Institute (NIFI) and two deliberative forums conducted within the City of New Orleans. Though a portion of this mixed methods design was locally specific, it can be compared to national data from various other forums throughout the US. Data from these NIFI surveys was statistically analyzed using Pearson's Chi-Squared (See Figure 4).

Figure 4. Data Modes of Collection

qual
- Web based Survey and In-person Interviews

Qual
- Two Deliberative Forums

quan
- Two New Orleans NIFI Surveys
- National NIFI Surveys
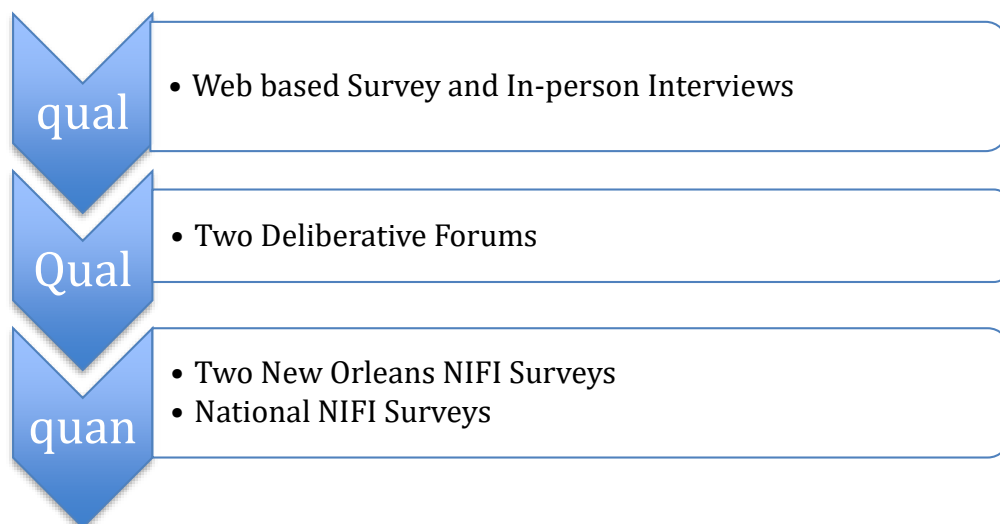
Data Collection Techniques

Questions for this survey were designed to solicit responses from identified 21 stakeholders in the metropolitan area of New Orleans. Initial survey respondents were gathered using a snowball sample. The survey was conducted both electronically and in person. Contained within the instrument was a request for recommendations for additional possible participants. Though there are not enough respondents in each category for a comparative analysis, every effort was made to ensure the stakeholders represented a variety of professionals that interact with the police regularly: Respondent employment classifications are as follows:

- 2 Social Workers
- 1 Mediator Facilitator
- 1 Police Oversight Coordinator
- 1 Self-Employed
- 1 Teaching Assistant
- 1 Business Owner
- 1 Facility Manager
- 3 Police Officers
- 1 Attorney
- 1 Retired
- 2 Educators
- 1 Clergy
- 5 Asked for employment status to remain anonymous

As shown above, the snowball sample identified individuals from the business community, city government, and citizens, along with members of law enforcement and clergy. Contributors included both small business owners and employees affiliated with asset protection in larger retail corporations. Also, in this group were working professionals such as an attorney, educators, and a social worker. Citizens residing in various zip codes within the city limits of New Orleans and its suburbs participated. Responses were also obtained from ranking officers and investigators from three separate law enforcement agencies in the New Orleans metro area along with data from two local non-profit organizations, which assist law enforcement in crime solving efforts. Finally, data was also received from an organization, which monitors the New Orleans Police Department. The sample also targeted diverse respondents with respect to race, gender and age. The survey was sent to 24 potential candidates. Twenty-one responded for a response rate of 87.5%.

Survey.

Placed at the opening of the survey was a copy of the information regarding informed consent. See Appendix A for the complete survey instrument. A version of the survey was sent to five selected respondents in order to determine if adjustments to the questions were required and to ensure that the questions petitioned responses relevant to this study. This pre-test was conducted via the Internet utilizing the University of New Orleans Qualtrics Survey System. This modified web based instrument was later implemented.

Two methods of survey delivery were utilized during data collection. The first version was a web-based survey constructed through the University of New

Orleans/Qualtrics Survey System in September 2016. The same survey was also performed in the field with the researcher conducting face-to-face interviews with respondents at various venues within New Orleans. This survey's delivery method also allowed for additional follow-up and clarification questions.

The web-based survey was sent to the 26 stakeholders, which resulted in receiving 16 responses for review. Five additional responses were collected in-person.

Kettering Foundation/National Issue Forum Institute (NIFI).

Additional data was collected in in accordance with the Kettering Foundation and in conjunction with the National Issue Forum Institute (NIFI). This foundation focuses on democracy as part of the solution to a variety of social dilemmas. This method allowed the researcher to investigate these social issues from "perspective of citizens and focuses on what people can do collectively to address problems affecting their lives, their communities, and their nation" (Kettering, 2016). Two forums were conducted in two different areas of the city. The first forum was conducted at the Franklin Avenue Baptist Church, 2515 Franklin Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70117 and the second at the Rosa F. Keller Library and Community Center, 4300 S. Broad Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125.

A NIFI booklet published in conjunction with this research guided the forums. Contained with the booklet entitled "Safety and Justice: How should communities reduce violence?" three options were framed: 1) Enforcing the law together 2) Applying the law fairly and 3) De-escalation and preventing violence. Each participant received a booklet for review prior to the forum. Also, within the NIFI booklet was a NIFI questionnaire which participants were requested to respond to at the end of the forum.

An independent moderator led a question and answer style deliberative discussion. The rooms where the forums were held were configured where each participant was seated at table with the tables positioned along three sides of the room with the moderator standing in front of them. Two independent recorders located at the front of the room utilizing computers to record participants' responses. The responses were also displayed on two large screens in from of the room in view of each participant. This was to ensure an accurate capture of comments from the participants and to allow each participant to view their responses in real-time to guarantee this part of the data collection was correct. A total of 21 participants provided 249 verbal and 67 written responses. The NIFI questionnaire had a total of 12 statements requiring responses in Likert Scale answers. For NIFI Questionnaire, see Appendix B. A total of 21 participants completed the questionnaire.

Regarding the local NIFI data collected from questionnaires during the forums held in this study, there is little need to justify the sample size of the two forums (which was a total of 21 participants). The size of these two forums was approximately the same size as the NIFI National Issue forums in other parts of the U.S. NIFI, "gathered in nearly 200 face-to-face and online deliberative forums from January to September 2017" (NIFI Executive Summary, 2017). The total number of national participants was 1848 placing the average number of participants at 9.34 persons per forum. The total number of local participants was 21, setting the average number at 10.5 people at each forum. Though the sample size per deliberative discussion was small locally, it is important to note that by the Kettering/NIFI design, all-deliberative forums are small for the process to be productive.

Data Analysis

Following Creswell, the researcher analyzed the data collected and reduced it by taking the "aggregate data into a small number of themes" (2014, 195). During the course of this research a total of 1986 coding events were secured. This entailed lines on text located from responses from the web based and in-person interviews/surveys, both forums and the NIFI questionnaire responses. A summation of the entire data collection process, beginning with the web based survey instrument, and NIFI survey instrument, the Internet and field surveys and (2) NIFI forums, along with the NIFI questionnaires are outlined in Figure 5. The table are also includes the theories in correspondence with the studies' themes. In addition, the table displays the connection between the locally generated NIFI data and NIFI data collected nationally.

Figure 5. Research Design
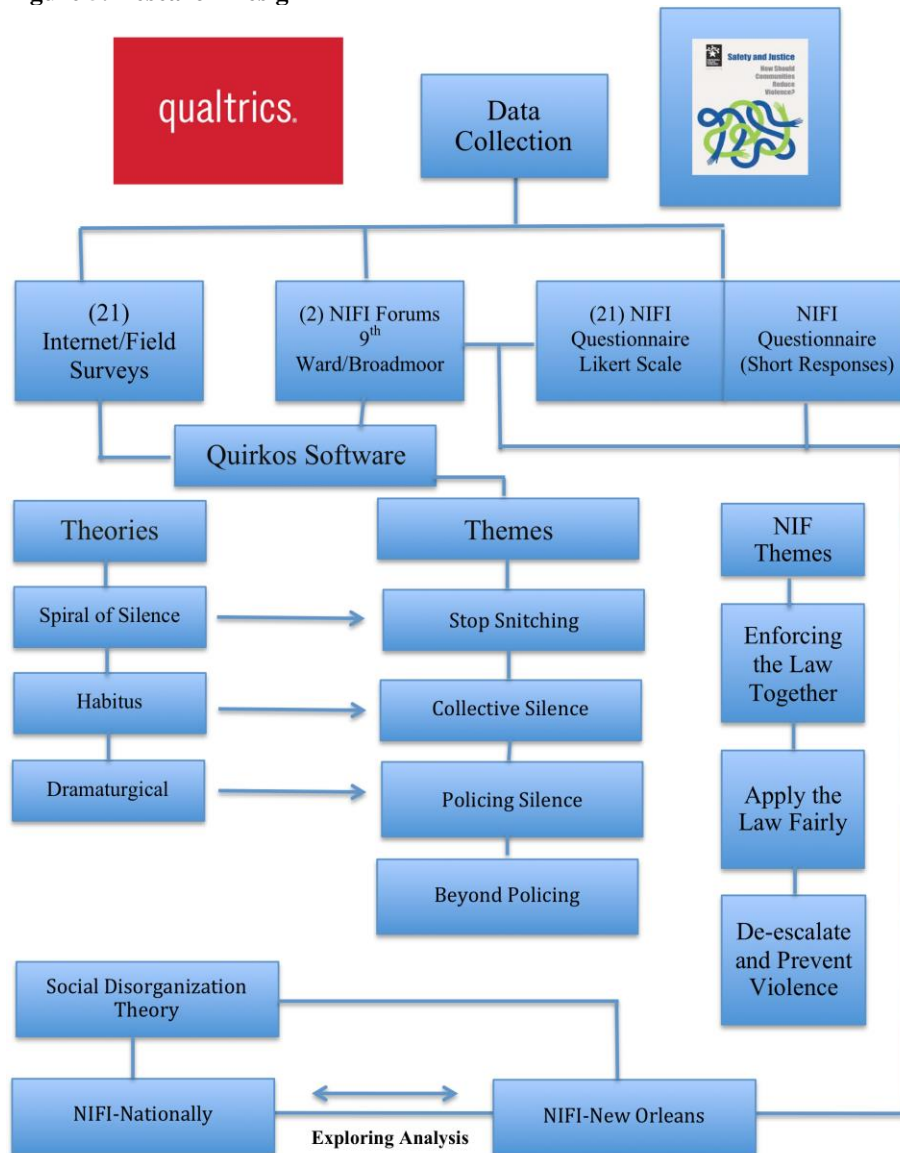
Coding process.

A majority of the data collected for this study was analyzed with Quirkos software to assist with the coding process. "Quirkos is a software designed to sort and manage text based data, by managing sections of text as being about a particular topic or theme. Quirkos allows for the import and categorization of lots of sources of text, allowing users to keep a large corpus of data together, and then 'code' or tag relevant sections into categories. It allows researchers to manage dozens of such categories, and

look for connections and links" (Quirkos Full Manual 2015, 5). All text received from the web-based and field surveys, the verbal responses from both forums and portions of the written NIFI survey were placed into the Quirkos coding software system for analysis.

The data was sorted into themes, subthemes and outlier coding events. This process framed the discussion for each findings chapter of the three theories tested in this study, 1) Spiral of Silence, 2) Habitus, and 3) Dramaturgy. Emerging from the theory of Spiral of Silence was the concept of witness isolation with fear, safety and trust being key issues under review. The second theory, Habitus dealt with witnesses' hindrance to approach authority from the perspective of authority as an agency. The third theory concerns dramaturgy and examines the interaction and behavior of law enforcement with the public.

Organization/respondents/responses.

Each individual who responded to a web-based or in-person survey is denoted in this study as Respondent with a capital letter behind the word. An example of this would be (Respondent A) which will appear either before or after any quote expressed by a respondent. For further clarification, letters A-P denote all web-based questionnaires, and letters Q-U will denote all field interview answers. A total of 21 responses were received during this portion of the data collection. Each individual response providing answers to questions from either the NIFI forums or the NIFI questionnaires will be referred to in this study as responses. Data from the forums are identified as Forum 1 and Forum 2. These responses will be followed by a number example, (Response 1, etc.). A total of 249 forum responses were obtained during this collection and a total of 67 NIFI questionnaires responses were also secured. See Table 2. Note: Quotes from both the

web-based and field interview surveys, forums and NIFI text responses will be displayed in this study exactly as collected to include the misspelling of any words or the presentation of any improper grammar.

Table 2. Data Collection Instruments and Sources

Research Instrument	Coding Events
Web–based and in-person interviews	1283
NIFI Safety and Justice Survey	426
NIFI Safety and Justice Survey (Short Responses)	29
NIFI Safety and Justice Forums	248
Total	1986

Validity, Reliability and Minimizing Bias

According to Creswell, "Qualitative validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures" (2014, 201). Measures should be taken to justify the themes developed from all the data sources utilized. This procedure is referred to as triangulating the data. Analyzing the discrepancies with the themes may also aid in bringing validity to the study. Some thematic concepts may not be relevant regarding real life-related issues. Creswell also points to the availability of contradictory evidence as a method for validity. This coupled with a peer review by dissertation committee members assists in maintaining this validity (2014, 202).

Another issue for reliability concerns the coding process whereby the researcher ensures that the codes did not change or "drift," meaning shift in meaning. Here Creswell refers to a qualitative codebook developed to aid in this process. He also speaks of additional measures such as agreements with other researchers, which involves the coding process (2014, 203). Quirkos, the software used in this process assisted in the coding categories.

One method of minimizing bias within a study is perhaps first to acknowledge that it does exist particularly from the perspective of the researcher. The researcher's background and personal experiences with this subject matter and the dynamics of the police-community interactions with minority neighborhoods could have impacted this study. In this particular case, the researcher was faced with a difficult, yet not insurmountable dilemma due to his profession while this study was underway. Other aspects such as the researcher's gender and upbringing could also shape this bias. Reflexivity, whereby the researcher reflects upon what could potentially and even unintentionally be introduced into this study by the researcher himself, was helpful in minimizing bias.

As a white male law enforcement officer familiar with some of the issues of mistrust while working for many years within African American neighborhoods, the researcher is mindful of the fact that certain inherent differences will be prevalent. However, he is conducting this research as a social scientist and not a law enforcement officer. Every effort was made to maintain objectivity and respect the views and responses of the participants regardless of his personal beliefs. Paramount to this investigator's interest is searching for a better understanding as to why lower homicide solvability rates exists within African American neighborhoods. This researcher is also familiar with homicide investigations its impacts on family members who have lost loved ones to violence.

Because the investigator is a law enforcement officer with the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office, he chose a geographical area of study outside of his primary jurisdiction of employment. Though, at present this researcher also holds a sworn secondary

commission with the New Orleans Police Department as part of his work duties. Creswell, in commenting on the concept of "backyard" research, speaks to the studying of "one's organization, or friends, or work settings… compromises the researchers' ability to disclose information and raise issues of an imbalance of power between inquirers and the participants" (2014, 188). Though the investigator has access to a similar setting where field research could be conducted within his primary jurisdiction, choosing a different locality was made in an effort to minimize potential jeopardy. Additionally, the researcher informed participants of his background considering the nature of the topic and its implications.

The researcher selecting the city of New Orleans along with analyzing the role of the New Orleans Police Department should not be interpreted disparagingly upon this department exclusively. This researcher realizes the concept of police mistrust and lack of police-witness cooperation exists throughout several communities, including the lack of citizen/police cooperation with his own law enforcement agency.

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

This research meets all the requirements mandated by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) affiliated with the University of New Orleans. All necessary documentation was completed and sent to IRB 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 secured, and any risk, which might exist to the participants. Informed consent forms were employed. Elements regarding the identity of the researcher, sponsoring institution, and purpose of the study were clear. Other

42

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 noted within the form.

Thereby, and with this design, the following four chapters will discuss the data collected with regard to the overall research question of "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" Attention is paid to how this data informs the literature for each theory. Chapter 4 discusses Spiral of Silence; Chapter 5 discusses Habitus; Chapter 6 discusses Dramaturgy; and Chapter 7 will discuss the data implications for Social Disorganization.

Chapter 4: Spiral of Silence and "Stop Snitching"

At the core of the Spiral of Silence theory is the concept that the opinion of others affects behavior by pressuring the individual into compliance with the majority public opinion. It states, "Public opinion can be described as the dominating opinion which compels compliance of attitude and behavior in that it threatens the dissenting individual with isolation" (Noelle-Neumann 1974, 43). Recalling the central research question, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" Spiral of Silence suggests that individuals who witness crime may be hesitant to inform authorities about what they observed due to external pressures from other community members. Specifically, that family members and cohorts of the witness would isolate them based on their action to inform. Furthermore, the witness would also suffer from a loss of reputation in the community or sustain retaliatory violence if he or she elected to voice what was witnessed. This researcher examines the witness as the individual and the act of remaining silent or the "failure to voice." The Spiral of Silence theory explains the growth and spread of public opinion and the increasing pressure people feel to conceal their views when they think they are in the minority particularly as they fear retaliation for expressing these views.

> The fear of isolation seems to be the force that sets the spiral of silence in motion. To run with the pack is a relatively happy state of affairs; but if you can't, because you won't share publicly in what seems to be a universally acclaimed conviction, you can at least remain silent, as a second choice, so that others can put up with you. (Noelle-Neumann 1984).

Noelle-Neumann's theory is rooted in the study of mass communication and media and demonstrates the power of public opinion attitudes one can express without running into danger of isolating oneself.

This theory provides one possible explanation of why there is a lack of witness availability during criminal investigations (Schultz & Roessler 2012, Aryal, 2014). The original assumption is somewhat innocuous as the theory begins with the public's opinions of government elections in 1970's and 1980's. Within this context Noelle-Neumann states,

> Observations made in one context spread to another and encourage people either to proclaim their views or to swallow them and keep quiet, in a spiraling process, the one view dominated the public scene and the other disappears from public awareness as its adherents become mute. This is the process that can be called a spiral of silence (1984, 5).

A devastating historical consequence of the spiral of silence was Adolf Hitler's decision to commit atrocities carried out by the SS in the holocaust. Through the use of communication (in many instances mass communication), the German military crafted and pushed a belief of Jewish people as inhuman and expendable. Macy Marie Hernandez states, "The government held complete control of all media produced at the time. The minorities' fear of rejection was much more than social, rather a matter of life and death" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vq4lPwK2Yk0, 2012). Other social scientists broaden the spiral of silence concept to examining social calamities such as the 1960's civil rights movement revealing, "the spiral of silence theory perpetuated the social structures and injustices that supported racial discrimination" (Hernandez, 2012). Nevertheless, the point remains, others innocently stood by and did nothing out of fear and/or isolation, acting in their self-interest to avoid harm. Unlike state controlled media in other countries, the freedom to express information or for that matter report a crime to authorities still comes with a price, even in America, depending upon where the crime occurred.

Thereby, this research introduces three assumptions based upon the Spiral of Silence literature to answer the following research question, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" Data is deductively coded to evaluate these assumptions. As described by Kennedy (2008), a friction exists between African Americans and the law enforcement in their community "in which the police are often viewed as ineffective or uncaring." This provides the context for the first assumption.

Spiral of Silence Assumption # 1 states: The public perception that the police are ineffective and/or or uncaring inhibits individual witness cooperation.

Noelle-Neumann (1974) notes that, "people are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated" (43). As such, the second assumption addresses the concept of fear.

Spiral of Silence Assumption # 2 states: Public opinion leads to fear of isolation/retaliation, which inhibits individual witness cooperation.

Court and Sherman (2007) point out that many citizens relish their standing in the community. When someone witnesses a crime and identifies the culprit to law enforcement, his or her standing is downgraded to being dishonorable to other community members, which tarnishes their reputation. The stop snitching message is frequently propagated through popular media, primarily in music and film targeted to African American youth, which implores the audience to refrain from police cooperation in all circumstances, whether simply reporting crime or becoming an informant. Thus, the third assumption speaks to citizen reputation.

Spiral of Silence Assumption: Subtheme # 3 "Reputation" states: The belief that law enforcement cannot be trusted affects a witness' willingness to come forward.

Collectively, the Stop Snitching theme contains 129 coding events. These events are deductively sorted into three subthemes, with each subtheme being associated with one of the three theory based assumptions. Within the first subtheme, Effectiveness, there are 53 coding events. In the second subtheme, Fear, there are 42 coding events. The third subtheme, Reputation, has 34 coding events. Some of these coding events will be utilized to illustrate the sentiments of participants of this research.

Table 3. Coding for Spiral of Silence

Theme 1: Stop Snitching	129
Assumption 1: Subtheme Effectiveness	53
Assumption 2: Subtheme Fear	42
Assumption 3: Subtheme Reputation	34
Percent of Total Coding Events	6.5%

Spiral of Silence Assumption: Subtheme # 1 "Effectiveness" states: The public perception that the police are ineffective and/or or uncaring inhibits individual witness cooperation. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Effectiveness."**

Ideally, there is the concept that law enforcement will perform their duties with some form of effectiveness. Effectiveness and reputation go hand-in-hand. It is essential that law enforcement be receptive to the public's needs as they provide effective public safety services. This portion of the research will examine the effectiveness of law enforcement's ability to handle the interactions between the institution and the citizen during the crime reporting process.

Law enforcement, either knowingly or unknowingly, exhibits behaviors that can be interpreted as uncaring, ineffective and/or incompetent in their duties; this has a negative consequence on victim/witness cooperation. This creates a perceived cyclical crisis of police actions and behavior resulting in lack of citizen cooperation that then

47

makes solving crimes more difficult and, thus, the perception of law enforcement ineffectiveness. The public, in turn, is again unlikely to come forward.

To understand these phenomena, data was sorted based on the concept of trust, trust between law enforcement and the citizen recipients of their services. Some of the responses regarding trust were somewhat expected and, in some ways, problematic for the Spiral of Silence theory. For example, Respondent J revealed, "Trust among the police and the community, too many people like the mayor trying to tell a cop how to do his job" (Respondent J). Here, this respondent, like some others in the population, thinks that law enforcement is hampered by outside influences, which prevents them from being effective.

Ineffective, uncaring, and incompetent are descriptions that can have a devastating effect on that organization's reputation. When these terms are applied to the local police or sheriff's office, it seems a unique dilemma exists. If law enforcement is ineffective, uncaring and/or incompetent in their duties, the public has no other recourse or agency to turn to when justice is needed. Unfortunately, the terms ineffective, uncaring, and incompetent surfaced in this research. These terms certainly do not paint every law enforcement organization in the United States as ill equipped to address and prevent crime and to do so in an effective professional manner would be unjust. Perceptions, based on negative, or perhaps even misunderstood, encounters between the public and law enforcement can craft a narrative of ineffective, uncaring and/or incompetent with little or no justification for those terms. Respondent B explains how these narratives grow, "Majority of officers aren't engaged with members of the

community to truly understand the underlining issues that plague low-income high crime neighborhoods."

Lack of engagement appears to be a shared complaint among citizens about the police. Several quotes from respondents in this study have spoken about the distress crime brings to their neighborhoods coupled with the inadequate response by law enforcement. The dichotomy of this urban quandary redirects this issue into two problematic paths. The first is that crime itself is unabated with no remedy on the part of law enforcement to either stop it or affect its frequency when it occurs. Second, when police services are needed after a violent/traumatic event, law enforcement offers insufficient assistance in this crisis or worse, police are perceived as being indifferent.

Citizens strive to be safe; thereby, they desire that law enforcement prevent crime and apprehend violators. Yet daily the news covers crimes, often near where the respondents live. This leads to residents believing law enforcement is ineffective in creating a safe environment. For example, "Everyday, you hear about somebody getting shot. So, I think that goes through a lot people in neighborhood's mind about safety. What about this person? Does he have a gun under his shirt?" (Respondent R). When citizens are asked specifically about their concerns in their neighborhood, (Respondent T) is not uncommon stating, "Well, right now I guess the biggest issue right now is drugs and guns that are prevalent in the neighborhood." The anxiety experienced by citizens cannot be understated. The perceived lack of effectiveness is clear; "Violent crime seems to be on the upswing, just want to feel safe when you walk out of your home at night seems like some of the crimes happening during the day now, much of the crimes were drug related,

49

shooting, domestic crimes, not sure what the mortality rate is but would like to see a decrease in the violence" (Forum 1).

Some of the effects from neighborhood dwellers on crime and its impact on psyche are echoed in the following,

> The drug dealers have moved in. and now I'm a prisoner in my home. I can't even stop them from parking in front of my door unless I contact the police to ask them to leave. It's not at my doorstep only if I don't allow it. I purchased two dogs to keep the crime away from my doorstep (Forum 2).

The response in Forum 2 demonstrates some of the resilience in attitude many residents take in order to combat criminals near their home. These quotes also reflect the frustration by citizens regarding the efforts of the police, often done through high visibility to thwart crime. As a reminder, the citizen's isolation is also noted in this response. Another commonality between the last response and the following is not only the fear of what's just outside the resident's door, but the terror that crime (in the form of a violent attack) is only moments away from penetrating their threshold. "I think, one, I'm living it. Crime has really gotten up to my door. I've lost several nephews, a sister in 2010 and it's not stopping" (Forum 2).

Some of the data received regarding crime and its impact on the individual contained many stories of living in fear and personal loss of family and friends to a violent end. Though others did not sustain personal loss, the stress of witnessing a traumatic event just outside their home is also telling. Like this response,

> It is interesting because we moved here from a small town in Arkansas - there wasn't a lot of crime there or here. Pretty quickly we started house break-ins and neighbors chasing people that were breaking in – then there was a dead guy on my sidewalk. Meeting people that have lost family, friends that have lost so much – have empathy (Forum 2).

50

or from another participant within the same forum who revealed, "I think for me one of the biggest game changers was moving to the Irish channel you really get to see the crime in your neighborhood but children can't go because there are drug deals and people get shot. Children are stuck at home" (Forum 2).

The geography of the City of New Orleans played very little in the difference in the way many residents experienced crime. The respondents in Forum 2, expressed their distress to the ordeal of witnessing violent crime in their neighborhoods, and also the concern that nothing can be done about it due to ineffective law enforcement response. In Forum 1, a participant stated,

> Had an incident, I think it was Father's Day, When the crowd started running they were behind my car in my driveway, it was terrifying, if I wasn't in my living room I probably wouldn't have hear it you see young black people at the park having a good time, I think it, was Father's Day, to see people run, strollers and everything, it was awful, it's been in the neighborhood (Forum 1).

The answers received from these participants reflect a local sentiment held by many New Orleans natives as well as those who moved to New Orleans from other areas. These statements are not only germane to this city but other urban localities as well. It is the description of despair as violent crime has crept up to their doorstep. The content of these responses also reveals the questioned competency and level of confidence many have with law enforcement to protect them and effectively reduce the frequency of crime in their neighborhood.

Mentioned earlier was the misunderstanding many have about the tactics and procedures the police perform in their duties to protect and serve. Some may mistake ineffectiveness and or uncaring with some responsibilities that must be met in police investigations. Issues such as the one articulated in the next response that was concerned

51

about the methods of how police receive crime reporting, "trained on how to report crimes, how reporting is kept confidential, what happens when perpetrators mistakenly find out via police that an individual reported on them" (Respondent O). The reply Respondent O provides is common among many who wish confidentiality remained at the forefront of any witness/police interaction. As a case moves forward through the criminal justice system and trial, it is up to the prosecutor's office to ensure a witness will testify. Furthermore, from the onset, the police knowingly receive information from a witness to a crime who merely wants to report the event, yet refuses to later provide testimony. This has a negative impact on the future of that case. It is the responsibility of law enforcement to not only receive the information from the witness, but also inform them of what will be required of them by the prosecutor at trial.

Beyond the three subthemes (Effectiveness Fear, and Reputation) in this Stop Snitching examination were other categories that also contributed to this discussion. Concepts such as poverty, shame, disgrace and not reporting crime due to a witness' current legal situation were also present. Many individuals in marginalized neighborhoods that witness criminal activity and have the ability to inform may not do so because they may be wanted for minor or offences unrelated to the crime under investigation, and to do so could also mean incarceration for them. An example of this is reflected in the following response,

> ...leading to a devastatingly high incarceration rate in Louisiana. This leads many people to distrust law enforcement, because of the hanging threat that if arrested, they WILL be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law and be forced to serve hard time (Respondent K).

Individuals fearful to come forward after witnessing crime and being afraid to tell what they know because they are currently involved in an unrelated legal issue (such as being wanted for a past court attachment or some other violation), which could be cause for their arrest is a very realistic dilemma. The problem of mass incarceration, particularly in Louisiana, may affect witnesses reporting crime to law enforcement for fear they will suffer legal ramifications themselves.

Police visibility or lack of it was common within the data in both the individual and collective who struggle with understanding the citizen/police connection. As explained by this respondent, "From my perspective, that's a big part of the community feeling safe and secure, is to be able to see the police are patrolling. I feel safe because I see a police car passing my street" (Respondent R). A statement such as this reflects the common sentiment of many citizens, particularly from ones residing in urban areas where crime is more prevalent. Visibility or the practice of viewing law enforcement physically passing a resident's property often enforces the belief that they are available and not far if needed. Though the apprehension in reporting crime to the police as outlined in the assumptions of Fear and Reputation, Police Effectiveness, or lack of it, can be met by citizens having misunderstandings concerning what the police can and cannot do while investigating criminal activity. The label of a "snitch" is abhorrent to many; yet occasionally the act of reporting to the police is understandable, especially when the witness thinks that the victims are not deserving of the violence or if the witness believes he or she can remain anonymous. One contributor to this study revealed,

> However, they should be willing to speak on the condition of anonymity. It is common knowledge in many neighborhoods that certain people are committing criminal acts, but no one wants to contact the police unless they get a reward (Respondent M).

Anonymity can often serve as an enemy to a criminal investigation, particularly when accuracy and credibility are at stake. It is not uncommon for the public to think that they can report crime as a witness and not be required to testify at trial. As part of the 6th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, a defendant has the right to confront his or her accuser. The struggle between initially reporting crimes to the police and not revealing ones' identity continues.

Data from this research also indicates that there is a growing portion of the population that is pushing back against this culture of fear. For example, "If you do not step forward and allow the crime to continue, then you become a victim of your own situation" (Respondent H). Another response such as, "No, I think it's incumbent upon communities to be involved. It's incumbent upon communities to say something" (Respondent U); or "Stop the rule on you should not get involved. Don't be a snitch bullshit" (Respondent J) to name some of the opinions secured.

Breaking the cycle of silence is easier said than done. As the above data revealed, many people residing in places where high crime rates occur will not report crime due to fear. Subject H stated, "First, they need to get involved. They need to provide information when they have it." A similar position echoed by another participant that informed, "To report things. To report what they see. It's only going to work if people start coming forward with information, with what they see going on" (Respondent R). Another perspective from Respondent J indicated, "Better hiring, more time to interact. Trust established by figureheads from the community, who the people trust. Hosting of activities where both can attend not in a police fashion" (Respondent J). The thought by Respondent J displays concern for law enforcements ability to perform duties, while still

54

ensuring a trusting relationship as a goal. These responses appear common to those who may not be as affected as ones who live in crime-ridden neighborhoods. Furthermore, there does seem to be a disconnect between the statement mentioned above and the ones that unequivocally report that they are incapable to report due to the stigma and fear that harm may come to them if they inform on someone to the police.

Spiral of Silence Assumption: Subtheme # 2 "Fear" states: Public opinion leads to fear of isolation/retaliation, which inhibits individual witness cooperation. . This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Fear."**

Data concerning the individual is stated in two different perspectives. First, personal fear is that which one experiences alone with either no or little connection to anyone else. The second type of fear addresses fear from a collective approach. This is a fear potentially shared with others who are experiencing similar social burdens and the fallout from witnessing crime and are reluctant to report.

Data supports the theory's assumption that public opinion has a bearing on an individual's fear of isolation and fear of retaliation. The fact that some people witnessing violent crime experience pressure to conceal their views or, in the case of crime reporting, inform on other members of the community often places them in fear of isolation and/or retaliation. This caused many respondents to have general concerns about security, personal safety and/or the ability to maintain a safe environment in their daily lives.

The anti-snitching attitude has increased over the years in many communities, and the stigma of isolation and fear of retaliation is a reality. People who witness crime and contemplate reporting are still reminded of their limitations regarding resources to protect

themselves from the dangers of others once they inform. Unlike police officers experienced in dealing with criminal offenders, for many citizens, it is unclear by whom or to whom this fear is created or should be attributed. They just know they are afraid of retribution if they were to report.

With over 40 years of law enforcement experience, this researcher has personally engaged with many witnesses who elect not to inform in an effort not to change their lifestyle, including having to move or being shunned by family and friends. To some being branded a "snitch" and all the negativity that comes with informing on someone is worse than considering the moral and civic responsibility to another citizen. Respondent F who states, "If I knew of gangs or drug dealers, it would be difficult to tell the police about them for fear of harm to my family." The terms gangs and drug dealers are often spoken of in the same sentence when discussing crime and the idea of being harmed or killed after informing on drug activity. This is a perception to some and a proven reality to others that must not be dismissed. A witness knowing or perceiving that, "they will take your life in order to get their friend free or to stay free" (Respondent U) is a travesty. This statement may not always be true. Nevertheless, regardless of the validity of the response, the perception of fear is real to many who endure the environment of violence daily, particularly in neighborhoods where elements of social disorganization appear prevalent.

Many respondents revealed something about security or the notion of safety or the ability to maintain safe environment in their daily lives. The following responses were connected to an individual's perspective in response and apprehension of becoming a witness.

Even I worked with Crime stoppers, I was getting ready to bring trash out and I heard gunshots, I was asked why didn't you see it? The only thing I saw was the ground, as I was trying to get inside, and I was the only one who called the police (Forum 2).

This response not only reflects the ordeal of witnessing crime but the reality of isolation in reporting crime. Being an individual, and perhaps the only individual that informed and provided information to the authorities creates uneasiness and a sense of isolation even when remaining anonymous and working with an organization such as Crime Stoppers. Witnesses that observe crimes often have to provide detailed information to authorities as they interact in the investigatory process. The encounter usually entails relinquishing vital biographical information and often enduring repetitive yet required questioning by the investigator. One participant, a police officer tasked with investigating homicides in New Orleans, describes the negative influence a community sustains when someone who commits crime goes unpunished. He states,

From a homicide perspective, I think people see people in the community who have done shootings, who have done murders who are still free through some sort of breakdown with the judicial system or just a weak case or were never caught or prosecuted, but everybody knows it's them… I think to see that person in a community still, doing their thing, still armed, still violent, still crazy, makes them reluctant to be a witness and come forward, makes them reluctant to talk to you. Here in New Orleans it's not uncommon (Respondent U).

Technology is adding new dimensions to what is a "witness" and how citizens interact with police. Reality TV shows such as Cops and The First 48 can influence a witness' willingness to testify. Investigators who have television crews shadow them while investigating violent crimes experience additional issues in their investigation. Respondent U further explains,

57

There were many people in the community who actually felt that if they set foot in this building, they're going to be on a TV show. They really don't understand the process of release and all these other things because they saw what they saw as snitches going on this TV show.

The "release" the investigator was referring to is the authority of the individual (in this case the witness) to allow their identity to be shown on television. Several television shows at present have specialized in realistic crime solving formats coupled with interacting with law enforcement. The popularity of shows for entertainment value appear to have increased with some major law enforcement agencies allowing camera crews to film the investigatory process within police settings. For example, "The First 48," is a television show that shadows investigators as they progress through a murder investigation. This weekly cable network crime drama, now in its 18th season, is not without its critics. What was believed to be informative television documenting the steps of real-life homicide investigators and their struggles to solve actual murders has recently come under some harsh scrutiny. In a 2014 review of this show the Washington Post reflected, "Despite its all- sloppy crime scenes, rushed arrests, ruined lives-The First 48, which has now reached its 13th season, is as popular as ever. Millions of Americans tune in to every episode, and with ratings as seductive as these, who cares about a few botched investigations?" (Balko, 2014, p 2).

Though it appears that little research has been conducted into the practice of media (i.e., television police shows) integrating with the daily activities of police investigations, some data indicate this practice may be detrimental. To the public, filming witnesses providing information as a form of theater becomes less reverent and confidential even if the interview is edited to conceal the witnesses' identity.

... It takes like a year to actually put an episode together so we'll have maybe another year of New Orleans First 48s coming out and then they'll be in re-runs for 10 years. I think that is a huge factor in one of the reasons our success rate is so low because people think that they're going to be on TV (Respondent U).

Respondent U further states, "Even though she didn't witness the crime, just talking to her on the show that they were going to come and get her, we had to move her." Fear of being targeted by others for informing about criminal activity is a real dilemma for potential witnesses and the police. Witness relocation by law enforcement and prosecutor's offices occurs as the criminal justice system takes great efforts to protect witnesses in order that they may testify at trial. Witness retaliation is not only a critical concern of the witness, but the police officer as well. The officer may be tasked with assisting in keeping the witness safe in order that she/he may testify at trial. Witness intimidation in urban environments by suspects either connected to the crime or to the culprit involved may include threats and/or violence to prevent testimony from an eyewitness. It should be pointed out that not every witness receives intimidation during this process; however, witness intimidation is a reality. According to the US Department of Justice/National Institute of Justice (NIJ), "today, prosecutors report that extremely violent intimidation attempts—which are almost always successful—are coming to their attention with increasing frequency. These extremely violent intimidating attempts are often gang-and drug-related" (Healey, 1995, p. 2).

It is not the intention of this research to explore how TV shows of these types affect witness availability and cooperation. What does appear to be apparent is the fear that exists by witnesses connected with a police investigation that can have a detrimental outcome on the willingness of witnesses to cooperate. Some law enforcement agencies that engage in the practice of allowing reality television shows to film their investigators

during actual criminal casework may have to re-consider as it apparently affects witness

engagement in the crime-solving process. Even someone who is not an actual witness to a

crime event, yet is knowingly interviewed for a television show about crime, may be

vulnerable to threats.

Television footage is not the only video technology of consideration. In terms of

witness availability and reliability, video footage of the crime and the suspect's identity

can be damning. Through the innovation of digital video technology, evidence in current

criminal investigations is now not only available, but also expected. Residences and

businesses are more equipped with video surveillance cameras than ever before and often

share this technology with law enforcement. Among the several positive factors regarding

video evidence versus eyewitness evidence, video evidence has no fear of retaliation or

loss of reputation. Unfortunately, it appears the owners of the technology do. Individuals

who have not witnessed a crime event, yet own video systems that have documented a

criminal act still have concerns for their safety.

> People have security systems now they will tell you they don't work. You have to
> get a search warrant to go in and surprise them to get the data. It's just a cultural
> difference, I think, between the African-American community and others; just
> culturally we don't get involved. Even in really affluent areas like Eastover or
> some upper-middle class neighborhood, people still do not want to get involved.
> They're in fear of somebody finding out (Respondent U).

The reply from Respondent U is not only interesting but also cause for further

consideration to enhance the victim/witness availability. If Respondent U's encounter

with citizens and their inability to share video evidence with law enforcement becomes a

common practice, then these challenges will present a greater dilemma to gather video

evidence out of fear of being labeled a snitch by proxy. It's not just citizens' concerns for

their personal reputation that limits witness cooperation but also the reputation of the law

enforcement agency with which she/he must approach and work with in an effort to solve crime. If a citizen finds an agency to be disreputable, she/he is less likely to come forward.

The risk a witness takes to report to police should not be understated because contacting the police is a complicated ordeal. Data supporting this include, "The possible pressures. I think it's just a mindset we have that the bad guy might be in jail but his friends might be out" (Respondent U) and, "I think it's that ability to come forward. It's that ability to take the risk" (Respondent U). However, the data also supports an understanding that is necessary such as, "It's that ability to take the responsibility to report crime, to not accept a criminal lifestyle as a way of life" (Respondent U).

Spiral of Silence Assumption: Subtheme # 3 "Reputation" states: The belief that law enforcement cannot be trusted affects a witness' willingness to come forward. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Reputation."**

A lack of public trust in law enforcement exists in many marginalized neighborhoods in the United States. Lack of trust in policing (either perceived or in reality) is a critical concern under review. Noelle-Neumann examined the role of public opinion in several different contexts. In speaking of the crowd mentality, she states,

> Whenever individuals are not free to speak or act according to their own inclinations but must consider the views of the social environment in order to prevent becoming isolated, we are dealing with the manifestation of public opinion (1984, 111).

Once public opinion is formed to fit a narrative, other aspects of the subject matter are likely to be dismissed, limiting the narrative. In the context of witness perception to public incidents in terms of the opinion of the many, Noelle-Neumann commented,

61

> ...at the scene of an accident: a large Cadillac with out-of-state license plates has hit a child; it makes no difference whether the child ran into the car's path or whether the driver is to blame—everyone in the crowd will know that they dare not take the part of the driver. Or a demonstration concerning the death of a victim of police brutality; it is impossible to defend the policeman (*ibid,* 111).

To understand why individuals may react as such when confronted with an opportunity for engagement with law enforcement, data were analyzed to determine what if any connection between trust in law enforcement and its effect on victim/witness availability to report a crime could be found. It should be noted that the concept of reputation is cited in Spiral of Silence theory as one of the critical obstacles as to why an individual may not come forward and report to authorities. For example, Noelle-Neumann explains the connection between opinion and reputation. Quoting John Locke who states, "the law of opinion or reputation, one sees how close his idea of opinion comes to being completely enveloped in reputation; the two are almost identical in meaning" (1984, 73).

With respect to the public's perception of police, data reinforces the assumption that the reputation of law enforcement is negative. Thereby, the capacity for police to work in tandem with citizens is inhibited. "Community members should be able to trust the police, feel safe enough to report crime" (Respondent N). Earned or not, when law enforcement is seen as an adversary, the decision whether or not to cooperate may hinge on something like, "To come forth as witnesses without fear of implication by police, and not then be arrested for non-related reasons such as possessing marijuana" (Respondent K). Unfortunately, police officers *must* not overlook other criminal violations while investigating crimes when confronted with witnesses with legal issues due to their oath to uphold the law.

As the public perception of the police as untrustworthy grows, the pressure for citizens to avoid all contact with law enforcement also grows, just as the Spiral of Silence Theory would suggest. For example, *"*Even if not all police are the bad guys, it's not worth your risk in finding out who's who. Just avoid all interaction to be safe" (Respondent E). This same respondent states his view more simply, "I would rather call the corner dealer to deal with an issue than the police" (Respondent E).

These responses demonstrate how hard law enforcement, its management, and other civic leaders will need to work to reverse this thinking. These are the most negative and adverse responses made by participants in this study. It is the antitheses of any law enforcement mission statement and represents the critical gap that currently exists in the relationship between some citizens and law enforcement.

> The most difficult challenge that we face as an agency is trust, is the biggest piece. The folks don't view law enforcement as individuals they can trust, however we need law enforcement to offer support as a release of the crimes that happen within the community but it creates a barrier where the community is reluctant to work with the police (Respondent Q).

In response to why a respondent thought witnesses do not come forward another participant states,

> Mistrust and general suspicion of the police" and she questions, "How can we overcome issues of mistrust and abuse of power to feel safer with the police around, instead of more vulnerable (Respondent E)?

Another respondent stated, "Distrust, trigger-happy, prejudice, mental health of police officers" (Response O). Once again, this statement, expresses the disparity in trust many have with the duties and representation of law enforcement. It also displays the emotions some hold toward officers for being ineffective, uncaring and/or incompetent in their obligations to the citizens. This is supported by other statements such as, "I think it goes

63

back to trust. People are only going to come forward if they feel safe and they trust the person that they are reporting it to" (Respondent R). Another perspective is,

> there is a significant reluctance for the citizens of New Orleans to report of crime for a variety of reasons. They don't want repercussions from people that they report or to be with police officers. Community policing can lead to more trust (Forum 1).

Respondents E, R, and the statement from Forum 1 all exhibit the message that law enforcement must work harder to close the gap of apprehension between themselves and the community in order to exist to address crime and public safety.

Thereby, the Stop-Snitching theme supports many of the tenets contained within the Spiral of Silence theory as it explains some of the dynamics with respect to the limitations in lack of witness availability and police interaction. It encompasses and addresses to a large degree the limitations of the individual as a witness and the dilemma of informing to authorities. Within Assumption #1 the majority of data (53 data point) were coded into subtheme Effectiveness. In Assumption #2 the second largest amount (42 data points) were coded into subtheme Fear. Assumption #3 resulted in the least amount of supporting data (34 data points) that were coded for subtheme Reputation.

The next chapter, Collective Silence, extends Spiral of Silence and moves beyond the individual lens by contending with the collective. Groups that share not only the individual aspects of stop snitching, but also reinforce communal perspectives negative toward agencies of authority.

Chapter 5: Habitus and "Collective Silence"

Unlike the Spiral of Silence theory, which spoke to anti-snitching from an individual point of view, "Collective Silence" will confront silence from a shared perspective. Specifically, this concept asserts that citizens holding like-minded views are reluctant and, in some cases, outright refuse to cooperate with law enforcement. Unlike individual silence, collective silence seems to be fostered by citizens living in neighborhoods through shared experiences with law enforcement agencies. Unfortunately, the resulting message is the same, "Stop Snitching."

Habitus examines the correlation between groups of individuals and an agency of authority within the context of relationships, which will be helpful in understanding the anti-snitching phenomena among the collective, Schirato & Danaher explain,

> The most crucial aspect of habitus, then, is that it naturalizes itself and the culture rules, agendas and values that make it possible. But there are also a number of other important points that can be identified in Bourdieu's definition. First, conditioning associated with a particular type of existence, based on shared cultural trajectories, produces the habitus. Now this can seem a difficult notion, because we are not talking about something as straightforward as, say the Marxist idea of class categories based on positions occupied with the economic sphere. Habitus is certainly informed by, without being entirely explicated in terms of, class affiliations (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. 40).

More specific to the concept of Habitus as a theoretical consideration highlighted in this research follows:

> The important point here is that the habitus is both durable, and oriented towards the practical: dispositions, knowledges and values are always potentially subject to modification, rather than being passively consumed or reinscribed. This occurs when the narratives, values and explanations of habitus no longer make sense, …, when agents use their understanding and feel for the rules of the game as a means of furthering and improving their own standing and capital within a cultural field. It must be stresses however, that such 'interests' are themselves produced by, and through, the habitus" (41).

In viewing the correlation between some citizens and their attitude towards authority, Morris (2007) examined the stop snitching phenomena from a collective perspective. Central to Morris' research is the "anti-snitching phenomenon situating this mentality as the result of community-based distrust of formal authority" (2007, 1). Examining high school students from two high schools and the structure of the institutions they attend, Morris, "Using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, the analysis demonstrates how anti-snitching is woven into the social fabric of these communities, prompting students' ambivalence toward school-sanctioned methods of conflict resolution" (*ibid,* 1). In a chapter entitled, "Stop Snitching and Habitus," he notes "the internal guiding principles of individuals - a mechanism through which people internalize structured experiences and subsequently develop strategies for future action which reproduce and modify objective social structures." Additionally, "Thus habitus, as the name implies, consists of habitual inclinations for action, internalized by individuals without overt deliberation" (*ibid,* 5).

Morris studied two high schools in the state of Ohio, one school being 91 percent African American with 76 percent of its students economically disadvantaged, and the second school 98 percent white with 54 percent economically disadvantaged. The study concentrated on student conflict resolution and the concept of approaching authority (high school administration such as the principal or disciplinarian) to resolve incidents where students were threatened with violence or bullying by other students. Morris pointed out when "applying the concept of habitus to anti-snitching, such an ethos might stem from distrust for external authority based on a collective or individual history of negative experiences" or "environments of disadvantaged communities necessitate

66

demonstrating toughness and handling situations without the aid of external authority"

(Morris 2007, 6). Morris elaborated further by stating,

> Anti-snitching, from this perspective, is not the frightening outgrowth of a subversive street code. Instead, it simply reflects a practical disposition against earnestly trusting and utilizing institutionalized authority (Morris, 2007, 6).

Morris posits that this observation ties into Bourdieu's prospective. Bourdieu states, "It

does not imply absolute, abstract opposition, but rather a situated logic of practice

deploying strategic resistance to particular enactments of authoritative power" (Bourdieu,

1990, 6). Expanding Bourdieu's habitus theory, Morris observes that the anti-snitching

phenomena often results from a "result of community-based distrust of formal authority."

Therefore, the Habitus Theory can be used as a way to examine the collective (in this

case individuals who witness crime) and their relationship between themselves and, then,

that collective relationship with law enforcement.

In contextual terms, between the witnesses' collective and the police is a power

dynamic that exists between people and an agency representing authority. Furthermore,

when the relationship is tested, such as when a member of the collective needs police

assistance, because of the consequences associated with seeking the help of the police,

they choose another path. This path may be viewed by someone outside the witnesses'

sphere of collective influence as far less brave and absent of justice; yet avoiding

cooperation with the police still makes sense to the witness so that he or she can preserve

his or her self-interest.

This portion of the study seeks to validate Morris' work and answer the research

question, "How can murder solvability rates increase in marginalized communities?"

instead of reinforcing the notion that it is not the frightening outgrowth of a subversive

street code (Morris, 2007). Thereby, this research introduces three assumptions based upon the Habitus literature. Data is deductively coded to evaluate these assumptions.

As explained by Morris (2007) when examining the theory of Habitus, a connection exists between conflict resolution and the distrust for formal authority. He asserts that approaching formal authority and reporting information to them can be difficult. This provides the context for the first assumption.

Habitus Theory Assumption # 1 states: Within the citizen/law enforcement relationship is a burden that exists which affects both entities creating collective negative opinions.

Habitus theorists are proponents of improved engagement between citizens and police. Delattre explains, "Community policing throughout the United States relies on the insight of Wilson and Kelling that the police role in maintaining order is to reinforce informal control mechanisms of the community itself" (2011, 360). However, past crime control concepts such as the Broken Windows Theory fostered an atmosphere conducive to negative interactions between police and the citizens they serve. This provides the context for the second assumption.

Habitus Theory Assumption # 2 states: Police lack of engagement with the public further hinders crime solvability.

Citizen cynicism comes from negative or non-existent interactions with police. According to Kirk and Papachristos (2011) "direct experiences with harassing police may influence an individual's cynicism, but this cynicism becomes cultural through social interaction" (1201). This provides the context for the third assumption.

Habitus Theory Assumption # 3 states: Nonexistent or negative interactions between citizens and law enforcement nurtures collective silence inhibiting witness cooperation.

Coding the data associated with this theory resulted in 742 coding events. These events are deductively sorted into three subthemes; with each subtheme being associated with one of the three theories based assumptions. See Table 4. Within the first subtheme, Burdensome, there were 414 coding events. In the second subtheme, Engagement there was 252 coding events, and in the third, Cynicism, 76 coding events were observed. These coding events revealed citizens' sentiments about their contact with the police and their desire for safer neighborhoods.

Table 4. Coding for Habitus

Theme 2: Collective Silence	742
Assumption 1: Subtheme Burdensome	414
Assumption 2: Subtheme Engagement	252
Assumption 3: Subtheme Cynicism	76
Percent of Total Coding Events	37.3%

Habitus Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 1 "Burdensome" states: Within the citizen/law enforcement relationship is a burden that exists, which affects both entities creating collective negative opinions. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Burdensome."**

Regarding the citizen/police relationship, the type of service the public receives from law enforcement and how law enforcement performs, their duties appear to be at odds. Through the lens of Habitus, together the public and police share a burden in their symbiotic relationship with one another. Encompassed within this burden appears to remain less than satisfying feelings on the part of the public regarding police job

performance in general and more so their claim that job performance is often hindered by forces beyond their control.

One aspect viewed by both the public and police is the burden of agreeing on how to measure law enforcement's rate of success in crime reduction. As the national conversation regarding public safety and crime prevention continues, the difference of opinion also continues. Many law enforcement organizations measure effective public safety by the number of arrests made, convictions secured, and the number of years a defendant receives at sentencing. Others think that success can be achieved by better crime prevention before crimes occur or when arrests are made and lighter sentences given to the suspects that committed certain crimes to reverse the dilemma of mass incarceration.

Also, within the responsibility of policing is the dilemma of having a well-staffed, well-trained department ready to tackle the burden of performing professional public safety services the community desires. A response like, "I am for more officers on the street but having more officers on the street and crime is still an all-time high" (Forum 1) reflects the desire for *competency*, not just additional staffing. Law enforcement's ability to address crime in a crime-fighting manner becomes evident when Respondent P states, "Police do not seem to have a great track record for solving crimes." Having confidence that law enforcement will perform their duties efficiently and with compassion and understanding is now paramount within the modern-day policing dynamic. The following respondent likened the following points to the need for more compassionate police service by stating,

> My daughter was robbed and they had to get to the district to make a report
> because she wasn't hurt. They didn't have to tell her like that. We need more but

don't minimize the fact that I need you. Whatever happens to me is me and I need you there (Forum 1).

This last response and other ones like it were common concerning the kind of treatment they experienced from the police when reporting a crime. Although the complete context of this observation is unclear, it could be due to a staffing issue that this respondent's daughter was obligated to go to the district police station to further this investigation; or it could be that the police officer involved was less then accommodating in meeting the victim at the scene of the crime. Nevertheless, this response serves as an example of the concern that exists regarding police services to the public in a time of need. Furthermore, the burden of unavailable elements required to solve crimes or enhance better public safety on either side of the citizen/police relationship equation becomes even more prominent when the police have too few officers to respond to crime and the public offers no witnesses to crimes when they occur. The use of cameras and other surveillance equipment has now become a surrogate in aiding public safety, serving as a substitute to a human witness, and alleviating some of the burdens to solving a crime.

The burden of relying solely on eyewitness identification is no longer required in some cases thanks to the availability of digital evidence such as cameras. For the police, issues of accountability, transparency, and in many cases assessing officer conduct and credibility have been possible through the use of body camera technology. The use of stationary cameras placed in neighborhoods has also assisted in dealing with police limitations. Publicly or privately-owned cameras set on private property, preferably near or at someone's home or business, have now served as a substitute for human surveillance, and unlike unwilling witnesses who won't "tell," cameras can provide testimony to a crime. Some respondents commented on camera technology to assist in

solving a crime, particularly in their neighborhoods. From a simple statement such as, "If

they had cameras when gun violence occurs, we could catch them" (Forum 2), to another

response revealing,

> I'm on a neighborhood watch in Algiers (neighborhood in New Orleans), there is
> widespread use of the app next door, there is an issue of privacy and safety, the
> upside is they're communication what's goings on so you're more of aware of it,
> more crime cameras have been installed in the area, the app, gives you an idea of
> what's going on in the neighborhood (Forum 2).

In this last response, the respondent refers to an Internet app available to homeowners

and renters, which allows them to communicate with other citizens regarding criminal

activity and suspicious occurrences.

The use of cameras in general by the city of New Orleans has increased over the

recent months. Police personnel coupled with citizen cooperation have designed a system

whereby neighborhoods can be continuously filmed in the hope of preventing crime.

Many of these cameras are affixed throughout the city to telephone and/or light poles.

Unfortunately, not every area receives such technology. Responses like the following

help explain some of the frustration homeowners and renters endure daily with crime and

the lack of technology.

> What I think we really need in my neighborhood is cameras – they promised us
> cameras – if we got those our crime would stop. After talking to a young man
> went inside and 20 minutes later chaos because someone started shooting up the
> block but if we had cameras they would stop. We can't really purchase them to
> get the cameras – the people that want to help the neighborhood are sickly so the
> drug dealers took over. Cameras would help (Forum 2).

Publicly and privately owned cameras and the use of Internet Applications are

relied upon more. Technology replacing the human aspect of police functions will not be

the answer to real police officers. Based on much of the data collected in this study,

communities still require some kind of professional human contact by law enforcement

personnel not only in times of need but also for maintaining the connectivity crucial for

fostering trust. With this in mind, however, the problem in the citizen/police relationship

manifests in other forms as well. Does the consent decree fit with this theme, why?

NOPD Consent Decree: A Sound Solution or an Unintentional Burden

During various parts of this data collection, some participants and respondents

alike commented on the consent decree imposed upon the New Orleans Police

Department in 2013. For many citizens, the order was welcomed as a sign of change with

the hopes that the police department would reform its methods and practices. Respondent

M, when speaking about the decree, stated that the department needed, "An honest,

transparent, and ruthless gutting of the existing force to fire and hold accountable the bad

apples, instead of just shuffling them around to different departments and letting them get

away with everything." Once again, responses like this speak to the frustration they

sustained either personally or through experiences they heard about from their family

members, friends, and/or neighbors. Other respondents thought the decree did not exactly

live up to the promise of change. "I find very little promising with the current state of

community policing in my community. There is no pro-active piece involved in the

Federal mandates" (Respondent I).

But not all citizens held quite the same view about the decree. These next two

responses provide some insight regarding the difference of opinion on the decree, from

someone who is disgusted with the process to another who still maintains hope stating,

> The people who use NOPD should be directly involved. I think this reform
> process's greatest mistake is that it never involved the true stakeholders - the
> citizens of this city, including those who are chronically arrested and released for
> minor crimes. Instead, we have put this process in the hands of outside "experts"
> who aren't invested, accountable or even that "expert". We need expertise in

73

NOPD, in this community and in institutional change. Our reformers' "expertise" is in consent decrees (Respondent C).

And this reply,

There are certain parts of the consent decree, the training of police officers they hired someone who was an educator to try and help write manuals, all the body cameras etc. is going well, but the relationship building is taking time, we started in 2013 and it's a 4 year project, this is 2017 with our current admin in DC it does not look like it will continue, a judge may decide to push it for another year, you can go to the consent decree website and monitor the developments, but I know that the training and hiring process is moving slow (Forum 2).

Though it was assumed the decree would be the answer to the unfair, practices and methods observed by some previously from the NOPD, not all agreed with the decree as being the solution. Reactions, like the following from a member of NOPD, expressed the decree as a burden and hampering police capabilities stating,

I think the consent decree tied the hands of police. Alt-left activists designed it and it is an absolute disaster for law enforcement. It sounds good in a press conference, it reads well that we're doing all these things, but the community is in absolute chaos (Respondent U).

This same officer also believed that new rules governing the officer's body camera were burdensome such as,

There's a system in place that says that, it's called self-reporting, where before your sergeant or some inspections agency, department rather, reviews a body camera, you admit to whatever did or said wrong on body camera and it's just too much. I think it needs to be certain situations (Respondent U).

Or, this respondent revealed that the decree poses an undue burden on other police obligations necessary to promote a better relationship with the public such as,

I am working with the police and the community with youth – the other side – these officers are drowning in training to meet the consent decree. It is really difficult. I don't think any of these options will work because you have to have trust. With trust you can meet what needs to be accomplished (Forum 2).

Revisiting the Habitus Theory, it appears that both citizens and police collectively contend with barriers to a better relationship. Elements such as the lack of engagement by

74

officers, or the cynicism or negativity held by some citizens against the police, to the burdensome issues that come with policing present challenges to the prospect of greater public safety.

Habitus Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 2 "Engagement" states: Police lack of engagement with the public further hinders crime solvability. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Engagement."**

In examining the citizen/law enforcement agency relationship as it pertains to the NIFI/New Orleans Questionnaire data collection, participants responded to one statement regarding the number of police officers in urban communities revealing that 52% of the participants were somewhat in favor that municipalities "should greatly increase the number of police officers on the street, EVEN IF this means some citizens will feel as though they are living in a police state." Interestingly, no one was strongly in favor of this concept (NIFI Safety/Justice Questionnaire, 2017). Additionally, the concept of community policing is important to the citizen/police relationship as revealed here, "I think that gets back to community policing means working with the community. Together – they are the kind of the policeman you want on your side. Should be the opposite of the police state" (Forum 2). Though some may feel think not feel more officers would provide the appearance of a "police state" the citizen/police connection plays more of a vital role in closing the gap regarding trust.

Visibility is a concern to many, especially to those who would like a police presence in their neighborhood and don't receive it. A response like this short simple one, "Not enough visibility of policing" (Respondent L) to another who states,

Yes, over the years I've seen a lack of seeing a car pass through, a patrol car pass through, even as far back as right after Katrina. I was in a trailer back then and I didn't see a police presence in this area (Respondent T).

Another respondent voiced that,

If there is a police presence in the Marigny (a neighborhood in New Orleans), no one sees it. Given the armed holdups over the past week, we are all on red alert and very frustrated with the police department and their lack of patrolling in our neighborhood (Respondent D).

Many respondents collectively noted officer visibility and the response time to a citizen who required police assistance as a contributing factor to the dilemma of engagement. Respondent H explains, "They also feel they do not see officers very often and response times are not good" (Respondent H). Response times connected to police services appear to be a major problem as explained in the following, "Police actually is the shortest so really it's a situation that even for a regular accident you have to wait four, five hours for a police to come out" (Respondent T). For a matter such as a minor traffic accident, and the inconvenience of waiting hours for an officer to complete an accident investigation places a strain on the citizen/officer relationship. Additionally, police officer's presenting themselves as unapproachable or disinterested in engaging with citizens during their work became a common theme. The following sentiment was common,

When they're patrolling, it's as if they drew the short straw. Never a slow cruise, with a wave, asking about the old folks in our community. They never get out of the patrol cars, unless they're gonna make an arrest. It's no community in police my community (Respondent G).

This reflects a feeling that some citizens believe the police possess contempt for their assigned area as exhibited in how they conduct their patrol duties. The notion of "they drew the short straw" implies that the patrol officer received a terrible assignment in an

undesirable neighborhood. This police behavior also leads citizens to believe that police

officers prefer to patrol more affluent neighborhoods. This sentiment obviously has an

impact on how visibility and police patrolling patterns have affected neighborhoods that

may require a greater presence. Other citizens provided observations such as, "The group

of guys who used to hang out on the corner that disgusted you that you hated your wife

had to drive home past, but you didn't want to call the police, the police used to come,

and not tolerated, they were going to come and deal with it. Now they don't" (Respondent

U).

> Respondent B provided the following revealing that lack of engagement and
> officer empathy hinders the development of trust in the citizen/officer
> relationship. Majority of officers aren't engaged with members of the community
> to truly understand the underlining issues that plague low income high crime
> neighborhoods. Officer are usually partial towards everyone which makes it
> difficult for the public to trust the police (Respondent B).

This fosters the perspective that police are doing something else rather than serving as the

role of the protector. This is evident in the following statement.

> What I've heard mostly is, in light of all of the bad things that come out, I think
> the image of police and what police do has been damaged. And I think police
> alone are no longer seen as the protectors, the servers of the people, they're seen
> more as occupiers (Respondent R).

The idea that the police are seen as "occupiers" is disturbing in our democracy.

Perceiving the police as occupiers within some neighborhoods was not uncommon. Other

respondents came forth with simple solutions, like Respondent G who stated, "Get out of

the car, wave, and introduce yourself" (Respondent G) or this respondent who stated,

> Officers getting out of the vehicle and getting to know the people they are
> serving, let the community learn about the officers. Instead the same routine of
> just see people on a crime scene" (Respondent J).

The simple concept of the officer stepping out of his or her vehicle and perhaps having a small conversation with a citizen appears to go along way. Furthermore, the notion that many citizens within the same neighborhood feel that the only time they get to know the police is when a tragedy occurs leaves room for pause. It seems that when officers would take the opportunity (time permitting) to make connections with citizens more positive outcomes could manifest. Some participants would reminisce about policing from the past. Respondent R again,

> A lot of times, if the windows are rolled up, especially in the middle of the summer, the windows are rolled up and back then, the windows were down, you knew what was going on, it might be 90 degrees outside but they had the windows down. And cruising, being able to drive by, kids would be playing out, they would wave at them, "Oh there's officer Johnson." And they knew. And they were just part of the community. I don't think there is that anymore. So, I think that would go a long way.

The idea of the police coming into a neighborhood for some other reason other than being called to the area appears to be the key issue here. Creating a connection with citizens on a positive note such as an interest in the welfare of the neighborhood appears to be common in the replies within this research. Knowing that law enforcement would perhaps visit "just because" as opposed to "calls for service" is summed up by Respondent Q, "Proactive policing opposed to reactive policing. Having police presence without being a service call or a complaint, just a general patrol. A greeting of hello, passing by to make sure that everybody's okay, opposed to stopping for us" (Respondent Q).

Other elements during interactions also threaten the community/police relationship, such as the attitudes of some officers when communication does occur. An officer's contrary position hampers their relationship with the community as this

78

participant explains; "The police also have to acknowledge that they commonly have bad

demeanors that negatively affect their contacts with the public" (Respondent M). This

negative contact with the public may extend into other areas of formal contact with

citizens, especially when individuals who have been victims of crime in the past, still

need to engage with police, such as this respondent,

> I'm a victim of violent crime myself, fears of waiting at the bus stop at night,
> seems like we're seeing it more, whether or not it's happening more, I see a lot of
> instances of injustice by police and but that doesn't imply that they are bad
> police" (Forum 1).

Like the fears mentioned in the last quote, other forms of anxiety manifest within the

minds of individuals when contemplating on interacting with law enforcement like, "The

fear of being apprehended wrongfully" (Respondent Q). The contention in Respondent

Qs last statement reflects the fear of wrongful apprehension by the police due to

incompetence or misunderstanding. This researcher acknowledges, however, that this

statement is not true for most persons taken into custody and arrested by police for

criminal violations. Some citizens have been wrongfully arrested based on

misidentification. If better forms of community policing become a more regular practice,

a greater trust of the police by the public will likely occur.

Another problem many citizens collectively contend with when faced with crime

reporting to the police as a witness is the aspect of distrust. Common were responses like,

> The most difficult challenge that we face as an agency is trust, it's the biggest
> piece. The folks don't view law enforcement as individuals they can trust,
> however we need law enforcement to offer support as a release of the crimes that
> happen within the community but it creates a barrier where the community is
> reluctant to work with the police (Respondent Q).

A similar sentiment was provided from a forum participant stating,

> If you have the trust, you can implement these things, but the people in the
> community that I work with, don't trust the community/district police, so they
> won't call when there is problem because they don't trust the police/authorities
> (Forum 2).

In this discourse with participants, the concept of connecting with and getting to

know the officers that patrol their communities is important to them. Though a complete

model of what community policing has yet to be defined, it is clear that many citizens are

in favor of it and do want to get to know those who are tasked with the job of protecting

them. Responses like the following were noted, "I know our force is stretched thin, but

still it would be good to actually know the officers assigned to our neighborhood"

(Respondent F). The following statement reinforces this position,

> I'm a fan of neighborhood policing, to where you get to know the officers in the
> area. I know there's a term for it that the departments use and I can't think of it
> right off hand. I'm not necessarily saying on foot, but growing up- and I grew up
> in another city- we knew the people, the policemen that worked the area
> (Respondent S).

A common thread in responses like the one above contains this feeling of "old

time policing" nostalgia, often remembered by older generations residing in urban

settings. Again, Respondent R speaking about relatives who were police officers years

ago and the difference in policing now compared to the past,

> When my grandfather was with New Orleans, I remember, and my uncles, but
> there was foot beat, walking patrol. He walked [inaudible 00:05:19] and he knew
> the people that he worked with, he knew that he interacted with, almost on a
> personal level. And he pretty much knew if something happened there were
> certain people that he could go to. He knew who he could go to get information he
> needed and he trusted them and I think that's a big thing. Getting back to walking,
> knocking on doors, introducing themselves, and getting to be a part of the
> community would go a long way, rather than just seeing a police car pass by
> (Respondent R).

Further, perception concerning the officer's discretion by the public seemed different in previous styles of policing as explained here by a police officer.

> I think policing has changed to the point that the old-school method of developing sources in a neighborhood, developing relationships with people, you really can't do that anymore because back then if there was a minor offense there might be some sort of slack cut to that person because they give information or they're cooperative or something like that, but now anybody who commits a violation has to be arrested (Respondent U).

Other data may not contain as much information. However, phrases like the "old days" or the "way things used to be" were common in responses, like this one, "There's not enough. That's one thing. And that there's not a community interaction between the police and the citizens the way there used to be" (Respondent R).

Additionally, some respondents also hold the belief that police officers tasked with patrol duties should be selected from areas where they are from and currently reside. Although this concept may be difficult and unpractical, the concept is still mentioned to aid in the trust factor in the citizen/police relationship, like the following,

> In terms of what it means when I hear community police, I think in term of police being drawn from communities that they live in but I think if people saw police outside of their uniform in public there might be more trust for police officers (Forum 1).

A forum participant elaborates on this by revealing, "The community policing effort and there is a significant reluctance for the citizens of New Orleans to report of crime for a variety of reasons. They don't want repercussions from people that they report or to be with police officers. Community policing can lead to more trust" (Forum 1).

Lack of police engagement presents only one facet of the collective silence quandary. Unfortunately, there are other forms of police negativity some citizens contend with on a regular basis, which also enters into the data.

Habitus Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 3 "Cynicism" states: Nonexistent or

negative interactions between citizens and law enforcement nurtures collective silence

inhibiting witness cooperation. These assumptions are coded as subtheme **"Cynicism."**

Up to this point in the Habitus portion of the data analysis, we have examined

both non-engagement and negative engagement encounters between the community and

law enforcement during the performance of police duties.

"Legal cynicism is a cultural frame in which the law and the agents of its

enforcement are viewed as illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill-equipped to ensure public

safety" (Kirk and Papachristos, 2011). The researcher encountered responses from

participants that went beyond mere negative observations or complaints about their law

enforcement services. These responses included the belief that it was better to avoid law

enforcement altogether, even in times of need due to distrust or contempt for them.

Echoing on Kirk and Papachristos' perception as the police being "illegitimate,

unresponsive, and ill," can help explain the collective desire to remain silent and to not

engage with authorities. For example,

> We argue that the controlling influence of the law carries little weight when
> people view the law and its agents negatively. Thus, more crime will occur in
> neighborhoods characterized by legal cynicism. Yet when residents perceive that
> the police are unresponsive and that calling the police will do little or nothing to
> resolve the crime problem endemic to their neighborhood, proportionally more
> crimes will go unreported and unsanctioned than in neighborhoods where law and
> the police are viewed more favorably (Kirk and Matsuda, 2011).

Some scholars note that individuals may hold cynical views of the law and law

enforcement, as they are also law violators themselves. Although it is acknowledged that

some violators will hold these negative feelings towards the police, no evidence exists

indicating that research participants in this study had prior legal encounters with law enforcement before this study.

However, data suggest that one key issue resulting in public cynicism is the police practice of stop and frisk. Reflected within the NIFI/New Orleans Safety and Justice questionnaire, 38% were strongly in favor of, "Police departments should end the use of 'stop and frisk' practices, EVEN IF this greatly reduces the ability of law enforcement to prevent crimes before they happen." The questionnaire also reflected that 48% of the remaining participants were split between somewhat in favor of and somewhat opposed to ending this practice, (NIFI Safety/Justice Questionnaire, 2017). Other data supporting the existence of apprehension and fear on the part of some citizens within the collective silence was evidenced in remarks such as, "Widespread abuse of power" (Respondent E), "Even if not all police are the bad guys, it's not worth your risk in finding out who's who" (Respondent E), and another opinion by the same respondent stating, "Just avoid all interaction to be safe" (Respondent E). Perception also plays a role in this view of cynicism as fear of the police by citizens continues to be an issue, "The police see the people in my community, as they or them. My neighbors are afraid of the police" (Subject G).

From the officer's point of view, the prospect of police cynicism often hinders a police investigation as this homicide detective explains during a murder investigation.

> You have family members you sometimes approach, 'I'm detective so and so. Can you tell...' and they'll ignore you or walk away. It's just an extreme level of ho- ... I wouldn't call it hostility but just disdain, dislike of the police so they just don't want to deal with you. It's not like it really should be (Respondent U).

His take on this cynicism, justified by some citizens or not, as he goes about his duties as a criminal investigator adds burden to this work. He, like many others in law

enforcement, encounters the same resistance in urban communities to solve violent

crimes. This contempt for the police appears to manifest in other forms, perhaps not as

pronounced, but still present in other aspects of a law enforcement officer's life,

Respondent U explains,

> There's people in my family who would read a tweet about something the police
> did after Ferguson set all this in motion. As a policeman and an investigator, there
> are so many levels and different sides to everything but to the random citizen it's
> about that caption that reinforces what they already believe or they want to
> believe or their friends believe. I think the police have been vilified. It's not
> justified. Policing is an ugly, dirty, mean business. You have to be tough. You
> can't be passive (Respondent U).

The vilification word choice of law enforcement is nothing new. However, as argued by

Respondent U, intensity in this sentiment has increased since the killing of Michael

Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014. This incident coined the phrase in policing known

as "The Ferguson Effect" attributed to the St. Louis Police Chief's explanation to higher

crime rates and some forms of civil disobedience, "I see it not only on the law

enforcement side but the criminal element is feeling empowered by the environment"

(Byers, 2014, p. 2). It is important to point out here that this researcher is not in a position

to examine the validity of "The Ferguson Effect" or its relevance to this discussion other

than to state that the Ferguson shooting raised several questions concerning police use of

force. Members of the public may still view the shooting of a person by police as

unjustified, even when legally it has been justified by the criminal justice system. This

respondent best expresses the negativity towards the police by some,

> about eight years ago when I saw something. A young man was killed in front of
> the church but he had an AK-47 in his arm. Of course, the folks were saying that
> he was unarmed but that was the only negative thing. They were saying the police
> just shot him in cold blood but that was far from the truth (Respondent T).

It's important to note that collective silence can manifest in different forms such as the following statement where one family member would discourage another from coming forward based upon the respondents' fear of the collective's response if she were to do so. Thus, the collective continues.

> I think those fears are real. There was a situation recently where there was a shooting. My kid bought a home two years ago. There was a shooting around the corner from her house. I think if she would have seen something, I don't know if I was comfortable with her coming forward because of the possibility of her being exposed and having to deal with (Respondent U).

Respondent U presents a unique perspective as both a father and police officer of just how problematic the apprehension of victim/witness cooperation can become in criminal investigations. From his perspective, he doubts in the very system he works in and from which he earns a living. This researcher's own experience as a homicide investigator with several years of experience in this field found the above statement made by Respondent U disheartening, yet a reality.

Beyond the cynicism, inadequate police services, high crime rates, and the sometime ill-mannered behavior of officers, there remains another issue -- the community's inability to engage with its own department. Within this data collection, this researcher found some citizens who thought that part of the problem was that members of the public also needed to "step up" and engage with police to improve the citizen/police relationship. Statements such as the following were noted,

> Community members seem to think police officers are the cause of many problems rather than accepting the blame for their own failures. Police will inevitably make mistakes, and they should not be punished to the point that they are afraid to do their jobs (Respondent M).

Law enforcement becoming fearful of performing their duties can result negatively in their effort to curtail crime. Furthermore, pointing out that citizens should

engage more in this discourse might not be as simple as some might think. Other

respondents provided a positive, more hopeful pathway to better citizen/police relations

stating that "Everyone who is willing to participate in a non-confrontational manner and

add value to the discussion" (Respondent B) could help with this problem. While others

have what they believe to be a more realistic perspective indicating, "Some officers and

the negative of the community will never agree and adapt, to each side needs the support

of both parties" (Respondent J). As far as who should be involved in this process, some

respondents echoed what Respondent Q declared, "I think it should be comprehensive, it

should be the community, the clergy, our political figures, law enforcement, and

educators" (Respondent Q). Even from Respondent U, a police officer, who also believes

that citizen engaging and initiating the first move may not be a bad idea. He states,

> I think to stop and interact, I think a citizen at this stage of it, I think a citizen would have to initiate that because most people are uncomfortable when you stop and talk to them because, 'Why are the damn police at my house? Why is that police car in front of my house (Respondent U)?

Respondent U reminds us of just how difficult policing can be in some neighborhoods

when some of the public does not welcome officers.

In summary, perhaps a distinction exists between the concept of community

policing and the citizen/police relationship. A sound relationship built on trust that holds

the connection between the citizenry and the agency of law enforcement should be just as

evident as the practice of community policing itself. Community policing may assist in

the process as this participant explains, "Community policing helps officers engage with

the community and foster long-term relationships" (Respondent B). Along the same lines

it was noted,

I think specifically talking about community policing people have different ideas about community policing, i.e. neighborhood watch programs vs. police officers who know a particular area of square blocks, the differences are about relationship building and not just simply getting the community involved in community policing (Forum 2).

The nonexistent or negative interactions between citizens and law enforcement can foster a divide between law enforcement and neighborhood residents creating an outcome that is beneficial to neither side. Though it appears that most on both sides would like a better relationship with both entities putting forth the effort to cooperate with each other, another facet of this dynamic must be acknowledged, which is the limitations placed on law enforcement often through no fault of the individual officer.

Thereby, the Collective Silence theme supports many of the tenets contained within the Habitus theory as it explains some of the dynamics with respect to the limitations in lack of witness availability and police interaction. It encompasses and addresses to a large degree the limitations of the individual as a witness and the dilemma of informing to authorities. Within Assumption #1 the majority of data (414 data points) were coded as Burdensome. In Assumption #2 the second largest amount of data (252 data points) were coded into subtheme Engagement. Assumption #3 resulted in the least amount of supporting data (76 data points) coded for the subtheme Cynicism. A more in-depth examination of officer behavior and the connection to the community is discussed in the following chapter "Policing Silence."

Moving away from individual isolation as the cause of silence and/or the collective pressure to remain silent, the next chapter, "Dramaturgy: Policing Silence" focuses more on the *interaction* between police and citizens as the cause for why there is

a lack of witness cooperation. Unlike "Stop Snitching" and "Collective Silence" which primarily focus on why interactions do not occur, "Policing Silence" tries to understand if it is the interaction itself that limits witness cooperation.

Chapter 6: Dramaturgy and "Policing Silence"

This chapter addresses more directly the actions of the police and their correlation with citizens in the community. The officer's tactics and behavior will be examined through the lens of community perception using Dramaturgy Theory. In Goffman's perspective on Frame Analysis, an approach utilized in communication studies, he addresses two aspects, "the concept of performance and the difference between staged and un-staged activity" (Smith 2006, 60). Goffman posits that the theater could be a representation of real-life interactions in that different forms of human contact could be viewed as a theatrical performance, noting the difference between the front stage and back stage behavior of oneself. Within the Dramaturgical Theory, humans act differently when alone compared to when they are in the presence of others. According to Marshall, people can become "Social Con Artists," manipulating their performance as they interact with others to improve their social standing. Like actors on a stage, individuals create a "crafted representation" of themselves, while in front of others (front stage), and while alone (back stage) practice a concept known as 'impression management' to maintain their performance (Marshall, 2013).

Manning, who has conducted considerable examinations on policing, utilized Goffman's dramaturgy in his research on law enforcement. In his 2001 publication entitled Theorizing policing: The drama and the myth of crime control in the NYPD, Manning begins with the "theory" of Wilson and Kelling's "Broken Windows," relegating it to nothing more than, "merely a programmatic statement that has been used to buttress a range of activities by police, from sweeping the homeless away, to arresting people for drinking beer on their front steps" (Manning 2001, 316). He posits that, "Much

police research focuses on citizen-patrol interactions and crime control features of policing, to the exclusion of political and organizational concepts such as compliance, leadership, legitimization, and the socio-political rhetoric and imagery police employ" (*ibid,* 316). It is from this imagery the dramaturgical theory can be examined. Manning states, "Dramaturgy best explains social action when analyzing behavior arising under conditions of uncertainty." Because the police are required to act, and often to act quickly, yet cannot fully foresee their actions' consequences, tensions—or unresolved contradictions between actions and the formal public mandate—remain" (*ibid,* 317). He further contends that, "police, like other occupations, manage uncertainties by manipulating symbols and rhetoric representing their actions as coherent, rational, and coordinated" (*ibid,* 318). Manning states that,

> Visible street policing, the stops, shootings, confrontations, searches, arrests, and chases are exciting, engaging, dangerous, and morally problematic. Police work is fraught with uncertainties, and the police can only partially control events and must be seen as responsive to risk-producing circumstances (*ibid,* 318).

Further, he states:

> The police do not perform in the context of shared emotional responses, although they may elicit feelings of awe, respect, deference, or even mystery. A substitute for emotional identification and ritual solidarity as a source of compliance is authoritative administered violence. The police oscillate between acting as a rational legal arm of the state, legitimate by state authority, and a charismatic, mysterious, personalistic quasi-bureaucratic from (Manning 1977, 1996, 273).

Thereby, this research introduces three assumptions based upon the Dramaturgy literature to answer the following research question, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" Data is deductively coded to evaluate these assumptions. First, in some neighborhoods, law enforcement has been branded as "occupiers" and citizens deem them as unapproachable largely due to officers appearing

more like members of the military than the police. Fisher suggests that the current state of law enforcement, "turns public servants into combat warriors and, in a free nation, is inappropriately oppressive" (2010, 73). This provides the context for the first assumption.

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption # 1 states: The police presence impacts the relationship between the community and law enforcement officers in neighborhoods.

Technology, such as Body Worn Cameras (BWC), "not only create concerns about the public's privacy rights but also can affect how officers relate to people in the community, the community's perception of the police, and expectations about how police agencies should share information with the public" (Miller & Toliver, 2014, 32). Police practices such as "Order Maintenance" and "Stop and Frisk," designed to assist and protect officers also put these same officers in a tenuous situation where though they are permitted a great deal of discretion, they are also under a great deal of political pressure and public scrutiny about how they employ their authority (Kelling and Coles, 1996 and Oberholtzer, 2012). This provides the context for the second assumption.

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption # 2 states: The duties law enforcement perform have various effects on individual officers.

According to Manning, "Dramaturgy best explains social action when analyzing behavior arising under conditions of uncertainty… Because the police are required to act, and often to act quickly, yet cannot fully foresee their actions' consequences, tensions— or unsolved contradictions between actions and the formal public mandate—remain" (2001, 316). This provides the context for the third assumption.

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption # 3 states: Practices and methods regarding police power influences public support for law enforcement.

Coding the data associated with this theory resulted in 515 coding events. These events are deductively sorted into three subthemes, with each subtheme being associated with one of the three theories based assumptions. See Table 5.   The subthemes are identified as Presence, Affect, and Power. The first subtheme, Presence has 178 coding events. For the second subtheme, Affects 170 coding events were recorded and in the third subtheme Power, 167 coding events were identified. These coding events revealed citizens' sentiments about their contact with the police, as they desire safer neighborhoods.

Table 5. Coding Events for Dramaturgy

Theme 3: Policing Silence	515
Assumption 1: Subtheme Presence	178
Assumption 2: Subtheme Affects	170
Assumption 3: Subtheme Power	167
Percent of Total Coding Events	25.9%

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 1 "Presence" states: The police presence impacts the relationship between the community and law enforcement officers in neighborhoods. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Presence."**

Particularly in socially disorganized communities, it is safe to assume that the methods and practices of policing mean different things to different people. For some, police presence poses very little cause for concern, such as when we see a law enforcement vehicle racing through our neighborhood with its emergency lights and loud siren whaling. In neighborhoods enduring less crime, the occurrence may have significance to its residents that an event out of the ordinary has occurred. However,

community members living in neighborhoods plagued with higher crime rates, such an occurrence can affect them differently. Within areas where citizen/police interaction is more frequent, the experience for residents can be more stressful. For people engaged in criminal activity, their anxiety should be elevated out of fear of being rightfully apprehended for wrongdoing. This observation should be acceptable no matter what neighborhood one is referring too. Both poverty-stricken and very affluent communities should benefit from the positive influences a police presence provides in thwarting law breakers willing to commit crime near their homes and businesses. Police presence in this respect serves as a sound method for crime prevention and enhances public safety. On the other hand, police presence viewed by law-abiding citizens in less prosperous localities is often stressful and met with fear and apprehension. To understand these phenomena, the practice of policing and how the communities in which they work interpret their presence.

Police uniforms are usually consistent and symbolic with patches, badges, a weapon and other accessories useful in enforcing the law. Some citizens admire a person in authority and wearing a uniform. Nevertheless, for some citizens in marginalized communities, the uniform projects a different image, one that is not worthy of their trust. In such situations, it is the uniform and not the person wearing it that creates unease. For example, "I think if people saw police outside of their uniform in public there might be more trust for police officers" (Forum 2). Furthermore, when the law enforcement officers wearing the uniform do not look like those who reside in the area within which they work, it exacerbates the feeling of apprehension. Community members make observations concerning both male and female police officers that they do not look like

93

them or come from their neighborhoods. Statements such as, "The police department does not work enough to recruit young men/women from my community" (Respondent G) is one case in point.

The data collected includes several citizens of New Orleans concerned about the welfare of their officers. In the NIFI data 81% combined strongly agree and somewhat agree with the statement, "We are expecting entirely too much of our police in asking them to deal with the rising incidences of irrational violence caused by mentally ill or drug-addicted persons who need medical intervention." Another finding in the survey was that 62% of the responses combined both strongly agree and somewhat agree with the following, "When faced with life-threating danger to themselves and civilians, we can't ask police officers to take even more risks to their safety." (NIFI Safety/Justice Questionnaire, 2017). It should be noted that some of this data would contradict itself in the subtheme of power and incidents of police use of force.

Additional positive responses about the police were recovered like, "More community events where police officers and citizens have open dialogue and share ideas to help improve the community" (Respondent B). This optimistic perspective provides some hope that the citizen/police relationship can be enhanced. The notion that the police actively preforming vigilant patrols may produce positive outcomes is encouraging. Having the confidence in the police to not only be ready and available but also, know that the police are also skilled at solving crimes is equally important. For example, Respondent A revealed, "Police engagement. Definitely, you can't approach public safety without law enforcement involvement so the community and law enforcement need to work on ways that they can collaborate together" (Respondent A). Furthermore,

Respondent A states "policing in the community serves as a positive presence. It helps to build up a rapport with the community and also build relationships who can aid in investigative processes and build trust with the community and offer support" (Respondent A). Even a member of the police department appreciates that within "the community here in New Orleans despite all the things that go on, a lot of people really support and like the police" (Respondent U). The above response reflects a confident outlook on the present and also the future of the relationship between the police and the community, fostering trust, and creating an environment conducive for the public to participate in crimes when they occur.

Unfortunately, not all of the data were positive. The actions of the police during the performance of their duties creates drama. Out of this drama, even when preformed with the best of intentions, often unintended and misunderstood consequences result creating a further divide in the citizen/police relationship.

People in neighborhoods with negative experiences often speak adversely about police visibility, answering calls for service and conducting criminal investigative work. Even from a police officer's perspective when investigating a tragedy such as a death, the public's stress level is often high when the police are present. Respondent U states, "I'm approaching you trying to actually help but you don't have faith in the system, you don't have faith in the police, so we're just here stopping you from seeing your loved one before they go to the funeral home" (Respondent U). Here, the respondent was referring to the grim practice of removing a deceased loved-one from a location during an investigation and transporting them to the morgue, thus preventing family members from seeing the victim prior to the funeral. This practice is often done in order to preserve

evidence and maintain the integrity of the investigation. With respect to homicide investigations, "It's never positive. I have yet to be on a murder scene where the community is being kind to us or respectful to us. They're always disrespectful. Nobody wants to be involved. The family comes, they want to go into the tape, (crime scene tape) they can't, and there's all sorts of disturbances and back and forth about why they can't do it" (Respondent U).

Notwithstanding violent crimes such as murder, negative responses to police presence (or lack of these) also existed. The reply, "the lack of pro-activeness by the police," (Respondent I) is held by people who want more aggressive tactics from law enforcement to address criminal activity in their neighborhoods. Of course, in terms of police presence, some citizens also hold the opposite belief like commenting on police presence as more like a member of the armed services referring to law enforcement as a, "over militarization of force" (Respondent O). Though the perception of law enforcement appearing to be more like the military was addressed in another chapter, here it is important to note the mere presence of police may remind some of an occupying force.

As we continue to examine this back and forth discourse of response over the methods and practices of policing, a question arises regarding the understanding of the police and how and why they conduct themselves in the way they do. At the heart of this discourse is the agreement about which tactics to apply. From a law enforcement perspective, "People disagree with police tactics and actions. This is because they don't understand why police do what they do" (Respondent M). The drama that accompanies the police in some neighborhoods obviously adversely affects duties they perform. Police presence appears to be only one aspect of citizen discontent. Additionally, other forms of

the dramaturgy theory will affect the citizen/police relationship, thus hampering the larger problem of public participation in solving crime.

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 2 "Affects" states: The duties law enforcement performs have various effects on individual officers. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Affects."**

Though police officers are specially trained public servants sworn to serve and protect, often they serve under the command of politicians or political appointees. These outside influences often mandate that they perform their duties differently from their original training. Granted, the nature of policing continuously evolves and procedures and standard operating procedures need to be updated in accordance with the laws. Recognizing that policing is a professional vocation requiring specialized knowledge, training, and experience, people outside the realm of police leadership offering their expertise on how such a job should be performed may not always be the best course of action. Data obtained indicate that some citizens would rather less outside involvement in the day-to-day operations of their police department, "There is too much involvement by the political leaders and not true law enforcement making the decisions" (Respondent H). In terms of the citizen/police relationship, and public perception regarding the police and their well-being 90% of NIFI participants strongly agree with the concept that, "We urgently need to increase understanding and mutual respect between police and people of color. Additionally, 85% of the participants combined both strongly agree and somewhat agree with the concept that, "We need to tackle the growing disrespect for law enforcement in this country, especially among young people, and give the police the support and help they need and deserve." Responses to questions like these provide some

unique insight about how residents feel about policing and their understanding of the crisis between law enforcement and the communities they serve. Elements of the mandated consent decree were designed to foster a better connection with the citizen/police relationship and future monitoring of this relationship must continue.

The federally mandated consent decree requires all officers on patrol duties to use Body Worn Cameras (BWC) while on duty. The officers consider the BWC mandate has resulted in officers modifying their behavior. Data highlights this challenge for the police. For example, a statement about when officers are stopping and questioning/investigating a subject that may be involved in criminal activity, "You would let them know immediately that they need to stop or else. Under the consent decree, you're approaching in a passive posture. You're approaching as Officer Friendly despite the absolute chaos and insanity that's going on in front of you" (Respondent U).

As police work has become more advanced, especially through the use of technology, such as BWC, a change has occurred within the police officer's work environment particularly when it comes to officer behavior. As an officer required wearing of a camera and recording his or her interactions with the public obviously brings about some interesting views. To an officer, like the following one who states,

> As a policeman, when you get there with [inaudible 00:50:03] murderer, robber, gang banger, dope fiend, and call ... To me, once you approach him and call him 'sir', that's a wrap. He's going to try you now because now you're the new police. You're the passive police. He understands something else (Responded U).

Here the respondent is explaining that because of the required BWC, modification is needed during an encounter with citizens as the officer's verbal behavior and actions are now more heavily monitored and subject to future review by the department, the judicial system and in some cases the public. One example is this one where,

There's a system in place that says that, it's called self-reporting, where before your sergeant or some inspections agency, department rather, reviews a body camera, you admit to whatever did or said wrong on body camera and it's just too much. I think it needs to be certain situations (Responded U).

The "self-reporting" rule requires that an officer must report a personal conduct infraction (usually offensive language) he or she used that was recorded and considered unprofessional by agency standards. This requirement is in place whether a civilian is present or not while the officer's camera was activated. This is an understanding that the discipline for the officer who self-reports may be lighter than if a ranking officer catches the infraction during a review of the video camera footage. Even in terms of "trust," BWC technology can negatively affect the citizen/police relationship stating, "I think that person would be crucial because the patrolman, he is a machine now and he can't deal with the community on the level you have to really gain their trust" (Respondent U). The notion that an officer required to wear a BWC must modify his or her behavior and perhaps become more "mechanical" challenges the assumption that BWC technology can enhance the community/police relationship. This is not to say that most police officers are against BWC while on the job. However, mandating a camera be activated constantly throughout the officer's shift draws concerns for issues like privacy. "Where there's potential use of force, especially lethal force, yes, but day-to-day activity just to watch what you do, I don't agree with that at all. I think it makes the job absolutely miserable" (Respondent U).

With respect to officer performance and the decree's requirements, one respondent indicated, "Officers are afraid to go above and beyond because of fear of retribution by their superiors" (Respondent H). Another participant who works with police oversight as a police monitor revealed that, "NOPD is unkind to its officers." In

99

saying that she believes that "Professionally, my greatest challenge is that NOPD entered this reform process without ever acknowledging its shortcomings and accepting that its reputation was earned" (Respondent C). The effects police officers endure during the course of the duties when serving the public also impacts the authority they have, as we will see in the next section.

Dramaturgy Theory Assumption: Subtheme # 3 "Power" states: Practices and methods regarding police power influences public support for law enforcement. This assumption is coded as subtheme **"Power."**

No doubt, a police officers' duties and responsibilities merit them great power over the citizens they are sworn to protect. Police have the power to detain individuals for questioning, conduct legal searches of homes, vehicles and persons, and if probable cause exists, incarcerate people for violating the law. Furthermore, police officers also have the authority to carry weapons and use force to apprehend criminals, and employ justifiable deadly force to kill someone either presenting harm to them or to others.

The exercise of police authority, particularly when use of force occurs, is usually met with some form of public scrutiny. Often the force may be legally justified; however, when it is not or when the perception of what happened appears to have a sense of unfairness or excessiveness, the officer who deployed the force will be second-guessed, disciplined, or charged with a crime. The practice of de-escalating aggression, while preferred, presents challenges. Data such as, "Certainly the tradeoffs - as we don't want to put police officers at risk. I realize that what keeps them safe is de-escalation. Women are more likely to use de-escalation tactics because they are smaller and are more likely

to use it and their wit" (Forum 2). This interesting response draws on the assumption that de-escalation practices, when permitted, may not be used equivalently between genders.

Beyond gender, another critical consideration with the subtheme of power is race. Many citizen/police encounters in marginalized communities occur between white officers and African Americans, "Race remains an issue, more so with the African American community. It was clearly obvious African Americans did not wish to speak with Caucasian officers" (Respondent I).

The NIFI New Orleans data, 67 % of forum respondents agree with the concept that, "We need to face up to the fact that too many police officers routinely make snap judgments about citizens based on race and ethnicity, rather than on probable cause" (NIFI Safety/Justice Questionnaire, 2017-Q1F). See Table 6.

Table 6. Q1F Local Response

QF1:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	9	43.0%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%
Somewhat Disagree	6	28.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
Not Sure	1	4.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	99.0%

In matters of use of force, many respondents were less sympathetic to law enforcement. Eighty-one percent of the participants combined strongly agree and somewhat agree with the statement, "The number of unarmed people of color who have lost their lives in encounters with the police shows there is something fundamentally wrong with the

culture, training, and recruitment in too many of this nation's police departments." (NIFI

Safety/Justice Questionnaire, 2017-Q1A). See Table 7.

Table 7. Q1A Local Response

Q1A:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	12	57.0%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%
Somewhat Disagree	4	19.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
Not Sure	0	0.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	100.0%

Finally, 90% of the respondents combined strongly favor and somewhat favor that, "All

police officers should be trained to use de-escalation techniques before resorting to force

in dealing with potentially violent offenders, EVEN IF that raises the chances that

officers will be harmed or even killed" (See Table 8).

Table 8. Q2D Local Response

Q2D:

	N	%
Strongly Favor	12	57.0%
Somewhat Favor	7	33.0%
Somewhat Oppose	1	4.0%
Strongly Oppose	0	0.0%
Not Sure	1	4.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	98.0%

The percentages of these last three statements challenge the earlier statement

participants responded to which was, "When faced with life-threatening danger to

themselves and civilians, we can't ask police officers to take even more risks with their

own safety" (See Table 9).

Table 9. Q1D Local Response

Q1D:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	8	38.0%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%
Somewhat Disagree	4	19.0%
Strongly Disagree	1	4.0%
Not Sure	3	14.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	99.0%

Within the subtheme of Power, much of the responses were not favorable relative to how law enforcement engages with the community as they perform public safety tasks. A response like, "They are still disrespectful and, ultimately, exert a level of authority and deference that most people haven't agreed to invest in them" (Respondent C). Another stated, "The police also have to acknowledge that they commonly have bad demeanors that negatively affect their contacts with the public" (Respondent M). Police departments and sheriff's offices are called on a daily basis by members of the public to help solve problems, investigate crimes and to provide advice. Not every request is an issue the police are equipped to address, but a common complaint from a citizen may be the officer was not sympathetic enough in assisting. Or similar, a response like, "Police often make victims feel like their burdensome and don't take the initiative to solve issues" (Respondent B).

Police intervention in the form of apprehension and arrest often comes into focus, especially in our media. Law enforcement is currently under more scrutinization by independent monitors regarding practices to stop and apprehend individuals than ever before. Observations on excessive use of force are noted by response, "I recently saw 5 different officers on top of while detaining one man, who was bleeding and lying face-

first on the pavement, with what I considered to be excessive force" (Respondent K).

Other examples point to more passive simpler statements such as, "De-escalation is always the best" (NIFI Forum A). Or in terms of conflict resolution, another statement offered was, "Addressing conflict through other means than police - building conflict resolution skills" (Respondent C). Others will blame the police for not dealing with potentially violent encounters with civilians in more direct responses like, "lack of training among police to facilitate non-violent conflict resolution among residents, lack of time spent building relationships" (Respondent O). Furthermore, in terms of officer discretion, Respondent C explains,

> Poorly trained, undereducated, unprofessional (by that, I mean to formal definition of a   profession: basis in a systematic theory, specialized competencies, dedication to raise the standards of the profession's education and practice; lifelong continuing education; a community of professionals with whom they regularly interact) individuals serve as police and they are poorly prepared to the huge amount of discretion their job gives them (Respondent C).

The ratio of discretion provided to police officers in contrast to their level of training and education is central to understanding the challenges surrounding police use and misuse of power. Other factors such as officer safety and readily available firearms create an elevated state of vigilance. For example, this participant response, "It is hard to police when there are firearms in the general population" (Respondent P). Respondent R stated, "There's a way certain way that police have to act in order to protect themselves and to protect the people." This "act" requires the officer to take precautions and utilize tactics, especially when taking someone into custody that may appear unappealing or perhaps too forceful to a community member. "To watch a policeman do a physical arrest is a really hard thing to do for a civilian because it's not TV. There's an element of reality to it and I

think people seeing it, no matter how correct you are procedurally or just doing your job, they just can't handle it" (Respondent U).

Policing and the influences that accompany it also impacts police officers themselves in terms of the nature of the work and the public's perception of them. It is often difficult to distinguish between perception and reality when observing the actions of police during the performance of their duties. To discern between sound lawful police duties, based on sound reasonable suspicion and/or probable cause or police harassment isn't always clear.

Thereby, the Policing Silence theme supports many of the tenets contained within the Dramaturgy theory as it explains some of the dynamics with respect to the limitations in lack of witness availability and police interaction. It encompasses and addresses to a large degree the limitations of the individual as a witness and the dilemma of informing to authorities. Assumption #1 the majority of data (178 date points) were coded as subtheme Presence. Assumption # 2 the second largest amount of data (170 data points) were coded for subtheme Affects. Assumption #3 resulted in the least amount of supporting data (167 data points) and is coded for subtheme Power.

In summation, the examples outlined in the chapter exhibit some of the more pronounced responses that were on the minds of participants when prompted to commenting on this subject matter. At this point, the examination of three different challenges along with accompanying theories were used to explain why homicide solvability remains difficult in the US.

After covering the data on silence from the individual, to the collective, to the citizen/police interaction, as explanations for why witnesses chose to not come forward

105

even if that means violent offenders may go free, this research re-visits the idea that

"place" matters where crime occurs. The following chapter explores how NIFI New

Orleans respondents compare to NIFI respondents nationally and what these results mean

for Social Disorganization theory.

Chapter 7: Social Disorganization Theory Reconsidered

This chapter further explores the NIFI questionnaire data comparing the New Orleans data to data obtained from forums throughout the U.S. This comparison re-visits the Social Disorganization Theory by using New Orleans as a case study. Observations are provided not only as a researcher, but also drawing from several years of experience as a law enforcement officer who is professionally familiar with the disconnect between the citizen/police.

New Orleans and Social Disorganization

"Social scientists have rightly devoted considerable attention to concentrated poverty because it magnifies the problem associated with poverty in general: joblessness, crime, delinquency, drug trafficking, broken families, and dysfunctional schools" (Wilson 2009, 7). Shaw and McKay, "Specifically argued that criminal behavior was transmitted intergenerationally in neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization and additionally high rates of delinquency" (Sampson 2012, 37). And, "spatial differentiation occurs along dimensions of socioeconomic, family, and ethnic status" (Sampson 2012: 40; Berry and Kasarda 1977). As such, New Orleans meets the criteria of social disorganization. According to the FBI Report of Offenses Known to Law Enforcement (2016) the city suffers from a violent crime rate that is 169.4% higher than that of the national rate; the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019) reports that the city's unemployment rate is higher than the national average (4.2% versus 3.7%) and a lower than average hourly wage ($20.82 versus $24.34); and according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2018), the rate of single-mother households (48%) is double the national rate, and 59.8% of the city's population is African American (compared to 13.4% nationally).

In order to understand if these challenges lead to New Orleanians perceiving safety and justice issues differently than citizens nationally, the Pearson Chi-Square test was employed to compare the responses from each group. Though the local data (21 responses) is small in comparison to the national data (1849 responses), the national data was collected using the same NIFI process. As noted in Chapter 3, the average size for all forums conducted was nine participants. Thereby, the comparison of two local forums with a total of 21 participants to the larger national data set is acceptable/appropriate.

Within the 12 questions, the first six contained a Likert scale consisting of responses: "strongly agree" coded as 5; "somewhat agree" coded as 4; "somewhat disagree" coded as 3; "strongly disagree" coded as 2; "not sure" coded as 1, and "no response" coded as 0. The second set of six questions contained responses: "strongly favor" coded as 5; "somewhat favor" coded as 4; "somewhat oppose" coded as 3; "strongly oppose" coded as 2; "not sure" coded as 1, and "no responses" coded as 0. Table 10 contains the Pearson Chi-Square test results.

Table 10. NIFI Local/National Results Significance Level

Q1A	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
The number of unarmed people of color who have lost their lives in encounters with the police shows there is something fundamentally wrong with the culture, training, and recruitment in too many of this nation's police departments.	NR	0	18	
	NS	0	51	
	SD	0	106	
	D	4	162	
	A	5	585	
	SA	12	925	
				0.407
Q1B	**Rating**	**Local Results**	**National Results**	**Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)**
We are expecting entirely too much of our police	NR	0	18	
	NS	0	71	
	SD	0	339	

(table cont.)

asking them to deal with the rising incidence of irrational violence caused by mentally ill or drug-addicted persons who need medical intervention.				
	D	4	458	
	A	7	609	
	SA	10	353	
				0.017

Q1C	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
We urgently need to increase understanding and mutual respect between police and people of color.	NR	0	11	
	NS	0	25	
	SD	0	21	
	D	4	48	
	A	2	329	
	SA	19	1413	
				0.772

Q1D	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
When faced with life-threatening danger to themselves and civilians, we can't ask police officers to take even more risks with their own safety.	NR	0	35	
	NS	3	160	
	SD	1	192	
	D	4	495	
	A	5	572	
	SA	8	393	
				0.376

Q1E	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
We need to tackle the growing disrespect for law enforcement in this country, especially among young people, and give the police the support and help they need and deserve.	NR	0	23	
	NS	3	64	
	SD	0	104	
	D	3	252	
	A	6	657	
	SA	9	747	
				0.129

Q1F	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
We need to face up to the fact that too many police officers routinely make snap judgments about citizens based on race and ethnicity,	NR	0	22	
	NS	1	76	
	SD	0	104	
	D	6	210	

(table cont.)

rather than on probable cause.	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi-Square Test (*p*-value)
	A	5	590	
	SA	9	845	
				0.204

Q2A	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
The courts should reserve longer sentences for violent crimes, EVEN IF this means more small-time drug dealers and other nonviolent criminals are returned to the community.	NR	0	29	
	NS	1	90	
	SD	1	150	
	D	4	205	
	A	7	715	
	SA	8	658	
				0.851

Q2B	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
Cities and towns should greatly increase the number of police officers on the street, EVEN IF this means some citizens will feel as though they are living in a police state.	NR	0	27	
	NS	0	104	
	SD	5	401	
	D	5	640	
	A	11	503	
	SA	0	172	
				0.11

Q2C	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
Police departments should end the use of "stop and frisk" practices, EVEN IF this greatly reduces the ability of law enforcement to prevent crimes before they happen.	NR	1	25	
	NS	0	135	
	SD	2	215	
	D	5	434	
	A	5	485	
	SA	8	553	
				0.57

Q2D	Rating	Local Results	National Results	Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)
All police officers should be trained to use de-escalation techniques before resorting to force in dealing with potentially violent offenders, EVEN IF that raises the	NR	0	43	
	NS	1	77	
	SD	0	58	
	D	1	134	
	A	7	623	
	SA	12	912	

(table cont.)				
chances that officers will be harmed or even killed.				0.901

Q2E	**Rating**	**Local Results**	**National Results**	**Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)**
Communities should train more citizens in the responsible use of firearms so they can defend themselves and aid law enforcement, EVEN IF this increases the chances of	NR	0	40	
	NS	1	111	
	SD	12	639	
	D	7	419	
	A	1	366	
	SA	0	272	
accidental shooting and the incidence of vigilante justice.				0.074

Q2F	**Rating**	**Local Results**	**National Results**	**Chi- Square Test (*p*-value)**
Governments should set up more mental health programs and facilities that will take potentially violent individuals off the street, EVEN IF this results in confining many more people in mental institutions for long periods.	NR	0	46	
	NS	0	93	
	SD	0	46	
	D	0	129	
	A	6	588	
	SA	15	945	
				0.381

Therefore, the Chi-Square Test result of Q1B reveals that data received from New Orleans participants is statistically different from the data of the national participants at the 0.05 level. With respect to Q2E, New Orleans is statically different from the national data at the 0.1 level, and regarding Q2B, New Orleans is statically different from the national data at the 0.11 level. The other nine statements showed no statistically significant difference between New Orleans and national data.

The statement (Q1B), "We are expecting entirely too much of our police in asking them to deal with the rising incidence of irrational violence caused by mentally ill or

drug-addicted persons who need medical intervention" reflected the most statistically

significant finding (See Table 11).

Table 11. Q1B Statistical Level of Significance

Crosstab

			Q1B						
			0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
New	1.0	Count	0	0	0	4	7	10	21
Orleans		%	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.0	33.3	47.6	100.0
National	2.0	Count	18	71	339	458	609	353	1848
		%	1.0	3.8	18.3	24.8	33.0	19.1	100.0
Total		Count	18	71	339	462	616	363	1869
		%	1.0	3.8	18.1	24.7	33.0	19.4	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.835[a]	5	.017
Likelihood Ratio	16.165	5	.006
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.551	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	1869		

a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected
count is .20.

New Orleans NIFI participants "strongly agree" more than other NIFI respondents

from other areas of the nation that communities are "expecting entirely too much of

police" when dealing with episodes of irrational violence caused by the mentally ill and

drug-addicted persons at the rate of 48% in New Orleans versus 19% nationally.

Furthermore, 18% of the national respondents "strongly disagree" whereas 0% of New

Orleanians did. New Orleans participants feeling strongly about this indicates a clear

concern for the safety and welfare of members of the New Orleans Police Department. It

also speaks to the pronounced need in New Orleans to also address the safety and welfare

of citizens that require mental health services. Additionally, the fact that not a single respondent in New Orleans strongly disagreed with the statement we are expecting entirely too much of the NOPD indicates at least a base line understanding of the difficulties and complexity of the profession.

On the other hand, if not the police, who should be tasked with confronting irrational violence displayed by some of the mentally ill and drug-addicted? Perhaps the community could be of more assistance to the police. NIFI statement (Q2E), "Communities should train more citizens in the responsible use of firearms so they can defend themselves and aid law enforcement, EVEN IF this increases the chances of an accidental shooting and the incidence of vigilante justice" was presented as an option and was also statistically significant (See Table 12).

Table 12. **Q2E Statistical Level of Significance**

Crosstab

		Q2E						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
New Orleans	Count	0	1	12	7	1	0	21
	%	0.0	4.8	57.1	33.3	4.8	0.0	100.0
National	Count	40	111	639	419	366	272	1847
	%	2.2	6.0	34.6	22.7	19.8	14.7	100.0
Total	Count	40	112	651	426	367	272	1868
	%	2.1	6.0	34.9	22.8	19.6	14.6	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.057[a]	5	.074
Likelihood Ratio	14.000	5	.016
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.490	1	.034
N of Valid Cases	1868		

a. 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .45.

113

These outcomes reveal, both locally and nationally, the majority of responses are in

opposition to training and arming more citizens with firearms to aid law enforcement.

However, in New Orleans, that opposition is 90.4% whereas nationally it is only 57.3%.

And, then, 34.5% of the national data supports arming the citizenry but locally that

number is a mere 4.8%. So, if New Orleanians do not want more armed citizenry, what

about more armed police officers?

To investigate these options, NIFI participants were asked their opinion of the

following statement: "Cities and towns should greatly increase the number of police

officers on the street, EVEN IF this means some citizens will feel as though they are

living in a police state" (Q2B). Again, New Orleans data compared to the national data

was statistically significant. See Table 13.

Table 13. Q2B Statistical Level of Significance.

Crosstab

		Q2B						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
New	Count	0	0	5	5	11	0	21
Orleans	%	0.0	0.0	23.8	23.8	52.4	0.0	100.0
National	Count	27	104	401	640	503	172	1847
	%	1.5	5.6	21.7	34.7	27.2	9.3	100.0
Total	Count	27	104	406	645	514	172	1868
	%	1.4	5.6	21.7	34.5	27.5	9.2	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.966[a]	5	.110
Likelihood Ratio	11.459	5	.043
Linear-by-Linear Association	.693	1	.405
N of Valid Cases	1868		

a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected

count is .30.

In this statement, the majority of New Orleanians favor more police officers on the street whereas only 36.5% nationally favor this scenario and 56.4% nationally are opposed.

The remaining nine NIFI questions revealed no statistical significance, meaning these particular statements when addressed in the questionnaire both locally and nationally displayed similar responses. See Appendix C. However, they are still of interest to this research as they provide additional data for the New Orleans social disorganization case study.

One of the more surprising findings is the amount of support for law enforcement, even in a socially disorganized city. When asked their opinion of the following statement: "We need to tackle the growing disrespect for law enforcement in this country, especially among young people, and give the police the support and help they need and deserve" (Q1E), 71.1% of local and 75.9% of national respondents agreed. That means that nearly ¾ of all respondents agree that there is a lack of respect for law enforcement, that young people may be exacerbating the problem, and that police need and deserve support and help. However, a follow up question indicates it is not just police that deserve more respect. Strikingly, the results to "We urgently need to increase understanding and mutual respect between police and people of color," (Q1C) are that 99% of New Orleanians and 94.4% of national respondents agree. However, it is not just a question of increasing understanding and mutual respect. The respondents are overwhelmingly also agreeing to the urgent nature of the problem and the dire need to foster a better citizen/police relationship. As a researcher and a law enforcement practitioner these results reveal positive signs that a mutual respect for both the public and the police,

115

particularly within the relationships between people of color and law enforcement, appears possible. In the current climate of hostility toward police an acknowledgment exists from a diverse facet of the public that police do deserve understanding and appreciation for the work they are tasked to perform. Additionally, police must alter their policies and procedures to ensure that while in performance of these duties, the community members are (and feel) respected. Both the New Orleans and the national data strongly agree with the statement, "We need to face up to the fact that too many police officers routinely make snap judgments about citizens based on race and ethnicity, rather than probable cause."

One practice in particular seems to exacerbate this concern. Sixty-one percent locally and 56.2% believe, "Police departments should end the use of 'stop and frisk' practices, EVEN IF this greatly reduces the ability of law enforcement to prevent crimes before they occur." This statement strikes at the heart of our public safety dilemma with respect to the citizen/police relationship. How to enforce the law fairly with reasonable policing practices, without wrongful targeting the innocent, specifically in minority communities?

Data indicate the majority of citizens desire less police interaction in terms of investigative stops and less use of "reasonable suspicion;" tools often utilized by law enforcement when the officer believes that either a crime has occurred or is about to occur, and, thus, an investigatory stop is warranted. Unlike what many equate the concept of "stop and frisk" to be, a license for law enforcement to arbitrarily harass others and conduct an illegal search of the person, the true form of the concept when practiced

lawfully states otherwise. In the renowned U.S. Supreme Court Case Terry v. Ohio, 392

U.S. 1 (1968) it reads,

> Under the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, a police officer may stop a suspect on the street and frisk him or her without probable cause to arrest, if the police officer has a reasonable suspicion that the person has committed, is committing, or is about to commit a crime and has a reasonable belief that the person "may be armed and presently dangerous (Justia, 2019, p. 3).

At the core of this ruling, the court was addressed the risk and safety of the officer

as he/she were engaging in an investigatory stop with someone who "may be armed and

presently dangerous." The "frisk" part of "stop and frisk" should be interpreted as an

outer clothing "pat down" of an individual's person in the event they were armed, not an

actual search of someone, thus circumventing a search warrant or permission to search.

Obviously, some police officers have used poor judgment and made the wrong call,

which occasionally has resulted in grave consequences. However, the concept of personal

risk to the officer should not be absent from the discussion.

Two additional NIFI statements (Q1D, Q2D) address the question of "how much"

is the right amount of risk and use of force. Sixty-two percent of New Orleans

participants and 52.3% of national participants agree that, "When faced with life-

threatening danger to themselves and civilians, we can't ask police officers to take even

more risks with their own safety" (Q1D). Once more New Orleans participants displayed

even more concern over the safety and welfare of the men and women in the New

Orleans Police Department than others nationally. Juxtaposed to that position in terms of

officer risk and safety, overwhelmingly both participants locally (90.4%) and nationally

(83.1%) favor, "All police officers should be trained to use de-escalation techniques

before resorting to force in dealing with potentially violent offenders, EVEN IF that

raises the chances that officers will be harmed or even killed" (Q2D).

The juxtaposition between the data supporting both of these statements (police officers should not take any further risks in their work, yet when confronted with "potentially violent offenders" officers should take more risks to de-escalate the situation) is disconcerting. This dilemma for the police highlights again the need for more understanding and mutual respect. This dilemma for the police illustrates a lack of understanding on the part of the public. Without reviewing every aspect of police officer safety issues during job performance or to debate the varying degrees of when force is and is not justifiable, there is one clear, obvious reality. It is the public's expectation and the police's duty to endure risks on a regular basis. Arguably, asking a police officer to not take any further risks on the job could be seen as doing less for public safety. With respect to dealing with potentially violent offenders, asking the police to de-escalate before resorting to force is not a form of poor judgment. On the contrary, many instances where people need to be taken into police custody, calmer measures usually prevail with little or no force used. Unfortunately, it does expose officers to a higher degree of risk, particularly those with patrol and investigative duties and the ones assigned guarding localities where the likelihood of crime is high.

Putting police in more danger may not be the only solution; For example, (Q2F), "Governments should set up more mental health programs and facilities that will take potentially violent individuals off the street EVEN IF it means this results in confining many more people in mental institutions for longer periods" is another option. On the other hand, responses to NIFI Question (Q2A), "The courts should reserve longer sentences for violent crimes, EVEN If this means more small-time drug dealers and other nonviolent criminals are returned to the community" favor less

incarceration/confinement. From a New Orleans perspective, 38% strongly agree and 38.7% somewhat agree with the premise of longer court sentences for violent offenders, and allowing "more small-time drug dealers and other nonviolent criminals" to be returned to the community sooner. It seems New Orleans participants believe more firmly in longer jail sentences for violent offenders than the rest of the nation, and allowing nonviolent criminals to be released sooner. On the other hand, both 71% locally and 51.1% nationally are strongly in favor of government mental health programs and facilities to confine "potentially violent individuals" keeping them off the street for longer periods of time. Granted, both of the above statements present unique challenges in their interpretation alone, let alone their implementation. Factors, such as distinguishing between "violent offenders" and "small-time drug dealers" or who is mentally ill enough to be confined and who is "potentially violent" would have to be carefully vetted before these practices could be operationalized. Once again, no doubt at the heart of these considerations will be the police, their authority and their risk, which would be required to assist in seeing this a reality, if our citizens truly desire such measures. Arresting "violent criminals" earmarked for lengthier prison sentences and not nonviolent ones and to readily know the difference between the two presents risk equally as much as apprehending people with mental health illnesses and placing them in facilities, often against their will.

With the inception of professional law enforcement 189 years ago (with the establishment of the Metropolitan Police Service, London's primary law enforcement agency) policing practices and methods have evolved. However, the nine founding principles of the profession continue as guiding values every department should follow.

New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton reiterated these principles stating, "PRINCIPLE 1-The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder" (Nagle, 2014). The overarching premise to each of these principles is the how the relationship between the public and the police must exist in order for constructive public safety to be achieved. For a list of all nine principles, see Appendix D.

Yet, nearly two centuries later, law enforcement still struggles with the proper role between police and the communities they serve. When this relationship is weak, the results can be lethal. This study used New Orleans and the premises that the city fits the definition of socially disorganized to understand, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" This next chapter concentrates on how the data collected informs law enforcement in tackling this issue and advances the three theories, Spiral of Silence, Habitus, and Dramaturgy.

Chapter 8: From Killing Silence to Voicing Justice

Reconsidering this study's principal research question, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" it is apparent that the lack of a healthy citizen/police relationship within New Orleans negatively affects crime solvability. Positive communication and interactions, both verbal and nonverbal, between the public and law enforcement is essential to foster an environment where cooperation is possible, resulting in improved public safety.

With this in mind, how can this relationship improve? Based upon this research's findings, the data-rich set of five subthemes (82% of total coding events) which include Burdensome, Engagement, Presence, Affects and Power, all speak to various forms of citizen/police interaction that are problematic for a community suffering from high violent crimes. Addressing the issues associated with these five subthemes could help inform training and policy issues going forward. Any changes to this already fragile relationship needs to be met with understanding for both the public's discontent with some of the current police practices along with a comprehensive understanding for law enforcement's mission. NOPD is still under a mandated consent decree. Time will tell whether the consent decree is achieving its goals, but there remains a substantial amount of distrust and dissatisfaction with NOPD. Moreover, this discontent with police services originates mainly through first-hand negative experiences that resulted negative citizen attitudes toward police. As Worden and Mclean state:

> Attitudes toward the police also correlate with citizens' subjective experiences with the police in individual contacts, both voluntary contacts—when citizens report crimes or request assistance—and involuntary contacts—when they are stopped by the police. The correlation reflects reciprocal causal effects: satisfaction with the individual contact affects more global satisfaction with the

policy, but more global attitudes toward the police also shape the perceived quality of police performance in individual police-citizen encounters (2017, 46).

Consequently, positive interactions by members of the public with the police can foster more supportive and cooperative attitudes by citizens toward members of law enforcement.

Data also indicate the necessity for the police to help the public understand the scope of duties police officers have as well as the boundaries and limitations of law enforcement. Many citizens do not completely comprehend what the police can and cannot do in specific incidents. Furthermore, when police are summoned to something within their scope of duties, every officer could be more approachable so that interaction can be positive.

As previously noted, 82% of the data collected on all (9) assumptions fell into the (5) subthemes of Burdensome, Engagement, Presence, Affects, and Power, with 30% of this falling into the category of Burdensome alone. To answer this study's overarching research question, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" The community and law enforcement need to address its relationship, beginning with the public's view that it is a burden to interact with the police.

Spiral of Silence and Habitus

In reviewing the data and try to understanding why people do not volunteer information to police, the Spiral of Silence Theory provided less data than Habitus Theory with 129 and 742 coding events respectively. However, what is clear in the data is that whether a witness is isolated from others, or among a group that chooses to not cooperate, the theory of Habitus picks up where the theory of Spiral of Silence lacks and collectively, the participant responses in this research support these theories.

Victim/Witness cooperation is key to improving violent crime solvability rates and these theories provide a basis from which a pathway toward cooperation can be achieved.

Spiral of Silence contained the theme of Stop Snitching and data was deductively coded into the subthemes of Effectiveness, Fear and Reputation. Police being ineffective, uncaring and incompetent, whether actual or perceived, is a concern to residents. The visibility factor and the lack of trust appear connected, indicating that citizens in marginalized communities would be more comfortable, and, thereby, more likely to come forward as a witness if the police were more visible and more effective.

Fear was another concern for the individual witness. Fear for personal safety, that cooperation with law enforcement would lead to being injured or killed, though not dominate in the data, was reinforced by some participant comments. Some of this hesitation is also based upon a concern for a loss of reputation. Within many communities, being labeled a "rat" is a scenario that should be avoided at all costs. For many who are anchored to one community the loss of reputation is too great a burden to bear. This is exacerbated in neighborhoods where people have access to few financial resources and options to relocate. Becoming a witness to a violent crime can be a life change not everyone is willing or able to make. The fear of retaliation or loss of reputation, again whether real or perceived, and even when the witness knows "something should be done," he or she struggles with the question, "why should it be me." A key finding of this research is dispelling the notion that stop snitching took hold from a "street code" generated by criminals. This simplistic explanation hardly explains why law-abiding people choose to remain silent, allowing the wrongdoers to go free.

Spiral of Silence contends with isolated individuals, fear, and disconnect exist between a citizen and the police whom which he or she must interact; Habitus, on the other hand, deals with the shared beliefs of the community and provides additional explanation. Under Habitus theory, the primary obstacle is the assumption that informing to the "authority" is of little help. Within Habitus, data was deductively coded into three subthemes, Burdensome, Engagement and Cynicism.

Burdensome suggests that working with the police can be arduous and is another barrier to a healthy citizen/police relationship. This is reinforced by the existence of the New Orleans Police Consent decree. The United State Department of Justice's decree was designed to make the department more accountable and more effective in fighting crime and to enhance public safety. However, it has become burdensome. Some respondents are frustrated with the lack of consultation with the true stakeholders, the citizens of New Orleans, and feel ignored by outside experts who are not as invested in the city. Police officer respondents believe that the decree hampers the citizen/police relationship with the rules and regulations regarding the body cameras and the amount of additional training required. While the decree has enhanced accountability and practice, it did not necessarily reduce the amount of distrust between police and the community.

In Engagement, as in Spiral of Silence, the lack of police presence outside of a crisis requiring law-enforcement activity negatively affects the community and results in citizen distrust and can create resentment between law enforcement and the residents they are sworn to serve. Many participants complained about the lack of visibility of the police, either officers or marked police vehicles passing through their area. Participants mentioned that in the past, a police officer was more personable; they knew the members

124

of the community they patrolled and, as a result, a better connection existed. Another common frustration is that the officers who patrol their neighborhoods don't live there and often do not look like them.

One result of this disconnect (both personal and cultural) is that many citizens are suspicious of police and the use of force, especially deadly force, as well as the use of "stop and frisk" as is coded in the subtheme Cynicism. This subtheme supports Habitus theory in that the data indicates nonexistent or negative interactions between citizens and law enforcement nurtures collective silence inhibiting witnesses to come forward with information. Nevertheless, law enforcement and the community members will need to acknowledge and address this crisis of cynicism if homicide solvability rates are going to improve. Dramaturgy provides a baseline for moving forward.

Dramaturgy and Police

Dramaturgy examined the difficulties/challenges in the citizen/police relationship differently. Whereas data from this research support Spiral of Silence and Habitus as a theoretical basis for why witnesses choose not to cooperate and, thereby, allow unacceptable levels of homicide insolvability, Dramaturgy approaches this problem from a perspective of authority and/or agency. It posits that the "theatric" behavior associated with the presence of authority is intimidating and, in extreme circumstances, is perceived as an occupying force.

Simply put, the Presence subtheme supports the idea that the impact the police create in a community is universally perceived as symbol of authority; however, that authority can be a welcome guardian presence or it can be perceived as oppression. Though many respondents wanted more police presence and further contact with the

125

police, others reported anxiety in the presence of law enforcement. Though many New Orleans' respondents desired more police, many also do not like the militarism of policing. Police behavior, attitudes, methods and practices are of major concern. Some participants talked about displeasure with officers who exhibited unprofessional, uncaring behavior. Others clearly did not understand the police's actions and are unsatisfied with the policing practices in their neighborhoods.

Additionally, the data provides insight into how the police themselves think about policing in New Orleans. In Affects, which seeks to explain how the duties associated with law enforcement affect the individual officer, the data suggests policing used to be perceived as a vocation and notes the importance of "street level bureaucrat" discretion. Body Worn Cameras (BWC), that were part of NOPD equipment prior to the consent decree, are now required to be activated constantly and require officers to "self-report" any instance of potential professional infraction limiting officers' capacity to engage on a personal level. This technology and its associated mandate affect officer behavior as it encourages mechanical and scripted behavior even in such unassuming moments like using profanity alone. This creates a constant condition of "director" oversight. Though BWCs primary purpose is to assist in officer accountability, the technology records the behavior of not only the officer but also all the citizens with which the officer comes into contact. While potentially helpful with documenting arrests and evidence collection, an unintended consequence emerged as the cameras remove the personal nature of the job and weakens the citizen/officer relationship further. Additionally, when a police officer is questioning a witness, the camera itself may be an obstacle out of fear that the recorded information would a problem for the witness in the future. If BWC are in use to regulate

126

officer behavior, it likely does the same to a witness, especially if the perpetrator and/or other community members are aware the police are questioning them.

Power, Dramaturgy's last subtheme, concerns the police and their scope of authority while protecting and serving such as the power to detain, to search, to arrest, to use for when necessary, and in some cases kill when justified. Data indicates many citizens are fed up with regular news reports of the use of force incidents, justified or not. As a consequence, how to reduce the use of force is part of the national discourse. Participants question if the amount of training and education a police officer receives is sufficient to prepare him or her for the amount of discretion they will have on the street. The difference between an arrest and a warning for a violation may hinge on officer discretion and participants question who receives "positive" discretionary treatment and who receives "negative" discretionary treatment. Discretionary police powers can be either beneficial or in some cases unjustifiably damaging.

Given this analysis of the theories and data associated with each and as this research's primary question was, "How can murder solvability rates improve in marginalized communities?" the following recommendations are provided.

Implications for Policing and Community Building

This researcher recommends both independent and concurrent education for the police and the community members they serve. This instruction would begin in the law enforcement academy but would also include formal and informal types of gatherings whereby an exchange of knowledge could occur between both groups regarding their concerns. Much of the instruction should focus on fostering more public confidence and trust in the police through shared experiences associated with police policies and

practices. Additionally, citizen and law enforcement should agree on what the citizens'

roles and responsibilities are as related to public safety.

Police Training

A police recruit's education usually begins at a law enforcement academy, which

consists of several weeks of training in law and understanding criminal codes,

comprehending different aspects of criminal investigations, training in firearms,

defensive tactics and officer safety, report writing, dealing with the mentally ill, de-

escalation strategies and many other topics. In Louisiana, like many other states, each

person entering the field of policing must participate in a 360-hour Peace Office and

Standards (POST) training program. Also, every law enforcement officer must receive 20

hours of in-service training annually (Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement and

Administration of Criminal Justice, 2019). Furthermore, it is up to every law enforcement

agency to educate using the most advanced practices that will exemplify the utmost

professional and competent traits before placing them into the field.

However, this only explains how law enforcement agencies select, hire and train

their personnel and does not describe how some officers begin to facilitate or display

conduct to the public. To examine policing and community building more carefully, why

do some community members see that dealing with the police is burdensome and that

minimal engagement exist between the two? Why is it perceived that various forms of

community policing have diminished from neighborhoods that are especially in need of

that type policing? Answers to these questions could rest in some of the training an

officer receives. Within recent years the notion of the Warrior v. Guardian mindset has

entered into our policing lexicon with the perception that police officers take on more of

the role as a soldier than a protector, thus making public connections more tenuous in viewing the public as the enemy. Para-military hierarchy and techniques plus military-style tactics in certain incidents further enforce this concept. In most U.S. law enforcement academies, teaching an officer to be safe while in the field is part of the curriculum even though the unfortunate reality exists that officers are killed in the line of duty, the neighborhood where they work should be viewed as something other than a battlefield. From a more concise perspective,

> "Treating every encounter with a warrior mindset and every citizen as a potential enemy doesn't build cooperation and trust in the community. If the community doesn't cooperate with the police, their job is more dangerous. Guardian mindset proponents believe that officers can be trained to be tactically safe without approaching every citizen as a potential enemy combatant" (Van Brocklin, 2015, p 2).

Activities that appeal to new police applicants include interviewing and interrogating, making arrests, conducting search warrants, responding to felony crimes and traffic stops, etc. Data suggests that citizens perceive that officers do not view community engagement as 'real police work,' an assumption often reinforced through media and film. Efforts should be made to educate and address this perception just as much 'real police work.'

Educational instruction for law enforcement on enhancing the citizen/police relationship could be part of all officers subject to working in areas of the community, particularly where the connection is fragile. Even for the law enforcement agency that does not practice community policing, specific instruction in the form of officer in-service training that targets behavioral techniques in community relations could be present. Though many officers are subject to cultural awareness training during their criminal justice instruction, a more significant emphasis on how community engagement when working in such neighborhoods contributes to better public safety is required. All

too often as the literature review and this data illustrate, officers assigned to work in marginalized communities often regard this post as a punishment. This sentiment may come from different views including racial differences between officers and community members. Education for community members on the benefits of strong citizen/police relations and how this could reduce crime in their neighborhoods, along with training designed to enhance engagement between the community and police could be made available.

Police/Community Education and Training

Citizens have a role to play in receiving and developing education that builds trust with law enforcement. A curriculum for both the police and the community could be developed by drawing from the NIFI data, particularly in the area of respect. As pointed out both locally and nationally, data reveal that the public thinks that younger people should respect law enforcement officers more and that more mutual respect should exist between law enforcement and people of color (NIFI Questionnaire, 2017). Various forms of engagement between police and community members could be arranged to foster better relations. These engagements or gatherings should specifically target the youth, though not at the exclusion of others. They could exist within the formal education of both law enforcement and the curriculum in schools, and could include interactions between the two at sporting events, festivals and other non-enforcement activities where the emphasis is more on positive interactions and not that of a militarized style of enforcement, investigation or order maintenance. For example, non-profit organizations focused on youth such as Son of a Saint or charter school groups could be invited to attend a day with NOPD recruits as part of the law enforcement academy training.

Conversely, NOPD could reach out to local foundations, neighborhood associations and/or the New Orleans Recreation Development Commission to fund officer overtime detail assignments focused specifically at youth centered activities such as little league sporting events, and/or music and art activities. Officers that choose to work these details over others that may be more lucrative would be rewarded for their service in their personnel evaluations and promotional opportunities.

From a training aspect, many law enforcement agencies have programs for the public referred to as citizens' academies that are designed to inform the participants on the various roles police perform in their community. While this instruction is useful to the public, it may not be accessible to those deeply in need of such information and may also not address the unique issues faced by those working or living in marginalized communities. One avenue law enforcement could consider is an outreach program based on the Kettering Foundation model; this would target the marginalized communities that citizen academies miss by inviting residents to learning exchanges centered around how citizens can be producers of public safety in their neighborhoods. If successful, these learning exchanges could provide useful data to revamp the current citizen academy in New Orleans so that the academy itself can recruit and train citizens as co-producers in the areas of most need. A possible model for emulation was developed in Los Angeles between the Los Angeles Fire Department (LAFD) and local citizen led violence interventionists to train fire and rescue staff on how to properly conduct their professional duties in marginalized and underserved communities particularly in areas where gang activity was prevalent. "This training for the LAFD provided fire fighters with the

131

cultural competency needed to engage and interact with community residents whose culture they may or may not be familiar" (Gaynor, 2017, p 1).

Implications for Policy

Greater effort should be placed on communities and law enforcement entities to create trust. Even with staffing, budgetary and other resource constraints, many cities, like New Orleans, could work harder to direct energies in the neighborhoods most in need of this attention. Criteria for these localities could encompass higher volumes of calls for service of the police, higher rates of violent crime, to make better connections within the citizen/police relationship and possibly reverse the problem of lack of witness cooperation. President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing provides a framework through which policy change could be operationalized. The six pillars are:

- Pillar One, Building Trust & Legitimacy

- Pillar Two, Policy and Oversight

- Pillar Three, Technology and Social Media

- Pillar Four, Community Policing & Crime Reduction

- Pillar Five, Training & Education

- Pillar Six, Officer Wellness and Safety

Much of the data collected within this research speaks directly to four of the six pillars, specifically, Pillars One through Four. Concerning Pillar One, Building Trust and Legitimacy, many citizens desire to encounter police officers with more of a guardian and warrior mindset during an interaction. In Pillar Two, Policy and Oversight, participants of this study also desired the appreciation that crime reduction achieved by improving better relationships between citizens and the police. Pillar Three, Technology and Social Media,

deals with knowledge that will foster further engagement between the public and law enforcement. Finally, Pillar Four, Community Policing and Crime Reduction regarding the Police/Citizen collaboration in problem-solving to enhance better public safety. The two remaining Pillars, though still relevant should be subject to further scrutiny. Action on these four pillars could be an attractive alternative to the frustration law enforcement and citizens alike feel due to the lack of crime solvability. Furthermore, this data supports each of the three theories reviewed in this research and provides insight to how the pillars can be operationalized in a way that will improve the citizen/police relationship.

Limitations

One may argue that the data derived from this research disproportionately blames law enforcement, specifically the New Orleans Police Department, for the problems between the police and citizens. This is not the intention of this dissertation nor does it reflect the opinion of the researcher given his professional experience. In reality, from the perspective of an imbedded law enforcement researcher, what this research does provide is a unique data set that an outside researcher may not have been able to obtain. On the other hand, as such, the design may have been overly focused on law enforcement. Replication of this research is necessary to ensure that this data not is specific to one urban locality. Additional urban areas could have been considered. The sample size, though appropriate for this study and in accordance with NIFI recommended procedures, is small. Additionally, it is clear that the nine assumptions made by the researcher where not adequate to sufficiently answer the research question, "How can murder solvability rate improve in marginalized communities?" A similarly imbedded researcher could replicate the methods employed in this dissertation to see if this data is locally specific

(New Orleans) or is nationally transferable. Finally, SDT has endured decades of peer review and is still an influential factor in police practices as such, it provided the underlying foundation for this researcher's nine assumptions. However, this research's data implies that Social Disorganization Theory has minimal explanatory power on homicide solvability. Indeed it may, in fact, have a negative effect on law enforcement policies and procedures designed to prevent, investigate, solve and prosecute these horrendous acts of violence. Data collected suggests this may have been a flawed foundation for this research as 600 coding events could not be assigned to the three theories investigated; a full 30% of the data collected could not be properly assigned to the three themes, Stop Snitchin, Collective Silence, and Policing Silence. As such, future research is required to fully answer the homicide solvability conundrum.

Future Research

Some of the data elicited from this research imply that citizens of New Orleans are not any safer with the decree in place; however, a more academic review of the NOPD consent decree is better left for future research. Officers being so conscious of the camera that it prevents them from being "themselves" will probably require future research as well.

Data outside the scope of this research were also collected. Data relative to unemployment, education, homelessness, housing, substance abuse programs, poverty and race relations were coded Beyond Policing. Though these social issues are critical and quite often intersect with police work, they are external to the central research question and theories tested. Furthermore the categories of data within the Beyond Policing portion of this study accounted for 30% of all data collected and could not be

attributed to any of the three theories examined. These different social concerns and their intersection with policing should be investigated in the future.

Other issues brought forth in this study suitable for future academic research include the need for an assessment of the New Orleans Police Department consent decree in order to determine effectiveness in attaining the reforms it set out to achieve. The current use of police body worn cameras is yet another endeavor for future research in order to not only evaluate police transparency and accountability, but to also examine its impact on the citizen/police relationship in terms of witness cooperation. Furthermore, this data questions the Social Disorganization Theory itself as a viable hypothesis to explain urban social problems for the cities of today. A future study could also be conducted on the faulty assumptions of Social Disorganization Theory and, as this data at least superficially suggests, its negative impact on police practices and policies.

Conclusions: The Future of Policing

Many New Orleans citizens, like citizens nationally, desire lower crime rates and a police department that is approachable and engages with the community. Communities are done settling for police ineptitude and the lack of cooperation between citizens and law enforcement. However, particularly in New Orleans, many residents have not given up on NOPD and long for a better relationship with the agency and the officers employed by it.

Concerning the theories of Spiral of Silence, Habitus, and Dramaturgy, the researcher maintains that all were of use to understanding the citizen/police relationship challenges that result in a lack of witness cooperation. Whether it is a single person isolated by fear or if it is the collective that is hesitant to approach authority, both Spiral

135

of Silence and Habitus theories provide a viable explanation. However, the data is clear that this social dilemma, which often prevents justice from being carried out, is far more complex than following a street code as Spiral of Silence suggest. Becoming a witness and identifying as such, particularly in a place where others believe it is best to remain silent is heroic and should not be belittled by fellow citizens or taken for granted by law enforcement. Through Dramaturgy we can better understand, from both the citizen and the police points of view, how police presence and the actions taken in course of their duties impact neighborhoods in ways that are not always beneficial.

For the citizen/police relationship to be enhanced, both the public and the police must work together to understand the expectations of each when it comes to public safety. The public need to understand what is not only unfair about some methods and practices, but also constructively participate in how policing can improve public safety and justice while minimizing risk to the officer.

Many departments engage in various aspects of community policing with some success; however, it is this researcher's opinion that the best aspects of community policing are still a work in progress and data from this research can assist in moving law enforcement toward new practices and methods that will improve the citizen/police relationship, and, thus, improve crime solvability. Furthermore, these should begin in the areas of most need, where people are suffering the most from policing practices. Not every citizen needs to or cares if they actually know the police officers that patrol their neighborhood. Some do not share in the same levels of anxiety when the police arrive as others do. Regardless, the data is unambiguous; Citizens desire to see the police as people, someone that they can approach with their problems, not a quick to judge,

harassing, occupying authority. If this can be achieved, it is not a waste of time or money

for law enforcement but something that will result in citizens responding to officers better

and, thereby, being more likely to cooperate in investigations, particularly difficult and

dangerous investigations such as homicide.

Returning to the Nine Principles of policing, one tenet that stands out and speaks

directly the goal of this research and the value of the data collected is:

> **PRINCIPLE 7** - Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence (Nagle, 2014, p. 2).

Mutual respect between police officer and citizen, particularly in marginalized

communities, appears to be the only option to enhance better public safety and see that

victims of violent crime attain justice.

Bibliography

Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* The New Press, New York: 2010.

Balko, Radley. Are reality cop shows altering reality? The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/opinions/wp/2014/01/14/are-reality-cop-shows-altering-reality/?utm_term=.4cfd200cd19b (2).

Banks, Richard R., Jennifer L. Eberhardt and Lee Ross. Discrimination and Implicit Bias in a Racially Unequal Society. California Law review. Vol. 94, No. 4 (Jul, 2006) 1169-1182.

Barker, Thomas. Police Ethics: Crisis in Law Enforcement, Charles C. Thomas Publishing, 1996.

Berry, Brian, and John Kasarda. Contemporary Urban Criminology. Macmillan Publishing. 1977.

Bourdieu, Pierre. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. London, Rutledge 1984.

Bourgois, Philippe In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio. Cambridge University Press, (2003).

Byers, Christine. Crime Up after Ferguson, Top St. Louis Area Chief Says. St. Louis Post-Dispatch. November 14, 2015. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/crime-up-after-ferguson-and-more-police-needed-top-st/article_04d9f99f-9a9a-51be-a231-1707a57b50d6.html p. 2.

Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy in the Department of Criminology, Law and

    Society. Hot Spots Policing. https://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-

    policing/research-evidence-review/hot-spots-policing/ 2-4.

Chesney, Eugene. J, Concept of Mens Rea in the Criminal Law, 29 Am. Inst. Crim. L. &
    Criminology 627 (1938-1939)

Court, D. B., & Sherman, K. (2007). *60 minutes*. Washington D.C.: CBS News

Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods*

    Approaches. Fourth edition. Sage Press, Thousand Oaks California: 2014.

Delattre, Edwin J. *Character and Cops.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

    Lanham, Maryland: 2011.

Essay.ws, 2019 https://www.essay.ws/white-collar-crime-vs-street-crime-essay/ p. 1.

FBI-Offenses Known to Law Enforcement. 2015 Crime in the United States.

    https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015

FBI UCR, 2016 Crime in the United States. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-

    u.s/2016/crime-in-the-u.s.-2016/topic-pages/violent-crime

Fisher, Jim. *Swat Madness and the militarization of the American police:* a national

    dilemma. ABC- CLIO, LLC. Santa Barbara. 2010.

Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish. Vintage Books. New York: 1977

Gaines, L., and R.L. Miller. *Criminal justice in action*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007

Gaynor, Tia. (2017) Coproduction as an Effective Management Strategy. PA Times,

    American Society for Public Administration. https://patimes.org/coproduction-

    effective-management-strategy/ p.1.

Goode, Judith & Jeff Maskovsky, *The New Poverty Studies.* New York University Press. New York: 2001.

Goffman, Ervin. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Doubleday& Company, garden City, New York. 1959.

Healey, Kerry M, (1995) Victim and Witness Intimidation: New Developments and Emerging. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institue of Justice. p. 2.

Hernandez, Macie Marie. Draw the Theory: Spiral of Silence.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vq4lPwK2Yk0

Justia, Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S. 1 (1968) Justia Opinion Summary and Annotations.

Https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/392/1/ p. 3.

Kaste, Martin. Open Cases: Why One-Third of Murders in America go Unsolved. NPR, Moring Edition, March 30, 2015. https://www.npr.org/2015/03/30/395069137/open-cases-why-one-third-of-murders-in-america-go-unresolved

Kelling, George & Catherine M. Coles. *Fixing Broken Windows: restoring order and reducing crime in our communities.* Touchstone, New York: 1996.

Kettering Foundation. (2016). Core Insights. https://www.kettering.org/core-insights/focus

Kirk, David and Mauri Matsuda. (2011). Legal Cynicism, Collective Efficacy, and the Ecology of Arrest. Criminology, Vol. 49, No. 2, 2011. P. 1198-1203.

Kirk, David S., and Andrew V. Papachristos. Cultural Mechanisms and the Persistence of Neighborhood Violence. American Journal of Sociology, Vol 116, No. 4 (January 2011) p. 1198-1201.

Leovy, Jill, Ghettoside: A true story of Murder in America. Random House, New York 2014.

Lofland, Lyn H. *The Public Realm*: Exploring the city's quintessential social territory.

Transaction Publishers Piscataway, New Jersey: 2009.

Lopez, German, The Great majority of violent crime in America goes unsolved. Vox.

https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/3/1/14777612/trump-crime-

certainty-severity   March 1, 2017. P. 2-3.

Mac Donald, Heather. *Are Cops Racist.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

Chicago: 2003.

Manning, Peter K. Theorizing policing: The drama and myth of crime control in the

NYPD, Theoretical Criminology SAGA Publications, Thousand Oaks CA. 2001.

P. 316-317.

Manning, Peter K.   Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing. Massachusetts

Institute of Technology, Murray Printing Company: 1977.

Marshall, Debra. Erving Goffman's Dramaturgy. YouTube Video.

https://www.google.com/search?ei=1_GvXMzHHuTl_Qb5zr74CA&q=Marshall+

on+Dramaturgy&oq=Marshall+on+Dramaturgy&gs_l=psy-

ab.3...23659.44037..44624...1.0..1.424.20597.9j91j11j11j1....2..0....1..gws-

wiz.....0..0i131i67j0i67j0j0i131j0i10j0i22i30j33i160.s20j5dMtLUA

Miller, Lindsay, Jessica Toliver, and Police Executive Research Forum. 2014.

Implementing a Body-Worn Camera Program: 31-32.

Morris, Edward W. "Snitches End Up in Ditches" and Other Cautionary Tales*

University of Kentucky. 2007. p. 255-271.

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1984). The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion—Our Social Skin. The

University of Chicago Press.

Noelle-Neumann, E. *The theory of public opinion*: The concept of the Spiral of Silence. In

    J.A. Anderson (Ed.) Communication Year 14. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. P. 256-287

Nagel, Michael. Sir Robert Peel's Nine Principles of Policing. The New York Times.

    April 15, 2014. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/16/nyregion/sir-robert-peels-

    nine-principles-of-policing.html. p. 2.

Oberholtzer, Jason (2012). Stop-And-Frisk By the Numbers. Forbes Magazine.

    https://www.forbes.com/sites/jasonoberholtzer/2012/07/17/stop-and-frisk-by-the-

    numbers/#2c55da306703. p. 2.

Omi, Michael & Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States,* Rutledge Press,

    New York: 1994.

PND by Candid. New Orleans Poverty Rate Almost Twice National Average.

    https://philanthropynewsdigest.org/news/new-orleans-poverty-rate-almost-twice-

    national-average-report-finds. p. 1.

Police Associations Question Consent Decree - WDSU.com.

    https://www.wdsu.com/article/police-associations-question-consent-

    decree/2538457

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's*

    Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Washington, DC: Office of Community

    Oriented Policing New Services. p. 9-61.

Pratt, Travis C. *Addicted to Incarceration: Corrections policy and the politics of*

    misinformation in the United States. Sage Publishing Company Thousand Oaks,

    California: 2009.

Quirkos Full Manual. (2015) https://www.quirkos.com/Quirkos1.3-Full_Manual.pdf. p. 5.

Reeves, Scott, Mathieu Albert, Ayelet Kuper and Brian David Hodges. Why Use Theories
in Qualitative Research? British Medical Journal, Vol 337, No. 7670 (Sept 13,
2008), 631.

Research Exchange Digest, Kettering Foundation. Dayton OH, November 2015

Rose, Harold M., and Paula D. McClain. *Race Place and Risk: black homicide in urban
America.* State University of New York: 1990.

Rosenfeld, Richard. Robert Fornango, and Andres F. Rengifo. The Impact of Order-
Maintenance Policing on New York City Homicide and Robbery Rates: 1988-
2001. (356) Criminology, Vol 45, Number 2, 2007.

Sabol, William J, Heather Couture and Paige M. Harrison. Bureau of Justice Statistics
Bulletin. Prisoners in 2006. NCJ 2006. December 2007.

Safety and Justice: *How Should Communities Reduce Violence?* National Issues Forums
Institute. www.nifi.org p. 1-23.

Sampson, Robert J. *Great American City: Chicago and the enduring neighborhood
effects*. Chicago: 2012.

Schultz, Anne and Patrick Roessler. The Spiral of Silence and the Internet: Selection of
Online Content and the Perception of the Public. International Journal of Public
Opinion Research, Vol. 24, No. 3. 2014 .

Scott Reeves, Mathieu Albert, Ayelet Kuper and Brian David Hodges. Qualitative
Research: Why Use Theories in Qualitative Research? *BMJ: British Medical
Journal,* Vol. 337, No. 7670 (Sep. 13, 2008), pp. 631-634 (4 pages)

Seabrook, John. Don't Shoot: *A radical approach to the problem of gang violence.* The

    New Yorker, 2009. 8-10.

Shaw, C., and H.D. McKay. *Juvenile delinquency in urban areas*. Chicago: University of

    Chicago Press, 1969 (original work published in 1942).

Slocum, L. A., Taylor, T. J., Brick, B., & Esbensen, F. (2010). Neighborhood structural

    characterists, individual-levelattitude, and youths' crime reporting intentionss .

    Criminology, *48*(4), 1063-1096.

Smith, Greg. Ervin Goffman, (Chapter four—Framing Experience) Routledge, New York

    2006

Statista, 2016. Americas Most Dangerous Cities.

    https://www.statista.com/chart/9931/americas-most-dangerous-cities/ p. 2.

The Data Center Research. Independent Analysis for Informed Decisions in   Southeast

    Louisiana. https://www.datacenterresearch.org/topic/population-

    demographics/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI9a2tsv_I4QIVl4jICh2MEwP1EAAYAiAAE

    gKKdvD_BwE

The Statistical Portal-Statista, Crime clearance rate in the United States in 2016, by type.

    Https://222.statista.com/statistics/194213/crime-clearance-rate-by type-in-the us/

The Times-Picayune / Google Image (New Orleans Police District Map) 2016

U.S. Census Bureau Quickfacts: New Orleans, Louisiana (2019).

    https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/neworleanscitylouisiana/PST045218

    #PST045218

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

    https://www.bls.gov/regions/southwest/la_neworleans_msa.htm

U.S. Department of Justice. *Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 fact sheet.* https:/www.ncjrs.gov/txtfiles/bills.txt. October 24, 1994.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana. NOPD Consent Decree, USA v. City of New Orleans, 12-cv-1924. http://www.laed.uscourts.gov/case-information/mdl-mass-class-action/nopdconsent-amendments

Van Brocklin, Val. (2015). Cop Gumbo. Warriors vs. Guardians: A seismic shift in policing or just semantics? PoliceOne.Com. https://www.policeone.com/21st-century-policing-task-force/articles/8633970-Warriors-vs-Guardians-A-seismic-shift-in-policing-or-just-semantics/ Page 2.

Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Congressional Bill H.R.3355-103th Congress] [From the U.S. Government Printing Office]

Vedantam, Shankar. Radio Reply: The Mind of the Village. NPR. https://www.npr.org/2018/03/09/591895426/the-mind-of-the-village-understanding-our-implicit-biases

Warner Jr., Sam B. 1978. *Streetcar Suburbs: The process of growth in Boston (1870-1900).* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Webb, Jen, Tony Schirato, and Geoff Danaher. Understanding Bourdieu. Allen & Unwin. 2002. P. 40.

Wilson, William J. *More than Just Race.* W.W. Norton and Company. New York: 2009

Woldoff, R. A., & Weiss, K. G. (2010). Stop snitching: Exploring definitions of the snitch and the implications for urban black communities. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 17*(1), 184-223.

Worden, Robert E. and Sarah J. McLean (2017). Mirage of Police Reform: *Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy.* University of California. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uno.edu/tc/accept?origin=%2Fstable%2Fpdf%2F10.1525%2Fj.ctt1w8h 1r1.7.pdf%3Fab_segments%3D0%252Fdefault-2%252Fcontrol. p.46.

Appendix A: Survey Questions

Survey

The web-based and field interview surveys consisted of the following questions:

Q1. What do you find most positive or encouraging about policing in your community?

Q2. What concerns do you have about policing in your community?

Q3. What concerns have you heard from community members?

Q4. What are the most difficult challenges you are facing related to policing in the community?

Q5. What are the hard choices the community should confront in their neighborhood?

Q6. What could be done to improve policing in your community?

Q7. Who should be involved?

Q8. Have you participated in or witnessed citizens and police interacting in your community within the last 24 months?

Q9. Please describe one or more things you perceive to be positive in these interactions.

Q10. Please describe one or more things you perceive to be negative in these interactions.

Q11. What role should community have in enhancing public safety in their own community?

Q12. What aspect of community safety does the public most need to talk about?

Q13. What other thoughts about community safety would you like to offer?

Q14. Are you willing to participate in a focus group on community safety?

Q14b. Please provides us with your contact information. Your response to this question will be kept separate from all other survey answers to protect your anonymity.

Q15. Please provide the contact information for any person(s) that you may think would

be willing to participate in this research.

The remaining questions with the survey (Q16-Q21) consisted of biographical

information needed for this data collection.

Appendix B: NIFI Questionnaire

The following responses were listed on the Likert scale in response to the questions below.

Strongly Agree   Somewhat Agree   Somewhat Disagree   Strongly Disagree   Not Sure

1. Do you agree or disagree with the statements below?

a. The number of unarmed people of color who have lost their lives in encounters with the police shows there is something fundamentally wrong with the culture, training, and recruitment in too many of this nation's police departments.

b. We are expecting entirely too much of our police in asking them to deal with the rising incidence of irrational violence caused by mentally ill or drug-addicted persons who need medical intervention.

c. We urgently need to increase understanding and mutual respect between police and people of color.

d. When faced with life-threatening danger to themselves and civilians, we can't ask police officers to take even more risks with their own safety.

e. We need to tackle the growing disrespect for law enforcement in this country, especially among young people, and give the police the support and help they need and deserve.

f. We need to face up to the fact that too many police officers routinely make snap judgments   about citizens based on race and ethnicity, rather than on probable cause.

The following responses were listed on the Likert scale in response to the questions below.

Strongly Favor   Somewhat Favor   Somewhat Oppose   Strongly Oppose   Not Sure

2. Do you favor or oppose each of these actions?

a. The courts should reserve longer sentences for violent crimes, EVEN IF this means more small-time drug dealers and other nonviolent criminals are returned to the community.

b. Cities and towns should greatly increase the number of police officers on the street, EVEN IF this means some citizens will feel as though they are living in a police state.

c. Police departments should end the use of "stop and frisk" practices, EVEN IF this greatly reduces the ability of law enforcement to prevent crimes before they happen.

d. All police officers should be trained to use de-escalation techniques before resorting to force in dealing with potentially violent offenders, EVEN IF that raises the chances that officers will be harmed or even killed.

e. Communities should train more citizens in the responsible use of firearms so they can defend themselves and aid law enforcement, EVEN IF this increases the chances of accidental shooting and the incidence of vigilante justice.

f. Governments should set up more mental health programs and facilities that will take potentially violent individuals off the street, EVEN IF this results in confining many more people in mental institutions for long periods.

The questionnaire also provided the following questions and responses along with some

biographical information.

3. Did you talk about aspects of the issue you hadn't considered before?
○ Yes
○ No
 If so, please explain.

4. Were there ideas or proposals that you tended to favor coming into the forum that you now have second thoughts about?
○ Yes
○ No
 If so, please explain.

5. What could citizens, working together, do in their own communities to address this problem?

6. Not including this forum, how many National Issues Forums have you attended?
○ 0
○ 1-3
○ 4-6
○ 7 or more

○ Not sure

7. Gender:

☐ Male

☐ Female

Other (please specify)

8. Age:

9. Race/Ethnicity:

☐ Asian American

☐ Black/African American

☐ Hispanic/Latino

☐ Native American

☐ White/Caucasian

☐ Other (please specify)

10. Where do you live?

○ Rural

○ Small Town

○ Large City

○ Suburban

11. What is your zip code?

12. What state do you live in?

13. Did you attend this forum in person or online?

14. What issue would you like to see covered in a future forum?

Appendix C: Comparing New Orleans Data to National Data

NIFI New Orleans Data

NIFI National Data

Q1A:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	12	57.0%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%
Somewhat Disagree	4	19.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
Not Sure	0	0.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	100.0%

Q1A:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	925	50.0%
Somewhat Agree	585	31.6%
Somewhat Disagree	162	8.8%
Strongly Disagree	106	5.7%
Not Sure	51	2.7%
No Response	18	1.0%
	1847	99.8%

Q1B:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	10	48.0%
Somewhat Agree	7	33.0%
Somewhat Disagree	4	19.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
Not Sure	0	0.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	100.0%

Q1B:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	353	19.1%
Somewhat Agree	609	33.0%
Somewhat Disagree	458	24.7%
Strongly Disagree	339	18.3%
Not Sure	71	3.8%
No Response	18	1.0%
	1848	99.9%

1848

Q1C:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	19	90.0%
Somewhat Agree	2	9.0%
Somewhat Disagree	0	0.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
Not Sure	0	0.0%
No Response	0	0.0%
	21	99.0%

Q1C:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	1413	76.6%
Somewhat Agree	329	17.8%
Somewhat Disagree	48	2.6%
Strongly Disagree	21	1.1%
Not Sure	25	1.3%
No Response	11	0.6%
	1847	100.0%

Q1D:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	8	38.0%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%
Somewhat Disagree	4	19.0%

Q1D:

	N	%
Strongly Agree	393	21.2%
Somewhat Agree	572	30.9%
Somewhat Disagree	495	26.8%

	N	%		N	%
Strongly Disagree	1	4.0%	Strongly Disagree	192	10.3%
Not Sure	3	14.0%	Not Sure	160	8.7%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	35	1.9%
	21	99.0%		1847	99.8%

Q1E: **Q1E:**

	N	%		N	%
Strongly Agree	9	42.9%	Strongly Agree	912	40.4%
Somewhat Agree	6	28.6%	Somewhat Agree	657	35.5%
Somewhat Disagree	3	14.3%	Somewhat Disagree	252	13.6%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%	Strongly Disagree	104	5.6%
Not Sure	3	14.3%	Not Sure	64	3.4%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	23	1.2%
	21	100.0%		1847	99.7%
		100.0%			

QF1:   **QF1:**

	N	%		N	%
Strongly Agree	9	43.0%	Strongly Agree	845	45.7%
Somewhat Agree	5	24.0%	Somewhat Agree	590	31.9%
Somewhat Disagree	6	28.0%	Somewhat Disagree	210	11.3%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%	Strongly Disagree	104	5.6%
Not Sure	1	4.0%	Not Sure	76	4.1%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	22	1.2%
	21	99.0%		1847	99.8%

Q2A: **Q2A:**

	N	%		N	%
Strongly Favor	8	38.0%	Strongly Favor	658	35.6%
Somewhat Favor	7	33.0%	Somewhat Favor	715	38.7%
Somewhat Oppose	4	19.0%	Somewhat Oppose	205	11.0%
Strongly Oppose	1	4.0%	Strongly Oppose	150	8.1%
Not Sure	1	4.0%	Not Sure	90	4.9%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	29	1.6%
	21	98.0%		1847	99.9%

Q2B: **Q2B:**

	N	%		N	%
Strongly Favor	0	0.0%	Strongly Favor	172	9.3%
Somewhat Favor	11	52.0%	Somewhat Favor	503	27.2%

	N	%		N	%
Somewhat Oppose	5	24.0%	Somewhat Oppose	640	34.6%
Strongly Oppose	5	24.0%	Strongly Oppose	401	21.7%
Not Sure	0	0.0%	Not Sure	104	5.6%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	27	1.4%
	21	100.0%		1847	99.8%

Q2C:

	N	%	Q2C:	N	%
Strongly Favor	8	38.0%	Strongly Favor	553	30.0%
Somewhat Favor	5	24.0%	Somewhat Favor	485	26.2%
Somewhat Oppose	5	24.0%	Somewhat Oppose	434	23.4%
Strongly Oppose	2	9.0%	Strongly Oppose	215	11.6%
Not Sure	0	0.0%	Not Sure	135	7.2%
No Response	1	4.0%	No Response	25	1.4%
	21	99.0%		1847	99.8%

Q2D:

	N	%	Q2D:	N	%
Strongly Favor	12	57.0%	Strongly Favor	912	49.3%
Somewhat Favor	7	33.0%	Somewhat Favor	623	33.7%
Somewhat Oppose	1	4.0%	Somewhat Oppose	134	7.2%
Strongly Oppose	0	0.0%	Strongly Oppose	58	3.1%
Not Sure	1	4.0%	Not Sure	77	4.2%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	43	2.3%
	21	98.0%		1847	99.8%

Q2E:

	N	%	Q2E:	N	%
Strongly Favor	0	0.0%	Strongly Favor	272	14.6%
Somewhat Favor	1	4.0%	Somewhat Favor	366	19.8%
Somewhat Oppose	7	33.0%	Somewhat Oppose	419	22.6%
Strongly Oppose	12	57.0%	Strongly Oppose	639	34.9%
Not Sure	1	4.0%	Not Sure	111	6.0%
No Response	0	0.0%	No Response	40	2.1%
	21	98.0%		1847	100.0%

Q2F:

	N	%	Q2F:	N	%
Strongly Favor	15	71.0%	Strongly Favor	945	51.1%

Somewhat Favor	**6**	**29.0%**	**Somewhat Favor**	588	31.8%
			Somewhat		
Somewhat Oppose	**0**	**0.0%**	**Oppose**	129	6.9%
Strongly Oppose	**0**	**0.0%**	**Strongly Oppose**	46	2.5%
Not Sure	**0**	**0.0%**	**Not Sure**	93	5.0%
No Response	**0**	**0.0%**	**No Response**	46	2.5%
	21	**100.0%**		**1847**	**99.8%**

Appendix D: Nine Principles of Law Enforcement

PRINCIPLE 1 "The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder."

PRINCIPLE 2 "The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions."

PRINCIPLE 3 "Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public."

PRINCIPLE 4 "The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force."

PRINCIPLE 5 "Police seek and preserve public favor not by catering to the public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law."

PRINCIPLE 6 "Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient."

PRINCIPLE 7 "Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence."

PRINCIPLE 8 "Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary."

PRINCIPLE 9 "The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it."

Vita

Dennis Thornton worked with the University of New Orleans Transportation Institute (UNOTI) for two years (2016-2018) as a graduate research assistant. His work in this area consists primarily of transportation-related research in shipping and rail in the gulf coast region of the United States. Dennis is also a law enforcement officer with the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office since 1978 and has worked in various units within the department. He retired with the rank of Captain/Commander of the homicide division in 2015 and continued his service with the department post-retirement in the intelligence division conducting cold-case homicide investigations.

Dennis received a BCJ in Criminal Justice from Loyola University-New Orleans in 1991. He continued his studies attending Indiana State University and graduating with an MA in Criminology. In 2012, Dennis began working on his second masters' degree and a doctorate in Urban Studies at the University of New Orleans. He received a Master's of Science of Urban Studies in 2016.