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Out of the Recent Darkness and into the New Light: Managerial Implications Emerging from the Martin-Zimmerman Encounter

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This paper revisits the encounter between George Zimmerman and Trayvon Martin from two perspectives: the co-production of public safety and public order and black crimmythology. Co-production is associated with the expanding and often unpredictable role that community residents, formal and informal communal organizations and non-governmental institutions play in assisting public agencies in developing and implementing public services (Whitaker 1980; Parks et al. 1981). Black crimmythology is a term used to describe the historical and contemporary conflation of blackness, maleness, and criminality in the mind of the American public (Close 1997). The objectives of this analysis goes beyond ascertaining the guilt, innocence, or proper role of Mr. Zimmerman, but seek to illumine the various historical and contemporary challenges that impact the co-production of police services which this encounter has dramatically underscored and highlight the managerial implications that have emerged.

Woodrow Wilson (1887), in his seminal article, *The Study of Administration* noted, "It is the objective of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or energy." The answers to these two questions are relative to the evolving ebb and flow of American society – yet they continue to guide the theoretical development and reinforce the practical application of American public administration.

Co-production is associated with the expanding role that community residents play in assisting public agencies and their agents in developing and implementing public services (Whitaker 1980; Parks et al. 1981). As the collective action between governmental entities, residents of a given community, formal and/or informal communal groups, and non-governmental organizations, co-production is dependent upon the willingness and ability of

all parties to cooperate, coordinate and collaborate. Theoretically, these collective efforts are needed to better appreciate and address public problems in order to design and deliver more effective public services (Parks et al. 1981; Ostrom et al. 1978; Bovaird 2007). Yet in practice, unintended, collateral consequences may emerge.

From its inception, co-production has been closely linked to the practice of local law enforcement (Ostrom et al. 1978; Parks et al. 1981; Whitaker 1980). In response to the evolution of American society and many of the challenges facing government in general, and local governments in particular, police departments have increasingly utilized civilians to assist in the *production* of police services. "Civilianization," or the increasing use of non-sworn, police personnel in the delivery of police services, is a local law enforcement trend (Cordner 2007). This movement towards the use of civilians in an employed capacity has been coupled with an additional trend of using civilian volunteers to assist in the production and delivery of police services. This arrangement to synergistically integrate the service recipients or clients from the community with civilian and sworn employees of local police departments to co-produce public safety highlights a postmodern effort to realize a pre-modern society principle, first articulated in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel, that equates the public with its police and the police with its public (Reith 1948). This coupling arrangement has been mainstreamed and reinforced in the United States via the inculcation of the professional philosophy of community-oriented policing.

Community-oriented policing or community policing is an operating philosophy that reflects and supports the values of democratic society - civic engagement and public participation in public safety, order and security (Kappeler and Gaines 2012; Oliver 2007). At its core, the efficiency of community-oriented policing depends upon effective partnerships with the community. This philosophy seeks to have police departments to partner with individuals, institutions, and other organizations to prevent crime and solve problems that impact communities. The emphasis that community policing places on citizen engagement, public outreach, and active partnerships with civilian volunteers and community-based organizations has impacted professional norms, the development and implementation of strategies or tactics to increase public participation and improve community-police relations, and a range of collaborative arrangements that influence police practice.

To better serve the public, police departments, like other public organizations, have adapted their philosophies, structures, strategies, and tactics in response to constraints caused by an array of structural, contextual, and political dynamics and the ever-changing values and increasing expectations of American society. ***Figure 1*** and ***Figure 2*** represent theoretical depictions of the old and new problem environments of public organizations in general, and police departments in particular. ***Figure 1*** depicts the old problem environment that consisted of robust public organizations that could address various problems, symbolized by the smaller circles, which emerged from its environment. ***Figure 2*** depicts the new problem environment and the postmodern structural response to address the problems that emerge from this environment. The latter figure brings attention to co-production – the synergy, collaboration and coupling of public servants and public organizations with citizens, residents, communities and non-governmental organizations and institutions – and the management of this effort.

Figure 1. The Old Problem Environment: Modern Society Structural Response.

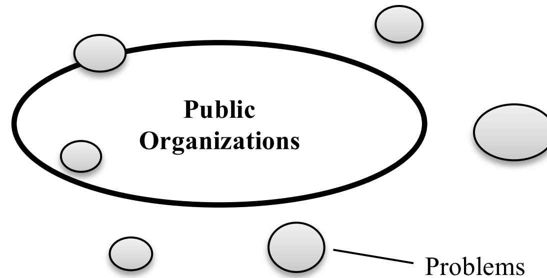
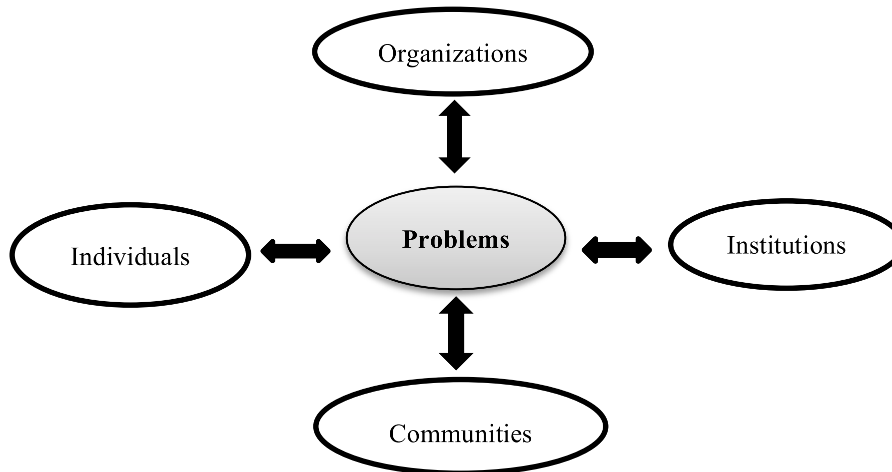


Figure 2. The New Problem Environment: Postmodern Society Structural Response



The Co-Production of Police Services – When Theory Meet Practice

Today's American society reflects more of a *postmodern* worldview (Fox and Miller, 1996) characterized by an increasing willingness to challenge and discredit many foundational assumptions. Traditional approaches of more centralized arrangements and structures have been replaced by the decentralized and fragmented systems of public institutions and administering public agencies in postmodern society as they seek to address contemporary problems in the new problem environment (Fox and Miller 1996). Consequently, in postmodern American society, citizens and others from the third sector have played an increasing role in the provision of public services.

Contemporary American society, when applied to the theoretical perspective of Almond and Verba's analyses of civic cultures (1963), seeks to foster an increased number of active participants who will engage based upon their level of knowledge and understanding. This notion also implies that there should be a decreasing number of

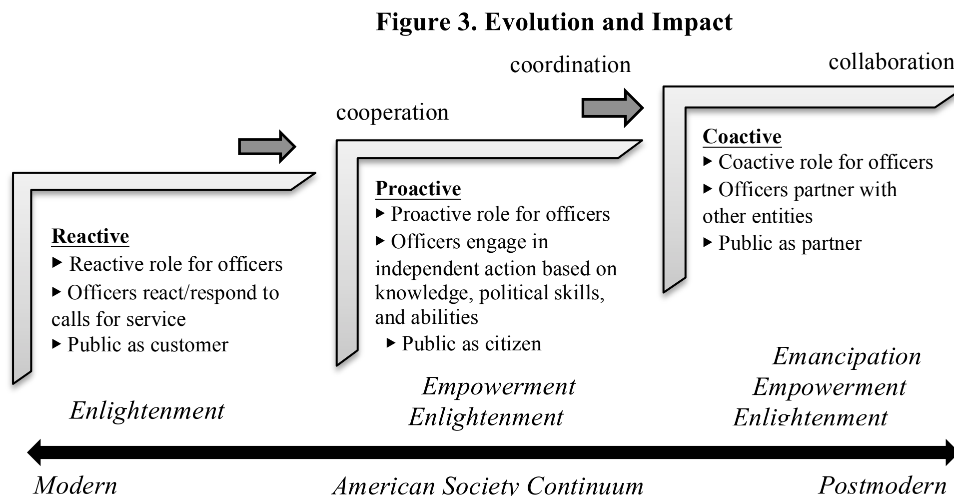
disengaged *subjects* or uninformed and disinterested *parochials* within American society. This increase in citizen engagement in the governing process lends credence to Fay's (1987) conception of social critical theory and the emphasis it places on individual freedom to act based upon knowledge and power.

In response to the changing societal dynamics that have communal and individual implications, many police departments have customized Axelrod's theory on the evolution of cooperation (1984; 1997). Compared to their actions in the past, local police departments are now more willing to ***cooperate*** or seek to understand the perspectives of others regarding a public safety problem. Based upon this willingness to cooperate, departments have begun going beyond listening as they begin the process of engaging in joint action or ***coordination*** to address common problems. With the impetus that comes from ***cooperation*** and ***coordination***, these departments have begun to engage in ***collaboration*** or more advanced and integrative arrangements to address problems.

The resulting ramifications have increasingly required police departments in the United States to evolve from being ***reactive*** or simply responding to calls for service, to being more ***proactive*** as a consequence of their professional training and, in some instances, to act independently upon the knowledge and technical skills they retain (Moore et al. 1988). Furthermore, as a response to economic constraints and societal pressures for greater accountability, departments have begun to adopt a more ***co-active*** strategy of partnering with individuals, community groups, and non-governmental organizations to co-produce public safety and public order. Theoretically, police organizations can leverage the three roles that the public can play in public administration, as suggested by Thomas (2012): as ***customer*** who request and receive public services; as ***citizen*** who deliberate with public managers and seek to influence decision-making and to determine the course of government action; and as ***partner*** who help in producing services or pursuing public goals.

Figure 3 adopts the work of Axelrod (1984), Almond and Verba (1963), Fay (1987) and Thomas (2012) to provide a theoretical framework of the evolution of American society and the public and its resulting impact on police departments. Special attention is given to the effect of this evolution on the values, philosophies, and institutional arrangements of local police departments.

Figure 3. Evolution and Impact



In many respects, the co-production of public services seems to be a natural by-product of the structural arrangements that better reflects the evolving social, economic, political, and cultural contexts of postmodern society. These voluntary efforts by individuals and non-governmental entities to partner with governmental units seek to enhance both the quality and quantity of services that are provided to the public. Yet, the Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman encounter highlights the challenges in bringing the theory of co-production of police services into a world of practice that utilizes citizen volunteers. One of the greatest difficulties is managing the trans-generational impact of black crimmythology. The following section uses a three-part framework to highlight the lessons that can be learned from this attempt to co-produce public safety and public order. From out of the darkness of this chance meeting and into the light of its aftermath, the lessons from this encounter offer important implications for public managers.

The Encounter: Respice, Adspice and Prospice

The framework employed to analyze the Martin-Zimmerman encounter derives from the Latin phrase, "*respice, adspice, prospice*." In modern English, it means to reflect on the past as you examine the present and plan for the future. Following this strategy, the paper examines the encounter from three perspectives: the historical relevance, the contemporary connections, and the future implications.

Respice – Historical Relevance and the Origins of Black Crimmythology

> The fact that man is a myth-making animal does not need to be underscored-or perhaps it does? Man loves his myths dearly and will fight to the death to preserve them (Montague 1963, iii).

An analysis of the Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter requires reflecting upon the social dynamics of America's racial past. American history has been significantly colored by race but also impacted by secular, sacred, historical, and global norms. In essence, much like the thesis of Cornel West (1994), race has mattered, especially in a mythical way. Hence, we begin to explore this 21st century encounter from the prisms of past centuries.

America's past is one that reflects both the triumphs and the tragedies of many of its social trials and tribulations. America was, in theory, founded on the principle that all men are created equal thereby placing value on individual rights and freedoms. Yet, ironically enough, the country also began as a slave holding society. This conundrum resulted in an American dilemma (Myrdal 1944) and foreshadowed the significant and lasting myth and resulting problem of equating difference with deviance (Becker 1963).

Black crimmythology is used to describe the numerous faulty myths and pseudoscientific facts, historically and contemporarily, which have been generated by racist and/or misguided individuals to explain black criminality. Implicit in the notion of black crimmythology is the suggestion that the alleged inferiority and/or criminality of black males can best be understood by analyzing a *naturally* occurring array of observable and measurable social, biological, and spiritual *defects* found in them. These defects are purported to reveal themselves in the criminal behavior of blacks and best understood as expressions of the unchangeable, heritable (hence trans-generational), and thus, permanent condition of black inferiority (Close 1997).

Black crimmythology within the American context can be traced to the early writings of "learned" men. For example, in 1871 Dr. Samuel Cartwright published his essay, *The Prognathus Thesis of Mankind* and in 1861, Dr. J.H. Van Evrie wrote an essay entitled *Negroes and Negro Slavery: The First, an Inferior Race-The Latter, Its Normal Condition*. Both works sought to prove that Negroes were biologically inferior to Caucasians, incapable of major advancement, and innately savage. Consequently, Cartwright and Van Evrie advocated that slavery – or the mass incarceration of African Americans - was the "natural and beneficent state" of the Negroes. These antebellum views were mainstream within large segments of the American population and embedded within governmental policies and practices.

Equating difference with deviance was not solely an American phenomenon. The Italian "scholar" Cesare Lombroso, who was influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution and is often credited with being the father of criminal anthropology, published *The Criminal Man* in 1876. In this book he postulated that there were four types of criminals: *atavistic*, *insane*, *occasional*, and *impassioned* (Lombroso et. al. 2006). Atavists are born criminals who were primitive throwbacks to an earlier stage of human development identifiable through certain physiological traits. This reflected Lombroso's belief that race was an indicator of evolution and a biological determinant of criminal behavior. Lombroso posited that blacks were the least evolved of all races, and consequently were the most likely race of people to be involved in deviant or criminal behavior. Subsequent scholars in criminology, sociology and other fields, like Park and Burgess (1924) and Reuter (1927), also shared the beliefs of Lombroso, Van Evrie, and Cartwright.

In addition to secular efforts to equate difference with deviance, a "*sacred"* approach also assisted in defining and reinforcing the notion of black crimmythology. The *Hamatic* myth that emerged from the story of Noah and his son Ham found in chapters 9 and 10 in the Book of Genesis has been misinterpreted as linking blackness with sin or law breaking (Gabbidon 2015). Used by misguided theologians and others, this myth justified the enslavement of African people and sought to create a public narrative relative to the deviant and criminal behavior of blacks. The convergence of these secular with more sacred efforts to equate blackness with criminality fueled 18th, 19th, and 20th century policies and practices within American society. Some of these policies and practices included the enactment of slave codes and the establishment of slave patrols (precursors of contemporary police departments) to enforce the codes; the enactment of black codes and vagrancy laws; and the collection of crime data on black individuals that were subject to biased and sensationalized media reports (Berlin 1976; Reichel 1988; Websdale 2001; Myrdal 1944).

The previous paragraphs underscore the fact that the development of criminological thought about the link between race, crime, and racial inferiority did not occur in a socio-political vacuum (Karmen, 1980). Nor did theories on black criminality and its causality spring from academic, political or social vacuums void of ideological bias and cultural significance. Karmen (1980, 84) notes

> Theories about lawbreakers as defective beings and notions about entire races being inherently inferior and particularly crime prone have been present in criminology since its inception. The convergence between these threads of criminological thought and political doctrines has been exploited by social movements seeking to implement repressive measures with dire consequences for many individuals and for entire groups.

In addition to Karmen (1980), other scholars like Ladner (1973) and Schur (1980) critiqued

the power and politics that facilitated the mythmaking which fostered the aberrant, pathological, inferior, and inherently criminal portrayal of blacks in early sociological and criminological studies.

A critical re-evaluation of the aforementioned context in which these theoretical assumptions originated is an important step in demonstrating how these early explanations for and responses to "black criminality" and its "causality" contribute to the current racism-crime dilemma in American Justice (Bennett 1993). The significance of race may be viewed more of a thing of the past. Yet an appreciation of the historical relevance of the lasting nature or legacy of blackness and stigma persists today in the 21st century. Race and blackness are powerful, trans-generational, exacerbating factors that led to the Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter on the evening in February 2012. The following analysis proceeds to explore and reiterate the connections this encounter has with contemporary police practices, providing an intermediating step for a broader discussion on the implications for American society and its criminal justice system.

Adspice – The Contemporary Connections

Race is a historical social construction, yet it continues to be relevant in today's American society. Loury (2002) uses three dimensions to highlight the historical relevance of race and infers the impact it has in contemporary American society: the relative ease in identifying the other, the relative unchanging quality of this construct, and the social significance of this designation. Loury's concept of race is a by-product, yet reinforces an additional social construct, stigma. Goffman (1963) described stigma as a bodily sign that exposes something unusual and negative about the moral status of the signifier. As such, the stigma that accompanied race in the socially constructed and politically reinforced American society of yesterday resulted in black crimmythology – a biased social cognition that continues to impact Americans of African descent. Most poignantly is the ironic description and social response to the "invisible" African American man offered by Ralph Ellison (2010): a man made of flesh, bone, fiber and liquids, but invisible because people refuse to see and acknowledge him. However, when others approach him, they see only his surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination - everything and anything but him. The insights of Ellison are relevant to our analysis of the Martin-Zimmerman encounter.

There are numerous contemporary connections with the aforementioned historical legacies to the Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter. From the postmodern realities of contemporary America rooted in the changing social, economic, technological and political conditions, new perspectives and methods of problem identification and solutions have developed. Local police departments have leveraged and expanded the concept of civilianization (Cordner 2007), implemented community and problem-oriented policing (Goldstein 1979; 1990), and have utilized partnerships to add value and bring additional resources to their public safety and order efforts. Yet, even with the dawning of a new era and the start of the 21st century, the long history of slavery and race-based discrimination in America continues to cast an imposing shadow that persists to darken the development of criminal justice policy and impact the implementation of contemporary police practices.

Postmodern shifts have resulted in police agencies partnering with third parties such as citizens and community organizations in identifying and addressing community problems. This arrangement is based on police-community cooperation, coordination and

collaboration and reflects the co-production of public services (Williams 1998). As noted in ***Figure 3***, police departments have come to leverage their historical reactive and proactive stances to facilitate more co-activity. Yet, even with the expanding role that communities play in delivering police services, one significant problem remains – racial profiling. This activity refers to any police initiated action that uses a person's race or ethnic origin rather than behavior as a key factor in determining whether to engage in law enforcement action (Ramirez et al. 2000; Lanagan et al. 2001). It is manifested when bureaucratic agents or their surrogates operate from the stigma or biased social cognition (Goffman 1963) associated with race or ethnicity as a factor in determining access to information, employment, resources, or fair treatment. While the roots of racial profiling extend into previous centuries, impact disparate cultures, and can be supported by beliefs espoused by secular and sacred institutions, the more contemporary and prevailing approach in the American context emerged with the War on Drugs in the 1970s.

The police tactic of profiling has been cited as a byproduct of the Drug Enforcement Agency's *Operation Pipeline* (Harris 1999*)*. Implemented in 1984, this was a federal national highway interdiction program that targeted private motor vehicles. It relied upon officers to develop and utilize characteristics of individuals to generate a profile of potential drug traffickers. This federal approach eventually devolved into state and local practice by law enforcement agencies. One example of this was the development of guidelines that highlighted "The Common Characteristics of Drug Couriers." The Florida Department of Highway Safety and Motor Vehicles issued these guidelines in 1985 to stop and investigate motorists who matched the profile for trafficking illegal narcotics on the interstates, highways, and roads of the state of Florida. This practice of profiling perceived drug couriers expanded across the country and resulted in interdiction efforts not only on the interstates and roadways, but also in airports, on municipal streets, and on street corners. At the local level, these efforts were supported and/or reinforced with the development and implementation of more aggressive broken-windows, zero tolerance and order-maintenance approaches to disorder policing (Wilson and Kelling 1982; Kelling and Coles 1996). These philosophies produced practices such as "stop and frisk" designed to suppress street-level criminal activity. The impact of these aggressive efforts toward policing is mixed at the very least (Cleary 2000). However, a lasting impression became associated with these policies and practices by federal, state, and local law enforcement officials: the criminalization of color (Russell 1998).

For more than two decades, racial profiling and other biased enforcement actions have been salient topics of debate. Racial profiling, a by-product of the historical legacy of black crimmythology, equates skin tone as an indication of criminality, and is one of the many manifestations of biased policing. Biased policing can be defined as any discriminatory actions taken by the police based upon race and ethnicity, but also age, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, religious affiliation, nationality, and the socioeconomic status of persons (see Close and Mason 2006; 2007). The public discussion and scholarly debate on racial profiling and biased-policing has been relatively robust, yet limited. In this era of collaborative, coactive and police-community partnerships, serious discussions and debates have excluded lay citizens who now play a major role as co-producers of public safety and public order.

The Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter brings focused attention to the plight of America's symbolic assailant the young, black male (Skolnick 1998), as well as the color of the law, the perceived color of crime, and the racial and ethnic bias in the American criminal justice system (Skolnick 1998; Russell 1998; Lynch, Patterson and

Childs 2008). Coupling the American "color" connections to crime and the criminal justice system with Bolton and Feagin's (2004) theory of experiential racism provide firm linkages to contemporary theories associated with the policies and practices of police organizations. This theory uses a conceptual framework that speaks to the character of everyday racism (Bolton and Feagin 2004). From their perspective, racism is an extensive experience that is systemic in nature and thereby intersects with all institutional and organizational arrangements within the United States. As such, it is the present day manifestation of

> Centuries–old system of racial oppression… one that encompasses widespread discriminatory practices targeting African Americans and other Americans of color; it reflects the racialized emotions, ideologies, and attitudes that generate and undergird discriminatory practices; [*and highlights*] the social in-groups, networks and institutions that embed and buttress pervasive racial discrimination (Bolton and Feagin 2004, 25).

The theories offered by previous scholars reinforce Close's (1997) concept of "black crimmythology," or the myth that conflates blackness with criminality. More importantly, this assumption, which has been socially constructed and politically buttressed, may be more entrenched in citizen volunteers who serve as co-producers of public safety and public order. While police officers might receive formalized training in topics of biased-based policing, volunteers may lack the opportunity to undergo any formal training on such sensitive topics and can be more susceptible to engage in racial profiling than officers. Recent history underscores the contemporary connections and some of the present-day challenges of using citizens as police volunteers in the co-production of public safety and public order. For instance, in 1999, 39 African Americans in the town of Tulia, Texas, were arrested and charged with selling small amounts of powdered cocaine to an undercover officer. These black defendants, along with 7 others, were arrested in a federally funded, intergovernmental operation based solely off the word of the officer with no corroborating evidence. Twenty-two of the 46 residents arrested were sentenced. After a public outcry that brought national media attention, an investigation ensued which found that the undercover officer in question had framed the defendants (Blakeslee 2006).

The Tulia case highlights the challenge of ***producing*** public safety and public order with professionally trained, organizationally socialized law enforcement personnel who receive pre- and in-service training on racial profiling, biased-policing, community-police relations, and law enforcement as a public trust, among other topics. However, the Tulia case when connected to the Trayvon Martin-George Zimmerman encounter, sheds additional light on the increased difficulty in ***co-producing*** public safety and public order with citizens-as-police-volunteers who may not be subjected to the assumed benefits of organizational socialization and added measures taken by police professionals that couple external and internal control mechanisms to minimize biased enforcement actions. These contemporary challenges associated with the production and co-production of public safety and public order illuminate on-going problems that impact local police departments. The Tulia and Sanford examples are modern and postmodern manifestations of a more hidden and historical ailment – black crimmythology - that has affected the American body politic over time, its traditional public agents, and its more contemporary, the public-as-partner (Thomas 2012) co-producers of public safety and public order. The problems embedded within the Tulia and Sanford cases provide opportunities for the development of more thoughtful public policy prescriptions in impacting public management for the purpose of

overcoming the legacy of race, space and place (Anderson 2012; Meehan and Ponder 2002).

Prospice –Future Implications

Toure's (2011) book, *Who's Afraid of Post-Blackness? What it Means to be Black Now* raises a series of questions about how the concept of blackness has changed within the American context and what are the implications for American society and its institutions. As such, his book also has relevance to the Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter. This encounter suggests that American racial attitudes have become more complex and nuanced even in what he describes as the era of post-blackness. The encounter and ensuing complications have pertinent implications for public managers, while underscoring the importance and challenges for responsible administration. The encounter reflects the convergence of three key environmental factors: the social construction and signification of race (Loury 2002), the stigma that accompanies that social construction (Becker 1963; Goffman 1963), and the well-institutionalized and systemic nature of experiential racism in American society (Bolton and Feagin 2004). These three environmental factors seemed to converge on the evening of February 26th, 2012 and the result was a perfect tempest.

Citizens, community groups, and non-governmental organizations play an expanded role in assisting local police agencies and their agents in delivering public safety and public order (Thomas 2012). Consequently, public managers and others within the criminal justice system must act as responsible administrators to navigate their organizations through the complex environment that they now face – an environment where race continues to matter (West 1994). The Martin – Zimmerman encounter can be viewed as an example of "administrative evil" (Adams and Balfour 2014), which is a type of evil that is hidden, but is also organizational, formal, rational, and efficient. This form of evil is also associated with the following qualities and characteristics that reinforce its existence: technical or more specialized rationality, functional acts of evil instead of intentional ones, moral inversion (or defining something good as bad), hubris, a lack of historical understanding, limited perspective, moral disengagement, and the dehumanization of a surplus or stigmatized population among others. When considering these characteristics and qualities in the context of postmodern American society, responsible administration on the part of local government managers and criminal justice practitioners is imperative.

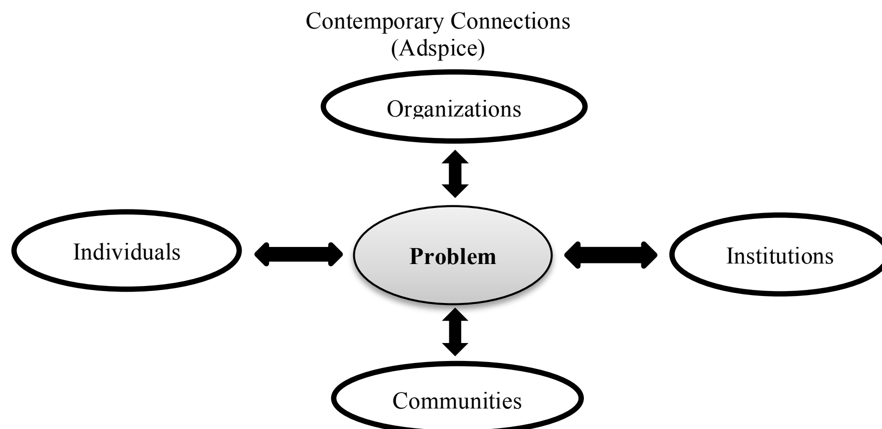
Responsible administration requires public managers to have a greater recognition of the context and environment in which their organizations operate, but also an understanding of the organization's internal culture and climate (Cooper 2012). This appreciation for environmental conditions results in organizational and individual actions that respond to threats and requires a willingness to undergo structural rearrangements as needed. One significant strategy is the practice of inclusive management, which facilitates the appreciation for and inclusion of shared meaning (Feldman and Khademian, 2007).
Gone are the days when public managers could focus exclusively on building their internal teams. Contemporary public managers must build external coalitions that provide the necessary information, resources, and support from three spheres of influence: the political, the technical, and the local or experiential (Reichel 1988; Khademian 2002; Feldman and Khademian 2003; 2007). This reality highlights the increasing role managers must play in bringing about inclusion and creating communities of participation and engagement to diagnose problems, devise and implement solutions (Feldman and Khademian 2007). As such, police managers must engage in activities that couple their internal teams with members from their external coalition. Central to this effort is the practice of inclusive

management, where managers identify members of their external coalition and the potential value that these members can add to understanding, diagnosing, and ultimately addressing or mitigating a public problem. As such, the Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter serves as a justification for inclusive management. Failure to grasp the environment of an organization, understand the organization's culture and structure, and make necessary structural rearrangements can lead to a negative impact on public opinion, employee morale, and organizational performance. The consequences are more problematic for public organizations in postmodern society as they are increasingly dependent upon public trust and confidence especially when considering the need for co-producers to assist regular producers in the design and delivery of public services.

Local government managers, like police executives in this case, cannot control storms and may not be able to prevent them. However, they can mitigate their severity (Chrobot-Mason 2004). To aid in this mitigation effort, additional research is required. Efforts are needed to collect and analyze data that evaluates the state of co-production in police and other public service organizations. It is vital to address questions such as: Who are the co-producers? If volunteers are recruited, how so? What is the basis for their selection? How are they trained? What approaches are taken to manage the inherent risks that co-producers inherently bring into the service design and delivery equation? When and how are sanctions imposed? In police settings, specific questions like the following should be addressed: What are the types of administrative costs for managing volunteers? How are these costs funded and sustained? What types of police organizations currently use a coordinator or manager for volunteers? Do police departments use the fair and impartial policing curriculum to train or develop their volunteers? In what capacities are volunteers used? In what capacities is their mobilization most effective and why? How effective are actual police volunteer programs, such as the NYPD's citizens on patrol program? What measures for effectiveness do police organizations use for their volunteer programs and efforts?

Developing policies and implementing programs and practices based upon answers to such questions would allow police executives and others within the criminal justice system to engage in more effective management of their postmodern environments. To better manage the environments of contemporary police organizations, these administrators must reflect on the past as they address challenges of the present and plan for the future. Out of the recent darkness of the Martin-Zimmerman encounter, **Figure 4** illumines and provides a visual depiction of the approach that is necessary for contemporary police organizations, especially the role of police managers, to assume in bringing about the inclusion of shared meaning by all potential co-producers (Feldman and Khademian 2007).

Figure 4. The Contemporary Policing Environment: Public Management Approach



Conclusion

America's history is one that reflects tragedies and triumphs. The rippling effects of black crimmythology – generated by racial assumptions based on pseudoscience and supported by the secular and sacred institutions of times past - have radiated throughout American history and impacted policies and practices, both past and present. Consequently, postmodern American society now faces a new challenge: the problems inherent to public organizations and their administration have leaped beyond the bureaucratic confines of the public agency and now embraces a wide assortment of third parties, inclusive of citizens-as-volunteers that are intimately involved in the implementation of the public's business or co-production of public services (Salamon 2000). This new challenge brings back into focus a historical debate regarding internal and external controls (Friedrich 1940; Finer 1941) and has major implications for the management of the public-as-partner (Thomas 2012). A new question emerges: how best to assure appropriate responsiveness and accountability for co-producers who now operate on behalf of but beyond the public agency?

The Trayvon Martin – George Zimmerman encounter seems to validate the thesis that race has mattered, does matter, and will continue to matter even in a post-racial America (West 1994; Toure 2011; Lum 2009). Consequently, police executives and others within the criminal justice system and beyond must acknowledge the historical, social and political constructions of race and ethnicity and their manifestations in the social norms, public policies, and professional practices in contemporary society. The shadows of yesterday can continue to darken the criminal justice policies, strategies and practices of today. Biased behavior can manifest itself in the producers and co-producers of public safety and public order alike. Yet, this behavior is related to the larger societal context from which discrimination originates (Feagin and Eckberg 1980; Meehan and Ponder 2002). From this perspective, racial profiling by officers and citizens alike is presented as a by-product of the *side effect of institutional discrimination* (Feagin and Eckberg 1980) that has been transmitted by theory, supported by secular "scholarship" and "sacred" sacrilege, and practiced by way of public policy. Effective public management, in particular, inclusive management, is necessary to mitigate the emerging manifestations of the underlying problem (Feldman and Khademian 2007).

DuBois' 1903 conception of double consciousness reminds us of the bi-focal perspective that African Americans have of perceiving themselves – through their own eyes as well as through the eyes of others. This two-ness – being an American and being black - results in having two souls, two thoughts, two un-reconciled strivings, and two warring ideals in one dark body. DuBois felt the history of the American Negro is the history of this strife. Concerning the Martin – Zimmerman encounter, the following question is raised: Is the past prologue? To paraphrase the sentiments of Ellison (2010), Trayvon Martin was not a spook or "Hollywood-movie ectoplasm," yet he seemed to embody all of the putative dangers and criminality of Anderson's (2012) "iconic ghetto" when he ventured into the "white space"—
a perceptual category that describes a setting where black people are marginalized or typically not expected (Anderson 2015)—of the gated community in Sanford, Florida. As such, Trayvon may have possessed the ability to haunt at least one person and maybe others. Was he invisible because he was refused to be seen for who and what he was? Or was he merely a figment of black crimmythology—a mythical construction based upon historical, social, political, national and global imaginations?

To answer these questions, and more importantly, to address the problems and perceptions of race along the color line in the co-production of public safety and public order, corrective action must ensue. Juxtaposed to the negative impact of Lombroso's theory of the criminal man on the social construction of race or ethnicity-based public policy and the historical practice of racial profiling, more research is needed to see what can be done to deconstruct the different as deviant narrative that has historically ostracized the "other." These efforts will help clarify that "it is not the figment of the pigment; it is the enigma of the stigma" (Loury 2002, 143) that needs to be explored in the context of the co-production of public safety and public order in postmodern American society.

Even though the circumstances that surround this encounter are tragic, it seems that some good will emerge from these events. As has been noted by more than one pundit, Trayvon's death has morphed a morbid moment into a mighty movement with major implications for American society and its criminal justice system. This fact has been evidenced by the organic and on-going protests in response to the recent deaths of African American males, including Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Ohio, Eric Garner in Staten Island, and Freddie Gray in Baltimore. This movement has uncovered and brought to light some issues that continue to permeate our nation. Hence, it is imperative that those with an interest in public management and social policy in the context of contemporary societies take the time to fully understand the dynamics that have led to this and other unfortunate events. To embrace inclusive management practices requires us to recognize the perspectives of others. But as is implied by the Latin phrase, *e pluribus unum*—
to become one from many, requires that we acknowledge the time, challenges and commitment that accompany this process.

The Martin–Zimmerman encounter provides a painful, yet teachable moment for us. American history has taught us that a house divided cannot stand. Public managers and policy makers must learn the lessons that the lives and legacies of Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman will ultimately teach us. Hence, we must embrace the words of wisdom that emerged from the pen of a pastor in a letter from a Birmingham Jail over 50 years ago: *We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; tied to a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly* (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.). Out of the

recent darkness of this encounter, we should embrace the wonderful new light that this opportunity offers.

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