

“Targeting the Roots of the American Criminal Justice System and Its Modern-Day Manifestations Through the Historical Marginalization of Black Americans” by Adia Reed (she/her)

ABSTRACT. *Following the murder of George Floyd in late May of 2020 came a summer of heightened emotions and loud utterances of beliefs regarding police behavior and systemic racism. For many white Americans, this was a catalyst for deep self-inventories, personal growth, and the unlearning of dangerous prejudices and misconceptions. For Black Americans, however, this was simply another expression of normalized deadly behavior against their communities. The recent demands for transforming our legal system shed light on the malevolent origins of American policing. When identifying the unjust roots of the American legal system, modern-day manifestations of racially motivated practices, attitudes, and beliefs cannot be ignored. By overlooking the roadblocks to reforming this system, the same ineffective practices are implemented, thereby wasting precious time and resources. Intense and meticulous analysis on the origins of policing further illustrate the historical marginalization of Black Americans and their depravity of justice at the hands of local and state governments. The skewed perception of justice provided by our current legal system will never be truly transformed to benefit all facets of society until its sinister roots are adequately confronted and alleviated. These methods of transformation use reform as an apparatus in achieving a socially, politically, and economically equitable society, not as an end-all solution.*



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**Targeting the Roots of the American Criminal Justice System and Its Modern-Day
Manifestations Through the Historical Marginalization of Black Americans**

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Abstract

Following the murder of George Floyd in late May of 2020 came a summer of heightened emotions and loud utterances of beliefs regarding police behavior and systemic racism. For many white Americans, this was a catalyst for deep self-inventories, personal growth, and the unlearning of dangerous prejudices and misconceptions. For Black Americans, however, this was simply another expression of normalized deadly behavior against their communities. The recent demands for transforming our legal system shed light on the malevolent origins of American policing. When identifying the unjust roots of the American legal system, modern-day manifestations of racially motivated practices, attitudes, and beliefs cannot be ignored. By overlooking the roadblocks to reforming this system, the same ineffective practices are implemented, thereby wasting precious time and resources. Intense and meticulous analysis on the origins of policing further illustrate the historical marginalization of Black Americans and their depravity of justice at the hands of local and state governments. The skewed perception of justice provided by our current legal system will never be truly transformed to benefit all facets of society until its sinister roots are adequately confronted and alleviated. These methods of transformation use reform as an apparatus in achieving a socially, politically, and economically equitable society, not as an end-all solution.

PART I: Disorganized Patrols to Centralized Municipal Systems

The Relationship Between African Americans and the Police – Historical Analysis

When Africans were consistently displaced from their homes at the start of the 15th century and forced into slavery via, “aggressive imperialism and colonialism,” it marked the conception of the insidious relationship between African Americans and American police (Hollowell, 2008). Loic Wacquant is a French sociologist and social anthropologist who specializes in several sub-disciplines, most notably racial inequity and social theory (“Loic Wacquant,” n.d., para. 1). In his article, “From Slavery to Mass Incarceration,” Wacquant defines several ‘peculiar institutions’ that have sequentially operated, “to define, confine, and control African Americans,” throughout the history of the United States (p. 1).

A. Chattel Slavery

The first institution introduced by Wacquant is the economy that brewed from the horrors of chattel slavery. There was only a small percentage of Africans who managed to survive the inhumane and barbaric conditions set by the white Europeans on the voyage to America. When these few arrived onshore, they were met with the same sadistic treatment at the hands of whites. With the forced enslavement of what would eventually be millions of people, whites were able to enjoy a productive labor force (Hollowell, 2008). As a way to maintain the fruits of this labor, whites resorted to cruel forms of violence under the rationale of a skewed perception of racial superiority. Maulana Karenga identifies a “machinery of control” that was established to govern the lives of the enslaved. The mechanisms described in this machine include 'enslavement laws', coercive legal entities, the [white] church, "politically divisive strategies to block attempts of unity" among Black Americans, and "plantation punishments" (Hollowell, 2008). White

Americans' modern-day and past attempts to dominate outgroups are consistently met with "manifestations of resistance [that have] been what has held Black communities together" (Hollowell, 2008). The fact that bonding over shared psychological and physical trauma is the glue holding Black communities together speaks volumes to the flawed nature and practices of the American criminal justice system. A few of their resistive measures were seen through maintaining their African heritage & practices, daily destruction to the plantation field and its equipment, and even armed resistance. These practices continued for decades, marking only the beginning of a pattern of consistent and brutal racial marginalization.

B. Jim Crowism

The era of Jim Crow and the passing of the Black Codes are crucial components of Wacquant's second 'peculiar institution'. Its distinct difference from the previous institution is that it exists through a systemic approach. Jim Crowism was the very instrument in establishing "legalized segregation and discrimination against Blacks" following the abolition of slavery in 1865. White Americans were left with the predicament of protecting their once secure and productive labor force, while also maintaining ultimate superiority over Black Americans. The formerly enslaved were ultimately right back where they started, unable to move upwards in the economic ladder from their sharecropper status. The one domain in which noticeable Black economic and political progress was made is seen during the Reconstruction period. However, this progress was fleeting, ultimately due to the rise of the Klu Klux Klan and the federal government's failure in giving Black Americans land and farming equipment (Hollowell, 2008). In 1896, the Courts handed down a landmark decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, establishing the "separate but equal" clause. This act of perpetuating Jim Crowism and its racially stratified framework legalized segregation and would remain in effect until the 1954 US Supreme Court decision in

Brown vs. Board of Education. In literally every corner of the country, Black people were met with discrimination and racialized violence just as they did in the rural southern regions.

The Practices, Attitudes, and Behavior of Southern Slave Patrol - Its Modern-Day Manifestations in American Policing

The earliest known origins of American slave patrol were seen in South Carolina in 1704. The idea and implementation of the system were introduced from Barbados; the system eventually infiltrated the surrounding southern states and colonies that upheld slave practices (Spruill, p. 48). The slave patrol system did not contain any of the crucial characteristics of the modern police at the time; the only organized aspect of it was the terror it allowed white slaveholders to inflict on the enslaved. Patrollers were given free rein to police any movement or "unsupervised activity" through mechanisms such as "detainments, interrogations, unrestrained search and seizures of slave quarters, and legally sanctioned on-the-spot violent punishment" (Spruill, p. 48). Given the full legal authority by county courts, slave patrols routinely cross-examined every possible angle of Black lives and held near-complete domination of an entire demographic of people. Larry Spruill describes the hallmark of slave patrol as, "the belief that every facet of black life was suspect, warranting aggressive police intervention and criminal investigations" (p. 49). In many ways, this defining characteristic has materialized itself into every stage and era of the American criminal justice system.

The use of *bloodhounds* was a particularly cruel and perverse apparatus used in intimidating, controlling, pursuing, punishing, and recapturing the enslaved; unfortunately, direct traces of this centuries-old practice has appeared throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. *The 2015*

DOJ Report on the Ferguson, Missouri Police Department revealed disturbing and troublesome facts, resulting in charges of “unconstitutional practices” (Spruill, p. 44). However, no official criminal charges were brought to the department, despite the damning findings of the report. The two purposes of the DOJR were to determine with legal certainty whether or not Ferguson police were implementing racial profiling into their official duties; and if there were trends of excessive use of force by the department. (Spruill, p. 44). After six months, the official results of the report concluded that Ferguson police habitually trampled on the constitutional rights of Black residents in particular through "applying racial stereotypes in a 'pattern or practice of unlawful conduct'" (Spruill, p.48., DOJRMPD 2015, p. 4). This report specifically pointed to a pattern of the department instructing canines to, “bite individuals when the articulated facts do not justify this significant use of force” (Spruill, p. 45). The DOJ even concluded that the canine attacks were racially motivated in nature. It found that in every canine bite report where racial information was included, the victim of the bite was African American. The reports stated that this significant disparity, in addition to the routine practice of deploying canines in circumstances that do not present an immediate threat, “suggests that race may play an impermissible role in officers’ decisions to deploy canines” (Spruill, p. 46). The data provided throughout this report sufficiently supports the theory that the racist culture and climate in policing often contribute to the circumstances surrounding the wrongful deaths of many innocent Black Americans.

How slave patrollers were shielded from the wheels of procedural justice in the 19th century have manifested themselves in many different locations across the criminal justice system. In particular, Ferguson’s “procedural avoidance of criminal liability” shows a direct link to centuries-old behaviors. At this point, it can be inferred that a consistent and prominent trend throughout history has been the dehumanization of Black people. Seeing Black people as less

than human, or pseudo-human, has been used for centuries as a justification for their continued marginalization. The behaviors exhibited in the findings of the DOJR should not be infantilized or seen simply as tolerable actions performed by narrow-minded individuals; it goes much deeper than mere prejudice. Instead, these were the actions of, “protected institutional behavior permitted under the guise of lawful police policies that covertly support white supremacist views,” therefore sanctioning the intentional neglect of seeing the intrinsic nature of humanness, particularly those who do not look like the majority (Spruill, p. 47., DOJRFMPD 2015, 22).

The connection between the testimony of the enslaved and the “victimized white soldier” (Spruill, p. 58) accentuates the discrepancies in the collective’s responses to these practices. There is an unfathomable amount of primary and secondary sources that detail the evolution of policing that are open to the public. Operating under the scope of a minority’s perspective is an essential component of critically evaluating the structure of police methods’ organizational origins and progression.

PART II: Modern-Day Violence Against Persons of Color

There is much debate among scholars and the general population regarding the validity of the data on police violence in the United States. When taken at face value, they paint the picture of a society that is free from the constraints of racial inequity and marginalization. Due to our poor K-12 public education system and widespread class struggle to reach levels of higher education, many groups are unfamiliar with analyzing statistics and methods of research. These social and economic strains can often result in groups and individuals outright denying the existence of systemic racism and more specifically, the epidemic of police violence. To see an accurate picture of the numbers, several components of this data must be inspected more closely.

In 2015, the Washington Post reported 991 fatal police shootings (Jones, 2017). Their data showed 50% were White, 26% were Black, and 17% were Hispanic. This is a great example of why it is necessary to take all factors of the research into consideration before taking a firm stance on the matter. Out of the 991 shootings, 94 were unarmed; 40% of those 94 people were Black men, which is approximately seven times the rate for White men. Based on this analysis, it is concluded that Black men are more likely to be fatally shot by police. Further, they're even more likely to be killed when they are unarmed. The Post also reported that out of the ~1,000 people who are lethally shot by police each year, at least 40-50% were racial and ethnic minorities (Jones, 2017). In 2011, it was reported that 3,023 in every 100,000 Black men were incarcerated, while it was only 478 for White men; Black men are six times more likely to be incarcerated in their lifetime than White men are (Jones, 2017).

The Epidemic of Police Violence – Psychological Drive

The most basic way to categorize an epidemic in the field of social sciences is through an abrupt advancement in the occurrence of something. In his article, “On the Epidemic of Police Killings,” Steve Martinot describes it as, “an inordinate number of cases of a catastrophic nature [that] befall people, leaving them dead,” (p. 53). More specifically, it should be seen through a social scope rather than a biological one. These practices manifest themselves due to the lack of societal safeguards or politically strategic prophylaxes regarding police brutality. Within the lexicon of police culture, one of the symptoms Martinot identifies is the innate psychological drive within officers (p. 55). Further, it's described as the “unspecifiable need to act,” that exists within police officers, specifically in high-stress situations (p. 55). Although this phenomenon has been present in many instances of police brutality throughout recent decades, it is rarely

labeled as such. There are plenty of illustrations exhibiting this subconscious behavior in action that offer great situational context to the term, such as the murder of Amadou Diallo. This act of injustice occurred in early February of 1999 on the streets of New York City. Four officers confronted and accosted Diallo as he was entering his apartment in the middle of the night; by the end of this interaction, they had collectively fired 41 rounds at Diallo. 19 of those bullets entered Diallo's body, with the last two going through his feet. The four officers did not attempt inquiring if he was armed – they had already concluded that he was. There was no effort made in disarming or detaining him. There was no effort made in identifying if this situation rose to be a threat to society. There was no effort made in viewing Amadou Diallo as what he was – a human. Two bullets going through this man's feet is a clear indication that the officers exhibited a desire to navigate this situation through violence and violence alone. This situation and many others like it exemplify a distinct modus operandi to police work that is altogether isolated from the reality of the situation at hand. While only one symptom of police killings, the psychological drive lays the foundation for several routine components to police violence.

Familiar Components of Police Killing

Martinot specifies several components to be, “noticing, suspecting, chasing, commanding, confronting disobedience, and killing,” (p. 56). A useful method in analyzing these components is to view them through the grammatical lens of sentence structure. The subject of these interactions is the police officers, in the sense that they create the deadly situation by enacting the aforementioned components. These components function as action verbs, with the object of the verb being a person of color. In most cases, the person of color is diminished to an ineludible grammatical category as opposed to the subject. When officers demand obedience to whatever their arbitrary command was, its very presence opens the door to further disobedience; the

opening of this door is almost always inevitable. All the components that lead up to and follow disobedience are shows of force that are a “reaction to a situation created by the police” (p. 56). When broken down and closely analyzed in this fashion, a simple conclusion can be made: police officers are the origin, catalyst, and denouement of police brutality among communities of color. The method of action in these situations might sound familiar when closely acknowledging the routine practices of slave patrols. The ingrained attitudes and morals of police work speak to law enforcement’s culture of habitual violence through racialized sentiments and conduct.

The term ‘racialization’ covers two important instruments to the practice: the process of which it is displayed and how a person can become racialized. The mechanisms of racialization are “contempt, hostility, exclusion, deprivation, disenfranchisement, derogation, and violence,” (Martinot, p. 65). The perceived sense of danger felt by white people during interactions with people of color elicits an ingrained compulsion to defend themselves from groups they’ve deemed as lesser. From the outgroup perspective, racialization is defined as being noticed and subsequently treated differently in one’s social standing and judiciary treatment under the basis of race. These actions are frequently coupled with the denial of human decency (Martinot, p. 65). It is also necessary for this definition to be followed with the possibilities of the outgroups being met with harassment, jailing, and killing for their very existence. Racialization has been noted by scholars as being the footing in the practice of racial profiling.

Racial Profiling – History and Implementation

Despite the basic nature of profiling having its roots in the Middle Ages, its strategic capacity in law enforcement can be traced back to the over-policing of Black people through slave patrols (Jones, 2017). This hierarchal strategy in maintaining white supremacy is what many scholars believe to be the formation of how American policing came to be. In Derrick Jones' dissertation entitled, "The Policing Strategy of Racial Profiling and its Impact on African Americans," he contends that African Americans have befallen to "racism, marginalization, and discrimination by the individuals that make and enforce the law" (p. 23). In the early days of the Southern colonies, a substitution for criminality was race. (Jones, 2017). Even over 250 years after the liberation of Black enslaved people, scholars have upheld the belief that their "confinement and imprisonment continued to be at the origin of a mission to suppress racial minorities in America today" (Jones, p. 23). The comprehensive account of racially motivated actions via law enforcement and crime control complicates scholarly discussion on modern-day techniques. These contemporary approaches include the criminalization of low-level offenses, fervent and proactive policing, and sentencing disparities within marginalized communities. The unjust infrastructure of America's justice system coupled with various methods of reformative approach carries substantial weight among academic circles. Critical analyses among social science pioneers frequently target areas of policing requiring a structural change, in addition to potential plans of action based on particular areas of research. Conversations surrounding the Black community's experience in America's criminal justice system is necessary for astute social awareness, but it cannot stop there. Once there is an established understanding surrounding a minority's perspective of policing, there must be examinations of potential reform strategies; without this deep consideration, arguments on the topic prove to be counterproductive.

PART III: Reform, Roadblocks to Reform, and Abolitionism

Recruitment and Screening Out

When it comes to police recruitment, there are two personnel systems utilized in the selection procedures of new officers: ‘screening *in*’ and ‘screening *out*’. The ‘screening *in*’ procedure is characterized by a series of tests and questionnaires that gauges an applicant’s values and if their personal goals are in correlation with that individual department. This system is generally adopted by agencies that can afford to be picky and fastidious in choosing who they deem the *best of the best*. The other side of the coin is the ‘screening *out*’ system, which is the most widely relied upon approach for hiring police personnel. Agencies essentially create a variety of figurative psychological hurdles that serve as steps in the selection process. As applicants move forward, they are met with building amounts of scrutiny. Through these psychological examinations, departments aim to screen out those with a propensity towards violence in high-stress situations. Those who successfully navigate all of the blockades are eligible for *employment*. The hallmark difference between the two recruitment mechanisms is that the former seeks out the most qualified for the job, while the primary goal of the latter is only to filter out those deemed unemployable (A. Thompson, personal communication, February 19, 2019). As Thompson said in his lecture on Personnel Systems of recruitment, “There is a difference between clearing the hurdle and clearing it well” (personal communication, February 19, 2019). With no further analysis, these two approaches might seem like efficient strategies in appointing the newest batch of recruits. However, critical analyses of these psychological tests and their tenets and drawbacks paint a different story.

The 'Screening Out' of Officers Who Are Prone to Violence via Psychological Health Tests

Problems with Psychological Testing

Researchers have spent a great deal of time studying data surrounding the ability of psychological tests to predict police performance accurately and reliably. They classify their findings as “inconsistent at best and requires further research” (Travis, 1994, p. 1733). Despite the prevailing acceptance of the MMPI as the most reliable method in predicting police behavior, five particular studies from 1967-1982 say otherwise; specifically, all of the researchers concluded that there was no evidence to support the claim that the MMPI was a reliable or valid predictor of police conduct. Psychologists have continuously shown transparency in their inability to accurately predict police behavior; in turn, this causes the current relationship between law enforcement and mental health professionals to be ineffective in policymaking. The police must consider implementing alternative methods of testing that utilizes the strength of psychologists instead of their weaknesses.

Alternatives to Psychological Testing

As long as the legal system refuses to consider the restrictions in a psychiatrist's ability to predict violent behavior, reformative efforts in policing will remain counterproductive.

Researchers and scholars have contended that time and resources would be much better spent if they were directed towards behavior modification as opposed to behavior prediction. A few alternate options to psychological testing include violence-reduction training, stress-management programs, and redefining law enforcement's role in society (Travis, 1994, p. 1761).

Crisis Management and De-escalation training create new opportunities for psychologists to play their hand in the re-shaping of the justice system. It is incredibly difficult to pinpoint which

particular officers are most likely to exhibit violent behaviors, especially when the propensity for violence is so ingrained into the culture of policing. Instead, time can be saved operating under the assumption every police officer will either exhibit or strongly consider exhibiting violence at some point in their day-to-day policing. Operating under this premise may seem unfair at first glance, which is why it is imperative to follow up the framework with proactive training geared towards safely defusing potentially violent situations, as well as how to best bypass overreacting to trivial confrontations with civilians. Psychologists confirm seeing much greater success in helping individuals “understand and control their behavior” rather than attempting to predict if violent behavior will manifest and what it might look like (Travis, 1994, p. 1763).

Implementing violence-reduction training without following it up or combining it with stress-management programs can lead to potentially damaging consequences. The fundamental conviction behind screening out candidates through psychological testing is descended from the age-old “rotten apple theory”. This philosophy operates under the ideology that an officer’s violent and unethical behavior stems from individualized bad personality traits; it rejects the notion of a toxic subculture that reinforces the aggressive nature of policing (Travis, 1994, p. 1765). However, research and empirical evidence have shown that the overwhelming majority of violent police officers are far from being habitually dangerous or considered a psychopath. In reality, they are regular people *reacting* with volatile anger to the issue at hand, rather than *responding* in ways that diffuse the situation. Police officers experience abnormally high levels of stress, which could realistically provoke a violent reaction from people with the gentlest personalities. This assertion lends support to the theory that the vast amount of officers reporting substantial amounts of high-stress conditions is a driving factor in the amount and intensity of police brutality.

Redefining the official capacity and role police play in society must begin with attacking the antiquated ‘crime-fighting police officer’ and the consequences of perpetuating this illusion. The public has a skewed perception that law enforcement’s primary duties are enforcing the law, capturing criminals, and preventing crime. For starters, this is a blatant misrepresentation of what police officers do; one could even go as far as to say that this judgment indirectly inspires the use of excessive force. The public’s inaccurate perception has existed long and hard enough to spill over into the individual officer’s expectations of themselves, leaving them left with the double-edged sword of maintaining the superficial role of a crime-fighter and attending to the routine and realistic duties of policing. If law enforcement officials, policymakers, and legislators are truly serious about diminishing the prevalence and ferocity of police violence, diligent and progressive actions must be taken in redefining society’s view of police work, which can be done through many avenues. One route would begin with law enforcement’s acknowledgment that the role of the police is misrepresented in TV and film. Further, police departments should issue formal statements to their community detailing their official capacity and how it has or has not changed from its original form. Reformist strategies most often look promising on paper, but decades of attempts at rectifying America’s justice system have not shown any encouraging results of a reduction in racialized marginalization.

Abolitionism

The discussion of abolitionism is a touchy subject, especially to those without the proper knowledge of its ideological framework and goals. Leading supporters of abolitionism assert the American government has invested more time and resources into police and prisons rather than social programs providing better access to housing, healthcare, and education in areas that need it most. Despite recent public outcry and demands for the reallocation of resources, little progress

has been made. The abolitionist campaign approach operates under the demand that “resources be withdrawn from both [police and the carceral state] and redistributed elsewhere as part of a larger strategy of transforming the state and society” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1785). It is important to notice the use of the word ‘transformation’ instead of ‘reformation’ given that abolitionists merely view reform as a steppingstone in attacking the core injustices of the criminal justice system. The structural critique of the official police structure sheds light on the unique perspective.

Legal scholarship of the last few years lays out five components of police structure that call for scrutiny. The most basic assertion is that police violence is authorized by the law and “takes various interconnected forms” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1789). Further, these interdependent forms occur in routine and mundane ways and target the dimensions of race, class, and gender. All of this stirred together empowers and enforces the social, political, and economic hierarchy. The full understanding that comes from a deep critical race analysis of the history of America’s legal system “raises deep questions about whether and how the criminal legal system can be fixed” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1800). It is still unclear whether transforming such a unique system is in the realm of possibilities.

The most often cited solution for confronting the nature of police violence is reform, under the assumption that the police are a “necessary social good” that can be confronted successfully confronted “if police are simply governed, trained, or equipped better” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1802). However, this assumption that police are a societal good lacks the consideration of the fundamental role violence plays in policing and their exhibition power. Police violence will never be adequately addressed “without acknowledging the centrality of violence to their function” as well as “the scale, history, and power of the institution” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1802). As

seen through the evidence and analysis laid out, there is a direct link between intrinsic violence within police officers and using it to establish and maintain power. The excuse of doing everything ‘by the book’ as a cop-out for unlawful misconduct should no longer be an effective tool in deflecting responsibility as a law enforcement officer. Instead, the book itself must be confronted – the book is the problem.

Each state in America operates by its own set of requirements for law enforcement candidacy, but the root issues are seen across the board. The police academy does not require a college degree and changing that requirement has faced lots of backlash from prominent supporters of law enforcement under the premise it will substantially lower rates of police recruitment. A common response to that argument is that diminished recruitment rates are the goal, given that unqualified officers would be screened out as a result. Police academy training reinforces normalized practices of the use of force, focuses a potentially dangerous amount of attention towards weapons training, and upholds the engrained practices of white domination over minority communities. Current training modules further enable idea the police to gain the skills of “particular crime-fighting expertise ... thus growing their power and their domain in another way” (Akbar, 2020, p. 1808). Police officers in America operate as first responders to crime and danger, without any of the proper training or tools necessary for safely operating in that capacity. Crisis management and de-escalation skills are brushed over in the academy and are rarely expected from officers of all ranks. These behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and practices are far too entrenched into the current system of policing, making it difficult to have hope for progressive change.

PART IV: CONCLUSION

There is no clear-cut or quick way of resolving the core problems that operate the criminal justice system, nor is there a definitive way to know if potential strategies will prove to be effective. The road to an economically, socially, and politically equitable justice system will require patience, empathy, and the collective drive to unlearn the outdated and ‘traditional’ schools of thought. Attacking these age-old philosophies could result in greater success if geared towards reducing physical contact between civilians and police, weakening the impression that police provide public safety and creating social programs which directly improve citizens’ quality of life. Putting an end to police violence requires deep and persistent efforts through years of work.

Police, civilians, politicians, and legislators must first understand policing and incarceration to be the epitome of the “racialized ordering” guiding our arrangement of laws. From there, we must further recognize that disassembling the carceral state and imperialist nature of policing is integral to larger social justice struggles. Holding these two beliefs and comprehending their moving parts will be ineffective without dismantling modern-day slavery and the institutions that maintain its violence. Only then can we begin to construct alternative methods in preserving self-governance.

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