

# From Here On Out, We're All Blue: Interaction Order, Social Infrastructure, and Race in Police Socialization

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## Abstract

Motivated by the complicated history of race relations in policing, this article offers a social network analysis of the formation of relationships between recruits in a police academy. While the quantitative analysis is the core of this article, it is framed by an ethnographic description of how the interaction order within the academy functions as a mechanism for maintaining racism within police organizations. The academy's social infrastructure was designed to generate encounters between recruits of various races. Recruits were divided into subgroups, which generally reflected the overall demographics of the cohort, so recruits of different races could *get to know each other*. While this academy had some success in forming ties between Black, Latino, and White recruits, it fell short of achieving the stated ideal of "we're all blue." Our results suggest that achieving this ideal lies in a distant future.

## Keywords

police socialization, social networks, interaction order, race

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## Introduction

In this article, we address how issues of racial diversity are negotiated within academy socialization. To understand the persistence of racial divisions within policing, despite attempts to close them, we examine how *interpersonal relations between recruits of different races are either facilitated or constrained by police academy social structure and training regimes*. While we do not assume that police exist as a uniform mass, we do recognize a tendency to remain stuck in earlier cultural configurations regarding race and policing. White (2006) argues that in academy training, this tendency takes the form of a hidden curriculum that “reinforces traditional cultural prejudices and inhibits major change programmes” (p. 386). For him, racism is a basic principle in policing, manifesting itself in a hidden curriculum. Even when police leadership addresses it, they do so in a futile manner. These programs fail because they are grounded in the same philosophical principles underlying the extant racism.

The academy’s hidden curriculum is institutionalized as part of an interaction order (i.e., the organization of everyday behavior that serves as the foundation of a culture) stressing sociobiological elitism—a belief that “small numbers of people are simply ‘wired-up’ as a result of their heritage, breeding, cleverness and mental adroitness, to be rulers and leaders” (Adlam, 2002, p. 25). This sentiment is at the heart of academy training during which recruits must demonstrate obedience to authority to prove that they are worthy of the elevation to the elite status of police officer (Conti, 2009). Policing has been described as a punishment-centered bureaucracy (Waddington, 1999) with a perfectionist ethos (Ryan, 2011), so the idea of race as a potential determinate for acceptance—or rejection—as an elite will have some impact on race relations within the academy. By definition, this elitism presents a serious problem for racial minorities, so we examine its consequences for interpersonal relations between recruits of different races within a police academy cohort.

Academy policies shape the context for the formation and distribution of social relations among recruits belonging to different races. To study this, we combined social network analyses with ethnographic fieldwork to understand how socialization affects ties between recruits. We note each recruit has enough agency to, at least covertly, resist or reject particular elements of a socialization process. Yet, there is also an interaction order in place designed to generate—and maintain—a particular professional vision within new members.

### *Race in the Police Context*

Conflict between the police and racial minorities has been one of the most serious problems facing urban law enforcement since its inception (Mann, 1993). This discord is present in the relations between police and minority communities as well as within the occupational culture. Despite an expressed need for African American officers dating back to the 1800s, and their increasing occupational

presence since World War II, it was not until the 1950s that Blacks began achieving anything resembling real progress into the profession (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000). Comprising approximately 3.6% of urban officers at the time, this early organizational presence, facilitated by pressure from the Black community and liberal Whites (Rudwick, 1962), did not lead to harmonious racial integration of the police force (Lienen, 1984).

Frequently, formal organizational segregation meant Black officers were assigned exclusively to Black neighborhoods and forbidden from arresting Whites (Roberg et al., 2000). In some departments, Black lieutenants were prohibited from supervising uniformed White subordinates, while Black officers were subjected to a demeaning set of regulations regarding when they were permitted to wear their uniforms (Kuykendall & Burns, 1980). Meanwhile, White officers continued to hold biased racial views, with the majority expressing an unwillingness to partner with Black colleagues (Kephart, 1957) or maintain close contacts with Black citizens (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969), a sentiment supported in some departments by the segregation of patrol cars until the mid-1960s (Kuykendall & Burns, 1980). Moreover, Kephart (1957) observed the majority of police commanders objected to having Black subordinates and admitted to being stricter with them than their White counterparts.

During the civil rights movement in the 1960s, racially representative police departments came to be seen as vital for improving community relations and, by the 1970s, African Americans were entering the profession in more significant numbers accounting for about 6.4% of officers nationally (Raganella & White, 2004). While most of the institutionalized discrimination against Black officers had been eliminated in the preceding decade, negative sentiments and covert racism lingered. Alex (1976) examined this bias by discussing how White policemen seized on the idea of a *decline in standards* to codify their resentment toward departmental integration. The phrase became a mantra for expressing a sense of nostalgia for the *good old days* of departmental homogeneity while pointing to a perceived loss in organizational quality resulting from the recruitment of Black officers.

Because minority admission into policing was a political necessity and not a progressive shift in organizational culture, the circumstances of African American officers have always been challenging (Magan, 1993). The negative image of police officers among minorities has been a substantial barrier to recruiting African American officers. Also, minority recruits have often found traditional police environments uncomfortable and even hostile (Haung & Vaughn, 1996; Sullivan, 1989). Alex's (1969) study of the role of race within police organizations described the social circumstance of African American police officers of the time as a *double marginality* by noting (a) as minorities, they were marginalized within the larger society and (ii) as police, they were marginalized within their own racial communities.<sup>1</sup> By extension, we view their segregation within a predominantly White occupation as a third marginality.

The situation of African American police officers has changed substantially since Alex's (1976) work. By 2002, Black representation in policing had reached 11.7% of officers nationally and 38.1% of officers in urban departments (Ho, 2005; Reaves & Hickman, 2002). Reuss-Ianni (1993) described one significant outcome of this increase by noting the solidarity common to homogeneous departments was substantially eroded in the process of minority recruitment and advancement. While token populations of women and minorities can be held "outside the social bounds that organized the rest of the department," as they reach a tipping point in numbers and rank, the "good old days" were seen as coming to an end (Reuss-Ianni, 1993, p. 6). Salinsky (2006) argued increasing diversity in law enforcement produced clear benefits for the internal dynamics of police organizations. These gains include greater tolerance and effectiveness resulting from mixed-race partnerships. However, he argues officers report "lines of division, distrust and resentment" between White and minority officers as well as between Latino and African American officers (Salinsky, 2006, p. 96).

While Alex (1976) noted African American police officers were becoming more self-assured and less willing to suffer the discrimination to which they had been previously subjected, remnants of their marginality remain, even if only as shadows of what they once were. Like most of the general population, police officers tend to accept the stereotype of young Black men as disproportionately criminal (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 2000). In a study of African American officers in Milwaukee, Barlow and Barlow (2002) found most reported being victims of racial profiling. Moreover, Bolton (2003) describes a shared perception among African American police officers that racist attitudes and institutional obstacles prevent full participation within their departments in the early 21st century. Based on these findings, he concludes that the disproportionately low number of key positions held by minority officers is an indicator of persistent racism.<sup>2</sup>

Other studies have documented a lack of collegial support, disproportional criticism, verbal harassment, and employment discrimination against minority officers (Bolton & Feagan, 2004; Dowler, 2005; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Slonaker, Wendt, & Kemper, 2001). Though legislation has been helpful for preventing the most serious forms of discrimination in policing, two studies found disproportionate numbers of internal complaints filed against minority officers (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2000; Rojek & Decker, 2009).<sup>3</sup> Despite these circumstances, Blacks have been found to be more satisfied with both their police careers (Friday & Friday, 2003) and their organizational environment (Lasley & Hooper, 1998) than their White and Latino colleagues. Moreover, Boyd (2010) has argued that because Black officers tend to see themselves as community stewards in Black neighborhoods (Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Sun & Payne, 2004) and outperform their White colleagues at quality-of-life policing, "the goal of the Black police organizations should not be to simply foster ethnic pride but to

become community activists” working to improve relationships between minority communities and police departments (p. 45).

For research purposes, Blacks and Latinos are often lumped together as *non-White* (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). This categorization eliminates the potential for greater nuance in analyses examining whether Latinos are more similar to Blacks or Whites (or not). There has been very little research on patterns of assimilation, ethnic identity, or overall careers of Latino police officers. In general, Latinos report experiencing greater professional hardships (i.e., stress, isolation, and barriers to promotion) than Whites but less than Blacks (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011), and the perceived social distance between Latinos and Whites is less than between Blacks and Whites (Lopez, 1981; Mladenka, 1989). With specific regard to policing, Black and Latino representation in policing is closely associated with their presence in urban populations (Kim & Mengistu, 1994) and the presence of Black or Latino mayors and police chiefs (Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2005). However, Latinos were more effective than Blacks in translating community strength into representation in law enforcement (Stokes & Scott, 1996). Moreover, Weitzer and Tuch (2004) found Latinos are more likely than Whites—but less than Blacks—to report having negative interactions with the police and perceptions of police misconduct.

Irlbeck (2008) surveyed all the Latino officers in a major police department and found three distinctive patterns of ethnic identification. The majority (74%) of them expressed a salient Hispanic identity. Tending to distance themselves from White culture, they articulated intense pride for their ethnic heritage along with a strong sense of connection to the Latino community. Moreover, they objected to being lumped into a homogeneous conception of police (i.e., treated as White because of their police role). Irlbeck (2008) also found 24% of the officers exhibiting an ambivalent Hispanic identity. These officers recognized their Latino heritage but identified far more with White culture. They tended to have mostly White friends and identified more with their police role than with their ethnicity. Finally, a very small minority (6%) identified exclusively as White. Generally, these officers had mixed-race parents and were closer to their White parent.

Carter (1986) found Latino officers, similar to African Americans, more likely than Whites to believe they were discriminated against regarding promotions. He noted Latino officers sensed a widespread discrimination toward the larger Latino community within the police department. DeAngelis and Kupchic (2007) observed a greater sense of mistreatment during the citizen reviews and a lower degree of trust in the process among Latino officers. They also noted that race did not significantly affect overall satisfaction with the process. DeAngelis and Kupchic (2009) also examined the impact of race on officers’ perceptions of police legitimacy and authority. They found Latino officers trusted the internal affairs unit less than their White counterparts and were more likely to resist police authority within their department. However, these findings were less strong than

they had expected and suggest race may be less significant than professional socialization and culture in shaping attitudes toward police authority.

Taken together, these findings paint a complicated picture of race relations in policing. To assess racial diversity within policing, we examine how race relations are negotiated during the entry into occupational culture. The following section offers a concise overview of the literature on police academy training to illuminate the social realities of our research setting.

### *Socialization in the Police Context*

Police socialization has been the subject of the significant literature representing diverse paradigms. A series of publications (e.g., Bennett, 1984; Burgin, 1977; Fielding, 1984; Hopper, 1977; Maghan, 1988; McCreedy, 1980; McNamara, 1967; McNulty, 1994; Van Maanen, 1973) documented changes in perspective, personality, and identity occurring over the course of training in a police academy. These studies highlight the importance of settings for occupational socialization with three general themes. The first is a critique of the standard training model's design to elicit frustration, emotional overload, and subjective crisis (de Albuquerque & Paes-Machado, 2004; Lundman, 1980). High-stress paramilitary training is the most common academy structure in the United States and revolves around a series of degradations and obedience tests (Chappell, 2008; Fielding, 1988; Little, 1990; McCreedy, 1983; McNamara, 1999; Paes-Machado & De Albuquerque, 2002). This model has been described as a punitive initiation into the occupational subculture (Harris, 1973; Van Maanen, 1972) during which instructors enthusiastically embrace sacrifice, humiliation, and pain as pedagogy for building character (Berg, 1990; Conti & Nolan, 2005). The interaction order within police academy training requires periodic degradation ceremonies that are juxtaposed to the potential for elevation to police status.

The second theme is this training structure being an excision of the civilian identity in conjunction with the transmission of a demeanor, bearing, and competence befitting the idealized elite police role (Fielding, 1984; Shernock, 1998). This socialization process also generates an intense sense of loyalty to the occupational group along with an animosity toward civilians and administrators (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998; Sherman, 1980). Further, training officers weave in a hidden curriculum by defining what constitutes *common sense* within policing, highlighting its value, and explaining how to apply it (McNulty, 1994). An idealized sense of police character is transmitted through extracurricular presentations of obedience to authority in paramilitary dress, demeanor, and deportment, as well as in the subtext of war stories or parables told by instructors, veteran officers, and peers (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Ford, 2003; Langworthy & Travis, 1999). During the socialization process, recruits experience shifts in self-concept, attitude, and moral relativism that parallel the perspectives of active officers (Catlin & Maupin, 2004; Christie,

Petrie, & Timmins, 1996; Stradling, Crowe, & Tuohy, 1993). In addition, the hidden curriculum promotes values contrary to the formal training and the recruits' initial idealism, motivation, and commitment (Chappell, Lanza-Kaduce, & Johnston, 2005; Fielding, 1988; White, 2006). The disjuncture between recruit idealism and the realities of the training experience is a significant factor in academy resignations (Haarr, 2005).

A third theme in the literature is that, while—or perhaps because—high-stress paramilitary training functions as a rite of passage into the elite world of policing. Much of its formal curriculum, especially the more progressive elements, do not hold up in the face of field training and the realities of *the street* (Buerger, 1998; Fielding, 1988; Sun, 2003a, 2003b; Tuohy, Wrennall, McQueen, & Stradling, 1993; Van Maanen, 1973; Wortley & Homel, 1995). Specifically, academy training has failed to advance the community- and problem-oriented philosophies of policing (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Chappell, 2008; Cheurprakobkit, 2002; Haarr, 2001; Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996; Quinet, Nunn, & Kincaid, 2003; Traut, Feimer, Emmert, & Thom, 2000), ethics and discretion (Conti & Nolan, 2005; De Lint, 1998; Helsen & Starkes, 1999; Morgan, Morgan, Foster, & Kolbert, 2000), and diversity (Conti & Doreian, 2010). Some scholars noted the high-stress paramilitary model of training results in police practices that are contrary to democratic governance (Marenin, 2004; Paes-Machado & De Albuquerque, 2002), and a structure utilizing university connections, experiential learning, and critical thinking would be significantly more effective (Birzer, 2003; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Glenn, Raymond, Barnes-Proby, Williams, & Christian, 2003; Lino, 2004).

Further, from a pragmatic perspective, police training does not prepare recruits adequately for the diversity of police tasks, produces maladaptive coping strategies, and is not viewed as valuable by experienced officers (McCreeedy, 1983; Shernock, 1998; Violanti, 1993). The first observations of police socialization made clear how the model of police practice presented during training does not fit with the realities of the profession (Harris, 1973; Van Maanen, 1972). The “real character of policing is radically unteachable” (Fielding, 1984, p. 582), so much of the training focuses on cultivating skills having minimal utility (Mayhall, Barker, & Hunter, 1985).

Taken together, these overarching themes present an image of the academy as a test of character in which recruits are expected to strive for an idealized sense of strength to the exclusion of a devalued idea of civilian weakness. This socialization process also generates an intense loyalty to the occupational group in conjunction with an animosity toward civilians and administrators (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998; Sherman, 1980).

### Research Question

From the separate literatures on race and socialization, race is understood to be a complicated issue within the occupational culture. The academy is structured

around an interaction order where an ideal type of (White) elite officer is presented and anything other than traditional lessons is quickly forgotten. This raises an obvious question: How is race negotiated in such environment? In prior work, we examined this academy's attempt to facilitate racial integration during training by populating squads (i.e., recruit subgroups) in a training cohort with mixes of recruits that reflected the overall racial demographics of the class (Conti & Doreian, 2010). The squads spent large blocks of time together for specialized training in firearms, driving, defensive tactics, and other topics not translating well into large classroom settings. These squads, along with a fixed seating arrangement within the main classroom, constituted a social infrastructure within the academy: They were initial and continual drivers of relationship formation among recruits. These formal elements helped generate social knowledge and friendship ties both within and between races. However, our research found some important limitations of this type of social network engineering.

The academy was about 70% White, so, for the purpose of statistical analysis, we divided the recruits into groups of White and non-White. This article builds on the earlier analysis by teasing out important racial distinctions. This present analysis includes groupings of recruits as White as well as both Black and Latino. By distinguishing Blacks and Latinos within non-White recruits, we are able to examine some of the consequences of primarily White academies for *separate* minority groups. Because the social infrastructure is the primary driver of relationship formation between recruits, we examine its affects on different races.

Part of our analysis is inspired by Haarr's (1997) work on the impact of race and gender on the patterns of interaction within a patrol bureau. Haarr conducted field observations and in-depth interviews within a department to examine the on-duty interactions of both male and female as well as Black and White patrol officers to gauge the efficacy of affirmative action and dual promotion lists in *leveling the playing field* and facilitating integration. She found striking racial and gender divisions between officers: White officers tended not to interact with either Black or female officers, White female officers tended not to interact with Black officers, and Black male officers tended not to interact with female officers.

These findings resulted partially from racism and sexism within the department. Haarr (1997) argues these sentiments often were codified into standardized complaints about affirmative action programs and dual promotion lists designed to facilitate integration within the department. However, structural factors also played an important role in isolating race and gender groups. The department had engineered a high degree of segregation by the practice of assigning partners based on shared race and gender. Because an officer's highest levels of interaction tend to be with partners and former partners, the racial and gender homogenization of these partnerships fully concentrated interaction by race and gender. In addition, the department exacerbated this initial segregation by



dispatching White officers into White neighborhoods and Black officers into Black neighborhoods. Under these circumstances, the physical distance between White and Black officers worked to further prevent their interaction.

We combine social network analytic and ethnographic techniques to bring something relatively new to the existing literature: an extensive examination of the affects of the socialization process on relationships between recruits. Specifically, we examine the function of race in the formation of social knowledge about others and friendship ties between recruits on a longitudinal basis. Although there have been some studies examining the experiences of women as a minority group within police academies (Fletcher, 1996; Haarr, 2005; Marion, 1998; Prokos & Padavic, 2002)<sup>4</sup> and others dealing with the effect of training on attitudes toward diversity (Chan, 1997; Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003; Gould, 1997; Marks, 2000; Rowe & Garland, 2003), few have dealt with the experiences of ethnic minority recruits (Alex, 1969; Cashmore, 2001; Ho, 2005), and only Conti and Doreian (2010) have addressed relations among recruits from different races within a cohort in any sort of detail.

Our primary thesis is that not only are the recruits themselves altered through the course of their professional socialization, so too are their relations with each other, especially in terms of race. More precisely, we propose the following hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 1 (H<sub>1</sub>): The patterns of relational ties between recruits differ systematically by race.*

*Hypothesis 2 (H<sub>2</sub>): The nature of these patterns change over time during the training of recruits.*

*Hypothesis 3 (H<sub>3</sub>): The social infrastructure<sup>5</sup> of the academy affects relation formation over time.*

We support these theses by examining how the networks of relationships evolve during three phases of academy socialization. In addition, we offer an ethnographic analysis of the intersection of self and society (i.e., the interaction order) within the academy as a framework for understanding the network analytic results in a mixed-methods framework. The network analytic and ethnographic results complement each other, with each adding nuance to the other.

## Data and Methods

The context of this study was a recruit class in a Midwestern American police department's training academy. The data were collected through participant observation among 70 recruits over the 21-week course of training. Access to the site was achieved by a written request to the chief of police, detailing a specific interest in police training and socialization. The department accommodated this request with the stipulation that the recruits' participation had to

be voluntary. Recruit dossiers and other academy documentation were made available.

As the first author took an overt role, he was identified to all present as a sociologist working on a research project. In a classroom environment, detailed observations were recorded with little notice: With all recruits taking notes on the curriculum, he was just one person among 70 others, writing in a notebook. In addition to observing as much of the formal training as possible, he went to great lengths to eat lunch frequently with the recruits and maintain a presence during their periodic breaks. This allowed him to observe and interact with the recruits at informal moments when they could be more candid in their discussions of the training.

The ethnographic data were analyzed from a grounded theory perspective, where field notes were coded for emerging processes and themes (Charmaz, 1983; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Analytic memos were essential in understanding how the academy was functioning. When the significance of the basic interaction order began to emerge, the field notes were, once more, reviewed to determine how these structural elements were negotiated. Eventually, it became clear that the academy's interaction order was designed to instill an elite ethos as the crux of professional socialization into policing. The overall scope of this ethnography is limited by it being a study of one recruit cohort in one police academy. While the literature suggests that the paramilitary model of training used in this academy is the standard for American policing, this cohort was drawn from the lower reaches of the eligibility list and may have contributed to how they were treated by the staff.

Our social network data were collected with questionnaires at time points selected to coincide with the *noncivilian*, *paramilitary*, and *anticipatory police* phases of socialization (Conti, 2009). We chose to collect our data during each of these phases because they represent significant shifts in recruit selves driven by the academy's interaction order. We expect that these shifts may impact race relations among the cohort. These time points, labeled  $T_1$ ,  $T_2$ , and  $T_3$ , were evenly spaced during the academy. In the paramilitary phase ( $T_2$ ), instruction within squads predominated. In the anticipatory police phase ( $T_3$ ), the significance of the squads was diminished because recruits spent most of their time in class preparing for their state certification examination rather than working in squads.

Because social network data were sought, none of the questionnaires were completed anonymously.<sup>6</sup> To avoid raising hackles early, we did not include relational questions to which the recruits might react negatively. The initial questions were framed in terms of *knowing* other recruits rather than asking about friendship ties. For the final administration of the questionnaire, we did ask explicitly about friendship ties. In responding, recruits were free to use any number of choices.<sup>7</sup> At the end of the academy session, the 68 recruits who finished training reported 1,828 friendship ties with a mean of 27 and a

median of 25. The result was a *very* dense network. This prompted the image of police academies being *hot-houses* for growing social ties. Our primary research question focused on whether the growth of these relationships led to a uniform distribution within and between different racial categories. The implication of hypotheses H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, and H<sub>3</sub> is that this distribution is not uniform.

The main dependent variable is the extent of social knowledge that recruits had of each other. This includes *possessing social knowledge* of others in the recruit environment and being *known socially*. A 6-point scale with a zero point and 5 nonzero values was used to capture social knowledge.<sup>8</sup> A list of all recruits was provided to all respondents. At the end of the academy (T<sub>3</sub>), we asked about friendship.<sup>9</sup> It contained items for quantitative measures of ties featuring their strength. Race was operationalized with four categories: Asian (1 recruit), Latino (6 recruits), Black (15 recruits), and White (46 recruits). Recruits were placed into these groups through self-selection and departmental classification. For the analyses that follow, all data for the Asian recruit were excluded to preserve confidentiality. As noted earlier, two critical features of this academy were membership in squads, predominant during the paramilitary phase, and a fixed seating arrangement maintained throughout the academy for lectures.

Data for all of these variables were kept in the form of matrix arrays. The design of our network data analyses was to use these arrays as variables to discern the impacts of social infrastructure and race on the formation of social ties (see hypotheses H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, and H<sub>3</sub>.) To this end, two very useful data analytic tools were used. They were (a) Quadratic Assignment Permutation (QAP) regression (Dekker, Krackhardt, & Snijders, 2007) to link the distributions of social relations *at different points in time* to each other, to the social infrastructure, and to race and (b) robust analysis of variance (ANOVA) methods (Snijders & Borgatti, 1999) to examine in a more detailed fashion the differences within and between squads of levels of social knowledge and friendship. Inference for regression methods is seriously compromised when the interdependence of data points is ignored and both tools were designed to incorporate, and deal with, the interdependence of the data points for actors in a network. Both are implemented in UCInet (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002).

Consistent with Haarr (1997), we examine patterns of interaction with regard to race. Unfortunately, there was so little female representation within our data that examining the network effect of gender was precluded.<sup>10</sup> Despite the common concern with race and patterns of interaction, there are some important methodological differences between Haarr's (1997) work and ours. First, while we both used nonparticipant observation, Haarr's research was based largely on interviews with police officers designed to elicit information *about* race and relations within a patrol division, while we did not focus on race in our *questions*. Second, we used social network analytic methods for studying social relations to examine them over the course of their academy training. Third, while Haarr conducted her research in an environment having structural barriers to

interaction between officers of different races and genders, our fieldwork setting contained mechanisms intended to facilitate the formation of relations *across* race lines. Finally, Haarr's project was based on a series of one-time interviews, while ours was a longitudinal analysis tracking the evolution of racial relational dynamics over the course of the academy.

## Empirical Results

Our analysis focused on how the interaction order of an academy cohort facilitated a "sequence of changes . . . in the person's self and his framework of imagery for judging himself and others" (Goffman, 1961, p. 128) during the socialization and how that plays out in terms of race. As noted earlier, recruits navigate three distinct stages of training: noncivilian, paramilitary, and anticipatory police. Transitions through these stages involve a series of turning points in worldview marked by particular happenings (e.g., admission to a police academy) illustrating the link between self and society through a public event, such as a shift in social category (e.g., from civilian to police recruit). Recruits began to internalize the elements of the police professional culture during this transition.

For most recruits, the noncivilian stage began at the start of academy training. They entered an environment foreign to anyone lacking in either law enforcement or military experience. This initial entry was framed by the notion of participation in the training being a highly valued prize offering recruits an opportunity to achieve the idealized status of a police officer. While the recruits competed fiercely, and successfully completed a series of trials during the civil service selection process (Conti, 2006), their position within the academy could be forfeited easily if they failed to conform to academy standards forming an all-encompassing set of rules covering everything from dress to demeanor as well as deportment. Learning to operate within this regimen is germane to the noncivilian stage and constitutes the recruit's initial step into an organizational culture.

Once the staff had devoted sufficient time to their expectations and the recruits had internalized these basic standards, the training moved into its paramilitary stage. Simply knowing how to function within the training structure was no longer enough to be seen as a competent recruit. In this stage, the cohort was frequently divided into squads that alternated between more intense areas of instruction better suited to smaller groups. These academic foci include firearms, self-defense, and physical fitness. By this point in the training, the cohort had, for the most part, adopted a paramilitary demeanor and was sharply focused on living up to the requirements for graduation. This was an important shift: While in the noncivilian stage recruits are mostly focused on avoiding sanction to maintain their position within the academy, during the paramilitary stage, their attention shifts to meeting the professional standards enabling them to graduate successfully.

As the training moved closer to its conclusion, recruits were acutely aware of being just steps from a mythologized *street*. This perception signified the start of the anticipatory police stage of the academy, where isolated skills such as fire-arms training and self-defense were united in building-search scenarios. In them, recruits were armed with flashlights, handcuffs, and service weapons firing paint-filled pellets and sent into abandoned buildings at night to find instructors playing the part of armed suspects. The combination of these practical events with their impending graduation left the recruits feeling more like the elite officers they had aspired to become. This shift was apparent in statements where recruits would talk knowingly of the street as if they had experienced it in a qualitatively different manner than any other urban resident.

### Analysis

The first task was to establish whether there were differences between Black and Latino recruits regarding social knowledge and friendship. Were there no differences, there would be no point in distinguishing recruits in these categories. Table 1 shows there were differences persisting over time. In these QAP regressions, White is the omitted (reference) category whose values are very close to the intercepts shown in the table.<sup>11</sup> While the variance accounted for is very small, the differences are significant. Levels of social knowledge and friendship are highest among Latino recruits, next highest among Black recruits, and lowest among the White recruits at all time points. This provides support for H<sub>1</sub>.

**Table 1.** Predicting Social Knowledge Using Only Race as a Predictor.

Predictor	Unstandardized coefficient	Standardized coefficient	p value
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>1</sub> (noncivilian phase) <sup>a</sup>			
Intercept	0.551	–	–
Black	0.420	0.069	.005
Latino	2.015	0.127	.001
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>2</sub> (paramilitary phase) <sup>b</sup>			
Intercept	1.130	–	–
Black	0.799	0.102	<.001
Latino	1.803	0.088	.002
Predicting friendship at T <sub>3</sub> (anticipatory police phase) <sup>c</sup>			
Intercept	1.096	–	–
Black	0.599	0.081	.004
Latino	2.804	0.147	<.001

<sup>a</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .02, p < .001, N = 4,422, <sup>b</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .02, p < .001, N = 4,422, <sup>c</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .03, p < .001, N = 4,422.

Given that being friends requires more than simply knowing others, the lower mean values for both the Black and White recruits the lower values for friendship at T<sub>3</sub> is not surprising. Finding the level of friendship<sup>12</sup> among Latino recruits at T<sub>3</sub> was higher than the level of social knowledge at T<sub>2</sub> was a surprise. Examining the standardized coefficients shows the relative contribution for Blacks is larger than for Latinos during the paramilitary phase (T<sub>2</sub>). The reverse was true for the noncivilian and anticipatory phases (T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>3</sub>).

The second task was to determine whether these differences persist when other known features of the academy are considered and, if they do, discern the nature of these differences. The results are shown in Table 2 where the fixed seating arrangement and squad membership are included with the race variables. Again, White recruits form the omitted category. At all time points, all included variables are significant. This provides support for H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, and H<sub>3</sub>. To the extent that the intercept captures the mean effects of omitted variables, the drop in the intercept values is not surprising. While the explained variance is much larger, it is important to note that the effects due to the two race variables remain and that

**Table 2.** Predicting Social Knowledge Using Social Infrastructure and Race.

Predictor	Unstandardized coefficient	Standardized coefficient	p value
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>1</sub> (noncivilian phase) <sup>a</sup>			
Intercept	0.232	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.685	0.150	<.001
Squad membership	1.087	0.356	<.001
Black	0.400	0.065	.007
Latino	1.816	0.115	<.001
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>2</sub> (paramilitary phase) <sup>b</sup>			
Intercept	0.582	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.609	0.104	<.001
Squad membership	2.077	0.531	<.001
Black	0.749	0.096	.001
Latino	1.594	0.078	<.001
Predicting friendship at T <sub>3</sub> (anticipatory police phase) <sup>c</sup>			
Intercept	0.701	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.519	0.094	<.001
Squad membership	1.467	0.400	<.001
Black	0.565	0.077	.006
Latino	2.634	0.138	<.001

<sup>a</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .17, p < .001, N = 4,422, <sup>b</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .31, p < .001, N = 4,422, <sup>c</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .20, p < .001, N = 4,422.

the change in the values of the unstandardized variables is not dramatic. At all time points, the most potent predictor is squad membership (consistent with H<sub>3</sub>), a reminder to include features of the environment within which social relations form. The seating arrangement (adjacency) is the second most potent predictor for both of the first two time points (consistent with H<sub>3</sub>). However, for the last time point, Latino membership is the second most potent predictor of the magnitude of friendship ties (consistent with H<sub>1</sub>).

Table 3 contains the mean levels of social knowledge and friendship organized by squad membership and seating as obtained from the QAP regressions reported in Table 2. Note that overall levels are very close to the White levels. With one exception, there is a striking pattern in this table: Reading across the rows, there are steady increases in the mean levels of *all* relations. For pairs of recruits who were not seated together nor belonged to the same squad, the mean level of relations is the lowest. The second lowest mean levels are for recruits who were seated together but did not belong to the same squad. Pairs of recruits who belonged to the same squad but were not seated together have even higher levels. Finally, recruits who were seated together and belonged to the same squad had the highest mean levels for the relations—with one exception. For Black recruits, joint squad membership and seating adjacency did not lead to the highest level for friendship at T<sub>3</sub>. At all time points and all configurations of the academy's social infrastructure, the highest mean levels of the relations were for the Latino recruits. Overall, the results in Table 3 provide strong support for all three hypotheses.

Figure 1 displays the mean levels of the (strength of) ties for all three race categories (Latino, Black, and White) together with the overall mean. These are featured in the QAP and ANOVA analyses. Given that the White recruits

**Table 3.** Mean Levels of Social Relations Organized by Seating and Squad Membership.

Time and race	Not seated together and not in same squad	Seated together only	In same squad only	Seated together and in the same squad
T <sub>1</sub> overall	0.23	0.92	1.32	2.01
T <sub>1</sub> Blacks	0.63	1.32	1.72	2.41
T <sub>1</sub> Latino	2.05	2.74	3.14	3.83
T <sub>2</sub> overall	0.58	1.19	2.66	3.27
T <sub>2</sub> Blacks	1.33	1.94	3.41	4.02
T <sub>2</sub> Latino	2.17	2.78	4.25	4.86
T <sub>3</sub> overall	0.70	1.22	2.17	2.69
T <sub>3</sub> Blacks	1.27	1.79	2.74	2.26
T <sub>3</sub> Latino	3.33	3.85	4.80	5.32

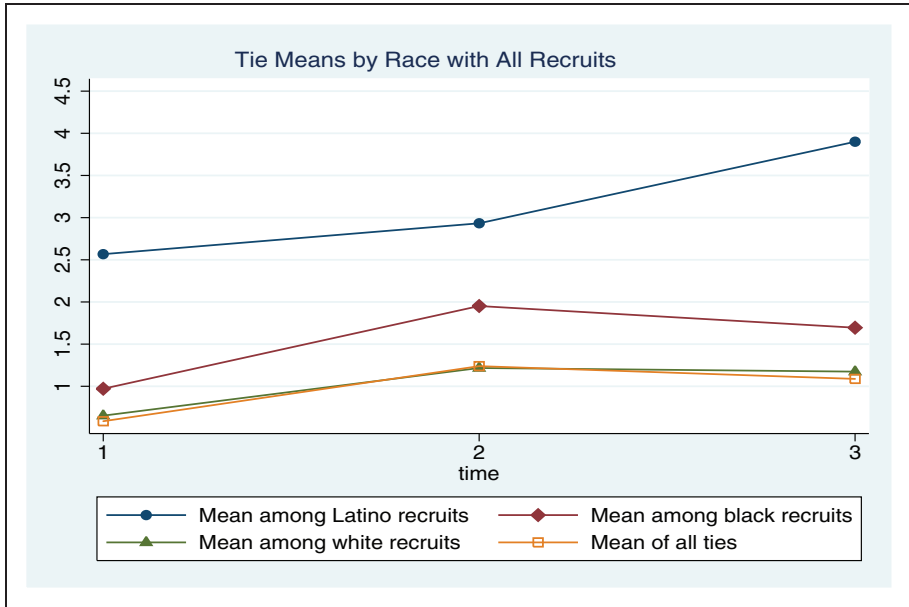


Figure 1. Mean levels of ties for social relations by race over time.

formed the omitted (reference) group and this was the largest group of recruits, the means among Whites and the overall means are very close. At all time points, the highest mean values are for the Latino recruits followed by the means for the Black recruits with the lowest means being for the White recruits. For both the White and Black recruits, the mean levels for friendship at T<sub>3</sub> are lower than for social knowledge at T<sub>2</sub>, while, as noted earlier, the friendship mean for the Latino recruits is above the T<sub>2</sub> mean for social knowledge. These differences persist when the social infrastructure is included. This provides strong support for H<sub>1</sub>.

Conti and Doreian (2010) showed that the process of relation formation is cumulative where values of variables at one time point have predictive value for relations formed at subsequent time points. This raises the issue of whether the inclusion of this process removes race as a predictor of social relations. The relevant QAP regressions are reported in Table 4. The recruits, in the main, met for the first time at the academy. However, some pairs of recruits did know each other prior to the academy due to prior law enforcement experiences. At the first administration of the network survey, we included a past tense variant of the social knowledge question that was recorded as preacademy social knowledge (T<sub>0</sub>). For T<sub>1</sub>, all predictors are significant: The inclusion of preacademy social knowledge did not drive out the race variables as predictors of social knowledge at T<sub>1</sub>. For the second time point, there are two prior social knowledge variables and their



**Table 4.** Using Race, Social Infrastructure, and Prior Social Knowledge as Predictors of Social Relations.

Predictor	Unstandardized coefficient	Standardized coefficient	p value
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>1</sub> (noncivilian phase) <sup>a</sup>			
Intercept	0.187	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.653	0.143	<.001
Squad membership	1.037	0.340	<.001
Black	0.381	0.062	.005
Latino	1.098	0.069	.002
Preacademy SK	0.589	0.275	<.001
Predicting social knowledge at T <sub>2</sub> (paramilitary phase) <sup>b</sup>			
Intercept	0.466	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.315	0.054	<.001
Squad membership	1.611	0.412	<.001
Black	0.577	0.074	.004
Latino	0.503	0.025	.090
Preacademy SK	0.291	0.106	<.001
Social knowledge at T <sub>1</sub>	0.406	0.317	<.001
Predicting friendship at T <sub>3</sub> (anticipatory police phase) <sup>c</sup>			
Intercept	0.427	–	–
Seating arrangement	0.165	0.030	.012
Squad membership	0.469	0.128	<.001
Black	0.204	0.028	.123
Latino	1.592	0.083	<.001
Preacademy SK	0.105	0.041	.020
Social knowledge at T <sub>1</sub>	0.158	0.131	<.001
Social knowledge at T <sub>2</sub>	0.394	0.420	<.001

<sup>a</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .25, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,422, <sup>b</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .43, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,422, <sup>c</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .38, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,422.

inclusion drives out the Latino race variable as a significant predictor. For the third time point, T<sub>3</sub>, there are three prior social knowledge variables and their inclusion leads to the Black race variable being a nonsignificant predictor. In part, this reflects the cumulative relational dynamics once relations have formed among (many) pairs of recruits including those between recruits of different races. Again, there is support for the three hypotheses.

We turn now to consider the mean levels of ties within and between races. We consider first patterns in the academy as a whole (Table 5(A)), patterns within squads (Table 5(B)), and patterns within and between squads (Table 6). These results are based on the use of robust ANOVA methods. This strategy

**Table 5.** Patterns of Significant Differences of Means by Race.

A. Patterns for the Academy as a Whole

	Black	Latino	White
<b>T<sub>1</sub> (noncivilian phase)</b>			
Black	High (.033)	Low (.050)	Low (.001)
Latino	–	High (<.000)	–
White	Low (.009)	–	–
			R <sup>2</sup> = .03
<b>T<sub>2</sub> (paramilitary phase)</b>			
Black	High (.004)	–	–
Latino	Low (.046)	High (.001)	–
White	Low (.039)	–	–
			R <sup>2</sup> = .02
<b>T<sub>3</sub> (anticipatory police phase)</b>			
Black	High (.030)	–	–
Latino	–	High (<.001)	–
White	Low (.01)	–	–
			R <sup>2</sup> = .04

B. Patterns within Squads

	T <sub>1</sub> (Noncivilian phase)		T <sub>2</sub> (Paramilitary phase)	T <sub>3</sub> (Anticipatory police phase)	
Squad 1	No differences		No differences	Black to White White to Black Black to Latino	Low (.004) Low (.001) Low (.039) R <sup>2</sup> = .18
Squad 2	Black to White White to Black	Low (.001) <sup>a</sup> Low (<0.001) R <sup>2</sup> = .17	No differences	Black to White	Low (.005)  R <sup>2</sup> = .13
Squad 3	No differences		No differences	No differences	
Squad 4	Black to Black  Latino to Latino	High (.019)  High (.020) R <sup>2</sup> = .16	Black to Black  Black to Latino	High (.016)  High (.041) R <sup>2</sup> = .10	No differences

Note. The dash (–) represents “no difference,” and the items in parentheses are *p* values for when there are differences.

<sup>a</sup>The items in parentheses are *p* values for when there are differences.

was implemented with White–White ties as the omitted category. Inference is based on whether cell means differ or not from the mean for the relevant White–White cell. If there were no differences with regard to race, then all means would be about the same in the sense of not being statistically different from the omitted category. For means that do differ, a cell mean can be larger or smaller than relevant White–White mean. In Table 5(A), the different cells are indicated as *High* or *Low* with a dash (–) indicating a mean that is not different from that of the reference category.

For the first time point,  $T_1$ , the mean of ties among Latino recruits is the largest followed by the mean among Black recruits, with the mean among White recruits being the lowest. While all other cell means are smaller, only three are significantly smaller: The means for ties from Black recruits to White recruits, from White recruits to Black recruits, and from Black recruits to Latino recruits are lower. Overall, there are five means significantly different from the White mean. At  $T_2$ , this number drops to four. The high means among Black recruits and among Latino recruits remain as does the low mean for ties from White recruits to Black recruits. The low means of ties from the Black recruits to Latino recruits and from White recruits to Black recruits are no longer significantly different from the mean of ties among recruits. However, the mean of ties from Latino recruits to Black recruits is larger than the mean within White recruits. The number of means that are significantly different from the mean among the White recruits drops to three at  $T_3$ . All three persisted through points: the high mean among Black recruits, the high mean among Latino recruits, and the low mean for ties from White recruits to Black recruits. Despite these three exceptions, there is some evidence for *diminishing* differences with regard to race over the course of the academy.

One of the rationales of the officers running the academy for constructing squads to mirror the overall proportions of the races of the recruits was an *explicit* attempt by the academy to diminish differences with regard to race. Given the history of problems with regard to race in policing in the city where our study was conducted, the mixing of races in squads was a conscious attempt to mitigate these problems. As such, it constituted a piece of social engineering. Table 5(B) reports the results of the same analyses<sup>13</sup> that underlie Table 5(A) but performed *within* each squad. We note at the outset that there were no Latino recruits in Squads 2 and 3. Given the smaller number of Latino and Black recruits, it is not surprising that perfect matching of squad composition to overall race composition was not achieved. This is a limitation imposed by the academy assignment of recruits to squads. On the positive side, having the small number of Latino recruits in two squads is useful. These results suggest that the squads differed considerably from each other with regard to the impact of race and the outcomes from recruits belonging to different races. Although there are numerical differences consistent with stronger ties within race groups at all time points in all four squads, many of them are not significant. In terms of the sought academy goals, it would seem that Squad 4 comes closest to the desired *ideal* by having no significant differences in

means at  $T_3$  as an outcome regarding race. Also, Squad 3 started at point close to the ideal with no significant differences at  $T_1$  and remained there for both  $T_2$  and  $T_3$ . The results for the other two squads appear problematic with regard to the notion of using squad membership to reduce racial differences. Squad 1 started by having no means differing significantly from the within White mean for this squad. This persisted at  $T_2$ , but at  $T_3$ , there are three differences: all feature means that are significantly lower than the mean among White recruits. Black recruits in this squad have a low mean value of ties to White recruits as do the White recruits with their ties to Black recruits. Also, the mean of ties from Black recruits to Latino recruits is low, which suggests that the Black recruits in this squad are distant from both White and Latino recruits.

Table 6 reports the detailed results for the robust ANOVA for the whole recruit class in terms of both race and squad membership. The squads are labeled  $S_1$  through  $S_4$ , and race is distinguished by B (Black), L (Latino), and W (White). All entries in the table are means for the cells defined in terms of the squads and race. In each panel, the omitted (reference) category is the cell for ties among White recruits in  $S_4$ . The notation in the table is (a) unbolded ties are all significantly smaller than the within-White mean in  $S_4$ ; (b) the bolded and italicized means are significantly larger than the all-White mean in  $S_4$ ; and (c) the bolded means are not statistically different from the all-White mean in  $S_4$ . With regard to the results reported in Table 6, there are two things to note as caveats. First, the proportions by race differ slightly across squads. Second, the number of cases for each cell is small and inference is fragile. Even so, some patterns can be discerned. Second, the number of cases for each cell is small and inference is fragile. Even so, some patterns can be discerned.

In general, the ties formed within squads are stronger than the ties formed between recruits in different squads, consistent with Conti and Doreian (2010). The number of ties that were formed increased over time. The levels of the social knowledge ties increased from  $T_1$  to  $T_2$ . Our decision to ask about friendship at  $T_3$  instead of social knowledge complicates the interpretation of the changes from  $T_2$  to  $T_3$ . There are instances when, for some squads and belonging to specific races, friendship levels are lower at  $T_3$  than for social knowledge at  $T_2$ , consistent with friendship being a social relation more stringent than knowing others, and instances where the reverse is the case. This merits further attention in the future. Inside both  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  at  $T_3$ , no mean can be distinguished statistically from the within-White mean, which reinforces the finding of internal differences for these squads at  $T_3$ , as reported in the last column of Table 5(B). For  $S_3$  at  $T_3$ , there are no significant distinctions for the internal means and the same holds for  $S_2$  at  $T_2$ . Within  $S_1$ , there is a least one significantly different mean at all time points suggesting that squad membership composition, by itself, is not enough to diminish distinctions between races with regard to forming relations. For  $S_2$ , this is the case for  $T_1$  and  $T_3$ . Similarly,  $S_3$  has two instances of this (at  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ ).<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting also that the bolded entries between different squads are nearly

**Table 6.** Means of Ties by Squad and Race for the Whole Academy.

T <sub>1</sub> (Noncivilian phase) <sup>a</sup>										
	S1B	S1L	S1W	S2B	S2W	S3B	S3W	S4B	S4L	S4W
S1B	<b>1.333</b>	<b>1.167</b>	0.806	<b>1.095</b>	0.407	<b>1.500</b>	0.356	<b>1.111</b>	0.444	0.033
S1L	<b>2.000</b>	<b>1.500</b>	<b>1.250</b>	0.429	0.000	0.000	0.333	0.000	<b>1.833</b>	0.300
S1W	<b>1.083</b>	<b>1.125</b>	<b>1.652</b>	0.250	0.315	0.042	0.228	0.222	0.167	0.225
S2B	0.905	0.714	0.214	<b>1.690</b>	0.825	0.786	0.133	0.571	0.286	0.143
S2W	0.481	0.722	0.407	<b>1.492</b>	<b>2.694</b>	0.333	0.407	0.296	0.630	0.367
S3B	0.000	0.000	0.083	0.357	0.111	0.500	<b>1.067</b>	0.000	0.000	0.250
S3W	0.111	0.467	0.194	0.086	0.296	<b>1.300</b>	<b>1.271</b>	0.178	0.400	0.407
S4B	0.556	0.000	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000	0.289	<b>3.833</b>	0.556	0.500
S4L	0.444	<b>3.000</b>	0.139	0.714	0.370	<b>0.833</b>	0.578	<b>2.667</b>	<b>3.833</b>	<b>1.467</b>
S4W	0.100	0.600	0.358	0.371	0.244	0.700	0.607	<b>1.400</b>	<b>1.667</b>	<b>1.556</b>
T <sub>2</sub> (Paramilitary phase) <sup>b</sup>										
	S1B	S1L	S1W	S2B	S2W	S3B	S3W	S4B	S4L	S4W
S1B	<b>3.667</b>	<b>2.000</b>	<b>1.917</b>	1.048	0.185	1.000	0.356	<b>2.111</b>	0.444	0.133
S1L	1.167	<b>4.500</b>	<b>3.083</b>	1.214	0.611	0.500	1.067	0.667	<b>3.500</b>	0.400
S1W	<b>2.417</b>	<b>2.875</b>	<b>3.197</b>	0.524	0.648	0.083	0.328	0.306	0.250	0.317
S2B	<b>1.810</b>	<b>1.571</b>	0.607	<b>3.500</b>	<b>2.873</b>	0.857	0.457	1.143	0.714	0.514
S2W	0.630	<b>1.611</b>	<b>1.620</b>	<b>3.349</b>	<b>3.472</b>	0.611	0.793	0.556	0.778	0.922
S3B	1.000	0.000	0.500	0.929	0.222	1.000	<b>2.633</b>	<b>1.667</b>	0.667	1.000
S3W	0.178	1.000	0.283	0.200	0.393	<b>2.767</b>	<b>2.462</b>	0.822	0.978	0.640
S4B	<b>2.222</b>	0.333	0.722	<b>1.333</b>	0.519	<b>1.333</b>	1.000	<b>4.667</b>	<b>4.111</b>	<b>3.333</b>
S4L	0.333	<b>1.833</b>	0.306	0.286	0.444	0.500	0.889	<b>2.222</b>	<b>2.833</b>	<b>1.900</b>
S4W	0.733	1.350	0.833	0.743	0.833	1.450	1.267	<b>2.400</b>	<b>2.733</b>	<b>2.489</b>
T <sub>3</sub> (Anticipatory police phase) <sup>c</sup>										
	S1B	S1L	S1W	S2B	S2W	S3B	S3W	S4B	S4L	S4W
S1B	<b>3.500</b>	1.167	1.000	<b>1.762</b>	0.185	0.833	0.333	<b>1.556</b>	0.333	0.233
S1L	<b>2.833</b>	<b>4.500</b>	<b>3.083</b>	<b>2.357</b>	<b>2.500</b>	<b>1.750</b>	<b>1.767</b>	<b>2.167</b>	<b>4.167</b>	<b>1.900</b>
S1W	1.333	<b>2.208</b>	<b>2.727</b>	0.595	0.972	0.292	0.544	0.278	0.667	0.658
S2B	1.143	1.214	0.667	<b>2.190</b>	1.254	0.714	0.362	1.143	1.000	0.343
S2W	0.222	<b>1.944</b>	1.287	<b>2.333</b>	<b>2.861</b>	0.167	0.459	0.370	0.741	0.844
S3B	1.333	1.000	1.208	2.000	0.722	2.500	3.367	1.500	2.167	1.200
S3W	0.333	1.300	0.417	0.286	0.370	1.900	2.086	0.667	1.000	0.687
S4B	<b>1.889</b>	<b>1.500</b>	0.944	<b>1.857</b>	0.889	<b>1.333</b>	1.333	<b>2.500</b>	<b>2.778</b>	<b>2.000</b>

(continued)

**Table 6.** (continued).

T <sub>3</sub> (Anticipatory police phase) <sup>c</sup>										
	S1B	S1L	S1W	S2B	S2W	S3B	S3W	S4B	S4L	S4W
S4L	1.000	<b>3.667</b>	0.528	0.810	0.630	0.833	1.022	<b>3.000</b>	<b>4.167</b>	<b>2.300</b>
S4W	0.567	1.150	1.000	0.543	0.933	1.200	1.380	<b>2.533</b>	<b>2.333</b>	<b>2.556</b>

Note. Squads are labeled S1, S2, S3, and S4. B denotes Black, L denotes Latino, and W denotes White. Bolded items are not different from the mean of the reference category (S4W); unbolded items are smaller than the mean of the reference category (S4W); and bolded and italicized items are larger than the mean of the reference category (S4W).

<sup>a</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .20, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,290, <sup>b</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .37, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,290, <sup>c</sup>R<sup>2</sup> = .27, *p* < .001, *N* = 4,290.

always for pairs of recruits of the same race. This holds for Black recruits three times at T<sub>1</sub>, six times at T<sub>2</sub>, and eight times at T<sub>3</sub>. It holds for Latino recruits twice—the maximum possible given that Latinos are in only two squads—at each time point and it never holds for White recruits. At T<sub>3</sub>, the Latino recruits in S<sub>1</sub> appear remarkable in that *all* of their means are bolded for ties from them to recruits in other squads, regardless of race, and are large enough to be indistinguishable from the mean in the reference (White) category.

### *Black and White don't matter anymore*

A number of findings stand out in the quantitative analysis presented earlier. In this section, we use those findings as starting points for describing what was observed within the cohort—as well as the subgroups—during the ethnographic fieldwork. Our most consistent quantitative finding relates to the levels of social knowledge and friendship among Latino recruits. We offer two potential explanations for this cohesion. First, Latinos comprised the smallest racial group in the cohort, so greater solidarity could be expected among them. Second, while *Latino* generally refers to people from Spanish-speaking nations, in this case, all of the Latino recruits were of Puerto Rican heritage. We assume that this was a stronger more homogeneous form of cultural connection and led to tighter bonding compared with a mixed group of Latinos. Also, each Latino recruit was a fluent Spanish speaker. Lunch times and breaks during the day allowed them come together and converse in this language. Such conversations could be seen as exclusive since other recruits could not follow what was said. There was no comparable parallel among either the Black or White recruits. So, with Latinos starting as a culturally distinctive group with its own language, it makes sense that they should generally exhibit a greater degree of internal solidarity than other recruits.

Next, the level of social knowledge and friendship among Black recruits was generally lower than among Latinos, but greater than what was observed between Whites. Moreover, there is the finding that during the paramilitary phase, African Americans had a higher degree of social knowledge among themselves than even

Latinos. This leads us to ask: What it was about the paramilitary phase that either increased the importance of being Black with regard to social knowledge or decreased the importance of being Latino? While the subgroups were designed to lessen the importance of race among the recruits, to some degree, they seem to have actually heightening it for Blacks. In our previous study, when we found race to be least significant during the paramilitary phase, we presumed that the administration's attempt at social engineering was temporarily effective (Conti & Doreian, 2010). However, we distinguished only between White and non-White recruits. Breaking the cohort up into Whites, African Americans, and Latinos offers enough nuances to recognize that our prior finding at  $T_2$  was actually driven by an integration of Latino recruits that masked the marginalization of African American recruits.

Evidence of this segregation was present in gossip and rumors comprising institutional lore. During training, a number of narratives and accounts regarding the preferential treatment, and incompetence, of Blacks in policing circulated. The first expression of White elitism was based on a 10-point residency bonus on the civil service examination awarded to applicants who live within the city limits. While this may not seem to have any racial implications, we note that the city was 51% Black, and this preference for *urban* recruits could be seen as having an underlying agenda. Such negative sentiments toward Blacks were observed frequently during gatherings of White recruits. These statements reflected the traditional sense of elitism and seemed to be leading officers to believe that not only does the inclusion of African Americans in policing represent a decline in standards, but the playing field has been shifted so far in their favor that those *truly worthy* of elite status were handicapped.

Consistent with Haarr's (1997) observations, recruits often talked about affirmative action as if it was making a big—and largely negative—impact on the department while hurting White officers. This was a decidedly curious claim because, in a majority Black city, the police department was only 30% Black and, within the actual recruit cohort, Blacks only made up 20% of the class. Movement from an all-White department to one that was almost one-third African American is a loss of 500 job opportunities for potential White officers. However, the class in question was made up of a smaller percentage of Black recruits than the department as a whole. While this made it harder to argue there is an ongoing systematic advantage for Blacks, some White recruits seized on the perceived incompetence of any of their Black counterparts not living up to their normative ideal and blamed their presence within the organization on racial preferences in hiring. This sentiment was spread and galvanized by two events that came to light over the course of the training.

The first was the suspension and transfer of the newly appointed African American commanding officer of the training unit for filing false documents. The documents in question were firing range records of a number of female African American staff members. The women were unable to meet the standards

of their annual weapons qualification, so scores were submitted misrepresenting their performance. A training officer at the firing range was forced into early retirement for playing a central role in the incident. This event was reported in the local newspapers as well as being the subject of much departmental gossip and conjecture. Few, if any, missed the fact that all of the involved officers were Black. The more racially biased recruits seized on the incident as an illustration of how minorities, given their positions over better qualified Whites, could not live up to departmental standards and worked together to cheat the system. Some made comments claiming if the former, White, commanding officer of the academy was still in place “this kind of shit wouldn’t be going on.”

The second event occurred on the discovery of hundreds of civil service tests, used in selecting recruit candidates for admission into the academy, that were never scored. The omissions were attributed to the independently contracted civil service organization’s desire to enlist a greater number of minority recruits (i.e., all of the underscored tests belonged to White applicants). The rumor within the department was that the mayor, a Black male who was consistently described as an enemy to the police, contracted an organization run by other Blacks who purposely disenfranchised White recruit candidates. This sentiment was further emphasized when a training officer told a group of recruits that two of the African American recruits had been convicted of felonies earlier in their lives. This revelation contributed to the feeling that the city government was so eager to put more minority officers on the street that they were willing to break the rules to do so.

This study has some clear limitations while raising further issues meriting attention. First, the data come from one academy in one city. The processes of selecting recruits vary across different cities, and this limits the generalizability of our findings. We simply worked with the cohort selected by the academy with specific attention to the formation of social ties. Second, we note the presence of recruits with prior law enforcement or military experience and the potential this may have for affecting our results. However, we doubt this was unique to the setting studied and the effects of presocialization, while present, seem minor at the first time point and vanish thereafter. Third, there is an imbalance in the size of the numbers of Black, Latino, and White recruits, especially the small number of Latino recruits. However, this was a fact of life and will remain until minorities are recruited to police academies in much larger numbers. Even so, the small numbers of minority recruits no doubt had an impact on the patterns of social ties and render the statistical results more fragile. Clearly, replication in other academies will be desirable.

## Conclusion

Given the conflicted history and role of race in policing, both with regard to relations between police departments and the communities within which they operate and relations among police officers in these departments, the idea that “we’re all blue” is immensely appealing. As a realized ideal, it would imply that



the primary identification of police officers—as all being blue—can be detached from race or, on a day-to-day basis, differences between races neither existed nor mattered. We focused our attention to social relations formed among recruits in a police academy cohort because these relations become a crucial part of a foundation for subsequent policing. Also, the academy is an easier place for instilling the idea of “we’re all blue” among recruits—assuming this is an intended outcome. The academy we studied tried to forge ties between recruits from different races in the sense of, at least, getting them to know each other. While this academy was partially successful, it also failed.

There is no doubt that many social relationships were formed in the recruit cohort. Using squads for parts of the training was integral to the design of the curriculum and is a basic part of the social infrastructure Conti and Doreian (2010). This academy coupled this infrastructure to an effort to deal with race by trying to populate squads in proportion to the racial mix of the recruits. Even so, for forming social ties, there were clear differences between Black, Latino, and White recruits as described in the Empirical Results section. One squad did start near the ideal and stayed there: The differences regarding race were not significant. Another squad started away from the ideal but moved toward it. The other two squads did not come close to the ideal at any point during the academy. At a minimum, the use of social infrastructure for forming social relations between recruits of different races is insufficient. In addition, as revealed in ethnographic data, White instructors had their own prejudices, and White recruits knew this and shared them. Our results suggest that realizing the ideal of “we’re all blue” lies in the distant future.

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### **Notes**

1. Despite a demand for African American officers from the Black communities of the day, individuals who filled these positions frequently met resentment and hostility in the Black neighborhoods they patrolled (Sullivan, 1989). Bannon and Wilt (1973) observed Black officers were able to negotiate, if not avoid, this situation within various subgroups of the Black population, while Campbell (1980) argued the concept

- of double marginality does little to explain how Black police officers do or see their jobs in the face of resentment or hostility in the Black neighborhoods they patrolled (Sullivan, 1989).
2. This evidence suggests continued marginalization of African American officers in police organizations is compounded with organizational sexism for female minority officers (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Felkenes & Schroedel, 1993; Holder, Nee, & Ellis, 2000; Martin, 1994).
  3. While these authors find that minority officers receive a disproportionate number of complaints filed, they also note that the outcomes of and sanctions for these complaints fall in line with those of White officers. In addition, Hickman, Lawton, Piquero, and Greene (2001) present a case of a department without any discrepancy between complaints against White and minority officers.
  4. For research on the experiences of women within the larger police milieu, see Dick and Jankowicz (2001), Santos (2004), Garcia (2003), Haarr and Morash (1999), Martin (1994), Remington (1983), Van der Lippe, Graumans, and Sevenhuijsen (2004) as well as Westmarland (2001).
  5. The social infrastructure was operationalized by (a) adjacency in the fixed seating arrangement for class room instruction and (b) membership in squads for specialized training.
  6. Recruits were made aware of the necessity of giving their name along with the other information in the cover letter for the questionnaire. While administering the instruments at each of the three time points, all academy staff left the classroom, and the door was shut. Recruits were informed that their participation in this research was completely voluntary. Though optional, all questionnaires were returned with names and were answered fully at every time point.
  7. This was to avoid the measurement errors of fixed choice design pointed out by Holland and Leinhardt (1973).
  8. Recruits responded to "Please indicate which of [these] individuals you know. Use the 1–5 scale provided to indicate how well you know them." The nonnull extremes of the response range were *acquainted with them but did not know them well* and *know them extremely well*. The zero is defined not knowing another recruit at all.
  9. The nonnull extremes for 5-point responses were 5 (for *a recruit is among your very best friends within the class*) and 1 (for *[a recruit who] is a friend but you are not that close to them*). The zero value (relation) for this item was specified by *if you do not know a particular recruit very well or are not friends with him or her, please skip over his/her name*.
  10. In total, there were nine female recruits: four Latino, three White, and two Black.
  11. The mean values for the White recruits are 0.650 ( $T_1$ ), 1.213 ( $T_2$ ), and 1.175 ( $T_3$ ).
  12. The change to asking about social knowledge at  $T_1$  and  $T_2$  to asking about friendship at  $T_3$  can be questioned. At the start of our study, we were academic outsiders and decided to ask only about social knowledge. Yet, knowing others is a weaker relationship than friendship with the latter more important with regard to race. So we made the transition. As described in earlier work (Conti & Doreian, 2010), at the end of this academy, an eruption of conflict between some White and Black recruits was triggered by contempt for academics running an external sensitivity training session. With the recruits itching to become real policemen, it seemed risky to ask about both

social knowledge and friendship. Also, the presumption underlying such social engineering attempts relative race is that knowing others is a precondition for liking them. With our data, we are in a position to examine this. Finally, asking about both in the same instrument risks the responses (themselves) to one item trigger responses to the other item.

13. The mean values for the cells in Table 5(B) are reported in Table 6 for the within squad ties.
14. Surprisingly, at both time points, the mean of the ties within the Black recruits is lower than the mean of ties from Black to White recruits.

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