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Arab Americans' Perceptions of Their Experiences with Police Post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee

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**ARAB AMERICANS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH POLICE
POST 9/11 IN METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE**

by

Ayman A. Khatib

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
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May 2018

ABSTRACT

ARAB AMERICANS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH POLICE POST 9/11 IN METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE

by

Ayman A. Khatib

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2018
Under the Supervision of Professor Larry Martin

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks had a serious impact on local police relations and their local minority groups. September 11, 2001, negatively shaped the treatment of Arab Americans at the hands of local police and many arms of the federal government. This was due to the increased role of local police in intelligence gathering and immigration law enforcement.

Many urban police departments shifted their policing strategies from community policing to traditional crime fighting and intelligence gathering after September 11, 2001. Arab Americans as a local minority community suffered the brunt of such strategies where police routinely disregarded many rules of law enforcement during their interactions with Arab Americans. As several researchers focused on a similar topic related to terrorism in general that “Counterterrorism has clearly emerged as one of the top priorities in the post 9/11 era of American policing” (Sun, Wu, & Poteyeva, 2011, p. 540). However, the nature of fear and distrust of police and federal agencies among members of the Arab community was under-analyzed in the literature. This research was designed to examine how Arab Americans perceive their local police based on their experiences and to what extent Arab Americans’ experiences and perceptions inform their decisions in terms of contacting police when needed post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee. In this qualitative study, I interviewed 15 Arab Americans living in

Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. After establishing the participants' demographic backgrounds, I asked four major questions: (1) How do Arab Americans perceive police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee? (2) How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of American police? (3) What are the critical incidents/personal or vicarious experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and police? (4) What is the nature and consequences of Arab Americans' contact with police? The responses were analyzed, and I manually extracted recurring themes. Three themes emerged (1) Arab Americans' perception of their own racial identity influence their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9/11; (2) Arab Americans' personal encounters with local police resulted in positive and negative experiences of police; and (3) Arab Americans' suspiciousness of the motives of law enforcement officers. Research into the meanings of Arab Americans' experiences and perceptions can inform law enforcement agencies about how to provide treatment that is more equitable and have dialogue that is more constructive to this community.

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To
my parents,
my wife,
and especially my children

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction to the Study

The September 11 attacks (also referred to as 9/11) included four coordinated terrorist attacks carried out by 19 radical Saudi individuals who were affiliated with the radical Islamic group Al Qaeda, which means in the Arabic language “the base.” These attacks against the United States took place in New York City and the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area on Tuesday, September 11, 2001. The effects of the attacks would have been worse, except the fourth plane that was forced to crash by the passengers on board near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. These attacks killed 2,996 people and caused at least \$10 billion in property and infrastructure damage (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003).

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks had a serious impact on police interaction with many ethnic groups, and most seriously with Arab Americans. The increased role of local police in intelligence gathering and immigration law enforcement after the harrowing day of September 11, 2001 especially impacted the treatment of Arab Americans at the hands of local police. For example, post September 11, 2001, police officers became involved in interviewing and field interrogating (F.I.) Arab Americans concerning Arab Americans’ legal status and/or knowledge of anyone who was illegal in this country. This is one of many ways state and local police became seriously involved in combating terrorism, which in the words of Waxman (2009) led to “many police agencies creating intelligence analyst positions, and assembling new units dedicated to countering terrorism” (p. 385). This new role undermined the traditional, core function of local policing such as patrolling the streets, walking the beat, and directing traffic during community activities.

Prior to 9/11, community-oriented policing (COP) was the primary model used by police departments. Community-oriented policing dates back to the 1970s when police reformers made efforts to get communities involved in working together with local police. The belief was that such a bond would strengthen police-community relationships and improve public safety. Several scholars believed that this model was increasingly used. According to Henderson et al. (2006), "This increasingly popular model of policing was often referred to as community-oriented policing" (p.3). In fact, this model will gradually replace traditional policing, which generally followed the "military model." Under the military model, police officers were educated on departmental rules and regulations through mandatory academy seminars pertaining to search, arrest, and seizure, and through training offered every year as part of the police certification process.

The COP model was probably useful due to its core composition of two essential elements: first, quality relations between law enforcement and the citizenry and second, concentrated problem-solving efforts between law enforcement officers and local residents that focused on identifying and eliminating the causes of crime in the community. In addition, this model promoted collaboration between the community and the entire police organization in strategic planning and implementation of community programs and initiatives.

However, as Americans became increasingly concerned about the critical role performed by police in enforcing the law, the city ordinances that regulate life in an urbanized nation became a growing interest. This interest was developed because of the public concern regarding the post September 11 shift from community policing to the concept of community oriented counterterrorism. As noted in the work of Henderson, Ortiz, Sugie, and Miller (2006), post 9/11,

“among law enforcement, the most notable change was a new pressure to incorporate counterterrorism into their work” (p. 2).

Under the COP model, police officers were not given proper training in how to deal with citizens in everyday situations; for example, police dealing with mentally ill individuals or those with special needs (Antlfinger, 2014). A case in point was the killing of Dontre Hamilton in Milwaukee in April 2014 by a Milwaukee police officer. Dontre Hamilton was mentally ill and the officer should have handled him differently. Consequently, the officer was fired for not following police procedures. There are many Milwaukee police officers who perceive themselves as community-oriented officers; even though their police chief confirmed that they only recently completed training on how to deal with mentally ill people (Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 2014). COP is probably considered by police administrators who believed in community policing and the public a solid bridge between local police and the local ethnic communities, including African Americans, Hispanics, and Arab Americans.

The switch to community-oriented counterterrorism was a sharp shift. This shift toward community-oriented counterterrorism in the wake of September 11, 2001, was an increased emphasis by U.S. law enforcement federal agencies on the use of aggressive tactics, such as invasive technology, phone taps, monitoring Internet activity, and surveillance of religious gatherings (Brown, 2007).

According to Sun, Wu, and Poteyeva (2010), in the face of these changes, Arab Americans “were particularly concerned about being collectively victimized by the government’s counterterrorism policies and efforts, including immigration law enforcement, racial and ethnic profiling, the aggressive USA Patriot Act, detentions and deportations, and special registration” (p. 542).

Regardless of these concerns, the community oriented counterterrorism model was adopted after September 11, 2001, on the heels of the U.S. Patriot Act, which enhanced the power of federal law enforcement agents to detain non-citizens. As noted by Wade (2002), it also granted local law enforcement officers power to arrest immigrants for violation of federal immigration laws. In different racial and immigrant communities that were already fearful of the police, this model generated increased fear. As Brown (2007) claims, because of this fear, individuals in those communities were unwilling to report crimes or cooperate with police. Consequently, this lack of reporting and cooperation compromised the potential effectiveness of community policing programs in those racial/ethnic communities.

Many local police agencies assisted federal agencies in conducting voluntary interviews to gather intelligence from Arab Americans. This process forced a shift within policing strategies from community policing to traditional crime fighting and intelligence gathering after September 11. "The September 11 attacks," wrote Attorney General John Ashcroft to all U.S. Attorneys in November 2001, "demonstrate that the war on terrorism must be fought and won at home as well as abroad" (Henderson et al., 2001, p. 1). In addition to this change in law enforcement and policing strategies, there was new pressure to incorporate counterterrorism into local police work. Local police and FBI officials alike reported, "This pressure had frequently resulted in policies that were poorly defined or inconsistently applied" (Henderson et al., 2006, p. 1).

While most urban police departments adopted the COP model, a few others, including the one in Portland, Oregon, refused to participate (Brown, 2007). Also, in the face of this change, community groups voiced concern about ethnic and religious profiling as a core violation of the basic principles of community oriented policing, which also served to fuel an already heightened public suspicion of all Arab Americans and American Muslims as terrorists (Brown, 2007).

Scholars such as Tyler (1990) and Stuntz (2002) concluded that these new, more forceful policing methods encouraged public hostility toward police, especially in impoverished urban areas with large racial and ethnic minority populations. As a result of its aggressive security measures, such as enhanced investigative tactics and surveillance of homes, the war on terrorism eroded the community police model in some cities.

Since September 11, 2001, there is little evidence to suggest that the decrease in support for community policing and increase for community counterterrorism policing, as well as the increased use of aggressive tactics and invasive technology, will either reduce the threat of terrorism or be an effective means of controlling crime and disorder (Brown, 2007). To this point, Henderson et al. (2006) asserted that:

Following September 11 some policing scholars and practitioners have encouraged local agencies to leverage their street-level position to become more involved in intelligence gathering and immigration enforcement. In some jurisdictions, local police responded by embracing surveillance and intelligence gathering, or “offender search.” This combined with the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s overall shift toward counterterrorism and the expansion of Joint Terrorism Task Forces, in which local police and FBI staff work together, have further changed the landscape of law enforcement activities. (p. 7)

In addition to an overall change in policing models since September 11, 2001, major federal policies were enacted and more laws were passed that were restrictive, harsh, complex, and difficult to navigate. Some Arab Americans were not aware of these laws and too often found themselves in the crosshairs of police scrutiny. Table 1.1 below details some of the policies enacted as a response to September 11, 2001 (Henderson et al., 2006).

Table 1.1

A Selection of Federal Policies and Practices After September 11, 2001

Oct 2001	USA Patriot Act is passed by Congress
Dec 2001	Absconders Apprehension Initiative
Sep 2002	Florida is the first state to enter into a Memorandum of Understanding to deputize state and local police to enforce immigration violations
Nov 2002	Special registration (“National Security Entry-Exit Registration System”) is initiated
Mar 2003	FBI is granted expanded immigration enforcement powers Voluntary interviews with 11,000 Iraqi Americans and Iraqi nationals
Jul 2003	CLEAR Act of 2003 (H.R. 2671) is introduced to the House of Representatives by Charles Norwood (R-GA)
Dec 2003	Special registration (NSEERS) program is suspended
Mar 2006	USA Patriot Act is renewed

Note. A selection of federal policies and practices after September 11, 2001. Reprinted from “Law Enforcement & Arab American Community Relations after September 11, 2001: Engagement in a Time of Uncertainty,” by N.J. Henderson, C.W. Ortiz, N. F. Sugie, & J. Miller, 2006, *Vera Institute of Justice*, p. 2.

Following is a short synopsis of the laws and policies identified in Table 1:

USA Patriot Act: The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act gives law enforcement agencies broader authority to gather information and conduct investigations on U.S. citizens.

Absconders Apprehension Initiative: In order to locate undocumented persons and absconders who have overstayed their visas, the federal government began entering civil absconder warrants into the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) database, a system that, in the past, only dealt with criminal warrants. State and local law enforcement agencies were also authorized but not required to detain these individuals if found.

Memorandum of Understanding: Under this provision of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996, states can enter into

a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the federal government to allow state and local police to enforce civil immigration violations.

Special Registration: In 2002, the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System was created along with a three-month campaign ensured to register immigrants. The registration included fingerprints, photographs, and questioning of male foreign nationals from countries that were identified by the U.S. as supporting terrorism or harboring terrorist groups.

Voluntary Interviews: In 2001, the U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft asked federal, state, and local law enforcement to conduct interviews with 5,000 young men from Middle Eastern countries who were in the U.S. on temporary visas. Although the interviews were said to be voluntary, men between the ages of 18 and 33 who had been in the U.S. since January 1, 2000, on student, tourist, or business visas were targeted.

The CLEAR Act: The Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal (CLEAR) Act was the most prominent immigration legislation. It provided state and local police authorities with the power “to investigate, apprehend, detain, or remove aliens in the U.S.” (Henderson et al., 2006, p. 5). This act also gave state and local police the appropriate training, access to data on undocumented immigrants, and funding needed to carry out their new mandate (Henderson et al., 2006).

It has been asserted that these new policies changed the perceptions and treatment of U.S. citizens and policing agencies toward Arabs in the United States. There are many studies focused on citizens’ perceptions of police and police perceptions of citizens (Carr, Napolitano, &

Keating, 2007; Alpert, MacDonald, & Dunham, 2005). Scholars can testify to the fact that there is adequate literature on police perception of American citizens; however, there have been very few studies on Arab Americans' perception of police, even after September 11, 2001 (Alpert, MacDonald, & Dunham, 2005). This study was inspired by the crucial need to bridge this gap in the literature by addressing the missing perspective of Arab Americans' perception of police.

Background of the Study

After September 11, many changes took place concerning the safety of the American people. One of these changes was policing strategies where police started keeping close eyes on Arab Americans because the 19 hijackers behind the tragedy of September 11 were Arabs of Middle Eastern descent. According to Gabbidon and Green (2013), "The racial animus that had previously targeted minorities such as Blacks and Latinos also targeted Arab and Muslims Americans, because of the Middle Eastern background of the 9/11 terrorists" (p. 30). The intensification of unjustified racial profiling that was practiced by police post 9/11 caused Arab Americans to form opinions about the police. For example, Some Arab Americans believed that police often stopped and questioned them based on mere suspicion, predicated by the image that police had of Arab Americans after the 9/11 tragedy. Arab Americans were perceived to be the group most likely to engage in terrorist activities; therefore, citizens and policing officials alike were supportive of racial profiling of people of Middle Eastern descent. This led to harassment of Arab Americans (Gabbidon & Greene, 2013). The realities of this profiling and harassment inspired this research towards understanding Arab Americans' perception of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee.

Racial Labels

Before Arab Americans were labeled Arab Americans, they were ethnically labeled Arabs or Middle Easterners, which focuses on their culture, appearances, and, to some extent, their religion, which, according to Merskin (2004) occasionally evoked resentment, as he indicates when he says, “Differences in age, race, religion, culture, or appearance could be characteristic(s) that stimulate resentment toward other groups” (p. 4). While this was the case before September 11, 2001, after September 11, it only got worse. He goes on to say that, “Arabs became the face of evil and terrorism. “Just as the media have anthropomorphized courage and bravery in the post September 11 world, a face has also been put on terror and it is Arab” (p. 1). In response to this view of them, many Arabs living in the U.S. prefer to be called Arab Americans. Others prefer to be identified based on the geographic area where they came from in the Middle East; for example, Egyptian Americans, which indicates they came from Egypt, or Palestinian Americans, which indicates they came from occupied Palestine. In addition, el-Aswad (2006) shows that some Arab Americans want to be distinguished by their U.S. final destination, such as “Detroit Arabs.”

The same process applied to African Americans. Because the racial label “Black” evoked a mental representation of a person with lower socioeconomic status, the term African American became current. Besides the indicator of lower socioeconomic status, as shown by Hall, Phillips, and Townsend (2014), Whites reacted more negatively toward the term Black than African American. As Hall et al. (2014) further explain that such racial labels would lead to more prejudice and bias than what had already existed in the criminal justice system: “Whites view a criminal suspect more negatively when he was identified as Black vs. African American” (p. 183).

Hall et al. (2014) state that calling someone African American had different connotations than calling him/her Black. According to their study, “Black refers to all people with African ancestry, regardless of their nationality” (p. 190). For example, they go on to say, “Black would refer to a Caribbean residing in the U.S., even though he/ she was directly descended from the West Indies but still had African ancestral roots” (p. 193). Their work shows clearly how labels have serious inferences and connotations.

Racial labels have also been used for Hispanics. For this group, some prefer to be called Latino/Latina. Whether these preferences should be left to every racial/ethnic group to decide is an ongoing debate among racial/ethnic groups. As Merskin’s (2004) work indicates, those racial/ethnic labels are there to serve a purpose, either to help the White majority by indicating that the other racial groups are different from the mainstream or to keep them unassimilated and alien. As he says, “The resultant ‘we-they’ dichotomy produces a kind of group-think that supports separation of particular religious, ethnic, or cultural groups, positioning them as hostile and alien” (p. 162); contradicting Shakespeare’s statement regarding a rose being called other names and still smelling the same, these different names were equal neither in the substance or in the meaning.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to delve into Arab Americans’ perception of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee. A number of studies have touched on the effects of the September 11 attacks on Arab Americans’ affairs (Ayers, 2007; Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, 2005; Hendricks et al., 2007; Howell & Shryock, 2003; Jamal & Naber, 2008; Cainkar, 2011). A few studies also considered communication between Arab American communities and local urban police (Henderson et al., 2006; Ramirez, et al., 2004; Thacher,

2005; Jones & Supinski, 2010). In addition, limited research focused on hate toward Arab Americans post 9/11 (Oswald, 2005) and the effects of discrimination against Arab Americans in the workplace and in education (Daraiseh, 2012). Consequently, the literature on Arab Americans' perception of police post 9/11 is limited and ill informed.

Brief History of Arab Americans in the United States

According to the 2010 U.S. Census data, the Arab American population is about 3.5 million (Asi & Beaulieu, 2010). Arab Americans in this count were considered either citizens or permanent residents of the United States; this count included those who came to the United States on student visas (I-20).

Arab Americans represent an ethnic group that traces its origin to countries in the Middle East or Northern Africa (See Figure 1.1). There are 22 Arab countries throughout the Middle East where the main language is Arabic, with many dialects (Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, United Arab Emirates, and so on).

Figure 1.1 Map of the Middle East



Figure 1: Map of the Middle East. Retrieved from:
<http://teajournalandradio.blogspot.com/2011/05/arab-spring-silverline-around-cloud-for.html>.

Arab Americans have been in the United States for more than 150 years. The first wave of Arab immigrants came to the United States between the 1800s and the 1900s, mainly from Fertile Crescent nations such as Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria. The second influx of Arab immigrants was after World War II and the third influx of Arab immigrants began after the Middle East War of 1967. As identified by Sandoval and Jendrksik (1993), the last two waves consisted of Muslims from different Middle Eastern countries “with higher levels of education” (Sandoval & Jendrksik, 1993, p. 15). Most of the recent immigration took place following the Mideast war, 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the civil war in Lebanon, and the Gulf war of 1990. A study by Abu-Lughod (2011) found, “These conflicts have contributed to a large influx of Arab Americans who came to the United States in search of refuge from war” (p. 28); seeking the American dream along with a chance to start their lives over.

Demographics

The actual number of Arab Americans in the United States is difficult to establish. Literature on Arab American demographics yields few resources on the subject. Most recently, the Arab American Institute Foundation (2014) provided an estimate of over 3.5 million Arab Americans in this country. The 2010 United States Census estimated that out of more than 300 million people living in the U.S., around 2 million were Arab Americans. However, during previous years there was confusion and misrepresentation of the Arab Americans' presence in the United States. For example, according to Abu-Lughod (2011), "prior to the 1920s, census data counted Arabs along with Turks, who are not of Arab origin; non-Syrian Asian Arabs were counted as "other Asians"; and Palestinians were counted as refugees, Israelis, or according to their last country of residence" (p. 28).

Currently, Arab Americans live in urban areas in all 50 states. However, ninety-four percent of all Arab Americans live in major urban areas such as Los Angeles, Detroit, New York, Chicago, and Washington, DC. Wisconsin ranks as the 28th state in numbers of Arab Americans, with the highest concentration of them living in Milwaukee County. According to the most recent census data, Arab Americans currently reside in 58 of the 72 counties in the state of Wisconsin (2005–2009 American Community Survey Rolling Year Average – U.S. Census Bureau).

First Arab Americans in Milwaukee

The first evidence of Arab Americans living in Milwaukee appears in a Milwaukee Police Department report circa 1890–1891 indicating the arrest of an "Arabian," but no details were given (Delk, 1985). Also, the *Milwaukee Journal* of June 29, 1891, reported that there were about 100 Syrians living in the city of Milwaukee, all within a short distance from each other on

the east side of the city near the mouth of the Milwaukee River. Many of the Syrian and Lebanese men were street merchants carrying wares of silk and woolen fabrics, gold, and silver to sell. The 1891 *Journal* reporter concluded “Syrians avoided heavy manual labor,” and added that the police department found them peaceable and harmless. In their leisure time, the men gathered to smoke an improvised “huka” (pipe for smoking tobacco), sing, and talk in what Delk (1985) says the reporter described as “their weird tongue, jabbering away like magpies” (p. 93).

These mainly Syrian and Lebanese Arab Americans who came to Milwaukee were rug merchants. As Delk (1985) found, a few years into the 20th century, changes were witnessed in the small Arab American community. Its members became somewhat more affluent, and “some men of the community and several members of the Herro family had left the traditional occupations to take work as industrial laborers” (p. 95).

In the census of 1910, people of Middle Eastern origin living in Wisconsin were counted separately for the first time. This included Armenians and Turks as well as Palestinians and Syrians; they numbered 791, and half of them spoke Arabic. By that time, the Arab community was no longer concentrated around the Milwaukee River on the east side. Instead, they started to move to different areas within the city. In 1920, the census listed 575 Palestinian-Syrian Arabs in Wisconsin. By 1940, the number of foreign-born Palestinian-Syrians living in urban Wisconsin had declined from 491 to 413, but this decline had not affected the number in Milwaukee, which was 163 as compared to 162 in 1930. It seems safe to assume that the Arabic-speaking community in Milwaukee was large enough and active enough to draw attention to its culture and its contributions. From the 1940s to this day, the Arab American population in Milwaukee has slowly increased, according to the Director of the Islamic Society of Milwaukee (ISM), Attorney Othman Atta, and other anecdotal estimates from Muslim leaders. The current Arab

American population in Milwaukee is around 7,500. Most of them work in an urban environment, such as the inner city of Milwaukee, as store owners and taxi drivers, and a small percentage as professionals in the fields of education, criminal justice, medicine, and law (Atta, 2014).

Cultural Considerations

Arab Americans' norms and traditions are an extension of their native culture. One of their distinctive family structures identifies men as breadwinners who have dominion over women; such social roles are taught from the early stages of childhood. Males in Arab families are often told that their role is to lead and to make rules, and that those rules are binding upon their older sisters and younger siblings. Each family member is considered a part of a collective whole, and any failure of one's expected role in the extended family structure could create family instability and a domino effect that would encompass everyone. As for the females, traditionally they were reminded not to lose their virginity or have any affairs until they got married, or they would bring shame to the family. The notion of personal independence was discouraged, which is in direct conflict with mainstream American values that teach independence as an indication of success and individuality.

Arab American Traditions/Norms

Several other cultural aspects need to be considered due to their potential impact on Arab perceptions of police and their relations with them. For example, many Arab American females have been reluctant to call police for simple matters or in more serious situations, such as domestic violence in the family (Egharevba, 2014). Because they fear retaliation from their husbands and/or deportation, Arab American women and/or recent immigrants from the Middle East prefer to be discreet, even at the expense of their personal humiliation and/or abuse. In

addition, due to inherited mistrust of police in their home country, Arab Americans' prior experiences with police in their country of origin may influence their perception of and degree of compliance with police in this country.

Many Arab Americans came from Middle Eastern countries where there was widespread suspicion of police, whose role was to support oppressive regimes like the ones that exist there. Others fled the yoke of Israeli occupation, such as Palestinians, who, due to Palestinian police coordination with the Israeli occupation force considered by many Palestinians as an enemy force. In addition, immigrant Arab American men have learned how to show respect by avoiding looking straight into the eyes of an elderly person whom they encounter in a conversation or social gathering. This cultural aspect itself may cause suspicion on the part of American police partly due to the contrary learning of police officers at the police academy—those who did not look straight at police might be hiding something or were being evasive and elusive (Porter & ten Brinke, 2009). Other aspects of the culture may create resentment on both sides, such as a police officer refusing to take off his or her shoes when entering Arab Americans' houses; in this case, the Arab American might fear that the officer would step on designated praying area with his/her shoes. Some officers who would not take off their shoes may create a problem of perceived disrespect.

After September 11, the federal, state, and local governments heightened and tightened their security in most public places, especially the airport, which also increased law enforcement encounters with Arab Americans. Female and male officers conducting searches often encountered females wearing the hijab (covering clothes, including the head). Due to religious considerations, Arab American females mostly refused to be searched by male officers. Moreover, because Middle Eastern men generally perceive females as weaker beings who are

supposed to stay home, take care of the house chores, and raise the children (more domesticated); some Arab American men do not like to interact with or, particularly, take orders from female police officers.

Another issue is that many Arab Americans immigrate to this country with little or no English proficiency. This is problematic, especially, for those attempting to interact with police individuals or others in the American society. An Arab American may have difficulty explaining his or her circumstances, and the officer in return might struggle to communicate to the individual why he/she was stopped. Another situation would be handling simple matters on a daily basis, such as going to the market or paying bills. Because of these interactions, Arab Americans have felt alienated, marginalized, and frustrated, with no chance of advancement or getting ahead because they lack an understanding of the language (Egharevba, 2014). Likewise, the language barrier can frustrate both police and the individual (Arab Americans) they encounter and may lead to resentment and confrontation on both sides. Because of these cultural and linguistic factors, it has been generally important for police to have some type of cultural and sensitivity training, so they can perform their required duties without offending or burning bridges with other racial minority groups, such as Arab Americans.

Particularly Sensitive Cultural Attributes for Arab Americans

There are two other cultural attributes of which police officers ought to be especially cognizant, so that these attributes will not be used as racial profiling or indicators of somebody's race or ethnic identity. Those two attributes are Middle Eastern names and head cover.

Middle Eastern Names. Some Middle Eastern names in general are difficult for an average American to pronounce correctly; these names also have a foreign stigma attached to them. This may, consequently, lead to discrimination against Arab Americans based simply on

an individual's name. People's names often reflect their country of origin and racial reference. The same has been true for Arab Americans. For most, their names reflect their Middle Eastern origin. Once the name is mentioned or read off a document, law enforcement's social constructs kick in; the names carry various elements of ethnic bias and expectancy that can lead to prejudice and/or racial profiling. Arab American names can also trigger stereotyped images of Arabs and perceptions of their social, religious, or ethnic identity.

Based on anecdotal personal observations as a former police officer, I have observed that during patrolling and the work of Volpp (2002) an officer may stop an Arab American for a traffic violation without knowing the person's ethnic background. Once it was confirmed by reading the person's name off his/her driver's license, there were many things the officer might think of the driver just based on perception(s) or image(s) that the name might trigger. Likewise, as Shaheen (1984) found, many of these images and stereotypes have been racially motivated and orchestrated over the years by the media of the dominant culture and its institutions. Similar to what appeared in the media, after September 11, 2001, by randomly interviewing thousands of non-citizen males who came from Middle Eastern or Muslim backgrounds, the U.S. Department of Justice engaged in racial profiling. Such selective scrutiny by federal officials constitutes a form of racial profiling. In addition to the media, government agencies, and the police, as Volpp (2002) found, some airport officials, airlines, and passengers have also practiced racial profiling against those appearing to be of Middle Eastern Arab descent. To that point, he/she reports that, "Countless men have been kicked off airplanes, because airline staff and fellow passengers have refused to fly with them on board" (p. 7).

No doubt, some Arab Americans were treated badly and given bad labels, especially after September 11, 2001. This treatment might be repeated in the market, department store, or on the

streets without people ever noticing unless it is reported and documented. On the receiving end of all this, as documented by Ahmad (2002), some Arab Americans get defensive when, due to their ethnic background, an authority figure like a police officer, federal agent, or store manager approaches them with a condescending attitude, and is unwilling to help.

Veil (headscarf) vs. Kufiya (turban). The other cultural attribute that is as equally important regarding Arab Americans' culture is the head cover, known as the veil (headscarf) or hijab in Arabic, for women, and "kufiya," or turban, for men. Both have been a part of the Arab culture for thousands of years. Yet in the aftermath of September 11, these attributes have created stereotyped images that resulted in racial profiling of Arab Americans and Muslims. Ardisson (2000) found that "individuals who wear a headscarf or turban are perceived as people with no rights, and oppressed" (p. 22). Ardisson (2000) goes on to say that, the reality of an Arab American woman's headscarf is that it is often a symbol and expression of nationalism. Some Arab American women might consider the headscarf as a defiance and rejection of Westernization or even assimilation. In addition, for some Arab American women, the headscarf is considered to be insulation against sexual harassment and lust provocation in addition to being an article of faith (p. 24).

Similar to the headscarf, the turban, or kufiya, is the male head cover that Middle Eastern men often wear, mostly to protect them from the desert heat and sandstorms. For some nations in the Middle East, the kufiya is regarded as a national symbol. Also for others, like Sikhs, it is a symbol of honor and tribal identification. Ahmad (2002) explains that due to a misinformed public and stereotypes, several Sikhs were assaulted, and two Sikhs out of five people who were killed were mistaken for Arab Americans after September 11, 2001. It was sad and counterproductive to see a person's respected symbol degraded and reframed as it happened to

the head cover. In the same study Ahmad (2002) goes on to report, “It is reduced to a symbol of foreignness and clandestine terror” (p. 110).

Images of Arabs on American Television

The media have played a crucial role in presenting images and stereotypes of ethnic groups that impact peoples’ perception of them. The negative portrayal of Arabs has been as serious as the stereotyping of Asians, Native Americans, and other groups. According to Shaheen (1984), American television tends to have four basic myths about Arabs, “they were all fabulously wealthy; they were barbaric and uncultured; they were sex maniacs with a penchant for white slavery; and they revel in acts of terrorism” (p. 4). Yet, just a little surface probing revealed that these notions were as false as previous assertions that African Americans were lazy, Hispanics were dirty, Jews were greedy, and Italians were criminals.

Those images, racial labels, and stereotypes have influenced how the dominant culture perceives Arab Americans and other racial/ethnic groups. In the end, this negative perception has led to resentment and inequitable treatment of Arab Americans, as with any targeted ethnic group within urban America.

Research Questions

This study was designed to examine how Arab Americans perceive their experiences with local police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee.

The major research question is:

- I. How do Arab Americans perceive the meaning of their experiences with local police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee?

The sub-questions that support the major question are as follows:

- a. How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of local police?
- b. What are the critical incidents/personal experience(s) that define the relationships between Arab Americans and local police?
- c. What is the nature and consequences of Arab Americans recent police contact with local police?

These questions were necessary to understand Arab Americans' perceptions of their encounters with local police. In addition, these questions were designed and structured to produce a rich substantive response that reflects the social justice context of Arab Americans as individuals.

Importance of the Study

Many prior studies established the general perception of police toward Arab Americans. Akram (2002) summarizes that view in saying, "The public perception of Arabs as responsible for most terrorism against Americans and American interests results in Arab Americans feeling the greatest impact of this hostility" (p. 67). Brunson (2007) shows that police perceptions of minority groups such as African American and Hispanics are well established in the literature (p. 73). However, to date there is no counter narrative; the research literature prior to this study fails to examine in-depth Arab Americans' perceptions toward police based on their experiences.

In addition, this study illuminates an ignored research area within the urban social issues and criminal justice field. Arab Americans, unlike other racial and ethnic groups, have few studies that delve into the formation of their attitudes/perceptions toward police in urban America.

In addition, this study yielded significant contributions to the fields of criminal justice and urban education in terms of the potential for informing those interested in Arab Americans' perceptions of police post 9/11. Some of these outcomes were: first, findings from this study could be infused in future sensitivity training for police academies. Second, using this study to learn about Arab Americans' perception toward local police could furnish a knowledge base for police departments to develop effective and efficient strategies and tactics in community policing. Third, because Arab Americans' perception of police had previously been under researched, findings from this study may provide the potential to more fully inform adult educators in different fields about the scope of Arab Americans' perceptions/understanding of American police.

Finally, this study attempts to furnish a building block of informed explanations of how Arab Americans perceive American police. As such, it emphasizes the dynamic nature of ethnicity within the dominant culture and its role in determining the perception(s) of American police. Neglecting the dynamics of race and interracial relations has previously undermined the overall knowledge base and the intricacies of understanding the behaviors and attitudes of Arab Americans as an integral part of American society. In other words, this study, attempted to tap into the underlying social, cultural, historical, and contemporary sources that contributed to the formation of Arab Americans attitudes toward American police.

Operational Definition of Terms

Arab Americans: "Arab Americans are those who have ancestry in any of the 22 Arab countries in the Middle East. Arab Americans represent an ethnic group that has been deeply divided over state and Census official classifications of racial, ethnic, and ancestry identities. They are classified as 'white' by race due to historical court cases. The rise of multiculturalism and ethnic pride, combined with influxes of new, more diverse immigrants, has created large segments of Arab Americans who do not feel 'white' and who perceive themselves as persons of color" (Kayyali, 2013, p. 1299).

Attitude: Is a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or an event. (Ajazen, 1988).

Black: Refers to all people with African ancestry, regardless of their nationality (Hall et al., 2014).

Community-Oriented Policing: The roots of community policing date back to the efforts of police reformers in the 1970s when New York police commissioner Patrick Murphy emphasized the need for good police community relations (Wadman & Allison, 2004) combined with the work of other scholars who suggested that police higher ups and officials needed to divert their attention from reactive policing to focusing on the underlying causes of social disorder.

Community-Oriented Counterterrorism: This model of policing was adopted after September 11, 2001, on the heels of the USA Patriot Act, which enhanced the power of federal law enforcement agents to detain non-citizens. In the same vein, it authorized police officers to arrest immigrants for violations of federal immigration law (Brown, 2007). This type of strategy has created a rift in the relation between police and immigrant communities in general (Brown, 2007).

Field Interrogation (F.I.): Stopping of a person initiated by a police officer due to suspicion pertaining to that person. On those stops, legal identification is requested by the police officer. Field interrogation shows police activity in which it generates a memo card with biographic information of the stopped subject; the card gets turned in to the shift supervisor to be counted (Stefancic & Delgado, 2007).

Homeland Security: This term was created after September 11, 2001. The federal government combined 22 different federal departments and agencies into a unified, integrated cabinet agency when it was established in 2002. The goal is to keep America safe and resilient against terrorism and other potential threats (Henderson et al., 2007).

Image: “A combination of construct whose subject is itself a collection of images in the individual memory of various aspects of reality” (Mowlana, 1995, p. 28).

Legitimacy: “Property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed” (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p. 514).

Marginalization: Social oppression and exclusion of entire groups of people from the core functioning of society.

Misconception: A view or opinion that is incorrect because it is based on faulty thinking or understanding, according to the Oxford dictionary online.

Perception: The act of perceiving or the ability to perceive mental grasp of objects, qualities, etc., by means of the senses (Webster, 2009).

“PoPo”: Police officers that patrolled certain beaches on bikes wore a vest that said “po,” which means police officer, in huge block letters on front of their shirts. They usually rode around in pairs. When people saw them coming by, they see the words “po” “po” when they stood next to each other. “Man, here comes the “PoPo”?” (Urban Dictionary).

Racial Label: Often define how social groups are perceived (Hall et al., 2014).

Racial Profiling: Occurs whenever a law enforcement officer questions, stops, arrests, searches, or otherwise investigates a person because the officer believes that members of that person’s racial or ethnic group are more likely than the population at large to commit the sort of crime the officer is investigating (Gross & Livingston, 2002).

Satisfaction: A happy or pleased feeling because of something that you did or something that happened to you; the act of providing what is needed or desired/the act of satisfying a need or desire, according to Merriam Webster online.

Stereotype: Fixed, usually negative, image of members of a group (Stefancic & Delgado, 2007).

Subordination: Process of holding or rendering of lesser importance, as through racial discrimination patriarchy or classism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2007).

Urban: Scholars have concepts associated with the word “urban,” such as the word “city” and the word “metropolitan.” The term urban is often used interchangeably with the term “inner city.” However, the terms inner city and central city are often used interchangeably and typically refer to densely populated, low-income neighborhoods located in cities that are dominated by racial/ethnic minorities (Martin, 2004, p. 4).

Urbanism: The study of physical needs (i.e., security & safety) of urban societies (Merriam Webster).

Summary

America is a melting pot with many racial and ethnic groups. Public satisfaction with the police has been rooted in understanding each racial/ethnic group’s individually in terms of their uniqueness, experiences, and other circumstances that shape their perceptions and understanding of police in urban America.

This study focuses on Arab Americans’ experiences and their perception of police in metropolitan Milwaukee. Like others, this ethnic group is distinct with its language, social, cultural, and historical background from other ethnic groups in America. This study is important due to the rapid growth of the number of Arab-Americans who currently live in the United States

and the lack of studies on them; this number is estimated to be around 3.5 million(Asi & Beaulieu,2010). Now adding to that number, recent wars have forced Arabs to immigrate to the U.S. and other foreign countries seeking a better life and aspiring to achieve the American dream.

This study is important because before it was done; Arab Americans' experiences and perception of police were only slightly evident in the literature on policing. Beyond that, it contributed and expands upon the existing literature on Arab Americans as a race/ethnic group and their experiences with American police. The results from this study would potentially enhance Arab Americans' satisfaction, mutual trust, and respect with police; while increasing possibilities of gaining more support, police legitimacy, and cooperation from Arab-American communities and individuals.

The next chapter highlights the historical relationship between police and minorities (e.g., Hispanics and African Americans); with a specific focus on Arab Americans' perceptions / experiences toward police in metropolitan Milwaukee. In addition, it shows how the consequences of Arab Americans' perception/experiences toward police may affect daily operations of police.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature surrounding the phenomena, experience, and perception of Arab Americans related to police in the United States, as well as what factors influenced their perception. It also includes a review of literature on the current state of Arab Americans in the U.S. and issues of significance related to their socio-cultural environment. In addition, it reviews several theories that can serve as a framework; for example, understanding racial disparity as an index of Arab Americans' satisfaction with police in the United States.

The literature search began with an electronic search in March, 2015 updated in November of 2017. The scholarly and peer reviewed articles were retrieved from Eric, JStor, and EbscoHost database. In the beginning the search resulted in retrieving over 150 articles with general relevancy to the research topic. A further comprehensive analysis of the literature; with search terms such as citizen perception, community policing, and counterterrorism; with extended time and accommodations this research retrieved 52 items. The abstract for each article was examined to determine the relevance of these 52 items, 25 appeared to be relevant and copies of the full publication were procured. After a more extensive examination of all 25 articles were retained for the research investigation. An additional search of the literature yielded 10 more relevant articles. Together 35 articles, along with some of the references cited in the articles were utilized in this literature review as well.

Research Importance

Most of the literature and the scholarly research reviewed here focus on African Americans and Hispanic citizens' perceptions of police. The scholars cited considered not only the citizen perception of police related to African Americans and Hispanics, but also on the police perceptions of those two racial minority groups.

On the other hand, this review shows a shortage of scholarly research on Arab Americans' perceptions of their experiences with police. Studying Arab Americans' perception of their experiences with police is particularly crucial for understanding and fathoming the full picture of these major racial/ethnic groups—African American, Hispanic, and Arab American—perceptions of police. Similarly, little published research exists on views of police by other racial groups, including that of Hmong, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Africans.

Arab Americans are part of the American population as well as African Americans and Hispanics. Studying one group and not the others in terms of their experiences and perceptions of police would not yield a comprehensive understanding of the experiences and perceptions of these groups. Consequently, the outcome of these studies and their findings either will strengthen police legitimacy or weaken it (Carr et al., 2007). The dominant race (White) and minority group's positive experiences all contribute to the enforcement of police legitimacy (Hinds, 2009). Any negative citizen encounter might influence the legitimacy of police and cause such legitimacy to suffer. Police legitimacy is informal and implied control. In addition to the established partnership between police and citizens, "Police legitimacy was important because recent work posited that new hybrid forms of informal control showcase partnerships between the police and citizenry at the neighborhood level, which often had efficacious results in terms of controlling crimes and disorder" (Carr et al., 2007, p. 446).

Thus, citizen perception of police affects the daily police operations. Citizen cooperation with police reinforces police legitimacy on a daily basis. Consequently, legitimacy is a reciprocal necessity for citizens and police. Legitimacy is defined as "a property of an authority or institution that lead people to feel that authority or institution was entitled to be deferred to and obeyed" (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p. 514). Therefore, legitimacy is an entitlement that is

voluntarily and willingly offered by the public to empower police to use their discretion in enforcing the law. Such entitlement can be impacted and influenced by citizens' direct or indirect experiences with police, which would lead to citizens' perception of police (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005).

Most research conducted on Arab Americans runs a gamut that includes immigration issues involving Arab Americans as a minority group (Wishnie, 2004; Cainkar, 2002); racial violence the day after September 11 (Ahmad, 2002), and Arab Americans' image in the media (Evelyn, 2008; Shaheen, 1984). Relevant topics that relate to this research include citizens' perceptions of police (Carr et al., 2007; Weitzer & Tuck, 1999; Schuk, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009), in addition to the studies that delve into Arab Americans' lives in their communities (Ayers, 2007; Bakalian & Bozorgmehn, 2005; el-Aswad, 2006; Hendricks et al., 2007; Howell & Shrycock, 2003; Jamal & Nader, 2008). Other studies focused on the relationship between police and Arab American communities (Henderson et al., 2006; Ramirez, O'Connell, & Zafar, 2004; Thacher, 2005).

Race and Conflict Theory

Race also appears as a primary focus of many studies on attitudes/perceptions of police. Some researchers argued that minorities evaluate police more negatively (Dean, 1980). In these studies, researchers built theories around African Americans and White Americans' perceptions of police. Two of these conceptual frameworks, the injustice model and the group position model were derived from conflict theory, which emphasizes the role of coercion and power in producing social order.

Sense of Injustice Model

Researchers who considered the sense-of-injustice perspective argued that public perceptions of police were influenced by the feeling of being treated unjustly by police officers (Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Henderson, Cullen, Cao, Rowing, & Kopache, 1997). Therefore, negative perceptions held by minorities, especially African Americans, were not necessarily caused by negative treatment by police; but rather from a feeling or belief of unequal treatment by the criminal justice system in general and police in particular. As previous research indicates, the majority of White people perceive the criminal justice system as neutral and color-free, while most African Americans view the criminal justice system as biased or racialized (Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Henderson et al., 1997; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Likewise, as shown by these different biases, this racialization also contributes to ongoing racial conflict in America between Whites and minority groups such as African Americans and Hispanics.

Considerable research reveals a sense of injustice among African Americans in how they experience the police. That research shows first, African Americans are consistently over represented as criminals and more incarcerated than any other group in the criminal justice system. According to Carson (2014), almost “3% of African American males of all ages who are U.S. residents were imprisoned on December 13, 2013, compared to 0.5% of white males” (p. 2). This disproportionate African American involvement in the criminal justice system has generated serious concerns about the fairness of law enforcement in the U.S. Repeatedly, research also shows that many African Americans tend to view police as a “military-style” force. A vivid example of this view is the shooting of an unarmed African American male in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014.

With this view of military style of policing, many African Americans view police as occupying armies in African American neighborhoods whose job is mainly to protect the status quo by serving the interests of people in power (Cashmore, 1991). In recent years, there have been problems in law enforcement such as racial profiling, which is coined as “driving while Black.” While African Americans are more likely than whites to be arrested, they are more likely to be victims of both violent and property crimes. Thus, as the work of Barlow and Barlow (2000) indicates, many African Americans believe they are victims of both over-policing and under-policing. Anderson (1999) provides a similar perspective in showing how Black neighborhoods and residents are not only often subject to overly aggressive police tactics and practices, but also denied equal protection by police who did not care about minority neighborhoods.

Citing negative attitudes toward police were part of the subculture within many Black communities, Anderson (1999) asserts that African Americans’ sense of injustice with the police might be influenced by the socialization experiences they have had since childhood. For example, Anderson (1999) offers evidence that some Black parents advise their children to stay away from the “po-po” and the “G-man” (government agent). Beyond how they came to regard the police, another study (Tyler, 2003) argues that African Americans’ low perceptions of police legitimacy lead to low citizen cooperation and satisfaction with police, poor community relations, and high crime rates.

Group Position Model

A second theoretical perspective that could explain the Black/White differences in perceptions toward police is the group-position model. First articulated by Blumer (1958):

Intergroup hostility did not spring simply from material conditions, or simply from individual learning of negative feelings, beliefs and orientations toward out-group members. Feelings of competition and hostility emerged from historically and collectively developed judgments about the positions in the social order that in-group members should rightfully occupy relative to members of an “out-group.” (p. 955)

Applying Blumer’s framework to racial attitudes toward police, infers that White people were likely to hold favorable opinions of police because they perceived this social institution as a critical and scarce resource to which they were entitled and, more importantly, with which their interests and superiority were ensured. The group position model of racial prejudice is one of the key factors and diagnostic indicators differentiating African Americans and Whites in their views and understanding of police.

Research on the narrative of citizen perceptions of police and police perceptions of citizens suggests that perceptions of police on minorities and minority-group citizens’ perceptions of police are mutual. Research discussing citizens’ perceptions of police conducted by Schuck, Rosenbaum, and Hawkins (2008) speaks to this point. Their work explored attitudes toward police among White, African American, and Hispanic residents in Chicago. This study found that scholars had consistently identified three factors as important in shaping residents’ perceptions of police. Those factors include: direct experiences with police, neighborhood context (such as the presence of economic disadvantage), and the perceived quality of life in the neighborhood.

African Americans from lower socio-economic backgrounds and their negative perceptions of police was a vivid example, due to the racism and justice inequality they lived

with for many years. Related to general perceptions of police, Brunson (2007) highlights African Americans' mistrust of police, identifying it as more widespread among African Americans than among Whites. Also, according to Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch (1998), African Americans' mistrust of police "was associated with higher levels of crime and disorder, including violent crime, lower reporting rates, and people's lack of involvement in crime reduction measures" (p. 56). Another study investigated how police have contributed to African Americans' mistrust (Akram, 2002). Likewise, as shown by both Akram and Ahmad (2002), other ethnic groups, such as Arab Americans, have suffered similarly in that negative images portrayed of them, have instigated racial violence and hate.

Although minority groups (African Americans, Chinese, Hispanics, Japanese, and Jews) have experienced discrimination, oppression, and social injustice in America, the September 11, 2001 tragedy affected Arab Americans negatively almost in every aspect of their lives—in fact, they have been demonized. This is similar to every crime, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, (ISIS) committed in the European countries and how people of Middle Eastern origin are being harassed and bearing the brunt of these crimes. As Amin (2007) asserts in reference to this point:

From the 11th September 2001 onwards, the Arab World has been suddenly brought into the limelight as a result of its being accused of causing a serious disruption to the world order and presenting a serious threat to global peace and security. The attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, DC, were attributed to Islamic fanatics; but these were all said to be citizens either of Saudi Arabia or of Egypt. The leader of the organization responsible for planning the attack is said to be originally Saudi, and his main assistant to be Egyptian, though both were believed to be living in

and running an organization from Afghanistan. 'A War on Terror' was declared, leading to the occupation of Iraq, and more attacks are promised either on Iran or Syria or both. (p. 92)

Since September 11 the Arab world has been blamed by most of the Western media outlets for its governments not doing enough to predict or thwart any plot against the interests in the United States and for having no practical solutions to the current situation in the Middle East. As Amin (2007) continues:

Meanwhile [since 9/11], the whole of the Arab World has been suddenly brought under a very critical light, with heavy emphasis in the international media on various shortcomings of Arab regimes, which hardly any exception, related to the lack of democracy, economic inefficiencies, defective educational systems, discrimination against women, as well as to the poor observance of human rights generally. A United Nations development program (UNDP) published three reports, in the three successive years following the events of September 11, pouring very harsh criticism against almost every aspect of Arab economic, social and political life, implying no doubt that the occupation of Iraq, and maybe future attacks on other Arab countries as well, could very well be justified, since in this way, democracy, economic development, and greater respect for the rights of women and other human rights could be brought about. (p. 94)

The image of Arabs and the Arab world points to that was promoted by the U.S. media negatively contributed to the Arab Americans' image in America. This general image of Arabs is stereotypical, uniformed, malicious, and dangerous when applied to Arab Americans. However, as Shaheen (1984) shows, this general view of Arabs is not new to America, even though before

9/11 it was unfair to the Americans on whom it was foisted. These negative images and stereotypes of Arabs in the American media impeded an average American from being objective in judging Arab Americans. Consequently, the media has negatively exacerbated public suspicion of Arabs, adding to the plight of Arab Americans after September 11, 2001 (Henderson et al., 2006).

This vicious cycle of violence and internal conflicts in the Middle East has continued to bring bad news, such as the birth of ISIS, the Islamic state in Iraq and Syria. In the Arab world, it was called “daish,” which means “step on and keep going.” It is a vicious terrorist group that calls for attacks on many innocent people—Arab Christians, Jews, and Muslims—and the “infidels” such as the U.S. and its allies, France, Britain, and Australia.

The birth of ISIS is particularly unfortunate for Arab Americans because of the group’s mastery of social media and its ability to reach and recruit individuals from the U.S. and other Western countries. They inflict harm on other countries, such as what we saw in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. Arab Americans became uneasy about the current stigma attached to all Arab Americans because of the birth of ISIS in the Middle East and the mischievousness ISIS is capable of doing in the U.S. The shooting spree that took place at a nightclub in Florida in the summer of 2016 and the shooting inside the night club in Turkey the night of the New Year’s Eve of 2017, for which ISIS claimed responsibility, both contribute to this stigma. Arab Americans endured the brunt of September 11, 2001, even though they had nothing to do with it except being who they are.

Arab American communities are deeply connected physically and emotionally with their homelands’ events. For example, as Amin (2007) shows, Arab leaders’ assassinations by individuals of their close circle and U.S. intervention in the Middle East countries such as Iraq,

Syria, and Lebanon have reverberated through the Arab American communities causing them concern for the future of their homelands. Consequently, some Arab Americans have showed solidarity with their people overseas by peaceful demonstrations of their resentment of U.S. policies. However, Amin argues that, beyond those who have protested U.S. policies, all Arab American communities in the U.S. have been stigmatized with negative labels or perceived negatively by some Americans who feed off the U.S. government's point of view of the Arab world. Therefore, he reasons, Arab Americans, like other racial/ethnic groups, will likely endure the brunt of discrimination, racial profiling, stereotyping, directed hate, and violence (Ahmad, 2002).

Ahmad (2002) also indicates that most studies and scholarly articles discussing issues related to Muslim Americans after September 11, 2001 portray Islam as a religion that encourages terrorism and Muslims as people who follow the violent underpinnings of their religion. His study further argues that this premise has been promoted by scholars in the criminal justice field and criminologists who did not study Islam as a religion, but aligned their ideas with those who hate Islam, deny Islam as a religion, and consider it a political system bent on world domination.

Zogby (2012) also asserts that this negative religious focus on Arab Americans as a segment of the U.S. population exists, regardless of individual Arab American's religious affiliations. In saying so, Zogby points out that Arab Americans are Christian, Muslim, and though only a tiny segment, Jewish.

Arab Americans as much as Muslims suffered the consequences of September 11, 2001. Case in point: the killing of three Arab American students in North Carolina, which appeared to have been motivated by a dispute over a parking spot (Jenkins, 2015). However, despite its

appearance of being so, it was unknown and unclear if this incident was racially motivated or bore signs of a hate crime based on religion and culture.

In fact, since 9/11, other racial groups, such as the Sikh, have also been harassed. Moreover, several of their followers were killed based on revenge due to September 11, because they fit the profile of either an Arab or a Muslim (i.e., full beard, olive skin color, with a head cover like a turban). Focusing on a more historical view from before 9/11, Sueliman (1999), argues that “This [historically] negative image Americans have of Arabs and Muslims makes it easy for anyone hostile to the Arabs to whip up public sentiment against them or against any Arab leader, country or people” (p. 82). Other incidents (of racial targeting) have also included anyone who is only perceived to be Arab or Muslim, such as Indians, Pakistanis, and South Asians. In addition, non-Muslims such as Indian Sikhs, Hindus, and Arab Christians have also been targeted. Additionally, some Latinas/os, because of their skin color being very close to Middle Eastern, have been perceived as Arab Americans and harassed by some Americans (Ahmad, 2002).

In the same study, Ahmad (2002) argues that African American and Latina/os favor racial profiling as long as it is directed against other ethnic groups such as Arab Americans, Muslims, and South Asians. To make that point, Ahmad offers that “Black and Latina/o opinions favoring racial profiling having been deployed did not address the fact that many African Americans and Latinas/os did in fact favor profiling of Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians” (p. 106). This may be the case, but if so, it is ironic that the two ethnic groups Ahmad mentions would condone racial profiling that they themselves have suffered from.

Other scholars disagree about the extent to which other ethnic groups favor profiling of Arab Americans. For example, on this topic Schildkraut (2009) states that “Blacks, Asians, and

Hispanics were less inclined than whites to favor 9/ 11 profiling of Arabs” (p. 107). Many studies have shown that racial minorities are against the notion of racial profiling. In one of them that is particularly relevant in this context, Sun, Wu, and Poteyeva (2011) indicate it is clear that “racial minorities were less willing to accept aggressive counterterrorism policies and actions” (p. 542). It might be acceptable by the main stream to see racial/ethnic groups or communities of color favoring their own group and positioning themselves to be of better quality than the other groups. This is shown by either distancing themselves or trying to place themselves on a higher level by belittling or putting others down. Mentioning the two models, the sense of injustice and the group position model will lead to a necessary discussion of the critical race theory due to its relevancy with what discussed so far.

Critical Race Theory

Racial and ethnic competitions among communities of color have been common in U.S. history. Arab Americans have been a part of this, which has deepened the charged racial relations (White vs. other racial/ethnic minorities) that are identified through the lens of the above-described conflict model and as well as to critical race theory. Both the theory and model were crafted and originated in response to identified expansion and dominance of White privilege (Jamal, 2008). As this model and theory view it, this came about when those with White privilege developed judgments about the positions in the social order of out-group(s)—minorities—and where White privileged individuals should stand in relation to the dominant in-group, White people. The dominant response of Arab Americans to American police mostly stems from the natural response of police and their perception/s of Arab Americans based on the deep-rooted images that have been portrayed throughout American media and the dominant American culture.

Though critical race theory (CRT) has contributed immensely in the social sciences, it is rarely utilized in the field of criminal justice. The core dynamic of CRT is the analysis of minorities' experiences related to social justice and equality. As such, it fits with the intended research topic of Arab Americans' perception of American police.

As explained by Delgado and Stefancic (2001), one of the key tenets that most critical race theorists would endorse is that "racism is ordinary, not exceptional, the usual way that society does business and thus represents the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country" (p. 9). In addition, they explain, CRT includes the tenet of "interest convergence," which basically means helping any minority group might be construed as empowering that group. Yet, Delgado and Stefancic's view, in reality, shows interest convergence exists more in the self-interest of elite Whites than as a desire to help minorities. The third tenet of critical race theory these researchers identify is the "social construction" thesis, which holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations, a thesis that they explain does not correspond or resort to biological or genetic reality. However, the social construction thesis does invite discussion of how the dominant society has racialized different minority groups at different times, a point that also exists at the heart of the critical race theory.

According to CRT, Arab Americans have had experiences both as individuals and as a group. As for Arab Americans like other people of color in this racist society, Arab race is simultaneously emphasized and ignored. For a long period of time most Americans were not aware that Arabs even exist in this country. This lack of awareness changes once there is a crisis in the Middle East. During crises, Arabs can be reassured that they exist as a distinct racial group. Given this idea, CRT focuses on the dynamics of different races and considering that racial relations are fluid and changing overtime. To illustrate these changing dynamics, Delgado

and Stefancic (2001) state that, “At one period, for example, society had little use for Blacks, but much need for Mexican or Chinese agricultural workers” (p. 8). Finally, according to CRT, historically any social relations or interests with any ethnic group or race had to serve the mainstream dominant society, the interests of Whites.

According to how Delgado and Stefancic (2001) discuss CRT, shifting views of ethnic groups occur not only in the labor market as mentioned above, but also through changing images and stereotypes of various minority groups. For example, they argue, at one point a group of people of color might be depicted as happy-go-lucky, simpleminded, and content to serve White folks. However, a little later, when conditions change, that very same group can be represented in cartoons, movies, and other cultural scripts as “menacing, brutish, and out of control, requiring close monitoring and repression” (p. 8). Using CRT as a conceptual framework, only a few authors, including Jack Sheehan (1984) and Louise Cainkar (2008) have studied Arab American topics using critical race theory as an important lens for explaining and understanding their experience in America. Cainkar had persuasively argued that the aftermath of 9/11 demonstrates that Arab Americans are nonwhites in America. And they are the “other.” Moreover, some scholars contend that Arab Americans are only considered white in an honorary sense and that whenever a relevant national crisis occurs that honorary status is revoked. This honorary white status is problematic because Arab Americans are thereby whitewashed, and their claims of racism and discrimination are not taken seriously. Acknowledging the fact that Arab Americans are treated as non-whites in America; consequently, this should demonstrate the dire need for the CRT approach to analyze the problems that Arab Americans face; whether it is with the police due to their conduct or government institutions due to racism or discrimination.

This qualitative study and its inquiries confirmed that September 11 had a substantial impact on Arab American communities. The most notable change it addressed was when law enforcement incorporated counterterrorism into its work (Henderson et al., 2007).

In another study, Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2002) considered the images and stereotypes of Arabs/Muslim Americans. Their qualitative study focused on the frequency of coverage about Arabs/Muslims in the news six months prior to September 11, 2001, and six months after September 11, 2001. The four major newspapers that were monitored included *The New York Times*, *New York Post*, *Daily News*, and *USA Today*. Their research found that in these newspapers Arab Americans were usually portrayed as killers, violent people, savages, bomb makers, and hijackers. Further, they saw Arab American women usually portrayed as submissive, uneducated, and cooped up in the kitchen. They further argued that after September 11, 2001, these stereotypes of Arabs/Muslim Americans became worse. Although not providing a specific number, their study identified that after September 11, 2001, a sharp jump in the number of stories about Arabs/Muslim Americans in the aforementioned publications. Of interest to this study, although the stories they identified covered many topics, one of them called for a “better understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims in the U.S., and more assurances that most Muslims had nothing to do with terrorism and that Islam does not preach violence” (p. 11).

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2007), a focus on race and justice should be promoted further, especially when there was a big gap in equality and social justice between minority groups and the White dominant culture. Particular to this current study, their work demonstrated that the history and the contributions of critical race theory (CRT) has “provided many useful insights, but it had largely left crime and criminal justice unexplored” (P.133). The experiences of Arab Americans seem to be similar to the friction between several police

departments and minority communities on the national level. For example, within the black communities, there were instances of African American citizens being shot and killed by White police officers. Some of these incidents were identified as justifiable by the justice system. As a minority group, Arab Americans related to what African Americans had been through because of social injustice and inequality to this day.

Contextualizing racism and deeply understanding it as a social injustice perspective was asserted through critical race theory. Probably not every social theorist would agree to every tenet in critical race theory but many would agree on the following proposition that, “CRT asserted that racism was normal, not aberrant in U.S. society, and because it is so ingrained in our society, it looks ordinary and natural to people in the culture” (Ladson-Billings, 2003, p. 11). In terms of avoiding community oriented policing, and applying military policing and community counterterrorism. This dictated policy in policing may have created a rift between police and communities. The race factor was crucial and relevant in those incidents, especially when police and minorities were involved. A police badge was an honor bestowed on those individuals to protect and serve the communities they work for, and it should never be used for personal gain, deviant behaviors, or racial retribution and punishment.

If a person was taught over the years that racism, inequity, and social injustice were normal behavior, and it was socially accepted, it might be very hard to indoctrinate her/him with the opposite ideas or detox him/her from these social ailments. All of the injustices that were inflicted by police on African Americans, Hispanics, and Arab Americans as segments of the minority community should be resisted even though it is a normal practice and accepted by the informed notion of CRT. Police departments are establishments that work with those three minority communities and have a unique role in contributing to them in a positive manner.

Currently, police departments have negative relations with many minority communities in general and damage control needs to be done so that public trust can be restored and police legitimacy can be enforced.

Arab American Racialization

After 9/11, Arab Americans were in the midst of a new racial formation. Categorized as an ethnic minority, some of them were in the process of being racialized, especially post 9/11. As Jamal and Naber (2008) stated, “Arab American racialization did not rely on phenotype alone, nor is it entirely contingent on the federal government’s existing racial categories (i.e., the U.S. Census)” (p. 318). In fact, some Arab Americans have positioned themselves as White and see themselves as part of the dominant social structure in U.S. society. As Jamal and Naber (2008) asserted, “Even while most Arabs identify as White, they were denied cultural citizenship. Still others argued that this identification with Whiteness has its own limitation” (p. 319). That is to say, that as Arab Americans chose to identify with Whiteness, the host society may deny them as being in that classification. A second point Jamal and Naber make is that Arab Americans might not see themselves as White or experience race in terms of White privilege. Therefore, while Arab Americans were not part of or accepted as part of the “White” superstructure, they did not comfortably fit into any other racial identity classifications available to them. Thus, when Arab Americans tended to choose an identity other than White, they proclaimed their “otherness.”

Some Arab Americans argued that gaining acceptance is not their goal, ambition, or even an objective. To this point, Jamal and Naber (2008) indicated that “some Arab Americans may instead prioritize a vision that would entail ending anti-Arab racism and U.S. led wars in their homeland” (p. 320). Thus, Arab Americans’ choice of identifying as persons of color is part of a strategy for participating in racial justice movements as antiracist and antiwar justice seekers.

Also, Arab Americans' racial identity may change over their lifetime based on their experiences, preference, and treatment. As Cainer (2008) indicated, "Study data from metropolitan Chicago showed that the majority of Arab Muslims view their social position in American society as subordinate and translate that status to a nonwhite racial position in a race-based societal hierarchy" (p. 70). Being referred to as a White person may secure a sense of safety and superiority. But as Jamal and Naber (2008) state being positioned as "white but not quite" (p. 318) is when one is uninsulated, unsheltered from prejudice, discriminated against, and shown hate and violence. They further point to an historical sense of compromised safety being directly related to racial subordination and being considered part of an "out group" in the United States, which they discovered from recording Arab Americans talking about how their personal experiences post 9/11 showed them as being treated as bad as African Americans.

Summary

Literature on Americans' perception of police demonstrated that most research in this area focused on African Americans and Hispanics; and neglected many other minority groups such as Arab Americans. Scholars suggested that the lack of interest and attention paid to Arab Americans perception is primarily attributed to misclassifications in criminal justice statistics, which have been reinforced by the census bureaus' grouping of Arab Americans as white. Most studies on perceptions of police solely focused on African Americans and Hispanics as well. Arab Americans, on the other hand, were neglected from these studies. However, due to Arab Americans' background, cultural norms, language, their perception of home country police, and their various experiences with police in the U.S.

In response to this gap in the research literature, this study has attempted to explain Arab Americans' perceptions and understanding of their experiences of police as a particular minority

group that exists within the racial hierarchy of American society. Finally, by including and theorizing about Arab Americans' understandings of their experiences and perception of police, this study has contributed to an expanded conception of minority groups and race relations in America.

The next chapter will address the methodology of the research and the methodological framework of qualitative research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research was to study Arab Americans' perception of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee. The areas covered in this chapter are: phenomenological research overview, the methodological framework of qualitative research, research questions, design considerations, confidentiality and protection of human subjects, sampling and sampling rational, data collection, data analysis method, quality control, and the summary of the chapter.

Phenomenological Research Overview

The research method for this study is a phenomenological framework to investigate and explore the phenomenon of Arab Americans' perception of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee. The core of this study is grounded in a phenomenological framework. As Hesse-Biber (2017) indicated, "phenomenology is a qualitative approach aimed at generating knowledge about how people perceive experience" (p. 26). The purpose of phenomenology is to describe and understand the essence of the lived experiences of individuals who have experienced a particular phenomenon. Giorgi (1984) states "the term phenomenon means that whatever is given in experience is to be understood simply as it presents itself. No other attribute is to be assigned to the given except the meaning that derives from what is presented in the concrete experience" (p. 14). The phenomenological researcher is urged to listen to others' accounts in their own terms as free as possible of any of the researchers' own perceptions and interferences. Moustakas (1994) states, "this process of setting aside one's prior conceptions and experiences is called bracketing" (p. 43). The aim is to achieve phenomenological reduction whereby the world is experienced as fresh and new. Phenomenological reduction is the process that is used to facilitate seeking the essence of a

phenomenon. Giorgi (1989) suggested, “The researcher should search for all possible meaning of the phenomenon” (p.29). Using a phenomenological approach as a research method was aimed to capture concrete insights into the qualitative meanings of phenomena in people’s lives.

The philosophy of phenomenology is over a century old. As a method of social inquiry phenomenology is most closely associated with the German philosopher Edmund Husserl and was later expanded by several philosophers such as Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty (Lichman, 2010). Husserl is the pioneer of phenomenology. He was interested in human lived experience and human consciousness as the way to understand social reality, particularly how one’s perception about experience and “all perceptions have meaning” (Own, 1996, p. 69). For Husserl, the aim of phenomenology is the rigorous and unbiased study of things, as they appear in order to arrive at an essential understanding of human consciousness and experience. I was drawn to the empirical phenomenological approach because it is focused on phenomenality of one’s experience (Van Maneen, 2014). Choosing an empirical phenomenological approach over hermeneutic phenomenology, for example, the empirical phenomenological approach focused on the experience as it is before we have thought about it. On the other hand, it is the opposite of hermeneutic phenomenology which reflects on the pre-reflective or pre-predicative life of human existence as living through it. After researching many styles of phenomenology, I found that the empirical interpretive approach to phenomenology seeks to understand ones’ experience and looks at the lived experiences of those who have experienced a certain phenomenon; therefore, this is an appropriate style for this research.

Bracketing in Qualitative Research

As a researcher, I'm the instrument for analysis across all phases of this qualitative research. Due to this subjective endeavor that entailed the inevitable transmission of assumptions, values, interests, emotions, and preconceptions, I used two methods of bracketing to prevent or mitigate my preconceptions that may taint or influence how data are gathered, interpreted, and presented. The first method of bracketing was writing analytical memos throughout data collection and analysis process as a means of examining and reflecting upon my engagement with the data. Analytical memos also helped me to acknowledge my own preconceptions and keep my biases out of the research findings. The second method that I used throughout the data collection process was to maintain a reflexive journal in which my preconceptions were identified throughout the research process. The maintenance of a reflexive journal (notebook) enhanced my ability to sustain a reflexive stance. Also, it assisted me to include my personal career journey and value system as an immigrant, any potential conflict with my research participants, and whether I chose to write in the first or third person. Choosing to write in first person assisted me to sustain my reflexivity and objectivity throughout the dissertation.

Methodological Framework of Qualitative Research

This study is based on a phenomenological qualitative research design. Creswell (1998) offers a comprehensive definition of qualitative research that focuses on the methodological nature:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports

detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a neutral setting. (p. 15)

The best qualitative approach for this study was the phenomenological approach, which assists the understandings of individuals' experiences. These experiences can be analyzed, and delved into. According to Creswell (2006), "These lived experiences are furthermore conscious and directed toward an object. To fully describe how participants view the phenomenon, researchers must bracket out, as much as possible, their own experiences" (p. 61). Using this qualitative method means focusing on human beings and their experiences as the primary research instrument, at the same time rejecting the quantitative paradigm that hinges on mathematical modeling. Having said that, "qualitative research is legitimate in its own right and did not need to be compared to achieve respectability" (Creswell, 2007, p. 62).

Kumar (2012) asserted that phenomenology was sometimes "considered a philosophical perspective as well as an approach to qualitative methodology" (p. 791). He further described phenomenology as "a school of thought that emphasizes a focus on people's subjective experiences and interpretations of the world" (Kumar, 2012, p. 792). The phenomenologist wants to understand how the world appears to others. It was my intention to interact with the participants through a line of questions so that I could gain a clear understanding of their lived experiences. My research methodology was derived from my philosophical assumptions of reality. In addition, it affected the process of my research. There are two philosophical assumptions I hold and view as social reality: epistemological and ontological philosophical beliefs. Epistemology is a philosophical belief of how I can be the knowledge builder of my research topic and this was how the relationship between me, as a researcher and the research participants was established. The second philosophical belief is ontological which is defined as,

“the nature of social reality what can be known and how?” (Hesse-Biber, 2017, p. 6). It is actually beliefs about what makes up the world and how those aspects interrelate. My ontological beliefs contributed to the selection of my research topic, the formulation of my research questions, and the strategies used in conducting the research.

Research Questions

To examine the current Arab Americans’ perceptions of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee, this study investigated the following research questions:

The major research question was:

- 1) How do Arab Americans perceive the meaning of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee?

One of the primary objectives of the study was to document the responses of the participants concerning the main question and three supportive sub-questions:

- 1) How do Arab Americans’ backgrounds influence their formal understanding of local police?
- 2) What are the critical incidents, personal, or vicarious experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and local police?
- 3) What are the nature and the consequences of Arab Americans’ contact with police?

Table 3.1 illustrates my research questions along with interview questions and the purpose, so there can be a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The first research question, which was the arching question, started with how, so that the opening of the topic was a description of what was going on (Creswell, 2007). In addition, questions were included that established demographics and participants’ background including country of origin, which are necessary to determine any interactions with local police after 9/11. These questions were

necessary to understand Arab Americans' perceptions of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee.

Table 3.1*Interview Questions*

Research Questions	Interview Questions	Purpose
Establishing Demographic and participants' Background	<p>Were you a naturalized citizen or U.S. born citizen?</p> <p>What was your country of origin?</p> <p>How long have you lived in U.S.?</p> <p>How long had you lived in Milwaukee? (Where else have you lived and when?)</p> <p>How old were you?</p> <p>How did you self-identify racially/ethnically?</p> <p>Highest level of education achieved?</p> <p>What did you do for a living?</p> <p>Where were you on September 11, 2001?</p> <p>What was your initial reaction to the incident</p> <p>Did the incident influence your daily life in any significant way? How so?</p>	Background search for reasoning
How do Arab Americans' perceive police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee?	<p>In general, how did you feel about police?</p> <p>Did your perceptions of police change following 9/11? Please elaborate.</p> <p>Did you have any concerns about the police now that you did not have prior to 9/11? Please elaborate.</p> <p>Have you felt unsafe, racially profiled, or discriminated against by the police?</p>	
How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of American Police?	<p>Tell me about the police in your country.</p> <p>Have you seen any differences between the police here and the police in your country of origin? Please elaborate.</p>	Connect to theoretical construct of the conflict theory and cultural aspects that impact calling police.
What are the critical incidents / personal or vicarious experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and police?	<p>Have you had direct or indirect experience with the police? Did you initiate or did the police initiate? What was the nature of the interaction? Were you satisfied with the interaction?</p> <p>Can you discuss your first interaction after 9/11? Did you initiate or did the police initiate? What was the nature of the interaction? Were you satisfied with the interaction?</p>	Connect to theoretical construct race and conflict.
What is the nature and consequences of Arab Americans' contact with police?	<p>How have your past experiences with police impacted your current perception of police in Milwaukee?</p> <p>If you had a problem, would you contact the police in Milwaukee? Why or why not?</p> <p>If you had information about a crime, would you contact the police in Milwaukee? Why or why not?</p> <p>Would you have any concerns about the police coming to your home? Please elaborate.</p> <p>Would you have any concerns if police stopped you, say for a routine traffic infraction? Please elaborate.</p> <p>Can you please discuss how you view police in terms of their role in the community? What should their role be? How do you see their current role?</p>	

Design Considerations

This qualitative phenomenological study design was selected after studying other approaches. As a researcher, I decided that the best approach that can capture the essence of the participants' experiences was the phenomenological approach. The essence was simply the common experiences of individuals and what they have in common about the phenomenon being researched. Studying the phenomenon of Arab Americans' perception of their experiences with police, post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee would involve "understanding several individuals' common or shared experiences of a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2007, p. 60).

It was my sole purpose to establish a rapport with the participants, so I could earn their trust and build the needed momentum to conduct a phenomenological study by obtaining data through interviews. To understand the lived experience from the vantage point of the participant, I took into account my beliefs and feelings. I first identified what I would expect to discover and then deliberately put aside these ideas. Only when I put aside my own ideas about the phenomena (bracketing out my personal experiences), then was it possible to see the experience from the eyes of the person who had lived the experience (Chan & Chien, 2013). I spent eight weeks conducting interviews contingent on the availability of the participants; this was part of the process of employing the methods of data collection, analysis, and the presentation of the research.

Confidentiality and Protection of Human Subjects

There was no possibility of physical, psychological, social, economic, or legal risk from participating in this study. The risk was considered minimal due to the type of participation. The participants' information collected for this study was completely confidential and no participant was identified in the research information. Data were protected, and participants' names were

replaced by pseudonyms in addition to data coding. Data from the study were saved on a password-protected computer for two years; and there was no link to the participants of this research. The only one who had access to the information was the primary researcher.

Sampling and Sampling Rationale

Selection of Participants

The study sample was participants from the local Arab American urban community in metropolitan Milwaukee. The study sample was small consisting of 15 participants because it was concerned with in-depth understanding and lived experiences of the phenomenon. This sample “involved choosing study participants or units because they possessed characteristics related to the study’s central questions” (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999, p. 235). The chosen sample for the study was the best fit and readily convenient. Being an Arab American and socially active within the community; in addition to my professional contacts as a former police officer with the community leaders, enabled me to gain access to a population that was both accessible and appropriate. According to Vishnevsky and Beanlands (2004), a sample size is rarely determined prior to a study’s beginning. Researchers can include as many participants as necessary to gain and capture a valid comprehension of the phenomenon being studied. Having said that, 15 participants were interviewed for this study. Moreover, they gave a thick description of the experienced phenomena.

Finally, I recruited participants through meetings, either during community gatherings, at places of business, or at the Islamic Society of Milwaukee (ISM), that was initially identified as the data collection site. Three of the interviews took place there. Twelve interviews were conducted in locations that were comfortable for the participants, for instance, like their businesses and residences. Those 12 interviews were consistent with the other interviews without

distraction in terms of how they were conducted. Accommodating those participants did not affect the quality of the data collection process. As the interviewer, I applied the same interview techniques regardless of the location in order to maintain consistency and trustworthiness of the data.

I was forthcoming and honest regarding the research topic, with no risk to the participants regarding the questions asked of them. As a researcher, I interacted with participants by follow-up and probing questions. During probing, there was an opportunity to get to know participants much better. As part of the IRB protocol, I acquired informed consent forms signed by every participant.

Data Collection Site

The data collection site was the Islamic Society of Milwaukee (ISM). This center was established in 1982 and housed the main offices, becoming the primary center for all Muslims in the greater Milwaukee area. The ISM center consisted of three floors. The first floor is the main area for daily prayers for the Muslims. The second floor is the office floor and the designated area for women to pray. It is preferred that women remain separated from men in prayers and during most of the social activities. The third section is the basement; this floor is designated for sports activities and social gatherings. In addition, it is the area where bathrooms and storage areas are located.

At the data collection site (ISM), I posted several recruiting posters. One was posted on the first floor along with many research flyers for those who were interested in participating in this study. Also, on the second floor of the ISM, two posters were posted in addition to the recruiting flyers. I was able to recruit 15 participants, all men, to participate in the research study.

A brief profile of each participant is provided; pseudonym name, biographic, demographic, level of education and profession as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2
Participants' Demographics

Participant Demographics									
Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Sex	Level of Education	Years in Milwaukee	Years in U.S.	Location of Business	Residence Location	Career
Nader	Foreign-Born (Naturalized)	55	M	ABD	15	30	Northside/Southside	Southside	Preacher
Fareed	Foreign-Born (Naturalized)	50	M	Bachelor of Arts	22	26	Southside	Southside	Auto-Shop Owner
Hassen	Foreign-Born (Naturalized)	52	M	Bachelor of Arts	22	22	Southside	Suburbs	Grocery Store Owner
Ali	Foreign-Born	50	M	High School	30	30	Southside	Southside	Store Owner
Saleem	U.S. Born	38	M	High School	18	23	Northside	Northside	Driver (Uber-Limo)
Osama	Foreign-Born	43	M	Bachelor of Arts	18	18	Southside	Southside	Store Owner
Talal	Foreign-Born	38	M	High School	14	14	Northside	Southside	Auto Mechanic
Sami	Foreign-Born	39	M	High School	21	21	Northside	Southside	Store Owner
Atef	U.S. Born	22	M	College Student	22	22	Southside	Suburbs	Student
Kamal	Foreign-Born	42	M	High School	28	28	Northside	Southside	Store Owner
Tymoor	Foreign-Born		M	High School	18	18	Northside	Southside	Store Owner
Khalid	Foreign-Born	53	M	Bachelor of Science	32	34	Southside	Southside	Engineer
Mohammed	Foreign-Born (Refugee)	64	M	Bachelor of Science	37	37	Northside	Southside	Construction Engineer
Jamal	U.S. Born	39	M	Juris Doctorate	36	36	Southside	Southside	Attorney
Rafeek	Foreign-Born	54	M	High School	29	29	Northside	Southside	Furniture Store

Unfortunately, I was unable to acquire any female participants. Abstention of female participants was probably due to the sensitivity of the research topic and the dominance of men over women, which may have dictated that such participation was a male choice as the head of the family who traditionally made decisions and spearheaded all family affairs.

Data Collection

This study utilized data collection tools, but it was rooted in a qualitative epistemological position that recognized the importance of locating the research within a particular social, cultural, and historical context. Data collection consisted of two primary sources. The first was

semi-structured, one-on-one, in-depth interviews with participants who were adult Arab Americans. The second was the analytical memo notes that I had on each participant during the interviews. An interview protocol embedded in the literature was developed to act as a guide for the semi-structured interviews. Initially, only one interview was planned with each participant.

I conducted the interviews. These interviews took place where it was comfortable for the participants. Such a qualitative approach was valuable due to the varying experiences of the participants. After collection of the desired qualitative data from the interviews, careful analysis was done (manually). Having the researcher collecting his own data and being there with his participants, put the research in an advantageous position (James, 2012). Being involved in the interview process enabled me to capture the true account of every participant's physical presence. Delving deep into the narratives of the participants enabled me to understand the "social context" of what was said (James, 2012).

All of the in-depth interviews were conducted in the participant's home, business, or at the research data collection center for the convenience of the participants. Interviews typically lasted anywhere between 30 and 60 minutes. The interviews were digitally recorded and analytical memo notes were collected during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in a face-to-face format using a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions. Open-ended questions and probes were utilized to yield in-depth responses about the participants lived experiences that would help with the research question.

Analytical memos taken during the interviews were a critical part of the data sources for the study. During the interviews, I used a pad of paper and pen to jot down notes. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) caution that "memory should never be relied upon entirely and a good saying is if in doubt, write it down" (p. 179). My aim as a researcher using

phenomenology was to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon, abstaining from any preconceptions but remaining true to the facts and “concerned with understanding the social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of the people involved” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 4). I followed this approach while conducting my interviews, so everything was documented and easy to go back to my notebook (reflexive journal) and analytical memos whenever needed.

The analytical memos used during the interviews consisted of a sheet of paper with two columns: the first column consisted of detailed question/event and my objective observation notes. The second column consisted of the reflections of those observations. The goal was to interview 15 participants, these interviews were done in a professional fashion and the same style was followed with each participant to ensure trustworthiness and credibility.

Data Analysis Method

An audio digital recorder was used in conducting interviews that were transcribed verbatim and the accuracy verified by me through listening to the tapes several times to capture all information. There were 205 pages of data collected. An audio digital recorder was a great tool and a good fit for this research. According to Lofland and Lofland (1995), the need for specific strategies for analyzing data involved the researcher conducting continuous readings of each of the transcribed interviews to become familiar with each participant’s experiences. Interview notes taken at the end of each interview were used to supplement missing information from the transcripts. Names and other sensitive information relating to the participants’ identities were omitted. After all the interviews were transcribed and the actual 15 transcripts were read individually, filler words such as “an,” “um,” or slips of Arabic words were translated; in addition, words of agreement by the researcher during the interview, such as “okay” or “yes,” were transcribed as part of the transcripts.

Creswell (2007) asserted, “Data analysis includes the highlighting of significant statements, sentences, or quotes that provide an understanding of how the participant experiences the phenomenon” (p. 61). Data can also lead to various understandings of participants’ experiences. It is, therefore, necessary to “develop clusters of meaning from the significant statements into themes” (Creswell, 2007, p. 61). Further, statements and themes that were developed from the cluster of meanings “were then used to develop descriptions of what the participants experienced, or textual descriptions, the context or setting that influenced the experience or structural descriptions” (Creswell, 2007, p. 61).

The process that was used for the analysis was as follows:

Initial Step

1. Returned to the research question, focused on a single phenomenon to explore; reminding myself of the purpose of the study; keeping in mind that the research purpose was there to guide the search patterns and themes.
2. Read each participant’s transcript more than once; recording observations and reflections about the interview experience in a separate reflexive notebook. Focused on data collection from individuals who have experienced the phenomenon.

Second Step

1. Returned to the transcripts to transform the initial notes into emerging themes to formulate concise phrases that contain enough particularity to remain grounded in the text and enough abstract to offer conceptual understanding.

Third Step

1. Examined the emerging themes and clustered them together accordingly to produce conceptual similarities. Conducted an exploration of the context in which the participants experienced the phenomenon.
2. Looked for patterns in the emerging themes and produced a structure that was helpful in highlighting converging themes.
3. Bracketed out personal experiences. I set aside my personal experiences in order to learn from the participants how they experienced the phenomenon.

Final Step

1. This step involved creation of a table of themes showing the structure of major themes and sub-themes (Charmaz, 2014). I reported the essence of the experiences and what the participants had in common about the phenomenon.

In addition, while going through the stages of analysis, I searched for answers, confirming evidence, and other plausible explanations. After the interviews were done, coding began.

Coding involved reading my journal notes several times to determine if new codes presented themselves from the data. This process is called emergent coding, suggesting that I keep an open mind while engaged in the process, allowing potentially new codes to present themselves (Creswell, 2007). This process continued as long as it was needed to reveal all codes and identified all possible themes.

These individual codes and super codes were similar when compared to the universal themes that emerged as individual meaning units where they existed and compared to transcripts of other participants' experiences; comparing participants' interview transcripts generated a few

themes. For example, themes are equal to findings, and they can be flip flopped throughout the research.

All transcripts of 205 pages were coded individually word-by-word (verbatim). Each transcript was placed on the left side of the table so meaning units could be identified once the entire transcript was reviewed and the meaning units identified. These meaning units were grouped or coded into six distinct categories that were highlighted in designated colors within each interview. I read through the meaning units (codes) to identify the associated themes that would be discussed further in Chapter IV. The six distinct categories were as follows:

1. Background, Ethnicity, Culture, Language, Names, and Appearances
2. Police Avoidance, Defiance, and Resentment
3. Mixed Feelings about Police
4. Satisfaction with Police Contacts
5. Policing Agencies
6. Police: Racial Profiling and Stereotyping

After identifying the codes, related sub-codes, and definition of explanation, as shown in Table 3.3 themes were then identified. The main question I asked was: what did this tell me? These themes were integrated into a descriptive statement of non-redundant themes. Those themes were the basis for understanding the meaning of the experiences that comprise the phenomenon. These units/super codes were grouped into categories supported by paragraphs and descriptive narratives. These collected descriptions were analyzed again to search for common meaning units throughout all the individual descriptions of participants' experiences. Finally, all themes were reported with supportive quotations from the individual transcripts.

Table 3.3 represents coding, sub coding, definition of explanation:

Table 3.3 Coding Table

Code	Sub Code	Definition of Explanation
1. Identity and Racialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name • Nationalized • Education • American(ness) • Years in the U.S. • Affiliation • Profession • Residence 	Many participants had mixed feeling about their identity(background). It impacted their perceptions of themselves.
2. Police Avoidance, Defiance and Resentment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mistreatment • Unfair • Poor Performance • No Results • Invasion of Privacy • Unwanted Questions 	Several participants avoided contacting or interacting with the police.
3. Mixed Feelings about the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoidance of calling the police • No choice • Solving the problem • No results 	Participants were ambivalent about calling the police.
4. Satisfaction with police contacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist • Smile • Advice 	participants were happy with police and see police very helpful.
5. Policing Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Years in the Country • Level of Education 	Participants did not distinguish between police agencies.
6. Police Racial Profiling & Stereotyping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nationality • Names • Attire/Physical Appearance • Accent 	Some participants believed that their names and nationality contribute to their racial profiling and stereotyping

Quality Control

Through this study, I guaranteed and assured the participants, and will assure readers, of my affirmed and vehement adherence to reliability and reflexivity as important components of trustworthiness and credibility throughout the research process. Reliability refers to the replicability of a study, while validity is concerned with its applicability. The primary concern with a qualitative study's reliability is the consistency of its methods throughout its course (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Creswell (2007) argues that the researcher should seek credibility rather than strive for reliability in a qualitative study. Therefore, I recognize and detail my own biases. As a researcher, my personal biases were being checked, bracketed as I mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. My biases are part of me and should not be viewed as problematic; as long as I brought my biases, assumptions, and aspects of my background to the forefront of the dialogue. Issues of trustworthiness and credibility in the research process were important. Engaging with the idea of transparency in the research process, I had to tap into reflexivity to insure the accuracy of the research. Berger (2013) defines, “Reflexivity as the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the researcher’s positionality” (p. 2). There were many strategies to engage in reflexivity to secure trustworthiness and credibility in this research process. These strategies included a research journal for self-supervision and analytical memos. The research journal and analytical memos for every participant helped me to go back to my notes regarding any interview or any side conversation that was documented. Those strategies should be “attended during the research design phase” (Carlson, 2010, p. 110). In addition to clarification of my biases such as reflection on my own subjectivity and how I used and monitored it in my research; also declaring my background as being an immigrant facilitated recruiting participants. Participants to whom I reached out to share with me their experiences were very receptive and cooperative. They expressed confidence that being an immigrant myself, I will be able to understand and represent their experiences and struggles better than a non-immigrant researcher. It also increased their and my level of comfort and assisted in developing a rapport, the moment they heard my accent, one could hear the sigh of relief and feel the atmosphere relax.

My immigration status affected the process of data collection and data analysis in studying life stories of immigrant men because it allowed me to approach the study with some knowledge related to cultural intuition and insight. Sharing the experiences diminished the distance and enhanced my willingness and ability to be intuitive and understanding. Finally, coming from a shared experience position, I was better equipped with insights and the ability to understand implied content, and was more sensitized to certain dimensions of the data. I was able to hear the unsaid, probe more efficiently, and ferret out hints that others might miss.

As a former police officer, I witnessed firsthand how other police officers treated me, and what they thought of my ethnic background put me in a unique position as a graduate student and researcher of my mentioned topic. In addition, I positioned myself within the Arab community as a community advocate who related to community needs. Deciding on my research topic stemmed from the differences between the dominant culture and Arab Americans as an ethnic minority group. These differences included the personal background, language, and culture in addition to individuals' accounts of police contact and their lived experiences due to these contacts.

Reflexivity was an important component for a qualitative researcher who was dealing with participants that share the same ethnicity. My background and worldview as a researcher affected the participants' own worldviews. Mentioning these potential traps led me to be cognizant of how to avoid them by being forthcoming and open with the research participants. I was open to any question or concern regarding the research that the participants had; or any explanation needed for the questions asked. I also accommodated a few of the participants during the interview by stopping the recording due to customers coming into their stores. In addition, I did a few interviews during the night hours and some of them during the day or during their store hours, as requested.

As a former police officer, researcher, and immigrant, I understood several participants perceived that I related to their own perceptions. For this reason, engaging the strategies of reflexivity increased the trustworthiness of my research, solidified the validity of the research interpretation, and cleared up any misunderstanding between participants and me.

Having the balance between description, analysis, and interpretation— “D-A-I”—was the secret recipe of a well-balanced research study. Reflexivity should be clear and a common thread throughout the three-component formula when the research question was addressed. In addition, the essential features of my research topic were identified, and, in the end, “what did it all mean?” (Wolcott, 1994, p. 12).

Finally, being a former police officer and the researcher of my chosen topic directed me to stay objective and not alternate between a “confessional tale” and an ethno-narcissistic account throughout the phases of the research (Van Maanen, 1998, cited in Glesne, 2011).

Simply, I kept my bias out of my research and maintained reflexivity and trustworthiness throughout the research process. The nature of my research topic may involve participants’ secrets, such as personal incidents that happened to them through their daily encounters with police. Remaining nonjudgmental and ignoring the narcissistic impulses of my own, kept my professional stance intact and the confidence of my participants unshaken.

Summary

The primary research question of this study involved the perceptions of Arab Americans toward police and their experiences with them; a phenomenological study approach was the most appropriate research method for it. Being the interviewer of my participants, I was able to capture their detailed responses through note taking. In addition, processing participants’ understanding of their experiences and perceptions toward police was a crucial step in this

process. Moreover, the data were carefully analyzed to see which codes emerged. All of the research questions were answered through the analysis of the data, reflection on my journal notes, and the analytical memos served to ensure that those findings were reliable and valid within the methodological approach that was chosen. The next chapter will discuss the findings of the study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This study aimed to examine Arab Americans' perceptions of their experiences with police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee, as well as the factors that influenced these perceptions and the consequences of individuals' contact with police. This study was a phenomenology-based study in which interviews were conducted and data collected from 15 Arab American participants who live in Metropolitan Milwaukee. The research sample included both U.S. citizens and foreign-born U.S. residents, all immigrants from various places of origin in the Middle East, with different careers, experiences, and living situations. This chapter introduces the participants' account of their individual experiences as evidenced in the data collected.

The research questions:

1. How do Arab Americans perceive the meaning of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee? Additional questions of great interest to me include:
 - a. How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of local police?
 - b. What are the critical incidents /personal experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and local police?
 - c. What is the nature and consequences of Arab Americans contact with local police?

This chapter also discusses the major themes (findings) that emerged from interviews with participants about their vicarious experiences, participants' profile and the chapter summary. As expected in phenomenological methods research, the findings were derived from textual analysis and descriptions of what happened, as well as a structural description of how the

phenomenon was experienced by the participants (Creswell, 1998). Findings are presented as major themes and sub-themes supported by specific examples and quotations from participants' interviews.

Overview of Themes

Three themes emerged from interviews with the participants. This sample was small and limited to Arab Americans. Their testimonial accounts revealed the following findings:

1. Arab Americans' perception of their own racial identity (background) influences their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9 /11.
2. Arab Americans' personal encounters with police resulted in both positive and negative perceptions of police.
3. Arab Americans' suspiciousness of the motives of law enforcement officers.

The section below is a description of each participant profile, including biographic information and how long each participant lived in Milwaukee.

Participants' Profiles

Nader (A)

Nader is an Arab American who left Palestine because of Israeli occupation. This participant moved to and from Kuwait during the Gulf War, then decided to move to the United States, settling in Milwaukee. He has been active in the Arab American community and is in the process of completing his doctorate. He has been living in United States for the last 30 years, however, he is still dealing with issues regarding his immigration status. He is married, owns a business, and resides on the south side of Milwaukee.

Fareed (B)

Fareed came to the U.S. from Jordan and lived in Florida for a few years before settling in Milwaukee. He has been in the states for the last 26 years, and he earned his B.A. overseas. Upon arriving in the U.S., he worked as a taxi driver for several years. Currently he is the owner of a used car dealership and body shop. He is active in the Islamic Center. He is married and residing on the south side of Milwaukee.

Hassan (C)

Hassan is an Arab American who left the West Bank in Palestine after the first Palestinian uprising (Intifada) in 1984. He lived in Kuwait for several years before relocating when the Kuwaiti government expelled most Palestinians due to their support of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. He came to the U.S. in the 1990s and settled in Milwaukee, where he has lived for the last 22 years.

Ali (D)

Ali came to the U.S. 30 years ago with a high school diploma because he was unable to find work back home in Palestine. Ali started a small business on the north side of Milwaukee, which he operated for several years before opening a bigger business along with family members. Currently he runs the store with a partner.

Saleem (E)

Saleem was born in the U.S. and lived in Hawaii as a youth before moving to Milwaukee. Currently he works as a taxi/Uber driver. He has been a taxi driver for the last 15 years. He is married and resides on the south side of Milwaukee. He frequently attends mosque, and is active within the Arab American community.

Osama (F)

Osama considers himself American, even though he was born in Palestine. At 18, Osama moved to Kuwait, where he lived with his brother in the days leading up to the first Kuwait-Iraq war. In 1990, he moved to the U.S. He worked in downtown Milwaukee for a few years, before starting his own business on the north side of Milwaukee. He eventually sold the business and moved to the south side of Milwaukee, where he now resides and operates his current business.

Talal (G)

Talal has been in Milwaukee since he came to the U.S. He worked several years in the grocery business before returning to Palestine to marry a U. S. citizen. Once married, he returned to the States, and sometime later his wife and mother of his two children filed for divorce. He is currently on probation for non-payment of child support. He works as an auto mechanic on the south side of Milwaukee where he also resides.

Sami (H)

Sami came to Milwaukee in 1994 and is a U.S. citizen. He owns a grocery store on the north side of Milwaukee. Since his divorce, he works seven days a week. He ran into trouble with police for illegal activities taking place in his store, such as selling loose cigarettes and buying stolen items off the street.

Atef (I)

Atef is a U.S. born citizen and a college student. He also helps his father operate their family-owned grocery store on the south side of Milwaukee. Atef lives with his parents in a north suburb of Milwaukee County. Currently he is studying dentistry at Marquette University. He has also applied to work for the Milwaukee Police Department, where he is on the waiting list. He recently opened a cell phone shop on the south side of Milwaukee.

Kamal (J)

Kamal came to the U.S. from Palestine in the late 1980s. He started his own business on the north side of Milwaukee, where he works seven days a week. He graduated high school, but with very limited English language skills. He is married and generally content with his life. He believes that the American government knows everything about any person who comes to America.

Tymoor (K)

Tymoor was born in Syria to a family with a business background. He came to the U.S. following his brother, who first established himself in Milwaukee. Tymoor worked with his brother in a furniture business in Milwaukee; after several years, he moved to Arizona and opened a furniture business there, which he operated for 3 years. Tymoor returned to Milwaukee and opened a furniture store on the north side of Milwaukee. Currently he lives on the south side with his wife and kids.

Khalid (L)

Khalid is a civil engineer, and has worked in the Waukesha County steel industry for the last 15 years. He has lived in Milwaukee for 32 years. He once opened a Middle Eastern restaurant on the south side along with one of his relatives, but it was unsuccessful. He claims that the business failed because his clientele were military personnel who did not patronize their business due to 9/11. He is married with four kids. He lives in a small town in Milwaukee County.

Mahmoud (M)

Mahmoud is a Palestinian refugee from Lebanon who came to the U.S. in 1978. He earned his civil engineering degree from UW-Milwaukee in 1983; he has lived on the south side of Milwaukee for the past 37 years. He has many businesses in the Milwaukee area. He runs ATM machines in the Milwaukee area, in addition to a north side grocery store. He has been married twice. He has never worked within the field of engineering.

Jamal (N)

Jamal is a U.S.-born citizen who considers himself a Palestinian American. He is very involved in the Arab American community, including the Islamic Center. He went to law school in Virginia, and after he finished, he returned to Milwaukee where the rest of his family lived. He worked for several years in the District Attorney's office as a prosecutor. He is married and resides on the south side of Milwaukee.

Rafeek (O)

Rafeek came to the U.S. 29 years ago from Syria and opened a furniture store with his cousin on the north side of Milwaukee. After several years, his cousin left and opened the same type of business in Chicago. Rafeek was successful and expanded his business; he now has two locations. A few years ago, Rafeek relocated to Jordan, intending to live there permanently. His kids could not adapt to the new environment, so he returned to Milwaukee and maintained the same business. He is married and lives on the south side.

Themes

In phenomenology, both textual and structural descriptions of the participants' experiences are shared in order to assist the reader in understanding the essence of the participants' individual and collective experiences. Participants' experiences are presented in the form of testimonials and lend support to the major finding and sub-themes. Table 4.1 contains research questions, themes, subthemes, and descriptions of each theme and subtheme.

Table 4.1 Research Questions, Themes, Subthemes, and Description

Research Question	Main Themes & Subthemes	Description of each Theme and Subtheme
1. How do Arab Americans perceive the meaning of their experiences with police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee?	Arab Americans' Perception of their own racial identity (background) influence their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9/11.	Arab Americans' perception of who they are and how they see themselves.
	A. Perceived intensified harassment to Arab Americans in their: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places of residence • In airports • Traffic Stops (Milwaukee and home country). 	Participants' perception concerning these locations.
2. How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of local police?	Arab Americans' personal encounters with Police resulted in both positive and negative perception of police.	Participants' reflections on their police encounters.
	a. Perceived positive encounter b. Perceived negative c. Ambivalent treatment	Participants' evaluation of these encounters, their perceived opinions of them.
3. What are the critical incidents/personal experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and local police?	Arab Americans' suspiciousness of law enforcement officers' motives.	Participant's doubting police intentions and motives. Police working together with federal agencies. (Intelligence Gathering)
	a. Perceived intelligent gathering b. Traffic stops c. Racial profiling	Conceiving gathering information.

Following are the findings of the study. Each finding is explained individually, followed by explanations of the relevant sub-themes that emerged from participants' testimonials.

Major Finding # 1: Arab Americans' Perception of their Own Racial Identity (background) Influence their Interpretation of Encounters with Local Police Post 9 /11

Many participants reported mixed feelings concerning their identity, background, and how they see themselves. This ambiguity reflected on both their perception of themselves and local police. Several participants were perplexed by questions of self-identification, and many defined their identity differently based on their level of assimilation into American culture. Jamal and Naber (2008) have stated, "Still others have argued that this identification with Whiteness has its own limitation. First of all, even though Arabs may choose to identify with Whiteness, the 'host society' may deny them that classification" (p. 319). Such differences can be seen in the examples of Saleem and Jamal, who clearly perceive themselves and their identity in light of their national and religious backgrounds:

"Most of the time people ask where are you from? I say from the Middle East American." (Saleem)

"I see myself as a Palestinian American who identifies with Muslim religion." (Jamal)

Hassan and Nader, on the other hand, identified themselves as they would on official U.S. government forms. Hassan explained, "I'm White. White, not Hispanic." Mahmoud saw himself as "American and American only," and refuses to identify himself as Black, White, or other. All 15 participants answered the question related to their identity. Several participants struggled to answer the question of identity and either asked me to explain further, or asked me to provide the correct answer. When asked how Kamal identifies himself, he in turn asked, "As in what?" Eight participants in addition to Tymoor and Rafeek responded without hesitation, calling themselves "Arab Americans." Three participants said White, one said, "I'm Middle Eastern American and finally one participant said, "I'm Palestinian American". The participants' perception of their identity led them to believe that they were targeted in different places.

Perceived Harassment in Arab Americans' Places of Residence

Engagement of Arab culture, including traditions, norms, language, and names is perceived as having a negative influence on daily contact with police. Several participants felt that their Middle Eastern names have a negative impact on how they are treated by police during traffic stops or other police related matters. Jamal and Nader (2008) stated:

...The dominant government and corporate media discourses often constructed as emblems of Arab/Middle Eastern/Muslim identity, including particular names, appearances, or nations of origin that signified an association with the enemy of the nation. Such identity markers hailed multiple subject positions into the 'war on terror' through hate crimes and various forms of violence, harassment, and intimidation in the public sphere—at school, on the bus, at work, at home, and on the streets. (p. 290)

Participants' narratives about police harassment included stories where names operated as signifiers of Arab, Middle Eastern, or Muslim identity. Below is a personal account of a participant:

When they look at [you], and they know [you are] an Arab or Muslim from [your] name or I.D., whatever. They change 90% worse! [police treatment change] They want to check your car, they want to do this, and they want to check your trunk, search your business. Everything! They want to do everything to get you in trouble. (Sami)

Another participant described his experiences with police and how his name and other cultural inferences amplified the encounter:

Sometime [around] October of 2001, I [started] hearing rumors that [the] FBI was asking people about me. Then they came to my store a couple of days later and they [started] questioning me about a blueprint [original diagram] that they found in the apartment where I [used] to live [the] year before September 11 happened. If you remember [during this time], [law enforcement was] saying if anybody saw any suspicious activity to report it. The manager of the building where I used to

live remembered that he found a blueprint in the apartment [after I moved out]. So he was thinking, who [does this] belong to? He looked at the name and my first name [is] Mohammad, so he [immediately thought] that Mohammad plus Arab equals maybe terrorism. So [right there], he called the police. He told them that he found [a] blueprint, [the structural map of the building] he thinks it could be a plan for a bombing, and the blueprint [belongs to a] Syrian. (Tymoor)

I think [it was a blueprint of] the Midwest center downtown Milwaukee. Therefore, anyway so the police of course contacted the FBI, CIA and U.S. Marshal and another agency, I forget what was the name of it. So they took it really serious and they start questioning me. [For example] “What would you do with the blueprint?” I had the fan and its light fixture down. So they were trying to think like I had it down so I could see the blueprint better; and they accused me that I was planning to do something like bombing or killing people. Of course what we found out, it was another Arab who lived in the same apartment; his name was Ahmad who is maybe does not sound like Arab. I should say Muslim. Therefore, the gentleman he also left that apartment complex and moved a couple of months before September 11 occurred. I moved about a year before September 11, from the same apartment. What actually happened, a man who worked for the city I guess gave him the blueprint, so he could do something on it for some reason. This is an example of how you can be accused of something like maybe blueprints, some paper and there is no evidence you are planning anything against. This is one of the stories I could share with you. (Tymoor)

Perceived Negative Encounters at the Airport

Participant Jamal recounted an instance when his one-year old son was prevented from boarding a plane because a Transportation Security Administration (TSA) worker claimed his son was on the “no-fly” list. Jamal was shocked and baffled. Since the attacks, he had heard stories about Arab-Americans being detained, harassed, or removed from airplanes. Individuals sharing the exact or similar name of a person on the list are at risk of being held up by TSA. Jamal is one of two participants who considered TSA as local police and perceived both are the same. Below is Jamal’s account.

This was post 9/11. It would have been 2003 or 2004. My family and I were traveling; we were going to travel to Palestine to visit grandparents. And I had my oldest son who was at the time about a year and half, two years old. And we got to the ticketing counter and the lady refused to give us a ticket, because she indicated that my son was on a no-fly list because he was a suspected terrorist. So, she refused to give the boarding pass at Mitchell Airport. I, of course, was a little

bit irate. I said look he is only a year and half, check the birth date or what have you. She refused to do that, TSA did get involved and told everybody to move away from my son, and he was in a stroller. Of course, I told my wife not to comply. At which time the sheriff department actually came along as we were at the airport.[They] determined what was going on and in a very polite way told the ticketing agent and TSA they needed to back off. Eventually we got our tickets. One of the most humiliating experience in my life, because you imagine how we had a bunch of people behind us who had to overhear everything and see that we were, in my opinion, at the time being labeled as potential terrorists and how these people got on a flight with us later on. So, that is one of my worst interactions with police if you want to call the TSA as police. (Jamal)

Few Arab Americans were banned from flying due to their names matching someone on the “no-fly” list or because other passengers complained of having Arab Americans on their flight. Instances like these are perceived as racial profiling. Bumgarner (2015) says, “In the years since 9/11, public opinion favoring the profiling of a person appearing to be of Arabic descent or of the Muslim faith at airports has only marginally dissipated” (p. 123). This applies during traffic stops of Arab Americans as well.

Perception of Home Country Police versus American Police

Most Arab Americans who recently immigrated from the Middle East have a different perception of police in their home country. Several participants indicated that local police in their home countries were corrupt, accepted bribes, and released or threw away traffic tickets for sums of money. They further indicated that their personal experiences with their home country police influenced their perception of American police. Police interaction frequently brought about bad memories of their home country police. Below, participants contrast the two:

You know the police in my country if they stop you they try to, even if you did not do anything, they try to give you a ticket or you pay them money. If they stop you, act as if you did not do anything; they try to take money from you. Here we do not have this here. (Rafeek)

Maybe well you cannot compare the police in my country because I am from Syria and Syria has a dictator regime running it. Eventually, we have a dictator regime so we have a very bad system in there. We are talking about police or you

talking about intelligence. But I really cannot uh . . . like . . . I do not know what to tell you, how bad it is there. (Tymoor)

Two other participants reported major differences in how U.S. police conduct themselves as compared to police in their home countries. They both believe that police officers in the U.S. respect the law and observe training protocols, unlike the Israeli police. Here is what they had to say:

[The] Palestinian Authority, which may be considered police; but we also have to deal with an occupation, an Israeli occupation, which means that when we talk about police there is a differentiation there of my experiences with the Palestinian authority. To be very frank and blunt, they are inept. They are not very intelligent in terms of how to handle situations, and they are essentially told what to do overall by the Israeli military. So, I do not think very highly of them. I think of them, I am sorry to say, as puppets for the occupation of the Palestinian people. Now that is a political kind of response and I am sorry but that is the situation there. My experience with the “police” which is the military occupiers of the Palestinian area which is the Israeli military is very poor. They treat Palestinians as animals. They are very violent. There is no . . . there is a huge difference between what we see here in this country in terms of police aggression versus what we see under military occupation. The occupation is very brutal. It actually works with impunity. There are no consequences to any actions there. Where here if you are hit with a machine gun on your face, then maybe [there are] repercussions. There will be repercussions for that. There will be a hearing at least with the fire and police commissions. In the occupation that can happen to you, and there will be no investigation. Therefore, that is my experience with the police, I guess, in Palestine. (Jamal)

Well, for me I never liked the police force. I lived in Palestine in the West Bank under Israeli occupation. Mainly, we had to deal with the Israeli police and Israeli military. So, I never had what you call it, special experience with police of our own over there and since I was not driving there at all, using public transportation, so I never had any problem or I do not have basically any perception about the police or our own police over there. However, I know for sure how much the people who come from the Arab countries and their perceptions of the police that is a very negative one and especially with other security agencies; like the intelligence or secret police. Citizens relation with the police is based on intimidation and fear and sometimes some people they will view the police in America through that perspective.” (Nader).

Traffic stop protocols vary greatly between the U.S. and most Middle Eastern countries. Here, when stopped by police, one is expected to put his/ her hands on the steering wheel and

wait for further instructions from the police officer conducting the traffic stop. In contrast, drivers stopped in Middle Eastern countries are expected to exit the car, walk to the officer, and ask why he/ she was stopped. Sometimes the driver will follow police to the station to get his driver's license back and be issued a citation. Police here get suspicious and alarmed when an Arab American driver reaches into his pocket or steps out of the car. Such behavior is construed as suspicious or a sign of resistance due to police misunderstanding: an Arab American driver or recent immigrant adopted these behaviors or conformed to police practices of his/ her country of origin. Due to driver's non-conforming behaviors, the situation could escalate and lead to unnecessary use of force or an arrest by American police. Below, Khalid explains the differences between the traffic stop processes in his country when compared with the process he experienced in Milwaukee:

Well, the police in my country work differently than the police in the U.S. Everybody is scared of the police in my country because of the way they do their work and the way they approach the people. For instance, if you get pulled over in the U.S. you stay in your car. If you get pulled over in my country, the police stay in [the] car and then you have to go approach him and find out why he stopped you, if he will tell you why he stopped you. He will take your driver['s] license and then he will say come to the station and then you will find out there. You will come to the station to get your license back and pay the fine. But over here, if you get pulled over the first thing the officer will [do is] come to your car, and he will [ask you if you know why you were] pulled over? Officers explain to you, then they ask for your license then you will find out if you get a citation or warning. (Khalid).

The above testimony suggests that police officers and Arab Americans have different expectations for what will transpire during a traffic stop. The police officer has no training on how to act or proceed. The same situation applies within the justice system once the traffic violator is processed. This situation can trigger another issue, the police officer does not understand Arabic and the Arab American who is stopped lacks proficiency in the English language.

English Language as an Essential Component of Communication

Several participants mentioned their frustration at being unable to communicate effectively in English. Those participants who have been in this country for a longer period are more adapted and assimilated into U.S society than those who recently arrived as immigrants or refugees. Proficiency in the English language is a needed skill for daily interaction and communication with police. One of the participants believed that knowing English might discourage police from abusing their power or intimidating them as Arab American citizens. According to Osama, “the language barrier made the experience of being pulled over confusing and affected the outcome of the traffic stop.” This participant did not speak good English, was stopped by police for changing lanes without proper signaling. He did not understand why changing lanes without a signal is illegal and tried to ask questions. He and the officer both became upset because they could not communicate with one another. He was subsequently issued a citation for his violation. In the following example, language played a role in the outcome of an encounter with police:

When I was working in the north side store, my brother called the police regarding a shopper who was giving him a hard time and [refusing] to leave the store. When the officer arrived, he started talking to my brother first who was up in front of the store. My brother does not speak very good English. The officer was rude and loud. That is when I cut my brother off and I start talking. The guy, (the police) just got a little worried because I told him I am going to report everything [you’re] saying to your chief, or the person that is in charge of your police station. So that is the only time when the officer was a little worried. He did not want [me contacting his superiors]. (Saleem)

The officer[’s] tone changed. He was not loud like in the beginning when he was going after my brother for not understanding him. He started going back to the main problem [for which we were calling]. Because when he found out I am watching him and I am speaking with him in the language he could understand, pure English, unlike my brother he changed and he was a little worried. (Saleem)

How Arab Americans Believe they are Perceived by Police

Six participants spoke about how they feel they are perceived by police. Many believe that officers are suspicious of them for the mere fact they are Arab. According to Osama, “You always have to prove that you are a good guy and not a bad one.” He also said, “I was stopped for the way I look and for the people who are with me in the car.” This perception may be true about police on the one hand; on the other hand, participants may internalize this image of themselves as a virtual self-image. In five interviews, participants attributed their problem with police because they are Arabs or having a Middle Eastern look and as such, give police the right and the excuse to cause them problems. Another example, Ali believed that police do not care once they find out that the victim is an Arab American. Ali said, “When the police come in contact with us and they know we are Arabs; they do not care about what happened to us or our business.” As for Sam, he perceived police as a helping hand only for Americans. He said, “To be honest, I tried as much as possible not to call them; especially if it is not an emergency. First of all, it would take them forever to show up. Second of all, they are not going to do what they supposed to do once they find out that I’m not an American.” These are the examples of how participants perceived how the police think of them.

There is a connection between Arab Americans’ identity and how it influenced their interpretation of experiences with police. Eight of the participants perceived their identity influenced the interpretation of police experiences and impact the outcome.

Major Theme #2: Arab Americans' Perceptions of Police Resulted in Positive and Negative Encounters

Experiences Perceived as Having a Positive Impact on Participants

Not all participants expressed negative perceptions of police and the way they go about performing their duties. Nader, for example, expressed satisfaction with police. As he recalled, “. . . honestly, every time we have a simple police matter at the Islamic center, we call the police, and they were so helpful and cooperative with us.” Another participant, Khalid, believes that police exist to protect the public. He stated, “Police to me [are a] group, it’s a job for some group of people that would provide security and safety to the community. Once you see a police officer down the street, you should be relieved because he is there to protect you and not to harass you and that [is] what the police [are] for. It’s protection.” Another participant believed the police are a fair and neutral force. When, I, the researcher asked, “How did they (the police) treat you when you got pulled over?” Kamal responded: “Normal, like, they just tell me why they stopped me for and whether I get ticket or not. I mean, I have never had any problem.”

Two participants were extremely impressed with their personal experiences; Nader expressed his happiness when a police officer knocked on his door to advise him to move the empty box from the brand-new television he just purchased from the front of his house to the garbage can in order to deter potential thieves. Khalid expressed his support of police squads patrolling his neighborhood.

Encounters Perceived as Having a Negative Impact on Participants

Police performance and response time. There were six participants that expressed dissatisfaction with their contacts with police. Fareed said that after his negative encounter, he refrains from calling police at all. On that particular day, he called police to his business several times concerning suspicious activity in front of his business. It took several hours for police to

show up and once they did, they did nothing except take his personal information. Fareed said, “If I can avoid them, I will avoid them, and I do not want anything to do with them.”

Negative experiences and dissatisfaction with police performance serve to undermine police legitimacy in the minds of some participants. Saleem spoke about his dissatisfaction with police performance and the negative impact it had on his perceptions of police:

It changed in many ways because sometimes when they come around they start asking a [...] Few questions, like, “where [are] you from and how long you been here?” And we had an incident about 6 months ago about somebody attack[ing] my brother’s car in our driveway. And he wrote with cooking dough, “terrorist Arabs, go back home” and we called the police. It took them 6 hours to come out. When they came, the first thing they [asked was] “Are you from the U.S., cause you probably from the Middle East.” I do not know why it took them six hours to show up to my house. (Saleem)

Saleem believed that the response time was too long considering the type of offence being reported. Sami, who recalled two incidents with police post 9/11, stated, “If anything happened in my business, I will take care of it myself, better than calling the police.” He stated that, in his opinion, police were different post 9/11:

They are different. There was different attitude after 9/11. Let me tell you just two things [that] happened with me exactly. I lived here in my apartment. Somebody broke into my apartment here, they stole some money. I called the police. They came here, and I told them what happened. The window was broken. I told them what happened. They [kept] asking me questions, [like] ‘Did you gamble with your money? Did you go to a strip club? Let me see your I.D. How long have you been living here? Is this your apartment? How [do] we know you had money?’ Police asked me questions and nobody cares about what happened. (Sami)

The second experience with police occurred when Sami’s business was robbed.

This is what he stated concerning the incident:

My business was robbed. I called the police [and] they came here. I use[d] to sell loose cigarette. “Why are you selling loose cigarettes? This is against the law; let me see your I.D., let me see your license. Let me see this, where did you get the stuff from?” And no one cared about my life. Nobody cares. They kept after me about selling the single cigarettes. “You have to stop selling the single cigarettes.” Nobody cares about me. Two guys came with their shotguns. Moreover, I have it

on the camera and [the police] are worried about the single cigarettes. They were after me over the single cigarettes. They were going to stop my license for a single cigarette. (Sami)

Sami's previous experiences showed that when police asked questions to find the underlying cause of the problem, he resented the officer's questions and considered them irrelevant. In this case, Sami did not like the fact that the officer focused on loose cigarettes being sold in the store, instead of the two potential armed robbers that had just threatened his life with shotguns. He considered it the duty of the officer to pursue the issue as a clear violation of the law. The participant stated that the officer should have adhered to the original issue for which he was summoned and he should not be required to discuss anything else. Fareed stated:

We have a lot of break-ins where people come steal parts or even steal cars. When we call police, they just [seem to] want to go over the [initial] phone call. They just want to take [a] report. They are not interested really. "You call insurance? Okay, call your insurance." We call[ed] the police once [or] twice, and after that, because of the way [they handled] the situation, we stopped calling unless it is a major issue. (Fareed)

These above-mentioned participants are seriously voicing their concerns about police performance, response time, and general lack of concern. Also, these responses came from participants who own businesses on the north side of Milwaukee when asked if they would contact police with problems regarding their businesses.

Under the same theme, participants expressed their frustration with police response time. They suggested that it was something police should look into as an important component of police performance and citizens' satisfaction. The following is Ali's perception of why police took too long to respond:

I am a business person. I used to have [a] business. I was not satisfied with [the] actions [of Milwaukee police]. [For] example, if I was in my store and something happened, [an] accident happened, when you called the police it used to take them [a] long time. Especially if they know, you [own] a grocery store or if you have an accent. (Ali)

When I, the researcher, asked Hassan the same question, Hassan recalled this incident that took place in his store:

As a business owner, I have some incidents like [break-ins] and shoplifting. Most of the time, when you call the police, they waste your time. They come, [but] they do not do the right job. They come just to waste time [and collect] information, [but] they don't use this information to look for the criminal. Moreover, I never get any results after [incidents] happen.

As mentioned in the previous sub-theme, a few participants were not happy with police response time. Ali, Hassan, and Sami, all are store owners, believed that when police investigate a crime, they should solve that crime by issuing an arrest warrant or citation; otherwise, calling police is perceived as a waste of the storeowner's time. From their perspective, there is no need for police to come out if there is no concrete result or substantial outcome.

Arab Americans 'Ambivalence / Frustration with Police Treatment

There were minor incidents, which occurred with three participants who indicated that police arrival seemed to favor natural born Americans over Arab Americans. All three incidents were similar:

[A customer] purchased four queen-size mattresses and [asked for] a rope to tie it up. So I [gave her one] and she left. After like 45 minutes, she came back [to say] the mattress [fell] off of [her] car, and [I] should refund [her] money because I lost the mattress. Of course, what she was saying was not making any sense because I am not responsible [for] the mattress. Therefore, she ends up calling the police on us. Usually, if you have any problem like this, the customer would have to take it to court. In [this] case, the police [started] putting pressure on me, and asking me [for my] occupancy license. (Tymoor)

A long time ago, I was doing a delivery at a customer's house, and the [delivery did not fit into the living room]. This was late at night, [but] the customer insisted [on having her money refunded]. We told her the store [was] closed, [and that she could come in for a refund] the next day. We left the customer[s] house. I stopped at the gas station, [and] found out the customer [had] followed us. [She screamed at us that she wanted her money back]. We called the police; one of them was not nice with us. He was [nicer to] the customer [even though] we did not [make] any mistake or anything. (Rafeek)

One time, I was at the Pick N' Save grocery store and I was standing in line to pay for stuff. Suddenly, a Caucasian woman and man came and pushed me aside. I asked him, "why did you do that? [Aren't] you supposed to stay in line?" [The man] tried to hit me but I stopped him. I told the manager of the Pick n' Save to call the police, and when the police came I told them, "I am the victim. I asked [the manager] to call the police because this is not right what they did." The police came and took me aside for [an] interview and I told them what happened to me. I told them that I am the one who need[ed] the help, because I [was] jumped on for no reason and everybody around me witnessed it. [Two days later], I received a letter in the mail, a ticket. They [sent] me a ticket for no reason, and I went to the police department to explain to them what happened to me. They told me [to] take it to the judge and the judge will dismiss it. I said, "Why [did you send] me a ticket to start with? Why do I have to go the judge to dismiss the ticket? You should not send me the ticket; I am the one who called you. I need[ed] your help." Next time I will take the matter [into my own hands], because the police cannot help me. (Ali)

Ali exercised his legal rights as an American citizen and appeared in front of the judge to explain exactly what happened on the day of the incident. No witnesses were produced in this case, and Ali never mentioned how much money was spent on hiring an attorney. The judge dismissed the case after he heard the victim's testimony; however, no one can know how many Arab Americans (or any other ethnic group) have been in this situation or a similar one, and could not follow through, for whatever reason, with court proceedings to prove their innocence.

Major Theme #3 Arab Americans' Suspiciousness of Law Enforcement Officers' Motives

Community-Oriented Policing vs. Community-Oriented Counterterrorism

One of the sub-themes within this major theme is intelligence gathering (I.G.) instead of community-oriented policing (COP). Through these interviews, several participants believed post September 11 there was complete cooperation and coordination among all law enforcement agencies to focus on intelligence gathering about Arab Americans or any suspicious activities that may be related to terrorism or any potential threat that could hurt the national security of

America. In fact, several participants indicated they were asked on several occasions by police officers if they knew of any suspicious activities or any Arabs who were illegally here. When I asked the participants the last supporting question of, “Can you please discuss how you view police in terms of their role in the community? What should their role be? How do you see their current role?” The majority of the participants agreed that the role of police changed post 9/11. The following testimonials and responses are strong indications of the participants’ perceptions concerning the change:

In any society, the role of police is to serve and protect. Not to serve and try to gather [personal] information about you. (Osama)

I do see a lot of change in how the police treat people, [especially] foreign people with the accent or different color. They really do investigate for nothing sometimes and they give ticket(s) for no reason. Even if they have a minor violation, they make a big deal out of it and they report it. (Talal)

Talal believes that police became stricter and tougher on foreign people with accents. Nader believed that police and other federal agencies were separate before 9/11; but, after 9/11, they were integrated together under the Department of Homeland Security (DHS):

Before September 11, [there] were separate departments or agencies but after 9/11, there was an attempt by the government to put them together under the [Department of] Homeland Security. I used to hear from community members that if the police stop or arrest somebody, the FBI and immigration also will come aboard [and] investigate. (Nader)

As for Fareed, the police and federal agencies work together. The police will go out of their way to get people and hand them over to the federal government.

In my opinion, they do work together. Definitely, from what I saw and what I hear in the news for example, the New York police were involved in the federal government. Moreover, sometimes I feel police go out of their way to get you, to hand you [over to the] federal government for whatever reason. (Fareed)

Fareed believed the shift post 9/11 from community-oriented policing (COP) to community-oriented counterterrorism (COC) was clear. He perceived such a shift as an extension of power given to police by the federal government.

When I asked Jamal the same question, his response was that the role of police changed post 9/11 from “protect and serve” to gathering intelligence. Jamal also added, “New York is the best example I can give you. Police have gone [out of] bounds of what their roles should be. Prior to 9/11, you would not have seen something like that.”

Jamal was worried that such a shift would lead to an invasion of citizens’ privacy rights post 9/11:

Well, I think we see, what we see is, again New York is the example here. We see that the New York police department in that particular instance was looking to cause more alarm than needed. They were actually surveilling innocent people with no reason to do so. Recording innocent people with no reason to do so. That to me is violation of the constitution. Because people have the right to privacy and I think that is what you see post 9/11, again New York is the example here. Is it that the right to privacy is ignored? (Jamal)

Jamal also added, “That is exactly what I read in the newspapers about the New York situation. You [now] have them being more of an intelligence gathering tool, rather than [performing] the role to protect and serve, which is what local police should be. Intelligence gathering, in my opinion, is more an FBI or CIA kind of function not a local municipal [function].”

Seven participants indicated that they perceived a change in how police officers conduct themselves post 9/11, there were also those who believed that the role of police did not change. Sami felt that police were generally the same; however, he could not ignore the fact that there had been many unjustified shootings by police lately. This is what Sami said:

The police job [is] to make sure the people [are] safe. Now look what happen[s] on the news every day. [Look at] what [they are] doing to everybody. [They are]

shooting people for no reason. They are doing everything for no reason; [they have] no patience.

Police Traffic Stops and Racial Profiling

The final sub-theme within theme three—that 40% of participants perceived all law enforcement agencies worked together post 9/11—includes police traffic stops and racial profiling practices. This sub-theme was important, because 4 participants suspected police traffic stops were racially motivated and, the outcome was most likely predicted. Jamal considered the incident below to be part of his memory, and as an extension of police encounter despite the fact that this incident took place in Washington D.C. Below is the incident Jamal shared about a traffic stop that he indicated was racially motivated. This is what he recalled on 9/12, 2001:

I lived very close to the Pentagon. In fact, when the Pentagon was hit I could see the smoke from [it] on my way to work. My first interaction with police officers was the following day. I [was] going to class [at] Catholic University School, which was in DC. So, I [was] driving from northern Virginia to DC. At the time, DC was on edge, as can be imagined, and there were many checkpoints. One of the things that I had in my vehicle was a Palestinian flag. At the checkpoint we all stopped, [and the police] didn't treat me [any] differently [at first]. But once he saw the Palestinian flag, [he began to ask more] questions. I was asked if my car could be searched. I had gone through enough law school to know that the answer to that was "no." I explained to him [that] I was a law student and I was going to school, I was going to class. He asked a few more questions that I found very interesting, like, who my associates were and those kinds of things. Finally, I explained to him that my brother-in-law was in the Pentagon when it was hit. He was a Department of Defense (DOD) employee. Eventually, he did allow me to leave. So my interaction was positive. He was not rude. He was not being degrading I would say, but the fact that I had to undergo those questions was still a little bit upsetting.

Ali shared his suspicion that the police department racially profiled him once they found out where he was from. This is what he stated:

I think the police [department] of Milwaukee [conducts] racial profiling. I believe [that] if you get stopped for any reason, they will profile you. They want to know who you are, where [you're] from, [what's] your accent, how [do] you behave. I think they are profiling. They profile the person before they do anything.

Ali represents how racial profiling was perceived. Other participants were more reserved in their descriptions of racial profiling or not sure if what happened with them was actually a racial profiling incident. This is what Mahmoud stated in regard to determining when racial profiling occurs:

I believe the police did not change, but some percentage of the police personnel [has] changed. I cannot really say if it is racial, [or] if it is ignorance. But still they look at other people in different ways!" (Mahmoud)

Osama had much to say about his traffic stop and how he was racially profiled. This is what the participant recalled while driving on Capitol Drive, on the north side of Milwaukee, six months after September 11. The participant attributed the escalation of the traffic stop to the police officer's observation of his mother-in-law wearing headscarf (hijab), which led to resentment and defiance of this participant:

I was driving down on Capitol Drive six months after September 11. I had no traffic violation[s], like broken lights, so I thought there was no reason for the police to stop me. My mother-in-law was sitting next to me [wearing] her headscarf. It was around 9:00 at night. As soon as I passed one of the police motorcycle[s], the police turned [on their] lights and they came after me. He accused me of driving 15 to 20 miles over the speed limit. My English was not that good at the time, but I [had been] in the U.S for almost 2 or 3 years. So I [inflamed the situation by arguing] and being loud with the police. I thought it was unfair for him to give me a ticket. My intention was not to argue with him. I thought the way he approached the car was disrespectful because he [shined a light] on my mother-in-law to see her headscarf [and to determine] if she was a woman or a man. [He] put the flashlight in her face. Therefore, that was my initial reaction. I thought he just stopped me because my mother-in-law was wearing the headscarf and it was his way [of] harassing Arabs at that time. (Osama)

Table 4.2 is the key code for participants identified in Table 4.3. Table 4.3 is a clarification and breakdown of participants' total number of experiences and perceptions that are captured in each theme and subtheme. For the first theme, 53 % of participants perceived that their own racial identity (background) influenced their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9/11. Participants (26%) perceived intensified harassment at their places of residence, at airports

(20%), and during traffic stops (40%). Regarding the second theme, 73% of participants indicated that their personal encounters with Police resulted in both positive and negative perceptions of police: 20% perceived that they experienced positive encounters with the police, 40% perceived negative experiences, and 26.6% indicated being ambivalent and frustrated. For the final theme, 46.7% indicated they were suspicious of law enforcement officers' motives post 9/ 11. Relatedly, 40% perceived police as instruments of intelligence gathering organizations, 33.3%, derived these perceptions after a traffic stop, and 26.6% thought they had experienced racial profiling after an encounter with police.

Table 4.2 Key to Table 4.3

A – Nader	B – Fareed	C – Hassan	D – Ali	E – Saleem	F – Osama
G – Talal	H – Sami	I – Atef	J – Kamal	K – Tymoor	L – Khalid
M – Mahmoud	N – Jamal	O – Rafeek			

Note: This table represents the identification of participants.

Table 4.3 Main Themes & Connected Subthemes

Main Themes & Connected Subthemes	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	Participants
Arab Americans' Perception of their own racial identity (background) influenced their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9/11.	X	X		X				X			X	X		X	X	53%
○ Places of residence	X							X			X			X		26.6%
○ In airports	X	X												X		20%
○ Traffic stops	X			X							X	X		X	X	40%
Arab Americans' personal encounters with Police resulted in both positive and negative perception of police.	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X			X	73%
○ Perceived positive encounter	X									X		X				20%
○ Perceived negative		X	X	X	X			X	X							40%
○ Ambivalence/Frustration with Police treatment				X				X			X				X	26.6%
Arab Americans' suspiciousness of law enforcement officers' motives post 9/ 11	X	X				X	X	X	X					X		46.7%
○ Perceived intelligent gathering		X			X	X	X	X	X							40%
○ Traffic stops				X		X			X				X	X		33.3%
○ Racial profiling				X		X							X	X		26.6%

Note: Participants' representations of their experiences

Summary

All 15 participants expressed their feelings and the meaning of their experiences, whether these experiences were negative, positive, or being frustrated and ambivalent not knowing what to make of them. These participants had much to say about their perceptions of police through their past individual experiences and the meaning of these experiences whether it was a traffic stop, theft, or robbery. Further analysis and interpretation of participants' experiences will be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter provides an overview of the study, a summary of the major findings, looking-glass, “self- perception” notion, and a shift from community-oriented policing followed by a discussion of practical implications, future research and recommendations for local police and Arab American communities. The chapter concludes with study limitations, future research, recommendations, and final thoughts. This composite description contains the core experiences and the meanings extracted from the experiences that hold true for all participants. The findings addressed the arching research question of how Arab Americans perceive the meaning of their experiences with police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee via the three major themes that surfaced during the analysis of the participants’ experiences. Those themes were as follows:

1. Arab Americans’ perception of their own racial identity (background) influence their interpretation of encounters with local police post 9/11.
2. Arab Americans’ personal encounters with local police resulted in positive and negative perceptions of police.
3. Arab Americans’ suspiciousness of the motives of law enforcement officers.

Each participant provided a reflection on not only what he experienced, but also on how the experiences and the meanings of those experiences influenced his perceptions of police. The participants were honest and open about their experiences; and most appreciative for the opportunity that was availed to them to tell their stories. An analysis of participants’ perceptions of their experiences of each theme and subtheme found that for the first theme over half of participants perceived their racial identity influenced their interpretations of encounters with local police post 9/11. Also, over a quarter of participants perceived harassment at their places of

residence; slightly under a quarter indicated these experiences at airports and fewer than two quarters experienced them during traffic stop. As for the second theme, shy of three quarters of participants indicated that their personal encounters with police resulted in both positive and negative perceptions of police. A little bit under a quarter perceived that they experienced positive encounters, while less than two quarters perceived negative experiences. Also, slightly over a quarter of the participants indicated being ambivalent and frustrated. As for the final theme, close to half of the participants indicated they were suspicious of law enforcement officers' motives post 9/11. As for the final two subthemes, close to half perceived police as instruments of intelligence gathering organizations; also one third developed these perceptions after they experienced traffic stops and over one quarter thought they had experienced racial profiling. Eight participants believed that telling their stories helped them bring some closure. All participants were given the chance at the end of the interview to state their final comments.

Arab Americans' Background and Understanding of Local Police

The first emerging theme was heavily focused on Arab Americans' racialization and identity, perceived harassment at residence, perceived harassment at the airport, and perceptions of home country police vs. American police.

Race and Identity

Arab Americans, as research participants, were not sure how to say, "Who they are" even if they chose to identify with the whiteness of the dominant culture. The dominant culture most likely would deny this classification as indicated by Jamal and Naber (2008), "Some Arab Americans who can credibly identify as white might choose to see themselves as part of the dominant social structure in U.S. society, even while they may not always be accorded mainstream privileges linked with such identification" (p. 319). A number of participants

demonstrated a notion such as this. Salem stated that he was a “Middle East American.” For Hassan, “I’m White.” Tymoor and Rafeek responded without hesitation that they were “Arab Americans.” Mahmoud felt strongly about his identity definition; he said, “As American and American only. I do not identify myself in any racial way, Black or White or yellow or any other.” Finally, Kamal responded, “As in what?” Five participants struggled in giving an answer and a few asked for clarification. Such confusion stemmed from the participant’s unawareness or lack of prior knowledge of how to respond to a question concerning identity. Four participants did not know what the answer would be when it comes to their identity; and, they had a hard time trying to categorize themselves. Five participants hoped to be considered White. These five participants believed that if the host society (the dominant culture) accepted their whiteness, they would be treated as such. In addition, police would treat them as White, since police are part of the dominant culture. Arab Americans recognize the differential treatment afforded African Americans and other people of color; but their preference is to be treated as white. In short, Arab Americans are still in the midst of racial formation as the research data indicated. In general, Arab Americans’ official classification is white, but they don’t see themselves treated as such.

Perceived Harassment at the Residence

Perceived intensified harassment was experienced by four participants; as indicated by Tymoor, who stated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was asking his neighbors about him and he believed that his name was a clue to his being from the Middle East, specifically Syria. Mohammad, who was investigated about the blueprint (structural map) found in his apartment, also has a name that is very easy to associate with Arab culture or Islam as a religion. According to Mohammad, the blueprint belonged to the previous tenant by the name of Ahmad, who was an engineer and worked on the construction of the Midwest Airlines Center in

Milwaukee. A number of participants touched on this notion of how they were mistreated by the police; in general, they identified with African Americans' mistreatment by police as well. Arab Americans were originally immigrants from countries of the Middle East who are not familiar with many aspects of American culture. Scholars like Yelich Biniecki and Conceição (2014) also found that individuals who live or travel to foreign locations are impacted by their personal identities.

As Arab Americans have become embedded in American society, they have witnessed injustices inflicted on African Americans. Most local Arab Americans in this study had their businesses in African American neighborhoods on the north side of Milwaukee and spent most of their time in their businesses, whether it was a gas station, a restaurant, or a convenience store. These Arab Americans' daily interaction with African American individuals "broadened their personal beliefs" (Yelich Biniecki & Conceição, 2014). Also, it probably assisted them in identifying injustices independently.

Transnational identity development, combined with business and residence location, aligned with identification of blackness for some of the research participants supports the observations of other scholars regarding the racial identity of Arab Americans. The conferring of the "mark of blackness" upon some Arab Americans was probably a reality (Jamar & Naber, 2010). Arab Americans were not treated as White or offered any benefits of White privilege, as Jamal and Naber (2008) indicated, "It is vital to recognize that Arab Americans have essentially been given the mark of blackness in today's society, rather than being the beneficiaries of so called 'white privilege'" (p. 115). African Americans endured decades of racial discrimination, harassment, and police brutality. This has prompted many Arab Americans to think of their identity as closer to Black, bearing in mind the similarities in the mistreatment of Arab

Americans and African Americans by the dominant white race. Critical race theory argues that race is not biologically determined, but rather a product of social construction (Tamer, 2010).

Tamer (2010) also stated:

It was important to recognize that Arab Americans have effectively been socially constructed as Black with the negative legal connotations historically attributed to that designation. Arab Americans were equally or worse off than African Americans, who were mostly considered to be at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Like Blacks, Arabs are stereotyped as dangerous, evil, sneaky, primitive, and untrustworthy. But even worse, Arabs are also commonly considered potential or actual terrorists. (p. 115)

Therefore, 5 participants identified with African Americans and the long-held grievances concerning their identity. Arab Americans perceived themselves as Whites, but they did not recognize they were treated as such.

Perceived Harassment at the Airport

The finding that participants experienced harassment at airports supports the observations of other scholars. Arab Americans cannot travel without fear of encountering hostility. Tamar (2010) asserts that, “While black people fear driving while black (DWB), Arab Americans fear flying while Arab (FWA)” (p. 117). Airline discrimination remained a concern. “Arab phobia” is unfounded and based on fears and baseless stereotypes that are founded on Middle Eastern cultural features like names and looks; this “phobia” continued to cloud the opinions of airline employees. The incident recounted by participant Jamal involved a minor child not being allowed to board his flight because his name was the same as another name on the no-fly list. It was very frustrating for the son’s father, Jamal. According to a review conducted by the

Department of Justice (DOJ), it was clear that many of these detainees had no connection to terrorism at all, and their detention could only be explained by their religion, ethnicity, and nation of origin (Mishra & Lokaneeta, 2012).

Home Country Police vs. American Police

Several participants indicated through their interviews that local police in their countries of origin were corrupt. Police corruption in their countries is on a bigger scale than the local American police, who are governed by different rules and regulations. Domoro and Agil (2012) states that,

Corruption was often the result of actions of individuals or groups in order to achieve special interests. This behavior is governed by certain ethical standards to be determined whether this is a desirable behavior (moral) or reprehensible (immoral). In addition, the organizational culture which contain values, customs, and traditions reflected in the action of individuals and groups play an important role in reducing opportunities for corruption. (p. 1)

According to Rafeek, police in his country (Syria) were corrupt, and their motto was to “serve and collect,” the opposite of American police motto to “serve and protect.” Bribes plagued several of the Middle Eastern police departments due to wide spread police bribery and local armed conflicts. Rafeek spoke of his country’s local police departments’ practices; for example, how a police traffic stop was all about collecting money and had nothing to do with an actual traffic stop. Several participants spoke about police in Palestine and some spoke about the Israeli occupation police and their inhumane practices within the Palestinian territories.

Police corruption could be anywhere in the world. Occasional corruption was not considered impossible or far-fetched, but having systematic corruption from the top all the way

down the ranks was a real problem. Those participants who mentioned police corruption in their country of origin still considered police as understanding their culture. This was probably unlike American police, who rarely took the time to learn about Arab Americans' culture, norms, and values when they encountered Arab Americans in the U.S.

Critical Incidents / Personal Experiences Between Arab Americans and Local Police

Positive Experiences

Participants' experiences with police, either positive or negative, had a huge impact on Arab Americans' perception of police. On this level, if the encounter with police was positive, it would result in a positive resolution and satisfaction on both sides. This police encounter may be a simple one in terms of outcome; the second explanation for this positive outcome is that the police were perceived as having displayed some understanding of the person they stopped, or encountered whether cultural, linguistic, or personal. Some Arab Americans see police encounters as an extension of police power that is supported by their department's policies and rules. Therefore, the practical aspect of police contact is relatively fair. Anything outside this scope is considered unfair. Police encounters such as this would contribute positively to Arab Americans' perception of police.

Overall, participants' experiences engendered a mix of both positive and negative perspectives regarding police. Several participants concurred that police provided protection and safety to the community; policing the streets is a daily police function. Generally, police patrol the streets and neighborhoods, and Arab Americans' neighborhoods are included; therefore, occasionally police squads are called or dispatched to Arab Americans' residences or businesses. Police rendered their services by enforcing the law or giving their advice on civil matters. Police sometimes initiated traffic stops for obvious traffic violations.

Arab Americans, as participants and members of the community, were satisfied when police rendered their services through enforcing the law that left positive impressions. However, positive results and happy conclusions were not the case in all police encounters in general. According to participants, the dynamics of police work on the streets was constantly changing, either because of the fluidity of the situation and the rapid escalation of confrontation between police and their subjects, or because of police ignorance of someone's culture. This is clear in the following negative experiences where the police were not perceived as having rendered good service. This resulted in citizen dissatisfaction and resentment.

Negative Experiences

Participants' negative experiences with police were problematic due to their negative impact on Arab Americans' perceptions of police. The encounter, whether it was a police stop, or an emergency call to police, may prompt either an escalating or a non-escalating encounter. The Arab American might be verbally argumentative, but compliant with the police officer. These types of encounters could take place during traffic stop, a check of well being of a citizen or a field interrogation (F.I) stop. In the same vein, these encounters may gradually escalate into punitive action and lead to resentment, defiance, and eventually to an arrest. These types of situations tend to be the culmination of dissatisfaction, resentment, defiance, and increasing complaints against police officers. Consequently, the outcome here enforces the notion of mistrust and suspicion of police. In general, Arab Americans in this study perceive police as a centralized entity with all homeland security agencies. Police are viewed as representatives of a centralized system combined with other federal agencies.

The participants' negative experiences, dissatisfactions, resentments, and defiance usually generated police mistrust. Two participants shared their bad experiences with police

performance and response time. For example; Saleem believed a police officer took too long to respond to his call for police services. He stated, “It took police 6 hours to come out.” For this participant and several others, this police response time was unacceptable. These participants commented that even when police showed up, it was several hours after being contacted. Once they recognized Saleem’s identity, instead of adhering to the original call for service about a robbery, the police officer doubted him and asked him if he had gone gambling or went to a strip club and lost his money.

The second incident involved Sami, a convenience store owner, who was robbed. He also said, “It took the police long time before they show up.” Upon the arrival of police, he was informed that he should not be selling loose cigarettes. Sami believed that police officers should have investigated the store robbery and not ask him to stop selling loose cigarettes.

These two incidents were identified as negative experiences because of police response time. In the City of Milwaukee, as in other major U.S. cities, police department’s response time is excessively long (Poston, 2011). The Police Chief of the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD), Edward Flynn, responded regarding city police response time: “Since the average resident of this city is willing to wait four hours for the cable guy and half a day for a furniture delivery, it seems to me a reasonable delay in responding for a call is an acceptable balance” (Poston, 2011, p. 3). The two participants, decided not to call the police in future situations and their decision was based on their prior negative experiences and their concerns of the response time issue. This aligned with other city residents who also complained about police response time, even in shooting cases. Poston (2011) asserted that a resident, Thom Reed, stated after he heard several shots in his neighborhood: “People just don’t bother calling police anymore. If crime is down at all, it’s because people are not even reporting things and because police do not

respond” (p. 3). Response time was an ongoing urban police issue by the admission of Chief Flynn, “Response to calls is a very, very low priority” (Poston, 2011, p. 3). Quick police response time is essential for gaining residents’ trust.

There are two well-established paradigms in the criminology literature about the notion of rapid response time. The first is “rapid response time has no meaningful effect on crime detection. The second paradigm is response time matters only within the first minute after a crime takes place, an unrealistically short interval for even the most efficient police organization” (Vidal & Kirchmaier, 2015, p. 3). Analyzing these two paradigms leads to the conclusion that the first paradigm would have a negative impact on people seeking police help and ultimately losing peoples’ trust in the police force. On the other hand, a rapid response fosters good relations and enforces trust between people and police. In short, the effectiveness of rapid response policing seems self-evident; however, this may not be possible with all police calls and services. Arriving quickly to the crime scene would enable police to find the perpetrator and question any witnesses at the scene. In addition, rapid response would prevent the destruction or contamination of physical evidence (Vidal & Kirchmaier, 2015). In the previous two incidents, the two participants also mentioned that the police did not adhere to the reason for the original police call, and police sometimes cast doubt about their claims.

The third negative experience involved Sami calling police regarding the armed robbery of his convenience store. According to Sami, police did not care about what had happened to him; instead, they warned Sami not to sell loose cigarettes or “single cigarettes prohibited by the federal, state, and local city ordinances” (Sec. 1140.16 (b), 134.66(s) (e) of the State Law and 106.30 of Milwaukee Code of Ordinances). Sami perceived selling loose cigarettes as a smart way of making money, more so than selling them in a pack. In fact, Sami stated it was double the

usual profit. Sami did not consider what he had done all these years to be illegal. Despite the fact that Sami was in violation of the law and police warned him regarding this, the armed robbery should have been investigated as their first priority as departmental policy dictates. The loose cigarettes sales should have been addressed at a later time, since the initial call is related to the store robbery. According to Sami, there were two assumptions why police allegedly did not do their job. First, it could be that Sami's identity was obvious once police arrived to the scene and found out that this person was an Arab American with a heavy accent, and they could not understand him. On the other hand, it can be attributed to Sami's illegal transactions during the store business hours. Concerning the armed robbery of his store, police should have helped and rendered services to him as a citizen and a taxpayer.

The other significant experiences took place when the three participants spoke about their mixed feelings (ambivalent feelings) and frustration concerning police treatment. The three participants, who had different experiences, all indicated that the police, when dealing with their separate cases, favored one party over the other. Unfortunately, in this situation, the three participants did not call a police supervisor to the scene, which probably could have resulted in a fair resolution. Rafeek and Tymoor had no choice but to accept the officer's decision as discussed in chapter four; as for Ali, he was skipped in line by a white person inside the Pick N' Save supermarket. Ali objected to this unfairness in a loud voice and ended up being questioned by police and issued a disorderly citation. Ali took his case to court and got his citation dismissed. What Ali did was often the remedy for such situations, which involves going in front of a judge and hoping to get justice or his issues resolved. In general, those bad experiences left the participants wondering why they had to be subjected to police officers' lack of compassion and understanding.

There is a visible component that can be seen in police behavior; it is the implicit biases or racial biases that police officers demonstrated toward certain groups whether they were African Americans, Hispanics, or Arab Americans. Implicit bias, “suggests the possibility that people are treating others differently even when they are unaware that they are doing so” (Jolls & Sunstien, 2006, p. 969). Four participants expressed their concerns that the police officers treated them differently and they considered such treatment a source of frustration and ambivalence. In reality, this “ambivalence” is implicit bias, where the police officer, based on his/her gut feelings, was perceived to have questioned an individual for the mere fact that he looked Middle Eastern. In instances like these, traffic stops and/or field interrogations were perceived to have stemmed from mere suspicion based on the participants’ looks, race, color, and the officer’s memory concerning them. Levinson (2007) asserts that:

Implicit biases may exist in the officers’ minds and though unintentional, it can contribute to resentment toward the officer and an overall negative perception of law enforcement agencies. Implicit biases have been used on African Americans for some time as a minority group. Officers use race when making the decision to shoot, and studies have linked shooter bias to culturally held racial stereotypes which link blacks to danger. (p. 358)

In the same vein, Arab Americans seem to be linked with terrorism implicitly in the mind of police post 9/11. Many participants mentioned how police officers treated them differently and how such treatment aggravated the situation or encounter. One solution for this invisible component that may exist within officer’s minds is a change in culture inside police departments, which could take time. When racial stereotypes no longer disproportionately link minorities to

negative traits and minorities are no longer blamed for every social ill in the community, the effects of implicit biases will likely be minimized.

Nature and Consequences of Arab Americans Recent Police Contact

Suspicion of Law Enforcement Motives Post 9/11

September 2001 changed the dynamics of policing. Many urban police departments shifted their policing strategies from community policing to traditional crime fighting and intelligence gathering, enforcing new immigration laws by using local police through federal funding (Brown, 2007). Six participants agreed that the role of police changed post 9/11; police became a tool of intelligence gathering by helping federal agencies. In fact, 3 participants were asked on several occasions by police officers if they knew of any suspicious activities or of any Arabs who were illegally here. Those police officers offered their business cards as a way of “keeping in touch.” According to Sami, this is done because “they want you to snitch on people.”

The use of informants by law enforcement is certainly nothing new. Harris (2010) states, “one could not feel surprised that police agencies have used informants to gather information on the threat of terrorism” (p. 140). Police efforts to encourage Arab Americans to inform on each other tends to damage Arab Americans’ perceptions of police, as evidenced in Sami’s statement. One of the initiatives the federal government enacted post 9/11 as a means of gathering intelligence about terrorism was the establishment of “fusion centers” in every state. Kraft and Marks (2012) state:

A fusion center is basically a unit that brings together personnel from the relevant state and local agencies, such as police, homeland security officials, and federal officials, to gather, analyze, and share terrorism, law enforcements and other

homeland security information. These centers are established by the state and local governments under a program initiated by the 9/11 Commission Act of 2007. Federal agencies provide personnel, technical support, funding through grants and other resources to state government in support of these efforts. (p. 208).

Milwaukee's fusion center has shifted the focus from community-oriented policing to community-oriented counterterrorism and it has allocated more money for this purpose. In Wisconsin, there are two fusion centers, one in Madison and one in Milwaukee. According to the Associated Press (2013),

Milwaukee is not considered a prime target for al-Qaida or other international terrorist organizations. Consequently, there is little in the way of terrorist activity to attract the Milwaukee Police department's (MPD) fusion center's attention. Milwaukee spends \$800,000 per year in federal funding and \$3.3 million from local property tax. (p. # 3)

Also, Community-Oriented Policing (COP) grants have all but disappeared. Milwaukee received a "\$1 million Community-Oriented Policing (COP) grant in 2002, but none in 2005" (Purvis & Rutledge, 2006).

Many Arab Americans perceived that law enforcement agencies worked together post 9/11. It is believed that this work takes place behind the scene and involves communication that takes place between the police and the dispatcher concerning police encounters. Most police traffic stops, field interrogations, or routine encounters require a background check of the subject through the dispatcher. In these police checks, police get the complete personal record of the persons in question. Police get all this information through the police dispatch or sometimes police retrieve it from the squad's computer. In some instances, police have access to

immigration records for checking someone's immigration status. The access to immigration records was established post 9/11. Also post 9/11, police can contact the FBI if they stopped someone who is on the FBI's terrorist list or the immigration authority for either undocumented individuals or for the suspicion that this person is wanted by the federal government.

Many Arab Americans believe that police work is an extra arm of the federal government for gathering intelligence about them. Also, that there is full coordination between police and other federal branches, such as the FBI and the immigration authority. This perception would probably create fear and impede any development of a cooperative relationship between police and Arab Americans either as a community or individuals. Most participants believed that the nature of police interactions with them affected their relations with police. Such a relationship tends to frame their experiences and views of one another through these types of contacts.

Police Traffic Stops and Racial Profiling

Several participants shared their negative experiences in regards to racial profiling, either through traffic stops, in the airport boarding a flight, or a random check in different states of the country. Racial profiling is the practice of targeting individuals for police or security detention based on their race or ethnicity in the belief that certain minority groups are more likely to engage in unlawful behavior (Feder, 2013). Some Arab Americans have been the subjects of racial profiling post 9/11. The research participants mentioned several incidents that lead to mistrust, resentment, and defiance of police which confirms the observation of Withrow (2006):

The effect of additional scrutiny of individuals based primarily on their ethnicity or religious preference are substantial. At the individual level feelings of humiliation, helplessness, anger, and fear are common within the Arab-American community. There exists a diminished trust in law enforcement and a reluctance

to rely on the police for help between even the most law-abiding Arab and Muslim Americans. At the community level this fear and mistrust has resulted in a lack of cooperation with police officers and a reluctance to report crime.” (p. 245).

Osama mentioned how he was racially profiled because his mother-in-law sitting next to him wore a headscarf. He believed racial profiling was a humiliating form of harassment.

According to Gabbiden and Greene (2013), “Arab Americans were perceived to be the group most likely to engage in terrorist activities; therefore, citizens and police officials alike were supportive of racial profiling of people of Middle Eastern descent” (p. 30). Study participants stated being stopped by the police just for being Middle Eastern or having the features of an Arab person had a negative impact on their perception of police. The racial profiling that began after September 11 focused on Middle Eastern Arabs and Muslims; they were stopped, questioned, detained, deported, and generally subjected to intensified police scrutiny based on perceived race, religion, and national origin rather than any evidence of unlawful activity.

The idea of profiling existed before September 11 in police work. According to Withrow (2006), “There were different types of criminal profiles, such as drug courier profiling and so on . . .” (p. # 92). It is necessary to draw the distinction between profiling and racial profiling, which was motivated by race with no tangible evidence of wrongdoing.

Arab Americans felt that much of their contact with police was due to racial profiling and this has huge effect on their perceptions of police. These bad experiences of Arab Americans are documented, and their negative impact has been counterproductive in gaining compliance and police legitimacy from them. Arab Americans, in general, are part of their local communities in

America, and with an estimated population of 3.5 million, their cooperation and trust are vital in the war on terror.

Traffic Stop and Identity

Arab Americans have their own identity, language, names, culture, and norms. It would be difficult for an average person, or a police officer who was not born in the Arab culture or been exposed to it, to understand the intricacies of such culture and its residual and historical background. It can be surmised that some of the police confrontations with members of the Arab American community stem from police ignorance of the culture (traditional norms, language, names, and background). Seven of the participants perceived that the difficulty stems from Arab Americans who do not speak very good English, and / or do not fully understand the laws and the societal expectations of their cities. In almost every traffic stop or police encounter with Arab Americans, the police should know or take into consideration the Arab Americans' identity and culture. Knowing Arab Americans' identity and culture could save police the possibility of cultural conflict or serious escalation due to police inexperience of Arab Americans' norms and culture. Arab names, language, accent, and attire are all perceived as having an influence on how police treat them, according to 7 participants.

English Language as Essential Component of Communication

This study revealed a potential need for English as a second language (ESL) programs among Arab Americans. The language barrier is a major challenge affecting the development of positive relationships between police and the Arab community. ESL for Arab Americans can perhaps benefit them on how to manage their relationship with police or any other law enforcement agency, and understand their legal rights as American citizens.

The language barrier was a challenge affecting the development of better relationships between police and Arab Americans. Participants believed that communication problems due to the language barrier—where the officer could not speak Arabic and the Arab American individuals could not speak English—was a critical factor. Such a significant challenge is presented in routine police encounters (such as traffic stops). In addition, participants perceived the language barrier was frustrating to both sides, in particular to Arab Americans. Many Arab Americans experienced such frustration either on traffic stops or when seeking police assistance.

A few Arab American participants who had been stopped by police for traffic violations added that the language barrier caused confusion and misunderstanding in terms of not being able to ask questions or understand an officer's request, such as producing driver's license or proof of car insurance. In one interesting traffic stop situation, police issued a citation and had the individual figure it out on his own due to the inability to communicate effectively. In addition, names and appearances are perceived as a challenge. Many Arab Americans considered their Arab names, countries of origin, and their traditional appearance as contributing factors in them being stopped or questioned by the police, whether at the airport, during a traffic stop, or during routine contact.

Looking- Glass “Self-Perception”

After evaluating the last research question concerning the nature and the consequences of Arab Americans contact with local police and their self-perception, I came to the conclusion that many of the participants, if not all of them, see police from their own lens. How they see themselves reflected on their perception of the local police. How Arab Americans think of themselves is exactly what they imagine others think of them. This notion is aligned with Cooley's (1902) theory of “The Looking – Glass Self,” in which Cooley (1902) stated, “We figure

out what we think of ourselves by imagining what others think of us” (p. 127). Seven research participants mentioned several times in general throughout this research their dislike of police. Police officers, in their opinions, are biased and do not treat Arab Americans fairly; they are suspicious of police behaviors towards them. Police cannot be blamed for every Arab American infraction and brush with the law. Such feelings may be attributed to one’s own feelings and perceptions of themselves that they see in others, such as police officers, law enforcement officials or even friends. According to the American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, the degree of personal insecurity a person displays in social situations is determined by what the person believes other people think of this person. In short, such perceptions are reciprocal and mutual on both sides, forming one’s self-concept through others’ perception of them. Perceptions are critical to this analysis and discussion. It is not what people actually think of themselves, but equally important is people’s own perceptions of how others perceive them. People form their self-images as a reflection of the response and evaluation of others in their environment.

Shifting from Community-Oriented Policing to Community-Oriented Counterterrorism

This study was consistent with what previously revealed in the literature that a shift occurred from community-oriented policing (COP) to the concept of community-oriented counterterrorism (police intelligence gathering). As previously mentioned, “Among law enforcement the most notable change is a new pressure to incorporate counterterrorism into their work” (Henderson, Ortiz, & Miller, 2006, p. 7). It was clear through the research that the government is favoring the concept of community counterterrorism over the community oriented policing post 9/11. This research also has contributed new findings that can be added to the existing literature. Arab Americans’ perception of police is no longer “non-existent” (Sun & Wu, 2011).

This research can probably be considered a starting point in terms of focusing on Arab Americans' understanding of their experiences and perception of police. The need for this research is due to the lack of literature on the topic of Arab Americans' understanding of their experiences and perception of police post 9/11 in metropolitan Milwaukee. This research has paved the road for more scholars to consider researching a similar topic in different cities and states in the nation, as Arab Americans are scattered all over America. Next, this research can contribute to studies of other minorities, such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Chinese.

Practical Implications

Several important implications for police came out of this research. First, there is a need to improve police and Arab American community relations. The police department can reap benefits from approaching Arab Americans about their needs and determining what their expectations are in regards to the police. Second, having community meetings led by police administrators and/or officers and attended by Arab Americans has strong potential for improving relations. These would be perfect opportunities for police to speak directly to Arab Americans and learn from them about their lives, concerns, and their needs in regard to policing. Another implication consists of informing immigrants that police in this country care not just about law and order, but also about the welfare of Arab American community members (Schanzer, Kurzman, Toliver, & Miller, 2016).

Community meetings can build trust between the police and Arab Americans. In the same vein, Arab Americans can reach out to the police and bridge the psychological distance and the indifference between them. In addition, many Arab Americans believed that the police were biased and would take advantage of individuals who do not speak English. Police departments whose communities have large numbers of Arab Americans should consider individuals from the

community, who can be cultural advocates and interpreters when needed. In addition, police departments can keep open communication with Arab American centers and recruit volunteers for community activities when needed.

Understanding of Arab Americans' culture is an implication that could facilitate police presence during patrolling of their communities and help both police officers and Arab Americans. For police, it would mitigate flash points of conflicts. Arab Americans would then feel at ease when they perceive the police officer as respectful of their culture, sensitive to their needs, and meaning no harm but simply enforcing the law. Thus, it is crucial for police officers to have adequate sensitivity and cultural training in regards to Arab Americans when patrolling their community.

Police should consider the option of recruiting Arab Americans to apply for a police position. It is not typically a welcomed idea in many Arab American communities despite the fact it could mean job security with a steady income. Many Arab Americans tend to believe that working for the police department might shake the trust between the Arab community and that individual. Nonetheless, efforts should be made to recruit more Arab Americans to the police force. Informing the police administration of the outcome of this research and how it could be infused into future sensitivity training for police academies could also have a positive impact on police relations within the Arab American community. Also, learning about Arab Americans' perceptions of American police could contribute to the knowledge base for police departments to develop effective and efficient strategies and tactics in policing. Arab Americans' understandings of their perceptions of police are under-researched. Thus, this study will help adult educators apply the information obtained in this research to related fields such as cultural studies, psychology and sociology concerning Arab Americans. Finally, whenever possible, police

departments should partner with Arab/Muslim community leaders to develop community outreach and engagement programs. These practical implications may assist in rebuilding the trust that was lost due to the community- counterterrorism approach post 9/11.

Limitations of the Study

Several factors may limit the interpretations and the conclusions of this research study. First, this study took into account several cultural and social factors related to Arab Americans' perceptions of police. Arab American Christians and Muslims are different in their religious experiences; yet, they tend to have the same physical appearance, language, and customs whether they are Muslims or Christians (el-Aswad, 2006). They are eventually labeled as Arab Americans (Sun & Wu, 2011). The second factor is that personal biases may influence my data interpretation. My biases should not be viewed as problematic as long as I bring my biases, assumptions, and aspects of my background to the forefront of the dialogue. According to Sword (1999), "No research is free of biases, assumptions, and personality of the researcher and we cannot separate self from those activities in which we are intimately involved" (p. 277). Also, biases can exist on both sides (researchers and participants), and that by itself can add a human touch to the context of the research.

Third, this study by no means can be the roadmap to all ethnicities and their perceptions of police. The findings of this qualitative research cannot be generalized to a larger population of Arab Americans or other ethnic groups; since the number of participants is limited to 15, and other factors may play a role in studying other ethnicities. It is unknown whether a large number of participants would yield different or similar findings. Readers have to come to their own conclusions as to whether what is mentioned in the limitations are actually so or they come with the territory of qualitative research. Focusing on Arab Americans as an ethnic group by itself is a

limitation, because Arab American communities are scattered all over the geographic map of the U.S. and have different circumstances impacting their perception. Fourth, there are many racial groups in United States that need to be studied concerning their perception(s) of police.

Finally, this type of research, no matter how complicated, tends to reveal half of the story. It tends to ignore the police side of the story as they function as part of the public and are actively involved with their daily encounters.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research can work toward a few insightful directions. First, police traffic stops that were perceived to be racially motivated can be further investigated. It is important for scholars and researchers who are interested in race and policing to know what happened in these traffic stops. Another way of researching this topic is by interviewing Arab Americans who were involved in recent traffic stops and believed that the stop was racially motivated. Additionally, research can differentiate the difficulties or problems that might affect communications between police officers and Arab Americans. Direct observation or a squad ride-along would be a useful method for studying such issues.

Second, during this research study, several participants mentioned of how the mass media influenced Americans and the public based on what they presented in regard to Arabs, in particular, stereotypes, labels, and misconceptions. This phenomenon needs to be researched further. A potential future research question is “What is the impact of American media concerning Arab Americans on police perception post 9/11?”

The third question that is of importance to future research is, “What is Arab American females’ understanding of their perception of police post 9/11 in an urban environment?” Finally, through the process of this research and after the themes emerged, there was a harder question

that might be important for the future: “How does race, religion, or ethnicity contribute to a person’s chance of becoming a victim of police aggression?” Research is needed to examine all criminal justice agencies and how they have adapted to Arab Americans who are non-English speakers and to what extent the criminal justice agencies’ identity culture and tradition have affected their provision of services.

Recommendations for Local Police

There are several recommendations for local police that may help strengthen relations with the Arab American community. First, keep community policing very separate from the equally important component of intelligence gathering or the fusion center functions that were founded after September 11, 2001. Second, designate one of the police districts that is close to the Arab community and its congregation and have an open house. Members of the Arab American community can come to the district to familiarize themselves with the location of the district and its daily operations should the need arise to file a report or walk in for questions. Third, recruit Arab Americans and hire them to show that ethnicity and diversity is represented in the composition of the police department.

Fourth, have Arab American community leaders as guest speakers at the police academy to discuss topics about their identity, culture, and religion. Fifth, provide cultural and sensitivity training for those police officers who are involved in community-oriented policing or an outreach program. Sixth, it may be unfeasible to train community-oriented officers to become bilingual in the Arabic language due to budgetary and fund constraints. Nonetheless, provide the basics of Arab language training by employing members of the Arab American community that may offer it on a voluntary basis. Seventh, local police departments across the country should consider collaborating with Arab American community center(s) to put together an Arabic mini

book (booklet) that police officers can use during their encounters with Arab Americans. Eighth, this research in general has the potential to be utilized in other parts of the criminal justice system, such as the victim/witness unit. The criminal justice system, with all its agencies, faces serious challenges responding to Arab American clients, who may be suspected offenders and/or victims/witnesses drawn from the Arab American community. Finally, constant, positive police communication with Arab American community center(s) may build a solid relationship that may be needed in the future for either side to use in case of the need for police or community cooperation.

Recommendations for Arab/Muslim American Communities

First, the study pointed to a potential need for English as a second language (ESL) classes among members of the Arab American community. Arab Americans could perhaps benefit from classes on how to manage their relationship with police in regard to police stops, city ordinances, other local laws, and their legal rights as American citizens. Second, all Arab/Muslim community center(s) should have an open house for the public to come in and ask questions of the center(s) leaders that are of importance to them. Third, invite police managers and community officers to social events or community activities. Fourth, appoint a liaison from the Arab community as a representative to attend community meetings with police on a regular basis. Fifth, educate police superiors about the Arab culture and inform them of community members' concerns about unfair racial profiling and stereotyping. Sixth, request that the police department adjust, amend, or adapt any policy that is unfair to members of the Arab American community. Seventh, leaders of the Arab American community should encourage their members to speak up when there is suspicious activity either by communicating such activity directly to local police officials or to their local Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) office. Finally, the

Imam (the Muslims' preacher) should emphasize the American oath of allegiance through the weekly preaching (*khutbah*) that takes place before Friday prayer. It is equally important for other Arab Americans' leaders to do the same before social gatherings or sport events.

Final Thoughts

Arab Americans' understanding of their experience and perception of police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee arise from the repeated incidents and encounters between police and some Arab Americans who perceive their understandings of these experiences are significant. Arab Americans have been in this country for more than 150 years. There was little focus or serious attention to them prior to September 11, 2001. It is my hope that this research will help other researchers who are interested in the same academic topic.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. INTRODUCTION, OVERVIEW OF THE TOPIC

{Introduction}. Good morning, afternoon, or evening. Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this depth interview. Your presence is important. In this type of interview, people share their opinions and experiences on specific topics or areas.

{Purpose}. You have been invited because you are a member of the Arab community in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and your opinion on the perceptions of Arab Americans of local police is important. I am trying to understand how Arab Americans view police in Milwaukee Metropolitan area. I am also interested in learning if key leaders and community residents of the Arab American communities would be willing to participate in a study that looks at perceptions of the local police department in Milwaukee. I would like to hear your opinions and perspectives about this topic in order to know how to be respectful of your beliefs and values and work within the social and cultural context of your community. All your ideas, comments, and suggestions are of interest. There is no right or wrong answers. All comments, both positive and negative are welcome. Please feel free to stop and clarify anything you may have said. The interview discussions will last for about 1hr. to 2 hrs.

{Procedure}. Explain the use of audiotape. I would like to make a tape recording of what you say so that I don't have to write down your answers. This will let me pay closer attention to everything you say. The tape will be given to a person who will type all your answers, and then it is erased. And of course your name will not be on the tape at all. Is it alright with you if I tape our conversation? All comments are confidential and used for research purposes only.

I want this to be an open discussion. Please speak loud so that the recorder can pick up everything you say. We have a lot of ground or areas to cover, so I may change the subject or move ahead. Please stop me if you want to add something.

Hand out the inform consent form to participants while it is being read.

I. Establishing Demographic and Background Questions

Tell me about yourself.

1. Are you a naturalized citizen or US born citizen?
2. What is your country of origin?
3. How long have you lived in US?
4. How long have you lived in Milwaukee? (Where else have you lived and when?)
5. How old are you?
6. How do you self-identify racially/ethnically?
7. Highest level of education achieved?

8. What do you do for a living? [Note their sex]
9. Where were you on September 11, 2001?
10. What was your initial reaction to the incident?
11. Did the incident influence your daily life in any significant way? How so?

This study is about your perceptions of police post 9/11. Before I ask specific questions regarding, I need to know whether you have had any interactions with police after 9/11. Can you estimate the number of interactions? Did you initiate or did police initiate the interactions? [get information and then refer back to interactions during questioning. Find out where the interactions occurred –Milwaukee, elsewhere – if participant lived other places after 9/11]

II. How do Arab Americans perceive police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee?

1. In general, how do you feel about police? [determine what they mean by police]
2. Did your perceptions of police change following 9/11? Please elaborate.
3. Do you have any concerns about the police now that you did not have prior to 9/11? Please elaborate.
4. Have you felt unsafe, racially profiled, or discriminated against by the police?

III. How do Arab Americans' backgrounds influence their formal understanding of American Police?

1. Tell me about police in your country.
2. Have you seen any differences between the police here and the police in your country of origin? Please elaborate.

IV. What are the critical incidents/personal or vicarious experience(s) that define the relationship between Arab Americans and police?

At the start of the interview, I asked you about your interactions with police. I would like to discuss those interactions now.

1. Have you had direct or indirect experience with the police? Did you initiate or did the police initiate? What was the nature of the interaction? Were you satisfied with the interaction?
2. Can you discuss your first interaction after 9/11? Did you initiate or did the police initiate? What was the nature of the interaction? Were you satisfied with the interaction?

V. What are the nature and consequences of Arab Americans contact with police?

1. How have your past experiences with police impacted your current perception of police in Milwaukee?
2. If you had a problem, would you contact the police in Milwaukee? Why or why not?
3. If you had information about a crime, would you contact the police in Milwaukee? Why or why not?
4. Would you have any concerns about the police coming to your home? Please elaborate.
5. Would you have any concerns if police stopped you, say for a routine traffic infraction? Please elaborate [Are these concern centered on ethnicity?].
6. Can you please discuss how you view police in terms of their role in the community? What should their role be? How do you see their current role?

APPENDIX B
IRBManager Protocol Form

NOTE: If you are unsure if your study requires IRB approval, please review the [UWM IRB Determination Form](#).

Instructions: Each Section must be completed unless directed otherwise. Incomplete forms will delay the IRB review process and may be returned to you. Enter your information in the **colored boxes** or place an **"X"** in front of the appropriate response(s). If the question does not apply, write **"N/A."**

SECTION A: Title

A1. Full Study Title:

Arab Americans' Perception of Police Post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee

SECTION B: Study Duration

B1. What is the expected start date? *Data collection, screening, recruitment, enrollment, or consenting activities may not begin until IRB approval has been granted. Format: 07/05/2011*

07/15/2015

B2. What is the expected end date? *Expected end date should take into account data analysis, queries, and paper write-up. Format: 07/05/2014*

12/10/2015

SECTION C: Summary

C1. Write a brief descriptive summary of this study in Layman Terms (non-technical language):

To determine Arab Americans' perception of police post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee.

C2. Describe the purpose/objective and the significance of the research:

Purpose: To delve deep into Arab Americans' understanding of how Arab Americans' view police after September 11, 2001.
 Significance: This study will contribute to the research that focus on the perceptions of Arab Americans' toward police.

C3. Cite the most relevant literature pertaining to the proposed research:

Sun, I. Y. & Wu, Y. (2011). Arab Americans' Confidence in Police. *Crime & Delinquency*.
 Sunshine, J. & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law and Society Review*, 37(3), 513-547.
 Stuntz, W. J. (2002). Local policing after the terror. *Yale Law Review*, 111, 2137-2194.

SECTION D: Subject Population

Section Notes...

- D1. If this study involves analysis of de-identified data only (i.e., no human subject interaction), IRB submission/review may not be necessary. **Please review the UWM IRB Determination Form for more details.**

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D1. Identify any population(s) that you will be specifically targeting for the study. Check **all that apply: (Place an "X" in the column next to the name of the special population.)**

	Existing Dataset(s)	Institutionalized/ Nursing home residents recruited in the nursing home
	UWM Students of PI or study staff	Diagnosable Psychological Disorder/Psychiatrically impaired
	UWM Students (but not of PI or study staff)	Decisionally/Cognitively Impaired
	Non-UWM students to be recruited in their educational setting, i.e. in class or at school	Economically/Educationally Disadvantaged
	UWM Staff or Faculty	Prisoners
	Pregnant Women/Neonates	International Subjects (residing outside of the US)
	Minors under 18 and ARE NOT wards of the State	Non-English Speaking
	Minors under 18 and ARE wards of the State	Terminally ill
X	Other (Please identify): Adult men and women over the age of 18 of Arab American descent.	

D2. Describe the subject group and enter the total number to be enrolled for each group. For example: teachers-50, students-200, parents-25, student control-30, student experimental-30, medical charts-500, dataset of 1500, etc. Then enter the total number of subjects below. Be sure to account for expected drop outs. For example, if you need 100 subjects to complete the entire study, but you expect 5 people will enroll but “drop out” of the study, please enter 105 (not 100).

Describe subject group:	Number:
Arab Americans	15 - 20
TOTAL # OF SUBJECTS:	15 -20
TOTAL # OF SUBJECTS (If UWM is a collaborating site for a multi institutional project):	

D3. For each subject group, list any major inclusion and exclusion criteria (e.g., age, gender, health status/condition, ethnicity, location, English speaking, etc.) and state the justification for the inclusion and exclusion criteria:

Arab Americans

SECTION E: Study Activities: Recruitment, Informed Consent, and Data Collection

Section Notes...

- Reminder, all recruitment materials, consent forms, data collection instruments, etc. should be attached for IRB review.
- The IRB welcomes the use of flowcharts and tables in the consent form for complex/ multiple study activities.

In the table below, chronologically describe all study activities where human subjects are involved.

- In **column A**, give the activity a short name. Please note that Recruitment, Screening, and consenting will be activities for almost all studies. Other activities may include: Obtaining Dataset, Records Review, Interview, Online Survey, Lab Visit 1, 4 Week Follow-Up, Debriefing, etc.
- In **column B**, describe who will be conducting the study activity and his/her training and/or qualifications to complete the activity. You may use a title (i.e.

Research Assistant) rather than a specific name, but training/qualifications must still be described.

- In **column C**, describe in greater detail the activities (recruitment, screening, consent, surveys, audiotaped interviews, tasks, etc.) research participants will be engaged in. Address **where**, **how long**, and **when** each activity takes place.
- In **column D**, describe any possible risks (e.g., physical, psychological, social, economic, legal, etc.) the subject may **reasonably** encounter. Describe the **safeguards** that will be put into place to minimize possible risks (e.g., interviews are in a private location, data is anonymous, assigning pseudonyms, where data is stored, coded data, etc.) and what happens if the participant gets hurt or upset (e.g., referred to Norris Health Center, PI will stop the interview and assess, given referral, etc.).

A. Activity Name:	B. Person(s) Conducting Activity	C. Activity Description (Please describe any forms used):	D. Activity Risks and Safeguards:
Recruitment	Ayman Khatib, SPI	Flyers, initiating phone calls, snowballing	N/A
Obtaining Consent	Ayman Khatib, SPI	Informed Consent Form will be distributed prior to start of interview.	N/A
List all other study activities in the following rows			
Interviews	Ayman Khatib, SPI	Interview protocol	Interviews will take place in a location agreed upon by my participant.
Dataset	Ayman Khatib, SPI	Tape recorder will be used.	Data will be password protected on my computer.

E2. Explain how the data will be analyzed or studied (i.e. quantitatively or qualitatively) and how the data will be reported (i.e. aggregated, anonymously, pseudonyms for participants, etc.):

Qualitative and pseudonyms will be used for participants replacing their actual names.

SECTION F: Data Security and Confidentiality

Section Notes...

- Please read the [IRB Guidance Document on Data Confidentiality](#) for more details and recommendations about data security and confidentiality.

F1. Explain how study data/responses will be stored in relation to any identifying information (name, birthdate, address, IP address, etc.)? Check all that apply.

- Identifiable** - Identifiers are collected and stored with study data.
- Coded** - Identifiers are collected and stored separately from study data, but a key exists to link data to identifiable information.
- De-identified** - Identifiers are collected and stored separately from study data without the possibility of linking to data.
- Anonymous** - No identifying information is collected.

If more than one method is used, explain which method is used for which data.

F2. Will any recordings (audio/video/photos) be done as part of the study?

- Yes
- No [SKIP THIS SECTION]

If yes, explain what activities will be recorded and what recording method(s) will be used. Will the recordings be used in publications or presentations?

Interviews will be recorded using a tape-recorder.

F3. In the table below, describe the data storage and security measures in place to prevent a breach of confidentiality.

- In **column A**, clarify the type of data. Examples may include screening data, paper questionnaires, online survey responses, EMG data, audio recordings, interview transcripts, subject contact information, key linking Study ID to subject identifiers, etc.
- In **column B**, describe the storage location. Examples may include an office in Enderis 750, file cabinet in ENG 270, a laptop computer, desktop computer in GAR 420, Qualtrics servers, etc.
- In **column C**, describe the security measures in place for each storage location to protect against a breach of confidentiality. Examples may include a locked office, encrypted devices, coded data, non-networked computer with password protection, etc.
- In **column D**, clarify who will have access to the data.
- In **column E**, explain when or if data will be discarded.

A. Type of Data	B. Storage Location	C. Security Measures	D. Who will have access	E. Estimated date of disposal
Audio recordings	Laptop computer	Password protected file	Ayman Khatib	12/2018
Interview Transcripts	Laptop computer	Password protected file	Ayman Khatib	12/2018
Field Journal	File cabinet	Locked cabinet	Ayman Khatib	12/2018
Coded Data	Folder Laptop Computer	Locked cabinet Password protected file	Ayman Khatib	12/2018

F4. Will data be retained for uses beyond this study? If so, please explain and notify participants in the consent form.

Yes. Data obtained from study will be used for publication purposes for submission to scholarly journals and conference presentations. The informed consent identifies these potential uses of the data collected.

SECTION G: Benefits and Risk/Benefit Analysis

Section Notes...

- Do not include Incentives/ Compensations in this section.

G1. Describe any benefits to the individual participants. If there are no anticipated benefits to the subject directly, state so. Describe potential benefits to society (i.e., further knowledge to the area of study) or a specific group of individuals (i.e., teachers, foster children).

- Informing the police administrators of the outcome of this study and how it can be infused in future sensitivity training for police academies.
- This research will furnish the knowledge base for police departments to develop effective and efficient strategies and tactics in community policing.
- Arab Americans' perception is under-researched. This study will assist adult educators in different fields to understand the scope of Arab Americans' perception of the police.

G2. Risks to research participants should be justified by the anticipated benefits to the participants or society. Provide your assessment of how the anticipated risks to participants and steps taken to minimize these risks (as described in Section E), balance against anticipated benefits to the individual or to society.

None

SECTION H: Subject Incentives/ Compensations

Section Notes...

- H2 & H3. The IRB recognizes the potential for undue influence and coercion when extra credit is offered. The UWM IRB, as also recommended by OHRP and APA Code of Ethics, agrees when extra credit is offered or required, prospective subjects must be given the choice of an equitable, non-research alternative. The extra credit value and the non-research alternative must be described in the recruitment material and the consent form.
- H4. If you intend to submit to Accounts Payable for reimbursement purposes make sure you understand the UWM "Payments to Research Subjects" Procedure 2.4.6 and what each level of payment confidentiality means ([click here for additional information](#)).

H1. Does this study involve incentives or compensation to the subjects? For example cash, class extra credit, gift cards, or items.

Yes

No [SKIP THIS SECTION]

H2. Explain what (a) the item is, (b) the amount or approximate value of the item, and (c) when it will be given. For extra credit, state the number of credit hours and/or points. (e.g., \$5 after completing each survey, subject will receive [item] even if they do not complete the procedure, extra credit will be award at the end of the semester):

NA

H3. If extra credit is offered as compensation/incentive, please describe the specific alternative activity which will be offered. The alternative activity should be similar in the amount of time involved to complete and worth the same number of extra credit points/hours. Other research studies can be offered as additional alternatives, but a **non-research alternative is required.**

NA

H4. If cash or gift cards, select the appropriate confidentiality level for payments (see section notes):

Level 1 indicates that confidentiality of the subjects is not a serious issue, e.g., providing a social security number or other identifying information for payment would not pose a serious risk to subjects.

- For payments over \$50, choosing Level 1 requires the researcher to collect and maintain a record of the following: The payee's name, address, and social security number, the amount paid, and signature indicating receipt of payment (for cash or gift cards).
- When Level 1 is selected, a formal notice is not issued by the IRB and the Account Payable assumes Level 1.
- Level 1 payment information will be retained in the extramural account folder at UWM/Research Services and attached to the voucher in Accounts Payable. These are public documents, potentially open to public review.

Level 2 indicates that confidentiality is an issue, but is not paramount to the study, e.g., the participant will be involved in a study researching sensitive, yet not illegal issues.

- Choosing a Level 2 requires the researcher to maintain a record of the following: The payee's name, address, and social security number, the amount paid, and signature indicating receipt of payment (for cash or gift cards).
- When Level 2 is selected, a formal notice will be issued by the IRB.
- Level 2 payment information, including the names, are attached to the PIR and become part of the voucher in Accounts Payable. The records retained by Accounts Payable are not considered public record.

Level 3 indicates that confidentiality of the subjects must be guaranteed. In this category, identifying information such as a social security number would put a subject at increased risk.

- Choosing a Level 3 requires the researcher to maintain a record of the following: research subject's name and corresponding coded identification. This will be the only record of payee names, and it will stay in the control of the PI.
- Payments are made to the research subjects by either personal check or cash. Gift cards are considered cash.
- If a cash payment is made, the PI must obtain signed receipts.
- If the total payment to an individual subject is over \$600 per calendar year, Level 3 cannot be selected.

If Confidentiality Level 2 or 3 is selected, please provide justification.

NA

SECTION I: Deception/ Incomplete Disclosure (INSERT "NA" IF NOT APPLICABLE)

Section Notes...

- If you cannot adequately state the true purpose of the study to the subject in the informed consent, deception/ incomplete disclosure is involved.

I1. Describe (a) what information will be withheld from the subject (b) why such deception/ incomplete disclosure is necessary, and (c) when the subjects will be debriefed about the deception/ incomplete disclosure.

NA

IMPORTANT – Make sure all sections are complete and attach this document to your IRBManager web submission in the Attachment Page (Y1).

APPENDIX C

University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: Arab Americans’ Perceptions of their Experiences with Police Post 9/11 in Metropolitan Milwaukee

Person Responsible for Research: Ayman A. Khatib

Study Description: The purpose of this research study is about Arab Americans have been shaped and categorized by the local police perceptions of Arab Americans and that is the dominant lens that exist through the current studies. Therefore, a counter- narrative should be provided and furnished to those who are interested in the other side perception so they can have a complete picture and fair perspective of both sides. Approximately 15 to 20 participants. Subjects will participate in this study. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer questions and a follow up questions. This will take approximately from an hour to two hours of your time.

Risks / Benefits: Risks that you may experience from participating are considered minimal. There will be no costs for participating. Benefits of participating include There are no benefits to you other than to further research.

Confidentiality: Your information collected for this study is completely confidential and no individual participant will ever be identified with his/her research information. Data from this study will be saved on password protected computer for 2 years. Only the PI will have access to the information. However, the Institutional Review Board at UW-Milwaukee or appropriate federal agencies like the Office for Human Research Protections may review this study’s records.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part in this study, or if you decide to take part, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study. You are free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time. Your decision will not change any present or future relationships with the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. The alternatives to participating in this study include participants who decided to withdraw from the study will be replaced

Who do I contact for questions about the study: For more information about the study or study procedures, contact (Ayman A. Khatib) at aakhatib@uwm.edu (414) 628-7593.

Who do I contact for questions about my rights or complaints toward my treatment as a research subject? Contact the UWM IRB at 414-229-3173 or irbinfo@uwm.edu.

Research Subject’s Consent to Participate in Research:

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must be 18 years of age or older. By signing the consent form, you are giving your consent to voluntarily participate in this research project.

Printed Name of Subject/Legally Authorized Representative

Signature of Subject/Legally Authorized Representative

Date

Curriculum Vitae

Ayman A. Khatib

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Education

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

January 2010 – Present
(anticipated December 2015)

Specialization: Adult & Continuing Education Leadership

Minor: Criminal Justice

Dissertation Title: “Arab Americans’ Understanding of their Experiences and Perceptions of Police Post 9/11 in Milwaukee Metropolitan”

Master of Arts in Public Service

1999

Marquette University (Milwaukee, WI)

Major: Administration of Justice Specialization

Thesis: “Cross Cultural Analysis of Terrorism”

Bachelor of Arts

1989

Bir-Zeit University (Jerusalem)

Major: English Literature

Minor: Psychology

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY

1991 – Present, State of Wisconsin & U.S Federal Eastern District Court

State of Wisconsin Courts and Federal Court Interpreter

Legal interpretation and legal document translation, deposition interpretation for State and Federal Courts, Medical and Hospital Interpretation, as well as translation of medical documentation. Cultural Diversity Consultant/Expert Witness in the Middle Eastern Culture.

2001 – 2006, Milwaukee Police Department, Milwaukee, WI

Police Officer / Police Academy Certified Instructor

Enforced state Law and the city ordinances. Conducted searches and seizures. Enforced traffic law and carried out different police assignments to keep the community safe.

1998 – 1998, State of Wisconsin Department of Corrections

Probation & Parole Agent

Maintained the supervision of a case load. Conducted searches and seizures in accordance with agency policy. Issued apprehension requests on offenders who had escaped, absconded, or violated conditions of supervision, etc.

1998 – 2001, Office of District Attorney - Crisis Response Unit, Milwaukee County.

Advocate of the victim\witness legal rights

Guided victims through court proceedings and criminal justice system. Assisted victims of crime on the scene of homicide, bank robberies, suicide, etc. Provided information about the criminal and juvenile justice system to crime victims and family members. Acted as liaison with victims and law enforcement officials, hospital personnel, members of the medical examiner’s office, etc.

1992 - Present, American Red Cross, Greater Milwaukee Chapter
Volunteer Translator and Interpreter
Translate Arabic into English.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Marquette Scholarship for the year of 1998-1999 Graduate School
UW Milwaukee Chancellor's Graduate Student Award for 2013-2014

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

American Educational Research Association [AERA] (2011 - present)

PRESENTATIONS & ASSIGNMENTS

Penn State University Adult Education Research Conference- Harrisburg (AERC - 55th Annual, June 2014).

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Department of Administrative Leadership (2013). Adult educators can eliminate 'code of silence' among police officers through good ethics program. Poster session.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Department of Administrative Leadership (2013). Arab Americans' perception of police post September 11, 2001 in the Milwaukee Metropolitan area. Poster session.

Speaker, Marquette University Department of Social and Cultural Sciences, Milwaukee, WI, 2004.

Presenter & Speaker, Marquette University Department of Psychology, Milwaukee, WI, 2004.

Presenter, Milwaukee Police Department Academy, "Building Cultural Competency: Understanding Arab Americans and American Muslims," Milwaukee, WI, 2004.

Arabic interpretation for New Mexico federal court (June of 2016- Three weeks)

Presenter & Speaker (2014)

UW-Milwaukee, Department of Criminal Justice
Arab-Americans Racial Profiling & Cultural Competencies

REFERENCES

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