The War Amongst our Homes: Society's Attitude towards the Increased Militarization of

American Policing

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Science

in the

Criminal Justice

Program

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

May, 2016

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to investigate whether or not the increased police militarization has in fact truly affected society's perceptions of the police. In the United States we have seen the use of militarized equipment by our local (civilian) police departments on the rise. With various militarized weapons such as: assault rifles, night vision technologies and even camouflaged gear from wartime efforts being distributed to local police agencies as a part of military surplus transfers. The "war on drugs", "war on crime" and "war on terror" are said to be at the forefront of why we have and need such equipment and tactics. Though, is militarization the safest most effective way to combat these professed "wars"? This study analyzes the events leading up to how policing came to be, in addition to detailing how militarized policing came to exist. Furthermore, it showcases the evolution of policing strategies over the years; including the creation of the Special Weapons and Tactics units otherwise known as SWAT. This study is an effort to see if society feels that they are at war with police, but most importantly to gauge society's attitude as well as their perception towards the increased militarization of American Policing. Data analysis suggests that gender, income and area of study in college are some of the factors that have played a significant role in how individuals perceive police. Results of this investigation may help us find a way to aid and offset this tension amongst police and their constituents; thus in hopes of creating better police and community relations as a result thereof.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis in loving memory of: Brandice Carmichael-'Mattie

Mae' (Sister); Alvin G. Wallace Jr.-'June' (Brother); Juanita Bright (Maternal

Grandmother); Rev. Annie Scott (Paternal Grandmother); Levon Carmichael Bills

(Maternal Aunt)

Gone, but Never Forgotten

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength each day to make everything I do possible.

I owe a very big thank you to Dr. Monica Merrill for her hard work, assistance and most importantly her commitment for helping me complete this study. I do not think I can thank you enough because you got me going on this thesis when I wanted to quit. I would like to thank Dr. Christian Onwudiwe and Dr. Gordon Frissora for contributing to this team effort, you both truly kept me focused and was very supportive during this extensive process.

I want to thank my boss, City of Youngstown's Buildings and Grounds Commissioner, Sean T. McKinney and Youngstown Street Department Construction Foreman, David Vinion for all the help, wisdom and encouragement they have given me over the years, it keeps me going!

A big thank you is also owed to my friend and fellow criminal justice undergraduate/graduate classmate Amy Brown. Without you pushing me daily I still would not have this paper done, so thank you! Now I can join you in the alumni ranks of Masters of Science in Criminal Justice; we did it! I would also like to thank Dr. John Hazy my graduate coordinator who helped me prepare to enter this program and for always making sure I was successfully completing my course work.

Lastly and definitely not least! I thank God for blessing me with my parents Alvin and Jeannette (Carmichael) Wallace for always being there for me, providing for me, mentoring, disciplining, encouraging and supporting me. Dad-Mom, without you two I would not be the man I am today. Alongside my immediate family and a special thank

you to my sister Addonnus Carmichael-Harden, CNP for also encouraging me in this process.

Again, to you all, Thank you and God bless!

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Introduction

As a youngster I was always fascinated with the police. Most of my friends and

family even called me Mr. Officer as a nickname. This is attributed to the fact that I only

played the cop in the children's game "cops and robbers." Growing up I never was

exposed to the problems many African-American boys my age went through. This I

attribute to the stable home environment my parents provided for me. We had the money,

the home and the cars, so I never knew the problems that parts of society endured with

police. As I got older differences amongst the police and society sparked my interest. I

began to look into how society treated police and how police treated society. This

encouraged me to major in Criminal Justice. This allowed me the chance to form my

own on the issues revolving around these subject matters. As a result, I have chosen to

examine this topic for my thesis: to examine how society not only perceives the police,

but also the increased militarization of police within our communities.

Overview of Police Militarization

Police militarization as a result of military surplus transfers is not a new

component of local police agencies. In fact, this has been an ongoing situation for

decades. However, it has been a progressive approach building up to where and what we

see today. For instance, decades ago had police departments utilized the same militarized

weaponry as today it would not have fit into where society was at that time. Thus, people

from those earlier decades would have considered the same tactics we use today as out of

place and possibly viewed as being morally wrong.   As you will see, the use of

militarized equipment in a sense has greatly evolved to fit the views of society.

Police and its functions have evolved over time. The most evident being the 1878

Posse Comitatus Act, which has been eroded from its original intentions. The sole

purpose of this law was to restrict the use of the military, as well as its equipment, in

domestic law enforcement activities, except where it was specifically allowed by the

United States Constitution and or by the United States Congress (Coyne and Hall, 2013).

This erosion of the *Posse Comitatus Act* has caused some segments of society to feel

uneasy about the events occurring around this controversial issue. In that some feel that

the government is too suspicious of their constituents when trying to maintain national

security (Whitehead, 2015).

One of the problems facing this issue is the overall lack of research done on this

widely contested topic, perception of the militarization of police. It is not a new situation

that society is being confronted with, but a situation that now has the attention of the

media who can persuade the mind of the masses. This thesis addresses this shortcoming

by taking the data I collected and beginning to examine what and how society feels about

the increased militarization of American policing.

This battlefield mindset has seemed to greatly affect police departments and their

constituents nationwide. While, not all police departments take part in these tactics, it is

a growing trend. Leaving some to ponder whether it will ever stop. Since congress

launched this federal recycling program it has transferred well over 4 billion dollars'

worth of military equipment to police agencies in all fifty states and U.S. territories

(Whitehead, 2015). Today some 17,000 local police forces are equipped with such

military equipment as Blackhawk helicopters, machine guns, grenade launchers and some even with tanks (Whitehead, 2015).

Not to mention, in 1980 there were roughly 3,000 SWAT team style raids and by 2001 that had grown to 45,000, which has since swelled to 80,000 per year (Whitehead, 2015). Most of which are not used for deadly situations as they were intended for, but rather for routine police patrols. These are just some of the problems that have laid the groundwork for society to truly see and question what it is their police agencies are trying to do.

Need

Police militarization has accelerated in the 2000s after the September 11th attacks. The first half of the decade brought forth an abundance of funding and equipment as a result of the formation of homeland security (Balko, 2014). This was the rationale needed for police agencies to bulk up their arsenals and for smaller towns to start up more SWAT teams. The "war on drugs," "war on crime," and "war on terror" used as the rationale for militarization are affecting all members of society. Nevertheless, there are times when militarized gear could be used legitimately; however, it is becoming the norm rather than the exception.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is a very important and timely one, potentially a matter of life and death. Police and the society they have sworn to protect and serve are at war with one another. Cops are killing civilians and unfortunately we are seeing cops getting killed in the line of duty in what is being called "retaliation killings." Today's police have become more and more militarized, which has both sides fighting for what they call

justice. Here, I will examine the foundational history of policing so that one can understand where it truly came from as well as other surrounding this issue, which includes, but is not limited to the creation of the Special Weapons and Tactics unit or SWAT teams, the evolving strategy of policing and the war on terror, to name a few.

I will also examine the actual militarization of police and the weapons used. I will also discuss why such equipment is deemed necessary for civilian populations and why some are pushing to de-militarize police departments. Lastly, I will discuss the results of the analysis of my original data on how society views law enforcement in various circumstances. The purpose of this particular study is to determine if the growing militarization of our police forces doomed what we have come to know as community oriented policing? Or has that growth actually helped police departments to "protect and serve?" Understanding these key components could greatly reduce tension amongst society and the police.

Hypothesis

Everyone is affected by the increased militarization of policing differently. The media makes it seem as though the U.S. society is on the verge of an all- out civil war. My key research question is whether or not the increased police militarization has affected how society perceives police. Little data has been collected on this issue, which is why I chose to examine key demographic variables only. One cannot just assume to know an outcome; we must have numbers and facts that prove our arguments.

Overview

The following chapters of this thesis will describe the previously mentioned hypothesis in greater detail. It is important to realize the foundation of where police

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came from to the evolution of local police agencies overtime, as well as the events

leading up to why we have militarization occurring. Chapter two includes a

comprehensive review of literature describing the components of policing that has lead us

to the policing methods we see being utilized today. Chapter three will detail the

hypotheses, methodology and analysis of this thesis. The statistical results and

procedures are revealed in Chapter four. Chapters five and six will provide discussion

and concluding information.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Literature Introduction

      This chapter explores the use of militarization of police in America. It examines the history of militarization to the current dilemmas surrounding this very debatable topic. Scholars have researched and discussed how declaring a "war" such as the "war on Drugs," "war on Terror," and "war on Crime" could be the reason for the many concerns that are facing this issue. The following sections will provide information about how militarization came to be, the evolution of policing, to even the types of weapons that are being distributed nationwide for law enforcement agencies.

      In general, society thinks of militarization of police departments as being a bad omen. There will be times that militarized police equipment will be crucial in saving lives. The following sections will also elaborate more on society's attitude towards the increased militarization in America. These sections will give detailed information on how society as well as how the police feel about this widely contested topic in America. Especially with local agencies trying to combat the "War on Terror" as a result of the September 11th attacks on America. It is a result of this, according to Kraska (2007), that this is considered to be the prime reason for the militarization of police forces in America. As the government sought whatever means necessary to keep America and its citizens safe from foreign enemies it seems that the tables have turned and, to some, it seems the U.S. citizens are at times getting the brunt of this outcome.

      Policing since its inception has been structured around the military model, which will be discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, the final section of this chapter

examines why most are calling for the demilitarization of their police agencies despite the beneficial components that militarization could potentially bring.

Academic scholars have examined Sir Robert Peel and some of his policing theories that have contributed to what they call his nine principles of policing. These have been used by scholars world-wide as the foundational backbone of policing for centuries now. The nine principles of policing as described by Ortmeier and Meese III (2004) are as follows:

1. The first principle states the basic mission for whom police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime and disorder by military force and severity of legal punishment.

2. The second principle is the ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behavior, and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.

3. The third principle is police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.

4. The fourth principle is the degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity for the use of physical force and compulsion in achieving police objectives.

5. The fifth principle states the police seek and preserve public favor, not by catering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to the law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of

individual service and friendship to all members of the society without regard to their race or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humor; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. The sixth principle is the police should 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 to achieve police objectives; and police should use only the minimum degree of physical force that is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

7. The seventh principle says the 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 that the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties that are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of the community welfare.

8. The eighth principle notes the police should always direct their actions toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary by avenging individuals or the state, or authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.

9. The ninth principle states the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

When looking back on these nine principles of policing scholars have formulated from Peels ideals; current New York City Police Commissioner William J. Bratton believes there is some doubt among scholars that Sir Robert Peel himself ever actually used any of his police instructions used to formulate these principles (Nagel, 2014). Regardless, of

who created these nine principles that we still see being utilized today, four of these principles truly stood out from the rest.

The first principle stands out because the success of police departments should be measured in terms of safer communities or the absence of crime (the prevention) not the number of arrest or citations given (Ortmeier and Meese III, 2004). The second and third principles go hand in hand. In that, they are the basis of today's version of what successful police-community relationships are (Ortmeier and Meese III, 2004). That when the public trusts the police either crimes are deterred to a certain extent out of respect or citizens are more willing to make contact with police about a crime. Therefore allowing the two sides, police and community, to fight crime and keep their neighborhoods safer together. These are vital principles to remember especially in today's time as respect between police and society seem to be on the decline. As it seems society is more at war with police than they are friends trying to work as one.

Lastly, principle seven stood out because it is the very foundation of neighborhoods participating in community policing (Ortmeier and Meese III, 2004). As tax payers we know the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give-full time attention to duties focused on the interest of community welfare, safety and its existence. Thus there must be a mutual respect amongst police and society for peace to truly be present. In short, according to Ortmeier and Meese III (2004), " the extent to which Peel's principles are followed by modern police departments can serve as a barometer of successful police citizen relationship and the respect and cooperation that is received from the public the police serves" (p.4).

In 1829, Peel created the first known modern police force (Balko, 2014). This occurred after decades of opposition that he and his father faced after their ideas for a modern police force were first proposed. The opposition they faced was from the British people's concerns over their country's civil liberties and traditions being infringed upon. It was this opposition that repeatedly killed the idea of a modern police force that Peel and his father wanted to establish decades prior (Balko, 2014). As parliament became more and more concerned about the growing safety issues they approved of the first modern police force in 1829 (Balko, 2014). Even at this early age it is believed that Peel was concerned about standing armies. According to Balko (2014) Peel also believed, "that a successful police force would need at least some of the structure and discipline of a military influence" (p.29).

Peel's ideals created the first police force with three thousand officers in Britain (Balko, 2013). They all wore uniforms as it made who they were more recognizable. Peel made those uniforms blue in order to distinguish them from the red worn by the military. According to Watt (2013), in the United States today, it has been shown that citizens initial responses to police uniforms in the traditional military color of Khaki is negative compared to their responses to the traditional blue color of police uniforms. In that, Watt believed Peel's choice of blue was an inspired choice to not only represent, but to encourage civil peace (Watt, 2013). As a result, this lead to the commonly used metonym of "thin blue line" phrase that had started in England and Wales. That in turn has spread throughout the common law world, including the United States (Watt, 2013). Police forces adopted ideas from the military such as the top-down administrative structure and even borrowed some of the military titles such as sergeant, commander,

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captain and lieutenant (Balko, 2013). These are all traditions that we still see used in the

United States today. It is here in this time frame that police officer training took place on

the streets. In that, aside from abiding by the law, police had to learn by trial and error

from the various situations they encountered (Conger, 2008).

Something else key to note here is the *Posse Comitatus Act* otherwise known as

18 U.S. Code 1385, which was passed by congress in 1878. The sole purpose of the law

was to "end the use of federal troops to police state elections in former confederate

states" (Doyle, 2000, p.243).   In other words, this restricted the involvement of the

military as well as its equipment in many domestic law enforcement activities; except

where it was specifically allowed by the U.S. Constitution and or ordered by Congress

(Coyne and Hall, 2013). State governors could however request military assistance when

their domestic forces could no longer maintain control. With that in mind this law has

undergone many alterations and seen many exceptions added since its creation. The most

important exception was that congress created a "drug exception." Under the new

legislation congress granted the secretary of defense the authority to make available any

military equipment and personnel needed for local law enforcement purposes as part of

the total effort to combat the "war on drugs" (Doyle, 2000). This law grants the military

the authority to provide numerous military resources to civilian law enforcement

departments nationwide all in an effort to combat the "war on drugs." Though, it was the

September 11th attacks, which brought forth a greater need for modernized security

measures. This day, along with other security threats against the United States, has lead

society to accept a more militarized police force.

In order to truly understand the significance of police militarization it is important to examine the history of policing in the United States. This will ensure you understand how policing has progressed and changed overtime. In the 1700s both England and Colonial America experienced an increase in their populations (Archbold, 2012). With this growth came people from various countries around the world. This resulted in a high number of individuals migrating to this region, which brought about more social disorder and unrest (Archbold, 2012). Initially the English would reference this style of policing as the Kin police, leaving people responsible for watching out for their relatives or Kin (Archbold, 2012). However, in Colonial America they simply utilized a watch system made up of volunteers consisting of usually men (Archbold, 2012). To cope with the social changes a more formalized approach to policing began to take shape, as opposed to the early days where citizens were responsible for law enforcement in their communities (Archbold, 2012)

During those days the United States were separated into two areas; the northern and southern regions. For the purpose of understanding this research study we will focus on the Southern region. Even though the Northern region such as in Connecticut, New York and other colonies enacted laws to criminalize and control slaves during this time (Kappeler, 2015).

Modern policing stemmed from both slave patrols and night watches; both of which were designed to control the behavior of minorities (Kappeler, 2015). Slave patrols or "Paddy rollers" first emerged in South Carolina in the early parts of the 1700s (Archbold, 2012). Slave patrols had three essential duties in the south during this time,

including searches of slave lodges, keeping slaves off of roadways and disabling meetings organized by groups of slaves (Archbold, 2012). Leaving some to regard slave patrols as the first formal attempt at policing in America (Archbold, 2012). When you examine the word "policing," which in short means to regulate or control a particular issue we can see how slave patrols were in a sense a true style of policing (Archbold, 2012).

Now we are transitioning into the professionalism era of policing which occurred in the early 1900s in America. Here policing was no longer just a job, it was a career. For the first thirty or so years of the twentieth century society saw professional societies like police chiefs unions, the sharing and knowledge of police sciences such as fingerprinting as well as specialized squads to tackle specific problems like alcohol, prostitution and gambling (Balko, 2013).

The individual most noted here was August Vollmer, who served as police chief for Berkley, California from 1905 to 1932 (Balko, 2013). He started the movement for the police radios, squad cars, bicycles, lie detector tests, formalized police training and even crime labs as we know them today. These additions created the modern day police organization; a centralized, authoritarian bureaucracy focusing on crime control (Balko, 2013).

Creation of Special Weapons and Tactics-SWAT

These nine principles of policing as described by Peel are of vital importance as we examine society's attitude towards the increased militarization of American policing. They are vital because according to C.J. Oakes (2015) most Americans still consider the Bill of Rights sacred. The Bill of Rights is essential for a free society. These rights

prohibit the use of military forces against its citizens as well as prevent cruel and unusual punishment at the hands of public officials. We have seen our military forces recently withdraw from the Middle East; many police departments nationwide have received surplus items. This results in police departments becoming increasingly militarized, which could be seen as problematic by some. Primarily for the fact that it increases chances of having their rights infringed upon. Oakes (2015) goes on to mention that many of the nation's police forces operate in a quasi-military fashion to safe guard the public without encroaching (ideally) on such rights as free citizens. The word "ideally" is essential when you have police departments that are acting in a military fashion as well as trained in military tactics. When you combine militarized structure and behavior coupled with military surplus one could argue that modern police have become a military force.

This can be seen with the start of the Special Weapons and Tactics unit, or SWAT for short, in the mid-1960s. There was an increase in violent crime especially in the Los Angeles area. In 1969, the SWAT team performed a raid taking down the largest Black Panther party group and some four years later did the same on the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) (Balko, 2014). This created a nationwide firestorm as many police departments nationwide now were interested in their own SWAT teams. In fact, in the SLA raid SWAT officers were asking to use fragmentation grenades that explode into body-piercing shards, and historically only used by the military (Balko, 2014). Though that request was not granted, it was still a viable option that would have surely put an end to that raid sooner. Essentially this meant that SWAT officers had the skills and equipment necessary to combat such an issue. Thus the U.S. military cannot act as our

police force when dealing with U.S. citizens under the *Posse Comitatus Act*. This SWAT alternative is iconic in how police have become more reflective of a military force for volatile domestic situations. It is here we have begun to see how increased police militarization is coming about.

<u>*Evolving Strategy of Policing*</u>

Some say the militarization of a police force starts early because of the training cadets are exposed to. In fact, as soon as the individual enters into the academy this socialization into a paramilitary officer begins. Currently every police officer in the United States undergoes some form of certification at a police academy. Police academies are also called law enforcement training facilities. They are schools that specialize in a series of courses to certify people as law enforcement officers (Congers, 2008). Being that the federal government delegates policing to the state and local levels there is no national policing criteria for police academies. Although each state has its own academy curriculum, which are taught by seasoned police officers who have obtained special state certifications. Some even teach various languages in order to serve their communities diverse ethnic backgrounds. These are just some of the evolutions policing has undergone since its creation.

According to Bickel, the U.S. Department of Justice explains that the majority of police recruits nationwide receive their training in academies with a stress-based military orientation. This grueling process is no easy task. At times it may even seem horrific to an untrained eye, but this is the training process used widely across the country. This style of training is modeled after the military boot camp, which consists of intense physical demands, public discipline, withholding privileges and immediate reaction to

infractions (Bickel, 2013). Recruits undergo numerous physical and grueling demands some of which includes being pepper sprayed and being tasered.

The instructors in charge of these recruits in this stress training model use indiscriminate verbal abuse, debasement, humiliation, confrontation, harassment, hazing and shouting as forms of punishment (Bickel, 2013). They are also exposed to routines such as pushups, pull-ups, hand to hand combat and timed runs that are designed to push their bodies to the limits. The recruit's appearances are even scrutinized as there is close-cropped hair for men and women cannot wear cosmetics. According to Bickel, these are just some of the physically and mentally demanding exercises that thousands of men and women in police academies must experience in hopes of becoming a police officer. This type of training is what makes them militaristic. These are just some of the many factors these individuals experience in this phase, but it is also the changes in one's mindsets that alter as well. It is the process of evolving from a civilian to that of an individual that is able to withstand whatever dangers life throws at them. When you take that mindset in addition to militarized weapons there are not many differences between them and that of an army. Peter Kraska states militarism is, "a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that stress the use of force and threat of violence as the most appropriate and efficacious means to solve problems" (Kraska, 2007, p.3). It is this attitude that some can say has led to the domestic militarized police officer. In that, these training tactics take all forms of what a person may have that is civilian like and in turn creates the militarized person.

Kraska further explains what he calls the military model. This system is made up of four dimensions that he refers to as "tangible indicators of police militarization." These tangible indicators include material, cultural, organizational and operational components.

He describes the material as the type of weaponry that is used as well as equipment and advanced technology used to carry out functions (Kraska, 2007, p.3). Cultural is described as the language, style (uniform or dress), beliefs and values; where organizational consist of hierarchical levels or chain of command as well as the command and control centers used (Kraska, 2007). The operational dimension consists of activities formulated around the military such as in areas of intelligence, supervision and the handling of high risk situations. These ideologies, though not new to society were initially most recognizably put to the test in the early 1970s during U.S. President Richard Nixon's era.

Here President Nixon declared the "war on drugs," which in turn resulted in the "war on crime." Nixon believed drugs were a major threat to the United States in the 1970s (Coyne and Hall, 2013). These wars were different than any other wars this country had ever seen. No longer were we shipping soldiers off overseas to face the might of some political or dictatorship opposition. Now these so called "domestic enemies" we have come to know as described by Coyne and Hall reside within the borders of the United States. After Nixon declares this war it is then that the American people became concerned about the issues coming to light. During the decades to follow the United States became involved in numerous operations abroad to stop the flow of drugs from entering this country.

This brought about the creation of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) in 1973 (Coyne and Hall, 2013). At the start of 1989, 70 percent of the country accepted the fact that police were utilizing military assistance such as equipment and supplies; whereas 69 percent of those people favored the use of military advisors to support officials in their

effort to combat the war on drugs (Coyne and Hall, 2013). The language hereby opened the portal for the militarization of domestic policing.

War on Terror

One day could be the very day that enhanced the drive to police militarization nationwide, that day was September 11, 2001. A day the world saw the United States fall under attack on its home soil. Those attacks led to thousands of lives being lost and a broad spectrum of new laws being enacted. That very day altered the military function of the U.S. Military and changed the entire world's view on terrorism. After examining Peter Kraska's work, it can really open eyes as to just how far the American criminal justice system has become militarized. One can definitely see how the conventional distinctions between that of the military and police have become overwhelmingly blurred. An example of this is the usage of the Police Paramilitary Units or PPU. They found that roughly 18 percent of the small, medium and large police departments often use PPUs to just patrol high-crime neighborhoods. In that, PPUs debunk the stereotypical SWAT team methods of just handling hostile terrorist, or crazed barricaded gunmen (Kraska, 2001). In his research Kraska, further found "a sharp rise in the number of police paramilitary units, rapid expansion in their activities, the normalization of paramilitary units into mainstream police work, and a close ideological and material connection between PPUs and the US armed forces." With these units carrying out the daily functions of police patrols in certain communities, which are modeled directly after military special operations squads such as the Navy Seals and Delta Force. We see yet another prime example of the increased militarization taking effect in our country. Kraska explains that since the September 11 attacks the American public has been inundated

with numerous headlines and responses to the tragedy. This he believes has caused the American people and the world to accept these widespread military approaches for problem solving.

One could argue his book offers a very clear and precise view point of how the military has not only influenced, but overlapped with our crime control policies and even its actions in a few cases. The book also showcases several illustrations of the militarization of policing. Some of these illustrations including, but are not limited to: the use of the national guard in the war on drugs, the expansion of integrated technology systems and the increases in the establishment and deployment of paramilitary policing units. Though, it seems as all of this is just a warning of the potential life altering dangers further mixing the military and criminal justice system could produce.

Why Militarization of Policing

This section will examine why the U.S. has militaristic policies in our local police departments nationwide. As mentioned earlier many believe the convergence of the police and military are the result of paramilitary training in police academies. According to Kraska, the U.S. military handles the country's external security through the practice of war and the civilian police handle our internal security by the enforcement of federal and local laws. Over the course of fifteen years the traditional distinctions between that of the military/ police, war/ law enforcement and internal and external security are rapidly blurring. He traced this to two interrelated trends that surround this blur, which are "militarization of U.S. police and crime control, and the police-ization [sic] of the U.S. military" (Kraska, 2007).

The blur between police and military are in part due to the following empirical indicators. As mentioned earlier there is the 1878 *Posse Comitatus Act* in which previously to the 1980s eliminated military involvement in internal security or police matters. Kraska found there is a significant erosion of the 1878 *Posse Comitatus Act* within the United States. He also believes it is the advent of an unprecedented cooperative relationship between the U.S. military and U.S. Civilian police at the highest and lowest level of an organization; a result seen from the technological transfers, massive military weapons transfers, information sharing between the military and police targeted at domestic security, which are all in an effort in both drug control and terrorism control efforts (Kraska, 2007). The steep growth of police special operation units, for example SWAT teams and how they have become the norm, was yet another way they found how the two entities are becoming blurred. For instance, a surprisingly high percentage of police agencies deploy their swat teams to do routine patrol work in crime hot spots, a strong indicator of the normalization associated with paramilitary police units (Kraska, 2007). In fact, the Pittsburgh police department purchased a $250,000 Armored Personnel Carrier using homeland security grant money to conduct street sweeps in high crime neighborhoods, all while fitted with full military clothing and weaponry (Dritch, 2007). There is also a growing tendency by the police to rely on the military war model to formulate ways to control drugs, crime and terrorism in this country.

Thus, it is obvious that police have to some extent been militarized, given the paramilitary training and the erosion of the 1878 *Posse Comitatus Act*. We saw that with Sir Robert Peel, who designed uniforms around military styles and call signs that were borrowed from the military. Thus as Kraska puts it, any assertion that the police are, or

are not militarized is simply misguided. Kraska believes that this is something easily overlooked by police analysts, whom he feels react defensively to using those organizing concepts (Kraska, 2007). This creates a one-dimensional lens for society to view police, to either being militarized or not being militarized. The point Kraska wants to make here is that analysis of militarization among the civilian police have to focus in on where civilian police fall on the continuum; whether it be culturally, organizationally, operationally or materially and in which way they are headed.

Although, those in favor of militarized style weaponry could argue, a variety of reasons why this is necessitated. Some could see it as being vital because this country was founded on violence. This brings to light the notion that because this country was obtained through violence. Something we have seen from all the brutal wars that have occurred over the course of U.S. history. For instance just for us to conquer this land from various Native American tribes and Great Britain there were wars. As a result leaving society and our government with this almost subconscious desire to carry or possess these militaristic weapons for protection —hence the reason for the 2nd Amendment of the United States Constitution. As of 2012, there are estimated to be 2.5-3.7 million rifles from the Ar-15 (.223 caliber) family in civilian use in America (Bouchard, 2014). These rifles range in use from target shooting, hunting and even personal protection. So those individuals arguing for militarization believe it only makes sense for them to acquire such rifles and armored vehicles for their own protection. Bringing to light that the reality of this world is a world with high-powered threats that in turn must have equal counter measures to not only save their lives, but those lives of innocent people they have sworn to protect.

Another prime example of why such equipment could be argued for occurred on August 11, 1966. A man by the name of Charles Whitman an Eagle Scout, an ex-marine and former altar boy committed acts of murder and terror that was said to have brought about the modern SWAT team as we know it (Balko, 2014). This individual shot his mother in the back of the head and returned home where he stabbed his wife to death. Afterwards at approximately 11am, he went to the top of the clock tower at the University of Texas at Austin. It is there he continued his massacre and by the time he himself was shot he had killed thirteen people and wounded more than thirty, all from a position of 230 feet off the ground (Balko, 2014). In all, Whitman's killing spree lasted more than ninety minutes, because Austin police did not have the guns to reach the top of the tower. In the meantime officers and civilians had to go home and to gun stores to obtain the rifles needed to reach Whitman's location. It was clear that the Austin police department was not prepared for such an incident.

It was at this time on the West coast that a special unit was already being developed. In fact Lieutenant Sid Heal of the Los Angeles County sheriff's department wrote that the Whitman shooting "marked the birth date of the modern police SWAT concept" (Balko, 2014, p.58). It is because of that day that almost every police department in the United States has formed a special response team designed specifically to handle similar situations (Balko, 2014). It is definitely no wonder why we have these types of response teams; given the lives that could be lost without such equipment and tactical advantages. This thesis will examine how the public perceives the militarization of police, necessary or unnecessary, and where they think it is headed.

Types of Militarized Police Weapons

The influx of military weapons into civilian police departments began in 1997, as congress first launched its 1033 program (Whitehead, 2015). This program authorized the United States Department of Defense to transfer surplus military equipment to various state and local police agencies across the country. This federal recycling program has transferred nearly $4.3 billion in military equipment across all fifty states and U.S. territories (Whitehead, 2015). The most prominent and visible item being sent to local law enforcement are the mine resistant, ambush-protected vehicles otherwise known as the MRAPs. They are designed to withstand threats such as bullets, grenades and roadside bombs at the front lines of war, with more than 600 of these vehicles having been sent to local law enforcement agencies nationwide (Rezvani, Pupovac, EADs & Fisher, 2014). In fact, Los Angeles County police department has nine of these said vehicles for use.

The 1033 program consists of more than just the notable MRAPs. According to Rezvani since 2006 the Pentagon has also distributed: 79,288 assault rifles, 205 grenade launchers, 11,959 bayonets, 3,972 combat knives, and $124 million worth of night vision equipment including night- vision sniper scopes, 479 bomb detonator robots, 50 airplanes-including 27 cargo transport planes, 422 helicopters, deception equipment and more than $3.6 million worth of camouflage gear (Rezvani, et al., 2014). In that, according to Whitehead, local police agencies in 2013 alone received more than half a billion dollars' worth of this equipment. This is kept track of by the Department of Defense as they utilize a National Stock Number on every item they distribute (Whitehead, 2015). That way they can identify what exactly has been given—which also

helps in determining the overall cost calculations for statistical purposes. However, that weapons and stereotypical military gear are relatively just a small part of the 1033 program. The Department of Defense even provided building materials, musical instruments, copiers and even toiletries (Rezvani, et al., 2014). So in retrospect when someone says military equipment was provided it does not necessarily have to be just weaponry.

On the other hand, in what some would call a flaw, this same 1033 program gave the small Texas town of Rising Star, with a population of 835 and only one full time police officer; the capabilities to acquire $3.2 million worth of goods and military gear from the government. Not just local law enforcement agencies are receiving such equipment. In actuality all levels of government even regulatory agencies with the federal government are in possession of high powered weapons and havoc wreaking hollow point bullets (Whitehead, 2015). The Department of Homeland security and its Immigration and Customs Enforcement office agreed to acquire 450 million of these ammunition rounds (Whitehead, 2015). Also, Department of Homeland security placed another order for 750 million rounds of various ammunitions in August of 2012 (Whitehead, 2015). The social security administration ordered 174,00 rounds of hollow point rounds, distributing those rounds to 41 locations throughout the U.S. including major cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit and Philadelphia, among others (Whitehead, 2015). All while hollow point bullets have been found in violation of international law and even banned in some countries (Whitehead, 2015). Therefore, it is no wonder Americans are seeking to arm themselves. As many people feel threatened as to what their own government could potentially do to them.

Effects of Militarization on Society

Now that we have examined the history and causes of militarization, what effect does this have on society? Most of society if they were driving down the road and noticed the headlights of a patrol car behind them would freeze and panic. In that very moment drivers education 101 comes to the forefront of our minds. We begin to drive as safely as possible careful not to make any wrong moves out of fear of being pulled over. This is pure anxiety on the civilian, but it also is rough on the law enforcement officials because they are unsure about your feelings towards police as well. These anxieties could potentially be why trust between police/peace officers and civilians has decreased over the years.

An example of which, we have seen recently in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri as police aimed assault rifles at peaceful protestors, or when paramilitary SWAT raids a home in the middle of the night. It is these types of acts that cause police forces to treat civilians like the enemy, but also society to see police as the enemy, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) (Weiss, 2014). This makes us unsafe as it encourages a culture that treats the people like enemies as opposed to treating people like someone they are supposed to serve and protect (Weiss, 2014).

It is important to remember that congress approved of the 1033 program in an effort to combat the "war on drugs" (Rezvani, et al., 2014). Though, as mentioned earlier, Peter Kraska detailed the dangers of deeming situations as a "war" as in the "war on drugs" and "war on crime." This, according to Kraska, has included actions such as the no-knock/ quick-knock raids usually performed by paramilitary personnel. They are designed to generally collect evidence such as illegal drugs, drug money or guns within a

private residence (Kraska, 2007). Often resulting in what most would call a crude form of a drug investigation. These raids often occur at night where law enforcement officials don black militarized gear while using battering rams, flash bang grenades, that are meant to disorient the occupants. All while officers expect the occupants of those said dwellings to immediately comply.

Imagine having a family, you go to sleep knowing your home is secured, only to awaken abruptly in pure terror. You see unidentified individuals in your home and reach for some sort of defense device whether it is a gun, baseball bat, golf club, or maybe even a licensed weapon. In that moment, you do not hear the words being shouted at you as adrenaline is in full effect. You fail to immediately comply and are shot multiple times. This was the case with eighty-year old Eugene Mallory when Los Angeles Sheriffs' deputies claiming to have smelled chemicals related to the production of methamphetamine raided the multi-unit property that he resided in (Whitehead, 2015). Thinking his home was being invaded by burglars, he supposedly raised a gun at the invaders, at which time he was shot six times and later died. The lessons, as told from the spokesperson for the sheriff's department is, "don't pull a gun on a deputy" (Whitehead, 2015). The big concerns here are how a person complies with commands; when they are in panic, or were in a deep sleep and already disoriented by the element of surprise. I feel it is possible that tunnel vision occurs for them as well and what you say may be heard, but not cognitively processed.

These examples highlight some of the circumstances that are driving a harder wedge between police departments rapport with its constituents. Where too often these raids are conducted on the wrong houses and or old addresses of a suspect and as a result

innocent people could lose their lives. Where in some cases these types of raids have caused harm to innocent people such as children. An example of this was when a 19-month old Wisconsin baby was critically wounded after police conducted a no-knock raid. During this raid a flash-bang grenade that they sent into the boy's home landed in his crib. The warrant dealt with the search of a relative for a $50 drug sale (Unruh, 2014).

Kraska goes on to mention that it was only two decades ago that these same types of tactics were frowned upon and deemed unacceptable. He points out there are other alternatives to deal with these situations. Instead Kraska states, "they are the result of police departments choosing to use extreme and highly dangerous tactics, not for terrorist or hostage takers, but for small time drug possessors and dealers" (Kraska, 2007 p.8). This demonstrates that the government is attempting to control the crime problems in the country by conducting said paramilitary raids. This is also strong evidence that the U.S. Police departments and its war on crime have moved significantly up the militarization continuum (Kraska, 2007). It is not to say that a militarized response is not needed or even necessary to save lives at times. Though, it does say that police should be better trained and that police need to reform their raid tactics to make it safer for people who are innocently exposed to these situations. After all, a significant number of cases nationwide like in the case of the 19-month old Wisconsin baby mentioned earlier, have demonstrated the mistakes that can occur and the innocent people who are indeed harmed. Altering these two areas would immensely help the relations between police and their communities. Thereby, allowing community-oriented policing to make a stronger comeback.

All in all, examples such as these have many feeling we are already in a police state in America (Unruh, 2014). Most fearing that everything our founding fathers of this nation warned us about, such as a standing army that would see its own citizens as combatants is coming to pass-- In fact, it is becoming the norm. Unruh believes local law enforcement, which are the extensions of the federal government has their sights on the American people-in that we are the enemy. That if it is true, as the military says the key to defeating an enemy is "having the technological advantage." Then we the people are at a severe disadvantage, given the power and weaponry at their disposal (Unruh, 2014). Simply put there is not any true trust between the police and civilians and relationships between the two sides are dangerously strained in most communities.

Public Perception of Militarization of Police

The U.S. Department of Justice recently performed a study that examined factors that influenced public opinion of the police in four diverse areas of Los Angeles (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). This is very similar to what my thesis is testing, which is examining the public's opinion of the police and its militarization. It was initially found that people had two types of contact with police officers, they were formal and informal (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). The formal contacts included situations such as calls to police stations requesting service and police questioning residents regarding possible crimes, which resulted in the arrest of 1 percent of the said respondents (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). The informal contacts included conversations with police officers on patrol, interaction with police at community meetings, police sponsored youth activities and community safety fairs; with forty-seven percent of these respondents reporting having had informal contact with police (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart,

2003). Even though nearly half reported informal contacts, only 1 in 5 stated they knew or recognized police officers who worked in their community (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003).

In fact, when analyzing the 1967 President's Commission survey on household victimization another problem arises. Many respondents at that time had a tendency not to report crimes. Their report stated the most frequently used reason for all offenses was that the police could not do anything. Some other responses included not wanting to harm the offender, police did not want to be bothered, they did not want to take the time or too confused and did not know how to report their issues ("President's Commission on," 1967). These following reasons could reflect how some people perceive police in general. However when looking back over my criminal justice studies, it is safe to say that everyone at some point in time has done something illegal, whether a minor offense or serious offense. The only difference is we just were not caught.

Many factors go into how a person perceives a subject matter. Whitehead referenced a book written by Jacques Ellul in 1972. In it Ellul, wrote a statement that we appear to be living in what he called the "illusion of freedom" (Ellul, 1972, p.6). An illusion that we are living in this free society where we have these "freedoms" that are in a sense really not there. Leaving Whitehead to state, that we need to take notice to the reality of life in an American police state (Whitehead, 2015).

Most perceptions do vary from person to person. The study performed by Ashcroft, Daniels and Hart found that residents from what society would call crime prone areas, were indeed less likely to approve of the police (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). In contrast, individuals who experienced some sort of informal contact with police

expressed some approval. This could reinforce the idea that we just have to get to know our community's police officers; hence this could be the reason for utilizing so many more foot patrol officers now as we did in the past. They also found that social factors that society has recently claimed to be problematic are actually not as important as we think. Their results found that race and ethnicity as well as the mass media had very little influence in determining society's perception of police. What did play a role in the perception of police officers was the level of crime and disorder in their neighborhood, along with those respondents who had only formal contacts with police officers (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). These factors did play a significant role in how these residents shaped their opinion around police officer and police militarization views.

Demilitarization of Police

After the protest occurring in Ferguson, Missouri and the world saw how militarized police handled peaceful protestors, many have since called for demilitarization of police agencies nationwide. When protestors refused to retreat from the streets, threw firebombs or walked too close to a police officer the response was swift and severe, as tear gas and rubber bullets were used in retaliation (Bosman and Apuzzo, 2014).   This occurred after 18 year old Michael Brown was fatally shot by police. The world saw unnerving images of explosions, billowing tear gas and armored vehicles that made everyone uneasy. Sights, that according to Bosman and Apuzzo, resembled a "chaos-stricken corner of Eastern Europe, not the heart of the American Midwest" (Bosman and Apuzzo, 2014 p.1). Though to the rest of the world, there were images of explosions, billowing tear gas and armored vehicles, it was the portrayal as a battle ground that truly had people up in arms for demilitarization. In most instances, when this

equipment was handed down little to no training and a few if any limitations were put on its use (Bosman and Apuzzo, 2014). As you see there is some conflict of interest prevalent from what policing was founded on, how they are trained, and how that translates into real world use.

Another area of note is that these types of weaponry are being disproportionately used in communities of color (Weiss, 2014). Weiss has already documented the vast disparities by race in the use of militarized police. It is widely known amongst society that policing tactics across the country often unfairly target communities of color—especially involving paramilitary weapons and tactical situations (ACLU, 2015). Figure 1 below from the ACLU (2015) database showcases the distribution of SWAT raids by racial composition of Cincinnati, Ohio neighborhoods, saying this is the trend occurring nationwide:

Figure 1
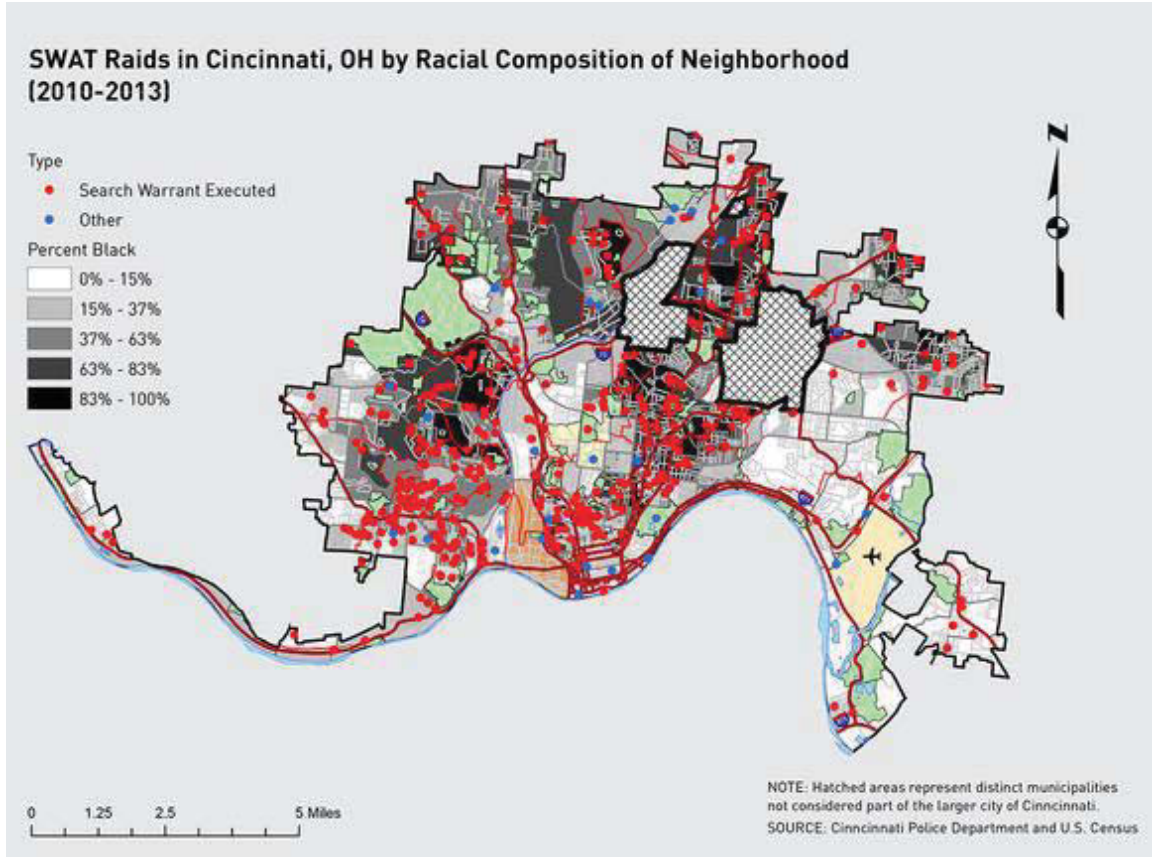
As a result many students and minority groups across the country are being urged by the ACLU to contact their administrators to tell them they do not need a militarized police force. Making the case that, "getting MRAPs off our campuses would be a great start, but building a movement that gets them off our streets entirely would be better" (Weiss, 2014, p.1).

Even with all the tension at hand in this country as a result of the said issue, the U.S. government has cracked down on what a local police department can receive. As a result the federal government will not provide tanks and grenade launchers because of the backlash in Ferguson, Missouri. In the meantime, if departments do seek less-imposing military equipment, than local law enforcement agencies will have to face stringent

federal oversight and restrictions as opposed to the past (Johnson, 2015). Here President

Obama seeks to eliminate the intimidating image that these local departments are

showcasing as they patrol the streets with advanced militaristic weaponry. President

Obama's explanation for the seizing of this equipment was that "militarized equipment

can make one feel like police are an occupying force" (Rogers, 2015, P.1). This in turn

was done to improve community relations between police and their communities. With

that being said, under orders from the president, the federal government is now seizing

some military surplus equipment back from across the country (Rogers, 2015). This

includes equipment such as: tanks and other tracked armored vehicles, armed aircraft,

firearms and ammunition ranging from .50 caliber or larger, grenade launchers and

bayonets, to name a few (Johnson, 2015). As for other equipment such as various types

of firearms, ammunition and explosives, detailed restrictions and conditions will be

applied before they are able to be obtained.

That is not all, as these local agencies must now provide to the federal

government a "clear and persuasive explanation of the need for the controlled

equipment," and they will not be eligible unless they have adopted what are called

general policing standards (Johnson, 2015). These include community policing programs

that utilize foot patrolled walking the beat. This interaction with various members of

their communities is a lot different than the zero tolerance approach we have seen over

the past years especially in big city police departments (Johnson, 2015). Could this be the

reason why so many local police departments are bringing back foot patrols- in hopes of

potentially gaining the opportunity to reapply for the said equipment? We may not know

for sure, but given it is a prerequisite to even obtain military equipment it most certainly makes one think it does.

The transitioning of the new rules regarding militarized weapons outlined by the liberal Obama administration has been slow to take hold in some more conservative communities. Police departments that would be considered more conservative in nature or who are suspicious of federal authority are just one example of why said transitions are occurring slowly. The reason being that accepting equipment would require acceptance of close federal oversight and monitoring that would be overseen by the new federal agency guidelines just to get militarized equipment (Johnson, 2015). This new design would even require departments to collect and retain data whenever a significant issue occurred, that would have to be reported to the federal government and in some cases the public.

As expected many police chiefs/sheriffs are upset over the presidents' recent recalls. Most are arguing now is not the time to take back the equipment. According to Roger's report (Rogers, 2015) a Mahoning County (Ohio) Sheriff said:

> At a time when police are facing war zones on the streets with criminals and terrorists using semi-automatic weapons to murder unarmed men, women, and children, or detonating bombs like in the attack at the Boston Marathon, law enforcement should be given every tool in the arsenal to help keep communities safe. In many ways, I feel like law enforcement is being thrown under the bus as you know we are living in a different world with the things happening with ISIS and all of that, first responders do need to be prepared (p.1).

A Trumbull County (Ohio) Sheriff also stated that although they have received military surplus equipment that they are not subjected to the recall, but that seizing the said equipment is a bad idea with terrorism, school shootings and the war on the streets taking place (Rogers, 2015). The departments fear this course of action will open society and its officers up to more dangerous encounters. All things considered, this would not even be of concern if the police had not used this equipment on their own communities; communities in which, these officers live and reside in themselves. As this equipment should have only been used for legitimate causes like active shooters and other acts of terror and then it would be more understandable. Therefore, instead of preparing our nations police for combat on its own communities, we should teach our police how to gain the respect and trust of the community, as every public interaction is not a combat zone nor do they always need combat skills.

The ensuing chapter will examine the methods used to conduct and analyze my study.

Chapter III: Methodology

My study's population was college students. The participants in my sample (n=106) were students from a major Mid-Western University. Although this sample size is small, it will provide a basis for this preliminary examination of this topic and I can use the information gathered to collect more in depth data at a later date. I selected courses from previous professors that I had taken years prior. These courses had individuals from various academic interests. With their permission, I made a brief speech to their class to recruit participants for this study. The potential participants were informed that if they chose to participate in the survey, it should take no longer than 5-10 minutes to complete. This method included one criminal justice course with the other courses selected at random; mainly elective classes to ensure more randomized and widespread participants.

The selected subject population included individuals 18 years or older that are enrolled at this major Midwestern university. This method provided me with raw data from various backgrounds and personalities to examine how the respondents view police in America. These individuals, college students, were chosen because they are most likely to be in positions to make policy; therefore their opinions may reflect the future directions of the Criminal Justice System or society as a whole. This University was chosen for this thesis not only for the geographical location, but the author is also an alumnus of this University.

Surveys were administered on paper and in person after approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) per university and the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) regulations. This was an anonymous and voluntary survey; participants were not given a chance to make any identifying marks on their surveys.

When the surveys were completed responses were collected and were locked in a file cabinet per IRB guidelines. Choosing the paper survey eliminated any outside persons from participating in my survey, which could have skewed the data and or harmed the study.

The participants were given a survey packet with a consent form at the beginning. This form gave them a detailed explanation of how the survey itself would be conducted. Once the surveys were administered and completed I collected each individual survey. Afterwards I began transferring the data collected on output spreadsheets into SPSS for coding and statistical testing. Those who chose not to participate simply left the survey blank. This occurred in 14 surveys that were half completed; thus the results in those surveys were not included.

Variables (Independent and Dependent)

Each survey consisted of three parts. The first were basic demographic questions that were used as the independent variables. The dependent variables included basic survey question that measure views towards the police and police scenario pictures/images. The dependent variables were used to gauge the public's perception of police (positively or negatively). The dependent variables I chose here to test this study are asking: Question 14: Are any of your family or close friends employed in the CJFS? (Yes or No); Question 16: Outside of employment have you ever had interaction with the CJFS? (Yes or No); Question 25: when you interact with police do you feel like you are innocent until proven guilty? (Yes or No); Question 26: When you see police how are you more likely to feel? (Safe and secure or more likely to experience anxiety). The following responses were measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree,

etc.) on a scale from 1-7. Question 33: Given what you know about your local police department, what is your level of confidence in the police? Question 37: Police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear make me feel like I am an enemy and not someone they are supposed to protect and serve. Question 38: I believe I live in a free society where I don't have to fear a police officer might perpetuate violence upon me; and Question 39: I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust.

Four image questions were also used to measure respondent's levels of fear and confidence in the police. In order to determine the effect of militarization Images 1 and 4 were used to measure perception of traditional policing and Images 2 and 3 were used to measure perceptions of more militarized policing. The four image questions were measured on Likert scales (Not fearful at all, Extremely fearful and Not confident at all, Extremely confident) each ranging from numbers 1-7. Each image had two answer choices for the participants. The first answer choice had numbers ranging from 1 being not fearful at all to number 7 being extremely fearful. The second answer choice had numbers ranging from 1 being not confident at all to number 7 being extremely confident. The four images are as follows:

Image 1)

Image 2)

Image 3)   Image 4)

The respondents will give us insight into if they one, trust the police, two have

confidence in the police, and three how they view police as a whole. With the four image

questions indicating if they fear the police or not as well as what is their confidence level

with police in a particular police scenario. This allowed me to get a picture of the

participant's overall perceptions of police and police militarization. This variable also

allowed me to see if they are confident in the individuals that are there to protect their

communities.

Hypotheses

The variables listed above will be used to test the presented hypothesis.

H_1: Increased police militarization has affected how society perceives police.

Analysis

This data is analyzed and reported in aggregate fashion so a particular respondent

cannot be identified. I began by running a correlation matrix to test the relationships

between the dependent variables I have previously mentioned and the demographic

variables. According to Pett, Lackey and Sullivan (2003), they even recommended that

individuals use a correlation matrix when beginning their initial extraction process as this

test the relationship among variables. The variables described above including the four

image questions were analyzed using the Independent Sample T- Test so that we can compare the means between the different types of variables.

One variable used ANOVA so that I could see if there were any significant differences between the means of household income; as these are used when more than three unrelated groups are present. This was used to compare the effect of household income to all four image questions; as these groups consisted of low (<$10,000-$29,999), medium ($30,000-$69,000), and high (70,000-90,000>) incomes.

Next, I ran a factor analysis. I chose to do this test to see if any of my variables were related and tapping into latent constructs. I chose to test this on Question 26: when you see police, which are you more likely to feel?; Question 37: Police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear make me feel like I am an enemy and not someone they are supposed to Protect and Serve?; Question 38: I believe I live in a free society where I don't have to fear that a police officer might perpetuate violence upon me? These were used to measure fear. With the following questions used to measure confidence levels amongst the participants. Question 25: when you interact with police do you feel like you are innocent until proven guilty?; Question 33: given what you know about your local police department, what is your level of confidence in the police? and Question 39: I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust between the police and civilian populations;

Table 1 below shows the means of each variable in the component one column; values that are close to one are good values and what we want. However, based on these values two new variables were created to tap into the latent constructs of fear and confidence. The first new variable became known as the 'Fear Factor' variable that was

measured on a scale of 1 to 6 to measure the fear questions.   The second new variable

became known as the 'Confidence Factor' that was measured on a scale of 1 to 4 to

measure the confidence. This scale was measured 1 to 4 because Question 25 (when you

interact with police do you feel like you are innocent until proven guilty?) had a result

that was found to be very insignificant, so it was removed from the factor based on its

low Eigen value. Thus all of the fear questions showed significant findings so its scale

remained 1 to 6. Unlike the four image questions also in this study whose scale remains

on the 1 to 7 level.

Table 1

<div align="center">

Structure Matrix

Component

</div>

	1
Fear Q#37	.895
Fear Q#26	.933
Fear Q#38	.914
Confidence Q#25	.074
Confidence Q#33	.820
Confidence Q#39	.846

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

 Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

In the ensuing chapter, the results of the statistical analysis and findings from the

respondents are analyzed and discussed.

Chapter IV: Results

Interpretation of Demographic variables

As explained in the previous section the sample consisted of 106 participants who were students from a major Midwestern university. The samples were drawn during the month of March 2016. The following is a description of the participants.

The survey was answered by 59 males (56%) and 47 females (44%). The primary age of the participants was between 18-24 years of age, which was 84 percent of the total surveyed population. Academic standing was measured from freshman to graduate level, and the response breakdown was as follows: 34 freshman, 32 sophomore, 18 juniors, 18 seniors and 4 graduate students. Given the randomization of this particular survey, class rank amongst the participants covered a broad range of academic levels. With that in mind, 62 participants (56%) came from various academic interests in the College of Health & Human Services College. (See Table 2 for details)

Table 2

Student participants by College

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	College of Health & Human Services	62	58.5
	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM)	18	17.0
	College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences (Class)	18	17.0
	College of Education	6	5.7
	College of Creative Arts & Communication (CCAC)	2	1.9
	Total	106	100.0

Almost half of the participant's mothers and fathers had only a high school diploma. Specifically, there were 47 mothers (44%) and 46 fathers (43%) with only a high school education. With 48 of the participants (45%) having a household income between $30,000 and $69,999. This left 26 participants (25%) in a household earning less than $29,999 annually. All while 32 of the participants (30%) in the study earned more than $70,000 a year. The sample was overwhelmingly white, with 75 white participants (71%), 23 black or African Americans (21%), 5 Asians (5%), 2 American Indians or Alaskan Natives (2%), and 1 coded other (1%). Even though race will be an important factor in perceptions of police I collapsed this variable due to the small sample

size, leaving me with 75 participants who identified as White (71%) and 31 who identified as non-White (29%).

Correlation Analysis

When examining the correlation matrix you can first see that we have strong correlations between the variables selected. These correlations are to determine if there are specific factors that effect if people fear the police and their level of confidence in them as well.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix

Correlations		FF	Confidencefactor	Gender	Age	R_majorprogram	R_RaceWhitenonwhite	Image1Conf	Image2Fear	Image3Fear	Image3Conf	Image4Conf
FF	Pearson Correlation	1	.898**	.328**	-.138	.775**	.776**	-.106	.155	.217*	.066	.087
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.001	.157	.000	.000	.280	.112	.025	.500	.377
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Confidencefactor	Pearson Correlation	.898**	1	.313**	-.236*	.791**	.842**	-.090	.167	.229*	.102	.136
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.001	.015	.000	.000	.358	.086	.018	.296	.163
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.328**	.313**	1	.062	.144	.219*	-.140	.273**	.324**	-.048	-.048
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.001		.526	.140	.024	.153	.005	.001	.625	.624
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Age	Pearson Correlation	-.138	-.236*	.062	1	-.119	-.141	-.228*	.019	.042	-.217*	.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.157	.015	.526		.224	.150	.019	.844	.671	.025	.250
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
R_majorprogram	Pearson Correlation	.775**	.791**	.144	-.119	1	.852**	-.012	.105	.143	.150	.240*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.140	.224		.000	.902	.282	.143	.124	.013
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
R_RaceWhitenonwhite	Pearson Correlation	.776**	.842**	.219*	-.141	.852**	1	-.021	.175	.191	.129	.246*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.024	.150	.000		.832	.073	.049	.188	.011
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Image1Conf	Pearson Correlation	-.106	-.090	-.140	-.228*	-.012	-.021	1	-.410**	-.473**	.607**	.306**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.280	.358	.153	.019	.902	.832		.000	.000	.000	.001
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Image2Fear	Pearson Correlation	.155	.167	.273**	.019	.105	.175	-.410**	1	.847**	-.435**	-.091
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.112	.086	.005	.844	.282	.073	.000		.000	.000	.356
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Image3Fear	Pearson Correlation	.217*	.229*	.324**	.042	.143	.191	-.473**	.847**	1	-.415**	-.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	.018	.001	.671	.143	.049	.000	.000		.000	.491
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Image3Conf	Pearson Correlation	.066	.102	-.048	-.217*	.150	.129	.607**	-.435**	-.415**	1	.149
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.500	.296	.625	.025	.124	.188	.000	.000	.000		.126
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106
Image4Conf	Pearson Correlation	.087	.136	-.048	.113	.240*	.246*	.306**	-.091	-.068	.149	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.377	.163	.624	.250	.013	.011	.001	.356	.491	.126	
	N	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106	106

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlation in Table 3 above shows several statistically significant correlations. Gender had a correlation with the fear factor variable. Although it is a weak correlation at .328** it was still found to be statistically significant. It also had a statistically significant weak correlation with the confidence factor at .313**. These can be interpreted as females are more affected by both the fear factor and confidence factor than are males. This means that females have both more fear of police as well as more confidence in them than do males. Race as well as what major you were in also had some statistically significant findings. Race had a strong positive uphill correlation at .776**, whereas Race in the confidence factor had a very strong positive uphill correlation at .842**. These can be interpreted as non-whites are more affected by both the fear factor and confidence factor than are whites. Meaning that non-whites have more fear of and confidence in police than whites. Student major had a strong correlation with the fear factor at .775**, as well as a strong correlation with the confidence factor at .791**. These can be interpreted as Non-CJFS majors are more affected by both the fear and confidence factor than are CJFS majors. Meaning that non-criminal justice majors had a higher level of both fear and confidence than criminal justice majors. Based on the correlations found in Table further exploration into these results were done through T-test and those results are discussed next.

When examining the following independent samples t-test only the most significant variables are addressed in this report. In this preliminary examination with a small sample size, many variables were included, only the significant variables are addressed in this section.

Fear Factor & Confidence Factor (T-test)

Table 4

	Sig	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean	
Fear factor Race_whitenonwhite	.000	.000	White Non-white	3.6667 6.0000
Confidence Factor Race_whitenonwhite	.000	.000	White Non-white	2.4800 4.0000
Fear factor Cjfsnoncjfs	.000	.000	CJFS Non-CJFS	3.0000 5.4237
Confidence Factor Cjfsnoncjfs	.000	.000	CJFS Non-CJFS	2.1489 3.5424
Image#1 Level of fear (standard police car) Cjfsnoncjfs	.050	.008	CJFS Non-CJFS	1.8700 2.6100
Image#3 Level of fear (militarized police officers) Cjfsnoncjfs	.146	.010	CJFS Non-CJFS	2.0100 1.7370
Image #2 Level of Fear (militarized police vehicle) Gender	.248	.004	Male Female	1.7560 1.5990
Image #3 Level of Fear (militarized police officers) Gender	.781	.001	Male Female	1.8460 1.7910
Image #2 Level of confidence (militarized police vehicle) Whitenonwhite	.313	.011	White Non-white	4.8000 5.8400
Survey Q#26 fear (See police likely to feel) Outside employment interaction with CJFS	.659	.039	Yes No	1.3871 1.5909

Survey Q#38 fear (Police might perpetuate violence) Outside employment interaction with CJFS	.053	.022	Yes No	1.4355 1.6591
Survey Q#39 confidence (military fatigues symbol of mistrust) Outside employment interaction with CJFS	.000	.043	Yes No	1.2258 1.4091
Survey Q#37 fear (Police with assault rifles riot gear) Gender	.000	.022	Male Female	1.2542 1.4681
Survey Q#26 fear (See police more likely to feel) Gender	.695	.000	Male Female	1.3220 1.6596
Survey Q#38 fear (Police officer might perpetuate violence) Gender	.037	.000	Male Female	1.3729 1.7234
Survey Q#33 confidence (local police department Confidence) Gender	.000	.041	Male Female	1.4746 1.8085
Survey Q#39 confidence (military fatigues symbol of mistrust) Gender	.000	.000	Male Female	1.2203 1.4043
Survey Q#33 confidence (local police department Confidence) Cjfsnoncjfs	.000	.000	CJFS Non-CJFS	1.1489 2.0000
Survey Q#26 fear (See police more likely to feel) Whitenonwhite	.000	.000	White Non-white	1.2533 2.0000
Survey Q#39 confidence (military fatigues symbol of mistrust) Whitenonwhite	.197	.000	White Non-white	1.0133 2.0000

When the relationship between the fear factor, the confidence factor and race each

resulted in a statically significant finding; an independent samples t-test was conducted to

compare the scores of the fear factor for whites and non-whites. There was a significant difference in the scores for whites (m=3.67, SD=1.03) and non-white (m=6.00, SD=.000); p=.000. These results suggest that the fear factor really does have an effect on non-whites. In that non-whites had a statistically significant larger mean for the fear factor with police militarization than whites. In other words, non-whites were significantly more fearful of militarized police than whites.

When the confidence factor was examined there was a significant difference in the scores for whites (m=2.50, SD=.530) and non-whites (m=4.00, SD=.000); p=.000. These results suggest that the confidence factor really does have an effect on non-whites. In that non-whites had a statistically significant larger mean for the confidence factor with police militarization than whites. In other words, non-whites had a higher level of confidence in militarized police than did whites. This is a rather odd finding considering they are more fearful of police militarization. Though, this could be because the non-white survey population is so much smaller than the white population that this finding could need future further analysis when more attention is brought to the issue of race. In that the non-white population survey could have had other factors playing into their responses. Such as their major, gender and household income could have played a role in whether or not confidence was affected. Especially since the more income a family has the better their relationship with the criminal justice system is expected to be. Thus meaning non- whites could very well be fearful of militarized police but could also be confident in them getting their job done.

When I compared the difference in scores for the fear factor score for CJFS majors and non-CJFS majors there were significant differences in scores for CJFS

(m=3.00, SD=.000) and non-CJFS (m=5.42, SD=.875); p=.000. These results suggest

that the fear factor really does have an effect on non-CJFS majors. In that non-CJFS are

more likely to be scared and affected by militarized police than would CJFS majors. In

that non-CJFS majors are more fearful of militarized police than are CJFS majors. The t-

test conducted for the confidence factor had a significant difference in scores. For the

CJFS (m=2.15, SD=.360) and non-CJFS (m=3.54, SD=.502); p=.000. These results

suggest that the confidence factor really does have an effect on CJFS individuals. In that

non-CJFS majors have lower confidence in militarized police than do CJFS majors.

(Photo elicitation section)

When I compared the difference in scores for level of fear in Image#1, which is

the standard police car to CJFS (criminal justice and forensic science) students to non-

CJFS students there was a significant difference in the scores for CJFS students (m=1.87,

SD=1.28) and Non-CJFS students (m=2.61, SD=1.51) conditions; p=0.009.   Thus

meaning non- CJFS students were more fearful of Image#1standard police car. The next

significant variable compared the level of fear to Image#3, which is the militarized police

officers, in CJFS students to non-CJFS students. There was a significant difference in

scores for CJFS students (m=3.21, SD=2.010) and non-CJFS students (m=4.19,

SD=1.74) conditions; p=.009. This showed non-CJFS students were fearful of the image

of militarized police officers than were CJFS students.

The next variable analyzed was gender, which had two significant findings. An

independent t-test was conducted to compare level of fear in Image#2, a militarized

police vehicle, in males and females. There was a significant difference in the scores for

males (m=3.49, SD=1.76) and females (m=4.45, SD=1.60) conditions; p=0.005.   This

shows females are more fearful of the militarized police vehicle than males. The next significant finding dealt with level of fear to Image#3, militarized police officers. There was a significant difference in the scores for males (m=3.20, SD=1.85) and females (m=4.45, SD=1.79) conditions; p=0.001. This can be interpreted as females are more fearful of the military police officers than are male students.

When I compared the difference in scores for Race (White vs. non-white) level of confidence to Image#4, police officer with children, in white and non-white students there was a significant difference in the scores for white (m=4.80, SD=1.87) and non-white (m=5.84, SD=1.90); p=0.011. This can be interpreted as non-whites are more confident in Image#4, police officer with children, than whites.

(Survey question section)

When the differences in scores for the participant's criminal justice system interaction outside of employment were compared, there were three significant findings. The first significant finding was SurveyQ#37 (personally, police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear make me feel like I am an enemy and not someone they are supposed to Protect and Serve?) that measures fear in yes and no conditions (on a scale from 1-2). There was a significant difference in the scores for Yes (m=1.39, SD=.491) and No (m=1.59, SD=.497); p=0.039. This is interpreted as people who did not have interaction with the criminal justice system were more likely to be fearful and to experience anxiety when they see the police.

When I compared the difference in scores for Question #38: (I believe I live in a free society where I don't have to fear that a police officer might perpetuate violence upon me?) that also measures fear in (yes and no.) There was a significant difference in

the scores for Yes (m=1.44, SD=.497) and No (m=1.66, SD=.479); p=0.023. This can be interpreted as people who did not have interaction with the criminal justice system are more fearful that they don't live in a free society where a police officer might perpetrate violence upon them than people who did have an interaction with the criminal justice system. In other words, people who interacted with the criminal justice system were less likely to report high levels of fear that police may perpetrate violence on them.

When the differences were compared in scores for Question #39: (I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust between the police and civilian populations?) that measures confidence in (yes and no.) There was a significant difference in the scores for Yes (m=1.23, SD=.422) and No (1.41, SD=.497); p=.043. This can be interpreted as people who did not have interaction with the criminal justice system believed law enforcement in military fatigues are a symbol of mistrust more than people who did have an interaction with the criminal justice system.

Gender

When the difference in scores were compared for males and females Question #37: (Police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear make me feel like I am an enemy and not someone they are supposed to protect and serve?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc.) on a scale of 1-7. There was a significant difference in the scores for male (m=1.25, SD=.439) and females (m=1.47, SD=.504); p=0.022. This can be interpreted as females are more fearful of police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear than males.

When comparing the answers of males and females to Question #26: (When you see police, which are you more likely to feel?) that could be answered (Safe and secure

(coded as 1) or more likely to experience anxiety (coded as 2). There was a significant difference in the scores for males and females; males (m=1.322, SD=.471) and females (m=1.66, SD=.479); p=0.000. Meaning females are more fearful and experience more anxiety when they see the police than do males.

The next finding was Question #38: (I believe I live in a free society where I don't have to fear that a police officer might perpetuate violence upon me?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc) on a scale of 1-7 to measure fear in male and females. There was a significant difference in the scores for male (m=1.373, SD=.488) and female (m=1.72, SD=.452); p=0.000. This can be interpreted as females believe they live in a free society where they don't have to fear a police officer might harm them more so than males.

When I compared the difference in scores for Question #33: (Given what you know about your local police department, what is your level of confidence in the police?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc) on a scale of 1-7. There was a significant difference in the scores for male (m=1.47, SD=.503) and females (m=1.81, SD= .398); p=0.000. This can be interpreted as females given what they know about their local police department have more confidence in them than do males.

The last significant variable finding here compared to Question #39: (I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust between the police and civilian populations?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc.) on a scale of 1-7. There was a significant difference in the scores for males (m=1.22, SD=.418) and females (m=1.40, SD=.497); p=0.041. Meaning females

feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become a symbol of mistrust more so than males.

Criminal Justice Majors vs. Non-Criminal Justice Majors

When the differences in scores were compared for CJFS students to Non-CJFS students, there was one significant finding. When I compared the difference in scores for Question #33: (Given what you know about your local police department, what is your level of confidence in the police?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc) on a scale of 1-7. There was a significant difference in the scores for CJFS (m=1.149, SD=.360) and non-CJFS (m=2.00, SD=.000); p=0.000. In other words non-CJFS students have more confidence in their local police than do criminal justice majors.

Race

When I compared the difference in scores for Race (white vs. non-white), there were two significant findings. When I compared the difference in scores for Question #26: (when you see police, which are you more likely to feel?) that could be answered (Safe and secure or more likely to experience anxiety) on a scale of 1-2. There was a significant difference in the scores for white (m=1.25, SD=.438) and non-white (m=2.00, SD=0.000); p=0.000. This is interpreted as non-whites fear the police or experience more anxiety when they see them. For Survey Question #39: (I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust between the police and civilian populations?) measured using a Likert scale format (Strongly Agree, Agree, etc.) on a scale of 1-7. There was a significant difference in the scores for white (m=1.01, SD=.115) and non-white (m=2.00, SD=0.000); p=0.000. This can be interpreted as non-

whites feel police in military uniforms has become a symbol of mistrust more so than whites.

Income

A one way ANOVA between subjects was conducted to compare the effect of household income for all four of the image questions in the low (<$10,000-$29,999), medium ($30,000-$69,999) and high ($70,000-$90,000>) income households. There was a significant effect of household income on Image#4, the police officer communicating with the two children (that measures confidence) at the p<.05 level for the three conditions; p=.011. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the low income condition (m=5.77, SD=1.608) was significantly different than the medium income condition (m=4.31, SD=1.991). However, the high income condition (m=5.27, SD=1.910) did not significantly differ from the low income and medium income conditions. This can be interpreted as people making less than $10,000-$29,999 (low income) have more confidence in police when they are exposed to Image #4 than do those with a mid-level income.

Chapter V: Discussion

This research project yielded some very important results in regard to people's perceptions of the police. The data was very broad in regards to participants, which came from various academic programs, but the majority of the participants were white. Although a good amount allowed for a diverse spectrum of races. This allowed for a pretty good analysis to occur regardless of the participants that did not complete the survey. To examine this said data I used a correlation matrix, factor analysis, independent samples T-test and a one way ANOVA to determine which variables are significant. As well as if there are any differences between the variables identified in the results section.

Gender

My results found that females are more fearful of police than males. The first variable found females to be fearful of military police vehicles as well as females who are more fearful of militarized police officers than are males. There is minimal literature regarding gender and perceptions of police so I chose to ground this explanation in the literature regarding gender and overall fear. So what is fear? This definition is defined by numerous scholars worldwide, but there is no set definition. One potential definition was described as "an emotion, a feeling of alarm or dread caused by awareness or expectation of danger", whereas another was defined as "an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety (Chun, Y& Lim, H, 2015). So this notion according to Warr states "fear of crime, like criminal victimization itself, is not randomly distributed in our population" (p.26). In that the two groups that continuously show the greatest fear of victimization are the elderly and women (Warr, 1993).

Another explanation for the high level of fear amongst females in general is that the cognitive processing that women and men experience are not the same (Smith and Torstensson, 1997). This is not to say men are not afraid at times as well; as males are victimized in all kinds of street crimes, all except rape and domestic issues (Chun, Y& Lim, H, 2015). Further representing how males have two times the risk of being in a homicide, robbery or violently attacked than are their female counterparts (Chun, Y& Lim, H, 2015, 2015). Though there are some significant differences amongst males and females. One of which, being that females as well as the elderly are more sensitive to risk than males and the young (Warr, 1993). This as a result means similar levels of risk in turn produce significantly different levels of fear amongst men and women, as well as young and old (Warr, 1993). For instance, if there is a 10 percent chance of a crime occurring that the reaction that follows is going to be very different in that of a 19 year old male and a 50 year old female; in which this differential sensitivity to risk plays a role in how women and elderly perceive crime (Warr, 1993).

Another crime that plays a role of why women are more fearful is because of rape. According to Warr here "rape is feared more than any other crime amongst younger women, who view rape as approximately equal in seriousness to murder, and as the violent crime most likely to happen to them" (p.26). This is linked to a number of precautionary and avoidance behaviors among women (Warr, 1993). So even if men are more victimized in street crimes than are females, their fear is indeed higher than males. According to Chun, Y& Lim, H, the difference in levels of fear for females and males depends on the situation and kinds of crime being committed (Chun, Y& Lim, H, 2015 2015). Thus if women are more fearful of militarized police and police vehicles that does

not mean they fear regular police officers and police vehicles. The method in which one perceives an issue is a very hard area to measure, hence why scholars have not been able to make one set definition of what fear actually is.

Race

My results found that non- whites were more confident in Image#4, which was the police officer speaking with the children. This would be what I would call the least fearful photo elicitation for the participants; as some of the other images were a bit more menacing. Though given the long history of mistreatment and distrust between society and the police it's no wonder how this particular image was the most statistically significant. According to Barlow and Barlow, the more militant the civil rights movement became in the 1960s the more direct conflict with police minorities (non-white individuals) experienced. No one wants to fear going out the door that they may lose their life, but for some this is a constant fear. Potentially more for minorities, which could be a future study all on its own. Since the other images are more closely related to the police this could yield another result. In that because of the low support for law enforcement among many minority groups nationwide, this tension is a major interference for police to maintain order while on duty (Barlow and Barlow, 2000). This could show police relations with their citizens are not as great as they need to be with non-whites. The National Institute of Justice (2013), says "research consistently shows that minorities are more likely than whites to view law enforcement with suspicion and distrust; in that minorities frequently report that the police disproportionately single them out because of their race or ethnicity" (p.1). This statement alone could be used to explain why non-whites are less confident in the police than whites.

Social Class

My results found those in the low income bracket were more confident in Image#4, the police officer speaking with the children. This image had more joy and peace than the other three images used in this study. Though financially speaking those earning less money wouldn't be confident in the other three images because even here there is inequality. Prisons and the criminal justice system are made up primarily of the poor in our country (Reiman, 1984). Reiman goes on to mention that this is not just because they are more criminally minded, but that "instead, it is because the criminal justice system effectively weeds out the well-to-do" (Reiman, 1984 p.78). This inevitably results in those earning less to be who we will find in trouble at the end of the day. Thus there is no wonder that the other three images did not result in statistically significant findings. These images to this group could be viewed as oppressive images that they one are fearful of, as well as not confident in because of these present societal inequalities.

Discussion summary

The explanations I have provided below could be the very reasons why the results came out the way they did. There could be other interpretations. As each one of us interprets things differently in life, that's what makes us diverse. Then again this is only a preliminary examination of a topic that is so broad in spectrum there could be many possible explanations for each of these relationships. Though this is what I found and what I interpreted, but it is not limited to my interpretation. Especially on this every changing issue we face in society in regards to how we perceive our police.

Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusions

Contributions

The question addressed by this thesis is: what is society's attitude towards the increased militarization of policing? This is a relatively new topic in the area of law enforcement; however, it seems as though it has just subsisted under the societal radar. With that being said, it was not easy reviewing literature on this highly controversial topic because there is not much research available to examine it. With the perception of the police and police departments ever changing, this study focused on examining how society perceives police and police militarization. This study will provide more academic research and information for people to see how society views police militarization as well as potential ways to help community police relations. With the study occurring at a diverse Mid-western university, the results reviewed showcased the varying perceptions of how people view this highly contested issue including a variety of general variables.

Another key point to remember in this preliminary examination, is that the negative perceptions of police is an overall systemic issue. Each side needs to take a step back reevaluate themselves and try to understand where each is coming from. For instance police have to understand that some communities have been oppressed for many years now. So simply having one or two police community meetings a year is not going to fix decade's worth of concerns society has acquired with their police and vice versa; it will take time. Also, communities have to understand police are the ones who make it as safe for us to go about our daily lives often in very safe conditions; and this is no easy task in such a cruel world. Not to mention police are human too and are doing jobs that most people do not have the stomach to do.

Consequently, as we see more and more military equipment and officials donning this gear tensions will continue to rise. Thus by conducting this survey we have seen how people view the police. The more confidence an individual has in a person the more effective that relationship will be. That is why officers, whether militarized or not, who mingle with their constituents through informal contacts will have relationships tailored to that specific community (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003). This could be a good reason to require officers to reside in the community they work for to eliminate words such as "they" or "those" people. This requirement alone could account for less tension between police and the communities in which they serve because after all, in the end, we all breathe the same air.

Limitations and Future Directions

In any research study there are limitations that exist as well as avenues that call for further inquiry. The following are just some of the limitations and possible future directions I found while writing this thesis. This topic, though highly controversial, was done with great care and consideration concerning our men and women in blue as well as the communities in which they are sworn to protect. Not every officer is a problem nor are all simply in it for the militarization. It is the policies that put most of them in a situation with no other choice but to follow orders. Policing is no easy task especially with so many different types of personalities in the world. Yet sooner or later something or someone must put an end to the problems we have seen occurring more and more in our streets. We have seen in history that the criminal justice system is not made to work for all people of a population; even though this is a systemic issue that affects everyone as a whole.

As a result of the varying perceptions of police from person to person in any given situation a huge limitation was my survey. College student's perceptions cannot be generalized to the population as a whole. With that being said, my future work will include members of the community, religious organizations as well as community leaders and not just college students. Others studying police militarization should do so using a broader sample as well. This will take place to truly gauge how society feels about police and police militarization. This survey only represents the diverse student population here at this major Midwestern University. It is primarily a commuter school, which brings forth all walks of life. This alone has provided me with a wealth of broad and diverse responses. In that I chose college students because they are likely to be in positions to make policy decisions and/or in society in general. Thus this may be a good representative sample of the University and maybe even the City. Though it is not a representative of the entire city, state or region it was conducted in because that would require survey participants in the thousands. Do not get me wrong, surveying those said participants for this particular study is ideal; however, it just is not feasible at this time.

Another area that would be good for future analysis is that of Age as was reported in the results. In that how does Age correlate with how one perceives fear and confidence. As sources mentioned earlier found that those who are elderly are more fearful than those who are younger. The sample was not conducive to studying age as there was a maximum age of the 40-60 age brackets, and only five respondents in that group.

Race is also an important variable that needs further examination. Due to data limitations this study could only look at white and non-white racial categories. Future

work should sample in such a way that it is able to examine race in a more meaningful way. In that this is especially important given the recent events and heightened tensions amongst police and minority communities.

Here, an overview is provided of the perceptions of police and detailed information that can help aid community police relations. Policy makers can look at this information and provide targeted policies at groups who are more fearful or have lower confidence in police, especially more militarized police. These policies could help better community and police relations in the future. Lastly, this study can serve as a guide to those who will research the effects of militarization in the future as this is and will remain an important area of study.

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The War Amongst our Homes: Society's Attitude towards the Increased Militarization of American Policing

Dear YSU Student,

Hello, I am Aaron Carmichael a Graduate Student here at Youngstown State University. I am working on my thesis to obtain my Master's Degree in Criminal Justice. In order to fulfill the requirements of my specified degree I am required to do a thesis and corresponding research. The title of my research study is The War Amongst our Homes: Society's Attitude towards the Increased Militarization of American Policing. By completing the attached survey and image scenario questions you will provide me with raw data to analyze and statistically test my research area. Thank you for your time and consideration.

The purpose of this study is to research attitudes and feelings of society towards the police becoming increasingly militarized in America. I will make contact with several professors throughout campus. With their permission, I will make a brief speech to their class. It is here I will explain my research to them. Afterwards, I will pass my survey out to those students who are in attendance. If you choose to participate in the said survey, it should take no longer than 5-10 minutes at most. Your answers will be saved on a spreadsheet file for myself and my committee members use only. No one will be able to identify you; No one will know whether you participated in this study. Nothing you say on the questionnaire will in any way influence or harm your enrollment here at Youngstown State University.

Once again your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You must be at least 18 years of age to complete this survey. There is no cost associated with completing this survey and no payment will be given for completed surveys. You may refuse to participate. You can quit at any time; however, unanswered surveys will not be included in the research data for this study. There are absolutely no consequences for refusing to participate in this research.

If you have any questions or concerns about completing the questionnaire or about being in this study, you may contact me at ███████████ or at ███████████@student.ysu.edu.   You may also contact the YSU IRB at (330) 941-2377.

By completing this survey you are acknowledging that you have read and understand the explanation provided to you. Thus you have voluntarily agreed to participate in this study.

Once again, thank you for your time and consideration and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,
Aaron Carmichael

1. **Ethnicity**

Please specify your __ethnicity.__ Mark one Answer

◯　　Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

◯　　Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano

◯　Puerto Rican

◯　Cuban

◯　Other

2. **Race**

Please specify your __race.__ Mark all that Apply

☐　American Indian or Alaska Native

☐　Asian

☐　Black or African American

☐　Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

☐　White

☐　Other

3. Are you a U.S. Citizen?

◯　Yes

◯　No

4. Which best describes your age:

◯　18-24

◯　25-39

◯　40-60

◯　60 Plus

5. Gender

What is your sex?

◯　Male

◯　Female

6. `A 100.0%` If you are a current college student what is your college class standing?

◯ Freshman

◯ Sophmore

◯ Junior

◯ Senior

◯ Graduate

Other (please specify)

[   ]

7. Please list your current Major or Program-If a current or previous college student.

[   ]

8. Highest education level obtained by your MOTHER?

◯ Less than high school

◯ High School Diploma

◯ Associate/ Vocational

◯ Bachelor's Degree

◯ Graduate degree and Beyond

◯ Some College

9. Highest education level obtained by your FATHER?

◯ Less than high school

◯ High School Diploma

◯ Associate/ Vocational

◯ Bachelor's Degree

◯ Graduate degree and Beyond

◯ Some college

10. Employment Status

Are you currently...?

- [ ] Employed for wages
- [ ] Self-employed
- [ ] Out of work and looking for work
- [ ] Out of work but not currently looking for work
- [ ] A homemaker
- [ ] A student
- [ ] Retired
- [ ] Unable to work

11. Household Income
What is your total household income?

- ( ) Less than $10,000
- ( ) $10,000 to $19,999
- ( ) $20,000 to $29,999
- ( ) $30,000 to $39,999
- ( ) $40,000 to $49,999
- ( ) $50,000 to $59,999
- ( ) $60,000 to $69,999
- ( ) $70,000 to $79,999
- ( ) $80,000 to $89,999
- ( ) $90,000 or more

12. How religious or spiritual do you believe yourself to be?

Not religious/ spiritual at all						Very religious spiritual
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

13. Do you work for the Criminal Justice system?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No

14. Are any of your family members or close friends employed in Criminal Justice system?

☐ Yes

☐ No

15. Politically speaking, what are your political views geared towards?

Extremely Democratic						Extremely Republican
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

16. Outside of employment have you ever had interaction with the Criminal Justice system?

☐ Yes

☐ No

17. Do you feel there is enough accountability on members of law enforcement?

☐ Yes

☐ No

18. If someone broke into your home would you call the police for help?

☐ Yes

☐ No

19. With the influx of military weapons to local Police departments do you believe there is an increased threat to your civilian safety?

☐ Yes

☐ No

○ No Opinion

20. Are the following military weapons necessary to law enforcement?

Tanks	⬍
Assault Rifles	⬍
Fifty Caliber Rifles	⬍
Armored piercing Ammunitions	⬍
Mine Resistant Vehicles	⬍
Armored Trucks	⬍

21. Personally, I believe it is okay for excess military office equipment such as: shovels, copier machines and computers to be sent to police departments?

☐ Yes

☐ No

22. Do you believe society's perception of police have gotten better, worse or stayed the same over the last 5 years?

☐ Better

☐ Worse

☐ Stayed the same

☐ No Opinion

23. Do you feel all police are bad?

☐ Yes

☐ No

24. Does the United States have a National Police Department?

☐ Yes

☐ No

25. When you interact with police do you feel like you are innocent until proven guilty?

☐ Yes

◯ No

26. When you see police, which are you more likely to feel?

⬜ Safe and secure

⬜ More likely to experience anxiety

⬜ No opinion

27. Do you fear a police state?

⬜ Yes

⬜ No

28. Do you agree or disagree that we are already in a police state in America?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

29. Personally, you believe police use reasonable force.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

30. On a scale of 1-7 how much do you trust the Police and other members of law enforcement?

	No Trust 1	2	3	Moderate Trust 4	5	6	All Trust 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

31. Personally, I believe the police have too much power?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

32. Personally, police officer safety is important to me?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

33. Given what you know about your local police department, what is your level of confidence in the police?

	Not confident at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Extreme Confidence 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

34. On a scale of 1-7 with 7 being the most positive how would you describe your overall view of Law Enforcement?

	Negatively 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very Positive 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

35. Personally, I believe police officers respect citizen rights?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

36. Personally, I believe it is acceptable for law enforcement to aim armed high powered rifles at peaceful protesters?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

37. Personally, Police with assault rifles dressed in full riot gear make me feel like I am an enemy and not someone they are supposed to Protect and Serve?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

38. Personally, I believe I live in a free society where I don't have to fear that a police officer might perpetuate violence upon me?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

39. Personally, I feel law enforcement in military fatigues has become in and of itself a symbol of mistrust between the police and civilian populations?

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Strongly Agree 7
Pick a choice that best suits you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Instructions: For question 40-47 you are given four images, please rate each of your answers 1-7 on the Likert Scale.

40. Given the above image, what is your level of fear of the police?

Not fearful at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely fearful 7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

41. Given the above image, what is your level of confidence in the police?

Not confident at all						Extremely confident
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

42. Given the above image, what is your level of fear of the police?

Not fearful at all						Extremely fearful
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

43. Given the above image, what is your level of confidence in the police?

Not confident at all 1						Extremely confident 7
	2	3	4	5	6	
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

44. Given the above image, what is your level of fear of the police?

Not fearful at all

1	2	3	4	5	6	Extremely fearful
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

45. Given the above image, what is your level of confidence in the police?

Not confident at all   Extremely confident

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

46. Given the above image, what is your level of fear of the police?

Not fearful at all   Extremely fearful

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

47. Given the above image, what is your level of confidence in the police?

Not Confident at all   Extremely Fearful

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Youngstown
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Office of Grants and Sponsored Programs
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December 14, 2015

Dr. Monica Merrill, Principal Investigator
Mr. Aaron Carmichael, Co-investigator
Department of Criminal Justice & Forensic Sciences
UNIVERSITY

RE: HSRC Protocol Number: 060-2016
       Title: The War Amongst Our Homes: Societies Attitude Towards the Increased
            Militarization of American Policing

Dear Dr. Merrill and Mr. Carmichael:

The Institutional Review Board has reviewed the abovementioned protocol and determined that it is exempt from full committee review based on a DHHS Category 3 exemption.

Any changes in your research activity should be promptly reported to the Institutional Review Board and may not be initiated without IRB approval except where necessary to eliminate hazard to human subjects. Any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects should also be promptly reported to the IRB.

The IRB would like to extend its best wishes to you in the conduct of this study.

Sincerely,

Mr. Michael A. Hripko
Associate Vice President for Research
Authorized Institutional Official

MAH:cc

c: Attorney Patricia Wagner, Chair
       Department of Criminal Justice & Forensic Sciences