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The Relationship Between Community Policing, Police Profiling And Brutality, And How It Relates To Minority Communities' Perceptions Of Police

Tamela Ali

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NATIONAL LOUIS UNIVERSITY

The Relationship between Community Policing, Police Profiling and Brutality, and how it relates
to Minority Communities' Perceptions of Police

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY DOCTORAL PROGRAM
IN THE COLLEGE OF PSYCHOLOGY AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

BY

Tamela Harris-Ali

June 10, 2022

Community Psychology Doctoral Program

Dissertation Notification of Completion

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Title of Dissertation: The Relationship between Community Policing, Police Profiling and Brutality, and how it relates to Minority Communities' Perceptions of Police

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Signature

Date



10-16-22



10-16-22



10-16-22

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to acknowledge My Family/Support System/Life line. This was a long and difficult process for many reasons, but mostly because life doesn't slow down just because of my projects. I appreciate the encouragement and support you showered me with through the entire process. I love and cherish you: Amirah(daughter), Rakya(daughter), Rakim(son), Safiey(son), and Khalif(husband). I would also like to acknowledge Taura(sister), and Rashad(brother) for their support. Thank you to my Dissertation Chair and Committee.

DEDICATION

This project and doctoral degree is dedicated to my Mother and Guardian Angel, Gail Gerald-Harris. I am heart broken that you are not here to see me cross the finish line. You were my number one supporter, and made me believe that I can accomplish anything and everything in this life if I work for it. You were a shining example with your life and accomplishments of creating your own destiny when other people could not understand your vision. You were a gift to this world and a blessing to have as a mother. I love you and miss you more than words can convey. I hope I made you proud.

Love always your daughter,

Dr. Tamela Harris-Ali

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The Relationship between Police Profiling and Brutality, Minority Communities' Perceptions of Police, and Community Policing.

Introduction

Racial discrimination and prejudice have been a stain in the United States' history for centuries. Events of the 2010s and 2020s have exposed the pervasive spread of racial profiling and stereotyping in the "modern" United States' police force whose culmination is the frequent police brutality to which minority communities are subjected. Racial profiling is a form of discrimination in which law enforcement officers engage in enforcement based on an individual's race or ethnicity; it manifests as the disproportionate targeting of a person based on their race (Kamalu, 2016). Police brutality includes not only the excessive use of physical force but also verbal assault, emotional and sexual violence, and psychological intimidation (Alang et al., 2017). In the U.S., law enforcement officers are allowed broad discretion over the use of force, which they may use to protect civilians, deter criminal activity, or immobilize a criminal. However, American police kill more people (over 1,000) both in terms of total numbers and on a per capita basis than police in other developed countries (Edwards, Lee, & Esposito, 2019). Minority ethnic communities have been on the receiving end of most instances of police brutality.

The use of excessive force on people of color reflects the entrenched social divisions that separate the majority and minority racial ethnic groups (Legewie, 2016). The current data provides evidence of the discriminate use of force by the U.S. police: according to Edwards, Esposito, and Lee (2018), the police-related mortality risk of Black Americans is between 1.9 and 2.4 deaths per 100,000 deaths annually, while the mortality risk of Hispanics is between 0.8 and 1.2 and the White mortality risk is between 0.6 and 0.7. Recent incidences such as the 2020

the killing of George Floyd by a former Minneapolis Police Officer have stirred a public outcry about police killings of unarmed Black Americans and exposed the horrendous social problem in the U.S. Racial bias is deep-seated in the U.S. police force, and efforts to change this situation have not prevented the adverse experiences of Black Americans who encounter the police.

This chapter provides a review of the extant literature on police brutality and profiling of minority ethnic communities. The literature included in the review is organized in different themes, each addressing a different aspect of the study topic. A history of police brutality in minority communities is provided alongside a discussion of the current trends and statistics in police brutality and profiling. Other themes included in the review include the judicial system as it pertains to police brutality, community perceptions of the police, and community policing solution. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings and main ideas that justify this study.

There is a vast pool of literature on police brutality and profiling of ethnic communities, as well as its enablers and potential solutions. The literature synthesized in this chapter shows that the antecedents and enablers of racial prejudice in the American police force can be traced back to the nineteenth century. Incidences of police brutality and profiling are rampant even today. Research data and data from government office reports shows that Black Americans and Hispanics receive worse treatment from the police than Whites. The evidence also shows that intensity and forms of police brutality and profiling differ in urban, suburban, and rural areas. These cases of police brutality and racial profiling of Black Americans have been narrated to demonstrate the issues being highlighted in this review. The current study focused on the experiences of residents from diverse ethnic backgrounds in urban and suburban areas. The review also shows that there are several laws that hold police accountable for brutality and racial

profiling. Several cases of legal action against police departments have been provided to show that the law provides a means for victims of police brutality and racial profiling to seek justice. The literature also reveals that racial bias by prosecutors, jurors, and judges contributes to the injustices experienced by black and brown communities. Most studies show that a majority of Black Americans and Hispanics have negative perceptions of the police. However, community policing is a potential solution to mend the broken relationship between ethnic communities and the police.

History of Police Brutality and Profiling in Minority Communities

Racism has been an unfortunate part of the history and traditions of the U.S. police force. Race and class are an integral part of the role of law enforcement in the American society (Brown, 2019). To understand the history of police brutality and profiling in minority communities, it is important to look into the origins of policing, its early U.S. history, and traditions, because modern policing in the U.S. is a blend of these early practices and traditions. The advent of policing in the U.S. is often discussed in reference to the 18th and 19th century urban centers that were mainly in the Northern region of the country.

It is important to understand how policing developed in the early stages, in the early history and traditions of these regions, because over time, policing in America became a composite of these traditions and practices. Brown (2019) explains that city policing in the Northern parts of American was influenced by the policing model used in London. However, policing in the Southern and Frontier regions developed differently. The difference arose primarily from the way the regions were socially organized, the power groups that held influence, and perceived or actual social problems (Brown, 2019). Policing in the Northern and Southern parts of America were bound to be different particularly because the former had large

cities/urban centers which were not the norm in the latter. The form of policing in the South and Frontier regions encouraged the empowerment of elite and poor Whites while controlling slavery. Therefore, these regions established slave patrols for the policing of Black Americans and the protection of White Americans. According to Dulaney (1996), the slave patrol is considered the first American policing system and it formed the basis of the policing experiences that Black Americans would encounter over the years.

Since the beginning of modern policing, law enforcement has perceived colored persons as internal, volatile threats to established social orders in the U.S. and the state authority (LeBrón, 2019). People of color, especially Black Americans, were criminalized and incarcerated through systematic racism before and after the Civil War, which influenced policing reforms in the years leading to beginning of the War on Crime introduced by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965. The Progressive era of the early 20th century saw the establishment of laws and policing practices that disproportionately targeted Black American (Hinton & Cook, 2021). These laws and practices compromised the economic opportunities, life prospects, and social and physical mobility of the Black community (Haley, 2016).

In the 1960's and '70s, proactive policing practices and methods emerged as crime-control mechanisms developed to monitor and suppress disorder and unrest in urban centers. These tactics were later expanded to include mandates of drug-gang wars in the 1980s (Hinton & Cook, 2021). One of the notable products of proactive policing was the "broken windows" metaphor that was introduced in 1982 to conceptualize the disorder within neighborhoods. During the 1970s and '80s, city police departments were at the helm of developing and promoting proactive policing practices which led to a significant change in patrol and surveillance activities in cities, neighborhoods, and community centers with high crime rates

(Hinton & Cook, 2021). However, the negative impacts of the proactive policing approach were soon evident. For instance, in Detroit, the special plainclothes squad established by the federal government in the early 1970s conducted raids, street war, and engaged in violence that led to the death of 17 black Americans in two years (Hinton, 2017).

Proactive policing was readily embraced in the large urban communities. However, it was clear that this approach to policing was prejudiced and marred by racial injustice. This aggressive kind of policing targeted young Black men in poor urban communities (Legewie, 2016). Acts of violence by the police triggered retaliation from citizens, especially the oppressed minority communities; the four largest urban riots in recent American history were reactions to police brutality (Ang, 2021). Police discrimination in urban communities continued into the late 20th century and even into the 21st. A study by Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss (2007) examining the inconsistencies in stop-and-frisk operations among different ethnic communities in New York in 1998 and 1999 found that Blacks and Hispanics encountered police stops more frequently than Whites. More recent studies have revealed that this pattern persisted into the 21st century and has even been the basis for litigation against the New York Police Department (Legewie, 2016).

Certain laws have also exacerbated the discrimination of minorities. For instance, drug-free zone laws have had a disproportionate impact on minority ethnic communities and Whites. Hinton, Henderson, and Reed (2018) explain that these laws have an uneven impact on minorities due to the residential segregation that pushes low-income minority groups to densely populated urban areas and the majority Whites to less dense suburbs. A combination of residential segregation and location-based proactive policing tactics – in which police target crime hotspots – leads to the disproportionate targeting of people of color who often reside in densely-populated, high-crime neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods are usually occupied almost

entirely by Blacks or Blacks and Hispanic (Hinton et al., 2018). Due to the increased preventative police patrols in these areas, there are significant racial disparities in the nature and frequency of police-citizen encounters (Weisburd et al., 2019). The result of location-based proactive policing is racial profiling, whereby an individual or group may be suspected of having committed a crime because of the neighborhood they come from which is attached to certain minority communities.

There has been a persistent notion in America that the ghetto is a “grisly” part of the city that is dominated by drug crimes and violent behavior. Anderson (2013) identifies a common metaphor, the “iconic ghetto,” that is used to make stereotypical associations, and promotes racial discrimination and prejudice. This metaphor is considered a symbol of racism and residence of the Black man (Wyatt-Nichol & Seabrook, 2016). The stereotyping of minority communities based on their residence has been evident in recent occurrence. In 2012, George Zimmerman, a Neighborhood Watch person, shot and killed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin as he walked back from a store to the home of his father’s fiancée in Sanford, Florida. When Zimmerman saw Martin, he reported this to the Sanford Police as suspicious. Zimmerman’s rationale for his suspicion was that he knew all the residents and had never seen Martin in the neighborhood and that Martin was walking leisurely, looking at all the houses (CNN, 2013). Martin was shot when an altercation occurred several minutes after Zimmerman reported him to the police. This incident evoked questions about whether Zimmerman profiled Martin based on his race. It could be argued that Zimmerman perceived Martin to be “out of his place” which may have been reinforced by the stereotypes attached to Black people and the ghetto.

The changing demographics across the U.S. have led to spread of racial profiling in suburban and rural areas. Many communities in American became increasingly multicultural as

immigrants settled in different parts of the country. Today, policing services are delivered to multicultural communities as the demographics in suburban and rural areas begin to change. According to the U.S. Department of Justice [DOJ] (2003), the “movement of existing American-born racial and ethnic populations towards an increasingly suburban and rural pattern includes heightened vulnerability to racial incidents and conflict between police and citizens” (para. 51).

Police profiling and brutality seem to be a problem not only in the U.S. but also other parts of the world. For instance, in Europe, modern policing was used to push and keep Blacks in the ghettos in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Robinson, 2017). Dukes and Kahn (2017) reported that ethnic minorities, including Blacks, migrants, and refugees are subjected to a greater level of force than the Whites. Research also shows that ethnic minorities in the housing estates in the suburbs of France and the United Kingdom are marginalized, and the literature shows that the relationship between these communities and the police have been characterized by tensions (Roux & Roché, 2016). Police profiling is also a problem in Canada. Several Canadian scholars maintain that number of police shootings in Canada and the circumstances surrounding them demonstrate that many Aboriginal and Black citizens are disproportionately susceptible to police brutality (Wortley & Roswell, 2006).

In Australia, racism manifests as targeted state violence against certain ethnic communities. In 2018, politicians and the media weaponized an “African gangs” narrative against African-Australian youth to expand police stop-and-frisk power (Idriss, 2021). The literature also shows that racial profiling by the police is not unique to White-dominated countries. For instance, in China, the Guangzhou’s Public Security Bureau has promoted the labelling of Africans in the city as *Sanfei*, which translated to the “three illegals” or “triple

illegal,” and is a connotation for who illegally enter, stay, and work in China. Such references have set up the police system in a way that renders Africans vulnerable targets of police officers (Huang, 2019).

Current Data and Trends in Police Profiling and Brutality

Racial disparity and mass incarceration are significant problems in the U.S. that have made the situation dire for disadvantaged neighborhoods. An approach that promotes the disproportionate targeting of certain areas and ethnic communities, combined with a crime-prevention strategy that focuses on numbers, leads to increases in police stops, arrests, and summons, as well as other policing performance measures (Braga, Brunson, & Drakulich, 2019). Quantifying the trends in police brutality and profiling has been difficult due to the lack of a standard definition or adequate data (Alang et al., 2017).

Underreporting has also made it difficult to accurately determine the prevalence of police racial profiling. The current data shows that there is disproportionate underreporting of police-involved deaths. The Global Burden of Diseases, Injuries, and Risk Factors Study (GBD) 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators (2019) found that from 1980 to 2018, the worst under-reporting of police-involved deaths occurred for non-Hispanic Blacks with 5,670 out of about 9,540 total deaths missing (59.5%); 8,540 out of about 15,200 deaths were missing for non-Hispanic White people (56.1%); 2,580 out of an estimated 5,170 deaths were missing for Hispanic persons (50%); and 281 out of approximately 861 deaths were missing for non-Hispanic other races (32.6%). Schwartz & Jahn (2020) also found that there were significant underestimations of Latinx-White and Black-White police-related deaths nationally due to the exclusion of reportedly “accidental deaths”, and some Metropolitan Statistical Areas were also severely underestimated or overestimated (p. 1).

Some analysts maintain that the disproportionate police-citizen contact in minority communities is a result of their increased involvement in crime. A 2015 report showed that 53% of the murders for which the offender's race was known were committed by black offenders (DOJ, 2016). However, except for grave violent crimes, there are no racial disparities in criminal behavior for most types of crime (Braga et al., 2019). The different rates of criminal offending do not provide a comprehensive rationale for the racial disparities that occur in encounters with the police. For instance, Crutchfield et al. (2012) found that even after controlling for rates of criminal offending, Black teens were more than twice as likely as White teens to report contact with the police. Mitchell and Caudy (2015) found that Black American and Hispanic youth formed a smaller percentage of drug offenders but constituted a significantly greater percentage of drug arrests. These data show that criminal offending does not account for the racial disparities in police contact and violence.

Numerous studies show that Black Americans have far more contact with the police than do Whites. Black Americans are more vulnerable to police stops (Baumgartner, Epp, & Shoub, 2018), police searches, and arrests (Baumgartner et al., 2017) than their White counterparts. The data also demonstrates the uneven targeting of black neighborhoods. A study conducted by Fagan et al. (2016) established that, in Boston, neighborhood whose residents were 85% black had 53 more police stops per months than did neighborhoods with 15% black residents. Additionally, Blacks experienced frisking 12% more times than did Whites.

Racial profiling is also evident in the disproportionate rates of police-related deaths. The current evidence shows that young men from ethnic minorities are more likely to have fatal encounters with the police. Dukes and Kahn (2017) report that from 2015 to 2016, 405 people in the U.S. were killed by the police, of whom 30% were Black, yet Blacks only constitute

approximately 12 to 15% of the country's population. Other studies affirm the racial disparities in police brutality when the rates of police-related killings are assessed in terms of the population composition of ethnic minorities. A report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (2018) revealed that while the majority of victims in police-related killings in 2016 were Whites, an assessment of the data based on their proportion in the total population showed that Hispanics, Native Americans, and Blacks had higher death rates: for the Whites, the rate was 2.9 per million people compared to 3.23 for Hispanic Americans, 6.66 for Blacks, and 10.13 for Native Americans. This data demonstrates that Blacks and Native Americans were killed by the police two to three times more than Whites.

Urban communities are highly prone to instances of police brutality and racial profiling. Low-income communities are pushed to the ghetto parts of inner-cities and the police heavily target these areas. Horrace and Rohlin (2016) conducted a study in Syracuse, New York to examine the distribution of traffic stops across daylight and darkness, and police profiling based on the driver's race visibility. Using streetlight location data, the findings showed that black drivers were 15% more likely to be stopped by traffic police in daylight than in darkness. The study seems to suggest that the police would stop a driver more readily if they realized that the driver was black – it is easier to notice a black driver in daylight than in darkness. Vito, Higgins, and Vito (2021) explain that while the stop, question, and frisk (SQF) strategy adopted by the NYPD led to a significant reduction in crime rates in the city, the practice drove the NYPD to engage in illegal SQF practices that disproportionately targeted Blacks and Hispanic, which cause citizens to take legal action against the department.

Studies in other cities have also provided evidence of police racial profiling. Gaston and Brunson (2020) evaluated 144 drug-related stops in St. Louis, Missouri. The researchers found

that there was “ecological contamination” in police stops, whereby individuals who were encountered in high crime areas were viewed as likely offenders. They also found that while Whites were detained only when they engaged in drug dealing, Blacks were more likely to be stopped and detained even when the police lacked evidence to substantiate their suspicion.

Schwartz & Jahn (2020) conducted a study to estimate the rates of fatal police encounters and the racial disparities in the rates for all Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) in the U.S. from 2013-2017. There were significant differences in the rates of police-involved killings, with the worst MSAs having nine times the rates of the least deadly. Southwestern MSAs had the highest rates, while Northeast MSAs and northern Midwest had the lowest rates. The data also revealed that Midwest and Northeast MSA has the highest Black-White disparities in the country.

According to Braga et al. (2019), some studies that urban police departments often engaged in excessive enforcement and surveillance practices, which leads to mass incarceration and racial inequalities in policing, as well as throughout the criminal justice system. Studies have also been conducted to determine the differences in policing practices between officers from different ethnic communities. Cochran and Warren (2012) report that minority officers are more likely to patrol urban, densely populated, and low-incomes areas that tend to be occupied by a greater portion of ethnic minorities, which was determined by assessing the data on the inequalities in Black and Hispanic stops and the differences between urban and rural police stops across different officer races. The authors also reveal that Black officers stopped more people in urban communities than rural communities (32% versus 25%) compared to White officers who stopped more people in rural communities than urban communities (13% versus 7%).

Suburban communities experience different levels of police brutality and racial profiling than do urban communities. Reck (2015) conducted an ethnographic study that included

observations of interviews with 52 police officers in three suburban communities with racial and class diversity. The study sought to examine the influence of communal contexts on the meanings that officers attach to Latinos compared to other pan-ethnic groups in relation to policing Latinos. The findings showed that communal features influenced officer's racial schemas and patrolling practices. Edwards et al. (2018) conducted a study to estimate the mortality risk from police killing by race and place. The study found that metropolitan areas had higher police-involved homicide than suburban areas. Specifically, the data showed that the rate of police-involved killings in large central metropolitan areas was 1.0 per 100,000 men, while it was 0.6 per 100,000 in suburban areas.

Previous studies have investigated the racial disparities in police arrests in suburban areas. Beck (2019) conducted a study to examine whether suburban police departments practiced the broken windows approach or engaged in racially disproportionate encounters. Using a regression analysis of data from 1,038 suburbs and 50 cities from 1990 to 2014, the researcher found that there were extreme Black-White disparities in the arrests made in suburban communities, especially White suburbs. The regression analysis also revealed that an increase in low-income populations in the suburbs was associated with an increase in low-level (quality-of-life) arrests, and these arrests disproportionately targeted Black residents. Blacks were 4.5 more times likely to be arrested for quality-of-life offenses than did Whites, and this rate was about double the rate in urban communities. Satisfaction with the police has also been used to gauge the racial differences in policing practices between urban and suburban areas. Verga et al. (2018) conducted a quantitative study to measure satisfaction with the police among college students. The participants resided in various areas, including New York City, Long Island, and Suffolk County. The differences in satisfaction with the police were evaluated by gender, race, and

location (urban versus suburban). According to the findings, students from suburban communities reported higher levels of satisfaction with the police than those from urban communities. Also, there was greater satisfaction among White students than Black students.

Bates (2010) conducted a quantitative study to examine the likelihood of Black motorists to receive traffic tickets and get apprehended after a traffic stop. The study was conducted in the Eastpointe, a suburb in Detroit, Michigan. Based on the analysis of traffic stops data, the study found that Black motorist driving on the internal streets of the suburb were more likely to be stopped by the police than those driving along Eastpointe's border street, which meant that Black motorists were more likely to be stopped, ticketed, and apprehended when they were perceived to be "out of place." These findings affirm the location stereotypes often attached to Black Americans. Official government reports also reveal the widespread police racial profiling in suburban communities. A report by the DOJ (2015) on an investigation of the Ferguson Police Department revealed that in Ferguson suburbs, the policing practices mirrored the racial profiling that is more frequent in large cities. The report further established that the comprehensive municipal justice system that enforced the law more aggressively against the Black community than others was to blame for the negative experiences of Black Americans. The data showed that 85% of the Ferguson police department's (FPD's) vehicle stops involved a Black person, 92% of all warrants were issued against Black Americans, and 90% of the citations were issued to Black Americans (DOJ, 2015).

Other researchers have also exposed such trends in other St. Louis suburbs. Boyles (2015) conducted a study that included participant observation, interviews, and field notes from a marginalized Black enclave located in the suburbs of Kirkwood. The findings revealed that there was a tense police-citizen interface where Black people were isolated yet required to negotiate

shared spaces with their wealthier White counterparts. The mesmerizing disparities in the treatment of the Black community compared to other ethnic communities that was uncovered in St. Louis suburbs reflect the situation in many other suburbs across the U.S.

Rural areas have different demographics and structures than urban and suburban areas, and, therefore, face unique challenges. Rural police may face complications that police in urban areas do not. For instance, officers in rural areas typically experience longer wait times for backup when responding to service calls and travel longer distances (Weisner, Otto, & Adams, 2020). A study conducted by Liederbach and Frank (2003) to examine the work routines of police officers in rural areas. The results suggested that these officers were more likely to encounter people who reside within their police department's jurisdiction but had less frequent interactions with citizens than do urban police. These trends can be explained by the fact that rural areas typically have lower crime rates than urban areas.

The current evidence on racial bias in rural police departments is inconsistent. Pica and Verno (2011) investigated racial biases in rural police departments. The quantitative study included fifty police officers who responded to either a Black American questionnaire or a Caucasian suspect questionnaire. The study results showed that the rural police did not demonstrate racial biases and female officers showed a slightly harsher treatment of Black American suspects than their male counterparts. More recent data shows that there are widespread racially disproportionate killings in rural areas. Data on fatal shootings by on-duty police in the U.S. compiled by the Washington Post from 2015 through 2020 revealed that fatal police shootings occurred at a high rate in rural areas. The data also showed that Black Americans were killed by the police at a much higher rate than White Americans: 37 per million Black people were killed by the police, compared to 28 per million for Hispanic Americans, 15

per million for White Americans, and 5 per million for other ethnic communities (*Washington Post*, 2021).

Case Studies of Police Brutality and Profiling

Recent events have exposed the widespread racial profiling in police departments across several states in the United States. In recent years, there have been numerous protests against police brutality and disproportionate killing of ethnic minorities as the U.S. police force continue to face backlash over blatant racism, which in many instances has been captured on video. Most of the victims of police brutality have been Black Americans, which sparked movements such as Black Lives Matter. This section discusses three cases of police brutality and profiling involving young Black American men.

Case 1. Freddie Carlos Gray, a 25-year-old Black American, was arrested on April 12, 2015 by officers of the Baltimore Police Department for possessing a knife. Gray sustained injuries while being transported by the officers and was taken to a medical center to receive care. Unfortunately, Gray died on April 19, 2015, and an autopsy revealed that he died due to spinal cord injuries. According to court documents, Gray had fled unprovoked upon seeing the police officers, and he was arrested without force or incident. However, on May 1, 2015, State Prosecutor Marilyn Mosby filed charges against six officers involved in Gray's case after the medical examiner determined that his death was a homicide. According to Mosby, Gray was unlawfully arrested, assaulted, and falsely accused of carrying an illegal knife. The Baltimore City State Attorney said that the knife was actually legal, and Police Commissioner Anthony Batts stated that there was no law against running and it was not clear why Gray was stopped.

A mobile phone video taken during Gray's arrest revealed that he screamed severally before the police van arrived. Gray had been handcuffed behind his back and the officers did not respond to his request for an inhaler. He was also put into a tactical hold before being put in the back of the van. Details emerged later to reveal that while in the van, Gray was not restrained with a set bet, which was infringement of the Baltimore police department policy. The six officers charged in Gray's case were suspended on April 21, 2015 pending an investigation. Eventually, four of the six officers went to trial, but the prosecutor could not secure a conviction. All state prosecutions related to Gray's case ultimately ended when one case resulted in mistrial, three in acquittals, and the SAO dismissed the remaining counts against White, Miller, and Porter (DOJ, 2017).

Case 2. Philando Castile, a 32-year-old Black American, was shot and killed during a traffic stop by Jeronimo Yanez, an officer of the St. Anthony police department in Minnesota. On the night of July 6, 2016, Castile was driving with his girlfriend and her four-year-old daughter when he was stopped by Officer Yanez and another officer in a suburb of Saint Paul, Minnesota. The officer asked for Castile's license and registration, after which Castile informed him that he had a firearm – that was licensed. Officer Yanez shouted at him warning him not to reach for the gun. Castile tried to explain that he was not reaching for it and the officer continuously warned him not to pull it out. Yanez opened fire on Castile, hitting him five times. Castile died a few minutes later at a medical center after succumbing to the gunshot wounds.

Castile's girlfriend, Reynolds, posted a live stream on social media following the shooting, which made the incident go viral. The shooting caused an uproar that led to local and nation-wide protests, which ultimately led to the indicting of Officer Yanez five months after the shooting. The charges laid against the officer included second-degree manslaughter and two

counts of dangerous discharge of a firearm. The case ended with Yanez being acquitted of all charges on June 16, 2017. Officer Yanez was then dismissed from the Saint Anthony police department following his acquittal. Details later emerged that Castile had been pulled over for traffic violations 52 other times before.

Case 3. The murder of George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black American man, on May 25, 2020 is arguably the most high profile recent incident of police brutality on a Black man. Floyd was murdered by Derek Chauvin, a white police officer of the Minneapolis Police Department. The incident took place in the Powderhorn Park neighborhood of Minneapolis, Minnesota. On said date, Floyd was apprehended by the officers involved on suspicion of using a counterfeit \$20 bill at a local store. Former officer Chauvin pressed his knee into Floyd's neck for nine minutes and 29 seconds while he lay face-down on the ground and was handcuffed. There were three other officers at the scene. Two officers, Thomas Lane and Alexander Kueng, helped Chauvin restrain Floyd. The other officers kept the onlookers from interfering. Officer Lane has at one time pointed a gun at Floyd's head.

Before being restrained on the ground, Floyd showed signs of anxiety, complaining about having claustrophobia and difficulty breathing. When he was placed on the ground, Floyd complained of being unable to breathe, and expressed fear of death. His words "I can't breathe" became the slogan for many protests that ensued after the incidence. Floyd became immobile after several minutes and stopped speaking. During the encounter, onlookers attempted to plead with Chauvin to lift his knee from Floyd's neck, while others captured the incident on mobile phone video. One officer checked Floyd's pulse and found no pulse. Videos of the encounter went public and the four officers involved were dismissed and later charged. On April 20, 2021, the court ruled that Chauvin was guilty of the charges against him, including second-degree

manslaughter, third-degree murder, and second-degree intentional murder. He was sentenced to 22.5 years in prison. Chauvin became the first white Minnesota police officer to be incarcerated for murdering a Black person. The other three officers were set to stand trial on March 7, 2022.

Judicial System as it Pertains to Police Brutality

The judicial system is often criticized for perpetuating the disparate treatment of minority communities. The criminal justice system has been said to facilitate social exclusion, which raises questions about the processes and institutions that define criminalization (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2018). The institutional landscape of social and economic inequality in the U.S. is characterized by high rates of incarceration. The impact of inequality are cumulative and intergenerational. The social disadvantages experienced by minority communities are exacerbated by the disproportionate incarceration of people from these communities. NASEM (2018) explains that criminal justice policies that are practiced usually appear to be race neutral but in reality have disparate racial effects: for instance, the three strikes law, drug-free zone laws, and the differential treatment of drug offenders have differential impacts on minority ethnic communities.

Some scholars maintain that the criminal justice system plays a significant role in addressing issues of police misbehavior, while others criticize the system for enabling police misconduct. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2017) revealed that 72 percent of police officers do not believe that officers who consistently do a poor job are held accountable. Varghese et al. (2019) maintain that unarmed people of color have encountered police officers who use unnecessary or excessive force, yet many of these officers are rarely held accountable. Ensuring police accountability involves various actors including government agencies, civil society actors, independent oversight authorities, the parliament and the judiciary. According to

the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC] (2011), the judiciary plays a significant role in ensuring police accountability; judges make the final decision concerning whether police have acted within or outside the law. To be accountable, the police must accept civilian oversight, and one way to achieve this is to “respect and accept judicial authority from an independent (civilian) court” (UNODC, 2011, p. 9).

The current literature shows that the judiciary system plays a significant role in reducing racial disparities. The Sentencing Project (2008) explained that the judiciary system addresses racial disparities through encouraging research and assessment, cooperating with criminal justice officials and representatives from minority communities and local criminal justice agencies to develop ways to reduce disparities in pretrial release and sentencing, and educating the public by encouraging the media to examine racial disparity concerns and the potential reforms. However, some scholars maintain that the judiciary system promotes the race-based differential treatment of people by the police. Jochelson (2013) argue that the judiciary system assumes Parliament’s role by creating new police powers. Rather than protecting people’s rights and interests, courts create police powers that threaten the same rights and interests (Stribopoulos, 2005). Skolnik (2020) identifies two rationales for the inadequacy of courts in reducing police misconduct: i) courts typically lack the institutional competence to effectively impose police oversight measures; ii) courts lack the capacity of gather information like other branches of government, which makes the judiciary unsuitable to create police powers that entail complex policy issues.

Current Laws for Police Found Guilty of Brutality and Racial Profiling

The unnecessary and excessive use of force by the police, whether it is the deviant behavior of an individual officer or practices and patterns of the entire agency, is condemned by both the law and public opinion (Adams et al., 1999). The unlawful use of force refers to

instance in which the police used force in a manner that violated a law, which is usually determined by a judge or magistrates (Adams et al., 1999). There are federal laws addressing misbehavior by the police, including civil and criminal status. According to the DOJ (2020), federal laws for police misconduct cover the actions of the entire law enforcement continuum, including local, county, and State officers, as well as prison officers.

Several Acts are designed to address issues related to police brutality and racial profiling. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 was introduced due to concerns about the unwarranted use of force by the police. The Act authorized the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to initiate civil actions against law enforcement agencies when they engaged in the use of force in ways that constitute a “pattern or practice depriving individuals of their rights” (Adams et al., 1999, p. 2). The authority bequeathed to the DOJ through the Act enabled it to provide oversight of police departments and initiate reforms in the departments that it determined had engaged in conducts such as the use of excessive force. For instance, the DOJ could negotiate an agreement by a police department to track, examine, and document its use of force.

A more recent law introduced to address the disparate treatment of ethnic minorities by the police is the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2021. The Act is a human rights and police reform bill introduced by Democrats and members of the Congressional Black Caucus. The Bill was passed by the House on June 25, 2020. The law aims to fight police misconducts, including the use of excessive force and racially biased policing practices. The Bill, which was introduced following the murder of a Black man, George Floyd, by a former police of the Minneapolis Police Department. The Bill institutes extensive reforms in the police force which is a big leap forward in the fight against racial profiling of ethnic minorities. It prohibits the use of

certain policing practices, increases transparency in the police force, improves accountability, enhances data collection, and institutes best practices. It also makes reforms in the justice system by directing the DOJ to develop uniform accreditation standards for law enforcement agencies (Library of Congress, 2020). According to the House Committee on the Judiciary (2021), the Act is a “bold, comprehensive approach to hold police accountable, change the culture of law enforcement, empower our communities, and build trust between law enforcement and our communities by addressing systemic racism and bias to help save lives” (para. 2).

Another federal law against police racial profiling is the Police Misconduct Provision. This law prohibits State and local law enforcement officers from engaging in practices or patterns of conduct that violate individuals’ rights that are protected by the law. The law addresses various types of misconduct, including the use of excessive force, illegal stops, searches, and arrests, false arrest, discriminatory harassment, and coercive sexual behavior (DOJ, 2020). The discriminatory practices are also address by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the "OJP Program Statute". Together, the laws make it unlawful for State and local law enforcement officers to discriminate a person based on their race, age, religion, sex, national origin, or color. The laws also outlaw individual occurrences, patterns, and practices of discriminatory behavior (DOJ, 2020).

However, some scholars criticize the law for enabling discriminatory conduct by the police. Carbado (2017) contends that the legalization of racial profiling by the police is not an outlying feature of the Fourth Amendment law but is rather central to it. The author maintains that the analytical structure of the law integrates racial profiling in ways that enable law enforcement officers to force engagement with Black Americans without a basis. The

implication here is that the Fourth Amendment law facilitates the space between stopping a Black person and killing them.

Lawsuits to the Police Department

Police departments across several states have over the years faced numerous lawsuits against them for police misconduct, including brutality and racial profiling. Some lawsuits are filed by individuals, some as class actions, and others are filed by the federal government through their federal agencies. This section discusses several lawsuits that have been filed against law enforcement agencies and officers.

The Civil Rights Division of the DOJ filed a lawsuit against the City of Detroit in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan on June 12, 2003. The DOJ based the lawsuit on the Law Enforcement Misconduct Statute 42 U.S.C. § 14141, alleging that officers of the Detroit Police Department (DPD) engaged in a pattern or practice of unlawful behavior, including false arrests, searching without warrant, failure to protect those in custody, and the excessive use of force. The DOJ expressed concerns about the arrest and detention policies and practices, and the holding cell condition. As enabled by the statute, the DOJ negotiated an agreement with the DPD that allowed the DOJ to maintain oversight of the DPD's continuous reform efforts in the absence of an independent monitor. The parties entered into the transition agreement as an order ending on March 2, 2016. The judge in charge of the case provided additional comments in regards to the order proposing that the Mayor of Detroit regain the control of the DPP from the Emergency Manager.

Floyd, et al. v. City of New York was a momentous federal class action lawsuit against the New York Police Department (NYPD). The lawsuit addressed the unlawful stop-and-frisk practices of the NYPD. These practices of the NYPD, supported by department policies, seemed

to be racially motivated, which attracted the attention of stakeholder and led to the collaboration of multiple legal, community, and advocacy groups. The case went to trial and on August 12, 2013, after nine-weeks, a federal judge found the NYPD guilty of the charges made against the department. The judge ruled that the NYPD violated the Fourteenth Amendment by systematically stopping innocent citizens without any objective basis for suspecting them of offending, and the Fourth Amendment that protects U.S. citizens from unwarranted searches and arrests. *Floyd, et al. v. City of New York* was a landmark case because it led to reforms in the NYPD. The court ordered a federal monitor to maintain oversight over the reforms, including the use of body cameras and collaboration with stakeholders in a joint corrective process to develop a viable plan to improve policing.

There have also been lawsuits involving the attempts by police departments to stop some police officers from exposing police misconduct and helping to bring rogue police officers to justice. *Samson "Sam" Costales v. Schultz and Albuquerque Police Department (APD)* was a case in which a former officer of the APD sued the department. Mr. Costales filed a lawsuit against the APD for alleged retaliation by the department after he testified against a colleague in his department who engaged in police misconduct. The lawsuit was filed as a complaint for constructive retaliatory discharge, slanderous defamation, deprivation of civil rights, and destruction of evidence. The incident in question occurred on August 9, 2006. It involved the arrest of a civilian by two Bernalillo County Sheriff's deputies, in which Costales alleged that the deputies treated the civilian in an appropriate and extreme manner. Costales also claimed that the deputies lied during the trial of Al Unser, the civilian who they arrested. He appeared as a witness in court to testify about his observations of the incident. In the lawsuit against the APD Mr. Costales's attorney argued that the department created a hostile and potentially life-threatening

environment for Costales. In 2009, a federal jury awarded Costales \$662,000. This case exposed the practices and norms in police departments that discouraged officers from reporting misconduct by their colleagues, which helped protect them from potential repercussions.

Settlements/Awards for Police Brutality Cases

Many police departments face numerous lawsuits each year involving false arrests and the excessive use of force by the police. These lawsuits cause cities to pay millions of taxpayers' money in settlements to victims of police misconduct. The details of these settlements are often kept covert with the use of confidentiality agreements. Payouts can range from thousands to millions of dollars.

With the rising cases of racial profiling and racially-charged killings of Black American and other ethnic minorities, cities are losing millions in settlements that could have been used for other causes. For instance, following the murder of George Floyd by a former officer of the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD), and a federal lawsuit against the City of Minneapolis, Floyd's family received a settlement of \$27 million. This settlement became the largest ever pretrial civil rights settlement. The settlement was announced during the jury selection process for the trial of the officer involved in Floyd's murder.

The case of Breonna Taylor is another exemplar of large settlements made by a city due to police brutality. Breonna Taylor was a 26-year-old Black American woman who was shot and killed by Louisville Police Department officers acting on a no-knock warrant. Taylor and her boyfriend were roused from bed by the police who entered the apartment as part of an investigation on drug dealing operations. Taylor's boyfriend, Kenneth Walker, was shot at the police once thinking that they were intruders. The police officers, who were all white, returned fire and

fatally shot Taylor. Her family filed complaints against the police for the potential violation of policies in the events leading the officers to Taylor's apartment. While no officers were charged for Taylor's death, the City of Louisville agreed to pay her family \$12 million and reform its policing practices.

The case of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old Black American who dies while being transported by the Baltimore police following a controversial arrest, also involved a large settlement. The six officers involved in the case were charged but eventually all state prosecutions related to the case ultimately ended after one trial ended in a mistrial, others in acquittals, and one was dismissed. The DOJ did not bring federal civil rights charges. While no officer went to prison for the killing of Gray, his family was paid a \$6.4 million settlement by the City of Baltimore in 2015.

Judges, Jury, and Prosecutors

Judges, jury, and prosecutors play different but important roles in the criminal justice process. In cases where a district attorney prosecutes an officer for brutality, the charges usually involve murder or assault. However, it is difficult to establish without reasonable doubt that an officer engaged in the unwarranted use of force (Freeman, 1995). When police officers fire their guns unlawfully and cause injury or death, State prosecutors can charge them with criminal negligence. In this case, the prosecutor only needs to demonstrate that a reasonable officer would not have fired the weapon. Jurors are usually tasked with deciding whether an officer's actions were reasonable, which is often challenging because of the lack of other witnesses besides the officer involved who can provide an objective account of the incident. Additionally, juries typically afford police officers some credibility by virtue of their position, considering that victims of police misconduct were usually committing an offence at the time of the encounter

with the police. Some jurors decide that officers are not guilty based on the notion that the police are the “thin blue line” between order and anarchy (Panwala, 2003).

However, issues of racial discrimination continue to taint the image of the U.S. judicial system. The courts have been criticized for sentencing disparity, which is evidenced by the racial mix of the prison population wherein Black people constitutes about 40% of the prison population despite being only about 13% of the U.S. population (Rowell-Cunsolo, El-Bassel, & Hart, 2016). The current data also shows that Black Americans are nearly six times more likely to be incarcerated than White Americans (Rowell-Cunsolo et al., 2016). The U.S. Constitution has established an independent commission, the United States Sentencing Commission, which addresses “sentencing disparities among defendants with similar records who have been found guilty of similar criminal conduct” (28 U.S.C. 5 991(b)(1)(B)).

The current literature shows that judges, juries, and prosecutors have a role to play in racially-motivated sentencing disparities. Prosecutors have a very significant role in the criminal justice process, with independent decision-making power over charging and plea bargains; racial bias in their decision making has adverse impacts on people of color (Hinton et al., 2020). Starr and Rehavi (2013) found that federal prosecutors were more likely to charge Black people than Whites people with similar records for offenses that carry higher mandatory minimum sentences. Results of a study conducted by Berdejó (2018) in 2017 that examined more than 48,000 misdemeanor and felony cases in Wisconsin between 2000 and 2006 revealed that White offenders were 25 percent more likely to have their top charge reduced or dropped by prosecutors than Black offenders.

Judges also contribute to the racial disparities in sentencing. Implicit biases by judges influence their treatment of Black people whose cases they hear (Hinton et al., 2018). Jones

(2013) conducted a systematic review of 50 studies on racial disparities in bail practices among judges. The study results showed that Black people had their bail set at higher amounts and were more frequently subject to pretrial detention than Whites with similar criminal records and were facing similar charges. Other studies have examined racial bias among jurors including the racial composition of juries and the impact of the defendant's race on their decision. These studies show that implicit bias may influence white jurors in some cases where the defendant is Black (Hinton et al., 2018).

Community Policing Solutions

Strong relationships characterized by mutual trust between the police and the communities they protect are vital to effective policing and public safety. The police need community members to provide information about crime and criminals and cooperate with them to create viable solutions to crime in their neighborhoods. Community policing is an approach to transform the police beyond the conflicts that the society and the police have had in the past (Brown, 2019). It has been proposed as a solution to the disparate impact of policing practices on ethnic communities because it aims to foster positive relationships between the police and the communities they serve.

Community policing has been conceptualized differently in the literature. It is defined and implemented differently over the years and within various contexts mainly because it is an approach that is tailored to the evolving needs of local communities. Diphoorn and van Stapele (2021) define community policing as the extensive efforts to re-conceptualize and reorganize policing within a society. Diamond and Weiss (2016) explain that community policing entails the partnership between the police and the community to address concerns about public safety and quality of life. According to Peyton, Sierra-Arévalo, and Rand (2019), community policing

promotes positive, non-enforcement contact between the police and members of the community. The DOJ (2014) defines community policing as a “philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime” (p. 1).

Community policing brings the police and the community together to identify the problems and needs of the community. This partnership aims to develop cooperative relationships that can be achieved through non-enforcement activities such as neighborhood watch programs and community meetings. According to the Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994), community policing is made up of two main components, community partnership and problem solving. Community partnerships are established by developing positive relationships between the police and the community. It involves community members in the efforts geared towards improving crime control at present, and combining police resources with community resources to meet the most urgent needs of the community. Problem solving involves identifying the particular concerns of communities and designing appropriate corrective measures that address these concerns and solve the identified problems.

The history of community policing can be traced back to the nineteenth century when it was introduced in Britain in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel. Peel introduced community policing to aid in the prevention of crime; police officers were deployed to conduct foot patrols with the objective of deterring criminal activity. While the original form of community policing is distinctively different from community policing as it is known today, it provided the foundation for the modern approaches to community policing. The first modern community policing initiatives can be traced back to the 1970s and early '80s. These initiatives mainly focused on

reestablishing police–minority relations in certain urban neighborhoods. They were designed by police leaders and aimed to engage with the community through foot patrols and working with residents to identify the problems they faced in a bid to gain public confidence in the police (Diphorn & van Stapele, 2021). Orum et al. (2019) explained that the origins of community policing date back to the Kelling and Wilson’s broken windows theory from the early 1980s. The theory suggested that crime flourishes in communities where disorderly behavior remains unattended.

Community policing is vital to effective policing and the well-being of the community. It not only shifts policing from a state-centered to a people-centered approach but also fosters a more democratic form of policing (Diphorn & van Stapele, 2021). The partnerships built between the police and the community through community policing initiatives help enhance trust and improve information exchange between community members and the police to support crime prevention efforts. Numerous studies have been conducted to examine the impact and benefits of community policing. Musuguri (2018) conducted a qualitative study to examine the impact of community policing in relation to vulnerable groups. The results of face-to-face interviews revealed that community policing helps to give special attention to vulnerable groups. According to the research data, some participants, including women, elders, and the disabled, were positive that community policing paid attention to the crimes that directly and indirectly affected their well-being.

Other researchers have also affirmed the positive impact of community policing. Peyton et al. (2019) conducted a quantitative study with a randomized trial design to examine the impact of positive, non-enforcement contact between police and citizens. The study involved a large urban police department. According to the results, positive contact with the police, delivered

through brief door-to-door non-enforcement policing visits, significantly improved community members' attitudes toward the police. The data showed that residents were more willing to cooperate due to these visits. A deeper analysis showed that the impact was largest among non-White respondents. Rukus, Warner, and Zhang (2018) conducted a quantitative study to investigate the impact of community policing in rural and suburban communities. The researchers surveyed over 1,300 cities and counties and measured various constructs, including collective efficacy, social cohesion, and community policing aspects. The study found that community policing did not impact perceptions of safety, but positively impacted community participation in the metro core. Collective efficacy has a positive relationship with perceptions of safety across all communities but only associated with community participation in suburban communities and low-crime areas. Additionally, community policing in the suburb and rural communities was only associated with youth services.

Community Members Policing their Own Neighborhoods

Community participation in preventing crime and maintaining law and order is not something new. It is a practice that can be traced back to the Middle Ages when there were communal systems of policing (Das, 2013). Community participation in policing is founded on the paradigm that law enforcement needs support from local communities to effectively fight crime. Engaging residents in crime prevention is justifiable considering that they know their localities and crime problems better than outsiders (Lau & Ali, 2019).

The current literature shows that community members' participation in policing can occur in various ways. It can occur as patrol-focused neighborhood groups consisting of proactive residents who regularly conduct patrols in their neighborhoods, engage in house visits, organize safety-oriented activities, and help the police maintain order (Pridmore et al., 2019).

Larsson (2017) identifies a form of community policing called participatory policing in which citizens are encouraged to report any suspicious activities to the police. This approach has propagated by various homeland security agencies. Neighborhood watch groups are also common forms of community policing. With the popularization of social media, residents are now able to form operational online neighborhood watch groups. For instance, in the Netherlands, 7,250 WhatsApp neighborhood watch groups had been created between 2015 and 2019, and most were created and controlled by citizens (Pridmore et al., 2019). A quantitative study conducted by Schreurs et al. (2018) found four categories of participation behavior related to community policing: social control, such as correcting others when they behave inappropriately; detection, such as joining a neighborhood watch; collaborative participations, such as meeting with a police officer; and responsive participation, such as calling the police.

There are various factors that influence residents' participation in community policing initiative. According to Higgins and Joe (2016), communities usually organized themselves to fight crime and increase safety because of general issues such as crime, or specific needs such as to reduce home burglaries, improve school safety, or reduce drunk driving. Choi and Lee (2016) conducted a comparative study of community policing in the UK and South Korea and found that citizen participation in community policing was influenced by several factors, including confidence in the police, crime problems in the community, community attachment, and personal gains of participating. Schreurs et al. (2018) identified public social control, social cohesion, and police legitimacy as significant determinants of community members' participation in crime prevention behaviors.

Schreurs et al. (2020) conducted an exploratory case-study involving 214 residents of one neighborhood in the Netherlands in which the participants responded to a door-to-door survey.

The study aimed to examine the psychological drivers of membership and membership orientation in online neighborhood watch groups. The results revealed that membership was influenced on individual level drivers, including higher response efficacy and lower risk perception and community level drivers, including previous community participation and lower sense of community. However, institutional level drivers – trust in the police – did not have an association with membership. Scholars have also identified the barriers to community participation. Brunton-Smith and Bullock (2019) explain that high crime rates hinder participation in neighborhood watch groups because they increase social isolation, generate feelings of powerlessness, reduce the residents' confidence in their ability to collectively combat crime, and create suspicion among residents, weakening their cohesiveness that provides the impetus for collaborating to prevent crime.

Community participation in policing their neighborhoods is beneficial in various ways. These benefits are achieved through diverse mechanisms. According to Brunton-Smith and Bullock (2019), the devolution of power to “active citizens” can improve police effectiveness and “generate new democratic accountabilities and scrutiny” (p. 87). Bennett, Holloway, and Farrington (2008) explain that neighborhood watch groups can help reduce crime by having residents look out for suspicious activities and report them to the police. Holloway, Bennett, & (2008) maintain that neighborhood watch groups can lead to a reduction in crime by minimizing the opportunities for crime, which can be achieved by creating signs of occupancy using methods such as mowing lawns, filling trash cans, and removing newspapers from neighbors' homes when they are away.

However, community participation in policing activities is associated with some negative outcomes. Walby and Joshua (2021) conducted a study to investigate the communication and

symbolism of crime watch groups in Canada, as well as how they were organized and their impact on community. The study found that while the groups brought the community together to work toward safety, they also promoted vigilantism, stereotyping, and shaming by misrepresenting crime levels in the community and focusing on fear. In addition, most of the groups lost their focus on crime prevention. Pridmore et al. (2019) inform that participatory policing, which focuses on neighborhood crime prevention, may heighten the feelings of anxiety and increase interpersonal surveillance. The authors observe that while neighborhood crime prevention groups may cause a decline in crime the constant contact among residents can also lead to ethnic profiling, tensions among participants, and communication overload.

Community Organizations Working with the Community Police

Community organizations play an important role in solving many of the problems in communities. According to the DOJ (2003), community organizations can be used to mend the relationships between ethnic and racial groups, and between the community and law enforcement, which is a vital step toward better police-community relations. Brunton-Smith and Bullock (2019) explain that while the formal organization of citizens not a prerequisite for co-production – that is, the coming together of public police officers and citizens or groups of citizens –, community organizations may enable the coordination between law enforcement agencies and citizens, which enhances the level of co-production. Most community organizations vary in size, focus, and orientation but share common goals: to enhance the quality of life in a given geographical area by developing a sense of community (Johnson, 2015). These organizations achieve a sense of community using various methods, including conveying information about events in the neighborhood to members, liaising with the local government and neighborhood, organizing social and recreational activities, and improving the quality of life.

According to McCampbell (2010), sustainable, safe communities typically have community organizations that “can work together effectively, have the capacity to develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems, and can collaborate effectively with their local law enforcement agency” (p. 5).

The cooperation between community organizations and the police is important to the safety and security of the community. For instance, community organizations, through social workers who are competent in non-criminal interventions areas such as mental health, can partner with police officers to help lower the high rates of fatalities that are caused by poor intervention strategies used by the police (Lamin & Teboh, 2016). Community organizations such as neighborhood watch groups protect people and individual private properties by, for example, providing personal alarms and property marking, while reducing the overall public risk (Brunton-Smith & Bullock, 2019). The Office for Victims of Crime (2020) explains that community organizations can be a bridge between law enforcement and vulnerable populations that may be difficult to access due to a fear of law enforcement authorities.

There is evidence that community organizations can help reduce crime rates in neighborhoods. Wo, Hipp, and Boessen (2016) conducted a quantitative study to examine the relationship between voluntary organizations and neighborhood crime. The researchers used data on sample of 87,641 census blocks in 10 cities. The study results revealed that while different types of voluntary organizations showed crime-reducing behavior, many of them exhibited the “delayed impact scenario” whereby the length of time between placing a voluntary group and subsequently experiencing a reduction in crime was prolonged. The findings imply that the positive impacts of community organizations are only felt several years after being in a neighborhood. However, some community groups such as neighborhood watch groups have been

criticized for shifting their focus from crime prevention to driving strangers out and developing uncontaminated spaces for homogenous inhabitants (van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2016).

Community organizations that partner with the police often consist of individuals with shared interests and may include, for instance, support groups, advocacy groups, religious groups, service clubs, community development organizations, and victim groups. According to McCampbell (2010), community organizations can effectively work with the police when they understand their local police agency's policing philosophy and organization. An example of a community organization that has successfully partnered with the police to address crime problems is the Guardian Angels, a nonprofit volunteer organization based in New York City (NYC) that engages in unarmed crime prevention. The group was established in 1979 in NYC and has since spread to 130 cities in 13 countries. The organization provides an amicable solution to safeguarding neighborhoods through safety patrols that involve members of the community. It has now expanded to include cybercrime patrol and safety training. One of the organization's strongest features is the involvement of the youth in safety patrols.

Police Officers Policing the Neighborhoods in Which They Live

Community policing encourages positive, non-enforcement contact between citizens and the police with an aim to enhance police legitimacy and build public trust (Peyton et al., 2019). While proactive policing practices such as foot patrol were introduced to achieve the above objectives, they led to increased patrol and surveillance of low-income neighborhoods that are mostly occupied by people of color. Many urban police departments assign uniformed officers on foot to small beats in targeted areas, while others deploy plainclothes police in unmarked cars (Balto, 2019). The aim of these policing practices is to foster positive relationships and encounters between residents and the police. However, while the benefits of community policing

are widely acknowledged, the current literature shows that some police departments still use traditional policing practices. Weisner, Otto, and Adams (2020) reported that while community policing occurred in rural areas, police departments in these areas more often embraced traditional patrol practices, with a focus on reactive, calls-for-service-based policing.

The conflicts that have occurred between the police and different communities in the U.S. in recent years demonstrate the counterproductive effects of modern community policing approaches. Lamin and Teboh (2016) observe that many police officers lack professionalism today, which appears to indicate that some police are unaware of the types of social problems and conditions they encounter as first responders. The disparate, unlawful treatment of ethnic minorities provides evidence of police unprofessionalism and their indifference to or ignorance of the challenges that these communities face. Many police officers seem to be oblivious to the fact that the role of the police transcends beyond arresting people, answering calls, and writing citations, and that they need to understand community problems and effectively address them (Kappeler, Gaines, & Schaefer, 2020). The police are part of the community and so should be aware of why people in their communities call for them. One way to develop a police force that understands the needs and concerns of the communities they serve may be hire police officers to police the neighborhoods in which they live.

Lamin and Teboh (2016) argue that policing in the U.S. has a geographic orientation and, therefore, community policing proposes that officers should be assigned to patrol the same areas for long periods of time to help build familiarity with the community members. This approach to community policing may help officers to better understand the problems and conditions of the communities they serve. Similar sentiments were shared by a study conducted by the San Diego Police Department during the 1970's, subbed the community-oriented policing (COP) project.

The study revealed the need to reexamine the issue of shift rotation and recommended that officers should be assigned to permanent shifts and beats to encourage them to participate in community activities (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994).

Assigning police officers to patrol the neighborhoods in which they live provides opportunities for them to interact with community members in a non-enforcement context, which can help to reduce bias by police officers as well as community members. Interactions with the police outside enforcement contexts are rare for many people, which can lead to people developing negative associations with the police (DOJ, 2015). Therefore, it is vital for police officers to be visible in their communities and familiarize with the residents in these communities. Non-enforcement interactions and interpersonal relationship may provide a means to overcome stereotypes and personal barriers.

Community Perceptions of the Police

Community perceptions of the police are largely influenced by race. The extensive history of discriminatory policing practices and strategies that promote aggressive behavior by the police and racially disparate outcomes in minority ethnic communities have led to poor police-minority relationships (Braga et al., 2019). The discriminatory behavior of the police has affected the social, economic, and mental well-being of people of color. Scholars have found that the negative treatment of people of color leads to psychological problems among these communities. Research evidence shows that Black Americans experience anxiety and stress even when they see police; Black Americans with negative police encounters are at a heightened risk of various mental problems, including paranoia, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and suicidal thoughts (McLeod et al., 2020; Williams, 2018). Citizens' perceptions of the police seems to be influenced by where they live. Robinson (2017) informs that people living in

communities with above average levels of crime tend to perceive the police more negatively than those who live in communities with little or no crime. People of color, including children, frequently have encounters with the police that may have life-long effects, which changes the way they perceive both the police and themselves.

Community perceptions of the police are variable within different communities. Some scholars maintain that citizens generally have positive perceptions of the police, while others report that the public mostly has negative perceptions of the police (Nadal & Davidoff, 2015). The extant literature reveals that community perceptions of the police vary by race and place. Nadal et al. (2017) conducted a quantitative study to measure the general attitudes towards law enforcement among 543 respondents of diverse race, including Blacks, Latinx, Asian, and White. The participants completed the Perceptions of Police Scale (POPS). The study results showed that Black respondents were more likely than Whites and Latinx to have negative perceptions of the police. Weisheit, Falcone, and Wells (1994) reported the outcomes of a study in which officers from several urban police departments and one rural department were interviewed to examine the differences in policing styles and relationships with the community. According to the study findings, urban police officers reported that citizens respected them less, while rural police perceived that they received greater public support for their toughness. The reasons for which rural and urban police were respected were also different: in rural areas, citizens accorded respect to officers as individuals, whereas in urban areas, respect was given to the position rather than the individual.

Perceptions of the Police among Minority Communities

It is widely known that race influences individuals' evaluation of the police. There has been an increased distrust of the police expressed by minority communities, which is a result of

racial profiling and the evident racial disparities in police practices. Peck (2015) conducted a systematic review to determine whether minorities perceived the police differently from the White majority. The data revealed that people who identified as Black, minority, or non-White were more likely to exhibit negative views of the police than those who identified as Whites. Ekins (2016) explains that 68% of Whites view the police positively, compared to 59% of Hispanics, and 40% of Blacks, which has not changed significantly since the 1970s when 67% of White Americans had positive perceptions of the police compared to 43% of Black Americans.

Thomas and Russell (2019) conducted a mixed-methods study using surveys and focus groups to examine the personal interactions of 460 Black students with law enforcement. The results showed that about a third of the participants reported positive or very positive interactions, more than a sixth reported negative or very negative interactions, and about half thought that their interactions were neither negative nor positive. Race seems to be a significant factor in shaping minorities' views about the police. Additionally, some studies show that the impact of race decreases when the perceived quality of life is taken into account, while others find that social economic status does not influence the trends in minorities' perceptions about the police (Mbuba, 2010).

The current evidence also shows that perceptions of the police differ among individual minority groups. A study conducted to examine the perceived discrimination of ethnic minority groups found that Black Americans reported higher levels of perceived discrimination than Hispanics and Asians; the occurrence of lifetime PTSD was also more probable among Blacks and Asians (Sibrava et al., 2019). These findings are affirmed by Peck (2015) who found that Hispanics were more likely to have positive perceptions of the police than Black people. Some scholars have found certain similarities between Blacks' and Latinx's police-related views.

Lurigio, Greenleaf, and Flexon (2009) conducted a quantitative study to examine whether the police-related views of Black and Latino students differed. The study found that approximately 20 percent of Black and Latino students agreed or strongly agreed that what they considered delinquent were not harmful to others. Black students were slightly more likely to report being stopped by the police than Latino students (60% versus 55%). Additionally, about 62 percent of Black students and 60 percent of Latino students reported being disrespected by the police during their encounter with police officers.

Other scholars have found officer race to be an important factors in the formulation of perceptions about the police. A quantitative study by Cochran and Warren (2012) revealed that officer race was a significant aspect in influencing citizen perceptions of police stops, especially among Blacks. Other studies examining the influence of officer race have focused on the perceptions of minority officers on policing. Wilson, Wilson, and Thou (2015) evaluated the perceptions of Black American police officers concerning bias in the agencies. The findings showed that Black police officers were most likely to report that racial profiling occurred in their agency (93%) and most likely to agree that it was condoned by police supervisors and administrators (70.6%). Additionally, female officers were more likely to agree that profiling occurred than their male counterparts – 100% versus 89.3%.

Factors Influencing Community Perceptions of the Police

There is extensive research on the factors influencing community perceptions of the police. Some studies have examined the factors influencing the views of the general community, while others have focused on minority communities. Chermak and Wilson (2020) conducted a quantitative study to examine the perceptions of residents concerning different models of policing, as well as their confidence in the police. The sample included residents in four

communities. The researchers examined three models of policing: a merged department, a regional agency, and agencies that contract for services. The study found that the model of policing was a significant predictor of confidence in the police, controlling for other indicators of attitudes towards the police. Residents in communities that contracted police services from other municipalities showed less confidence in the police. Pryce et al. (2021) interviewed 77 Black Americans in Durham, North Carolina to explore their relationship with the police. The findings revealed that Black American's perceptions of the police are influenced by vicarious experiences of friends and relatives, personal experiences, and the news from television media and social media. Additionally, even for respondents who had positive perceptions of the police, the broader concerns of police discrimination and maltreatment complicated their perceptions of the police. The role of media in shaping perceptions of the police is affirmed by other scholars. Franklin et al. (2019) investigated the predictive relationship between the roles of police related television programming, satisfaction with recent police contact, and perceptions of police performance and treatment of minorities. The sample included 246 Black American students. The study found that crime reality shows, media coverage of police use of force, and satisfaction with the police were significant predictors of perceptions of the police.

Several studies have established that race is a significant factor of community perceptions of the police. Wheelock, Strohine, and O'Hear (2019) conducted a meta-analysis of three studies: the Wisconsin Incident-Based Reporting System (WIBRS), the U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS), and the City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey of 2014. The findings revealed that race was a significant determinant of citizens' perceptions of the police. Specifically, Black respondents were more likely to be dissatisfied with the police than White and Latinx citizens. Additionally, contact with the police did not moderate the influence of race

on support for the police. Circo, Melde, and Mcgarrell (2019) also found that non-white residents reported lower levels of satisfaction with the police than white residents.

Clark et al. (2020) conducted a quantitative study to examine the influence of demographics and crime rates on citizen's perceptions of interactions with the police. The study sample consisted of 307 residents in a city in California. The study found that demographics and crime rates did not influence people's views of their interaction with the police. Frank, Smith, & Novak (2005) investigated the citizen's attitudes toward the police in a Midwestern city. The participants included 613 residents. According to the findings, the factors that influence citizens' attitudes toward the police were the behavior of police during encounters, the characteristics of police agencies and encounters, and the general beliefs about the occupation of policing. Other studies also demonstrate that the behavior of police during interactions with citizens shaped citizen's perceptions of the police. Jackson et al. (2020) conducted a quantitative study to examine the relationship between police violence and public perceptions of the police. The researchers assessed data from the 2017 Survey of Police–Public Encounters involving 1000 residents in Baltimore. The study results showed that most forms of police violence were significantly and negatively associated with perceptions of the police.

Circo et al. (2019) evaluated the association between fear of victimization, actual victimization, and community factors on citizen satisfaction with the police. The study used a sample of 824 citizens. According to the findings, there was a significant association between the fear of victimization and lower satisfaction, and the impact of actual victimization varied when collective efficacy and community satisfaction were accounted for. Perez, Nguyen, & Vogel (2021) conducted a quantitative study to assess the impact of education through community police academies (CPAs) on public perceptions of the police. CPAs educate citizens about

various policing topics. The findings showed that the increased knowledge of police procedures did not improve public attitudes toward the police. However, the knowledge was found to predict lower concerns about police use of force.

McClure et al. (2019) investigated the influence of body cameras and elements of procedural justice on community members' perceptions of the police. The sample comprised of 60 police officers in a city in southwestern United States and 384 residents who had a documented interaction with these officers. The 60 officers were assigned to three experimental groups: one group without body-worn camera (BWC) but with usual policing; one group with BWC while continuing with usual policing; and another group with BWC and who at the start of an encounter informed the citizens that they were being recorded. The findings revealed that simply having a BWC did not improve resident's satisfaction with the police. However, elements of procedural justice had a significant association with improved resident satisfaction with the police. Madon, Murphy, and Sargeant (2017) affirmed the above findings by measuring the impact of procedural justice on the perceptions of police legitimacy among members of ethnic minority groups. The study used a sample of 1480 individuals. The findings revealed that procedural justice was associated with improved perceptions of police legitimacy. Additionally, feelings of disengagement towards police were linked to lower perceptions of police legitimacy.

Police and Citizen Perceptions of Community Policing and Its Impacts

Community policing has over the years been viewed as a solution to many police-community conflicts. However, the evidence shows that law enforcement agencies have not always embraced and practiced community policing even after its inception in the 1970's and '80s. According to Reaves (2010), there was a deterioration in the number of police departments using full-time community police officers in the first decade of the 21st century. Recent strains in

community-police relationships, especially during the Trump administration, led to the resurgence of community-oriented policing in a bid to improve collaboration and trust between citizens and the police (Gill et al., 2017). Reaves (2015) reported that there was a significant increase in the percentage of police agencies integrating a community policing element in their mission statements over the past decade. It seems that police departments are again beginning to adopt community policing to address the reoccurrence of old challenges. Proponents of community policing maintain that police-community partnerships can improve the welfare of vulnerable groups (Paez & Dierenfeldt, 2020).

While the police are increasingly appreciating the community policing approach, it is not obvious that citizens will view community policing in a positive light. According to Gill et al. (2017) establishing collaborative relationships between the police and the community can be extremely hard where community members have low confidence in the police and where policing is marred by instability, corruption, and racism. There is a need to examine how communities perceive community policing efforts and their impacts. According to the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NASEM) (2018), community reactions to community policing impacts can be examined in three domains: behaviors, orientations, and evaluation. Assessments in these three areas consider questions such as, how do community policing practices influence people's evaluations of their experiences and impressions with the police? How do community policing strategies influence citizen's orientation toward the police? How do these strategies influence people's behavior toward the police? Citizens' perceptions of community policing have a significant impact on various community and policing outcomes. Scheider, Rowell, Bezdikian (2003) found that citizen's perceptions of community policing had a strong positive impact on crime prevention behaviors and satisfaction with police.

Several studies have been conducted to examine community perceptions of community policing impacts. Most of the studies were conducted in the past decade. Braga and Bond (2009) conducted a study using a randomized controlled trial (RCT) design to examine community perceptions of place-based problem-oriented policing. The researchers interviewed 52 community residents in the treatment and control areas. According to the findings, the residents reported an increased police presence and reduction in perceived disorder. However, there were no changes in their perceptions of policing strategy, police demeanor towards citizens, and orientations of the police to work with community members. Weisburd et al. (2011) conducted an RCT to examine the impacts of hotspot policing on residents' perceptions of the police, policing effectiveness, and crime in three cities in California. The results showed that hotspot policing did not have a significant impact on perceived police legitimacy, perceptions of collective efficacy, and fear of crime. The study also found that there were no significant counterproductive effects of the community-oriented crime-prevention strategies.

The current literature shows that there may be racial differences in community members' and police officers' perceptions of community policing. Griggs (2017) conducted a quantitative correlational study to examine African-American perceptions of the community policing and the differences with other racial groups. The results revealed that age ($p < 0.01$), media influence ($p < 0.051$), and racial issues ($p < 0.025$) were significant predictors of participants' perceptions of police outreach programs, with the most significant predictor being age ($\beta=.450$) followed by racial issues ($\beta=.267$). According to the findings, Black Americans were more likely to support police collaboration programs than non-Black Americans. Other scholars have also made similar findings suggesting racial disparities in perceptions of community policing. A study conducted by Stein and Griffith (2017) involving three high crime neighborhoods in a Midwestern city in

the U.S. revealed that police perceptions of the police-community relationship were more positive in the primarily White neighborhood. There also may be racial differences in police officers' views of their role in community policing. While it has not been explicitly demonstrated by research, the current literature shows that race is a predictor of police officers' attitudes towards their work. A study by Sun (2003) comparing the job-related attitudes of White and Black police officers revealed that Black officers had broader role orientation, were less selective, and had more positive attitudes toward legal restrictions than their White counterparts.

Numerous scholars have examined police perceptions of community policing and the factors that influence these perceptions. Square-Smith (2017) conducted a qualitative study to explore the perceptions of police officers and residents concerning community policing and its effect. The study was conducted in neighborhoods in Richmond, Virginia. The data collected from seven police officers and four residents through unstructured interviews revealed that both the police and residents believed that community policing practice had increased police visibility, transparency, and accountability, and improved safety, public support for the police, and community trust. Nix, Wolfe, and Tregle (2018) investigated police officers' attitudes toward citizen advisory councils in a southeastern state. The sample included 567 sheriff deputies. The findings demonstrated that officers who perceived greater organizational justice were significantly more likely to have a positive perception of the citizen advisory council (CAC). There was a significant but weaker relationship between perceived self-legitimacy and perceived legitimacy of the CAC. It was also established that there were more negative perceptions of CAC legitimacy among officers who perceived greater public scrutiny and who were assigned to the patrol division.

Miles-Johnson, Fay, and Wiedlitzka (2021) conducted a quantitative study to examine how police officers' perception of police-citizen engagement and level of awareness influenced their attitudes toward community-oriented policing practice. The study found significant differences in the levels of awareness of minority communities, perceptions of diverse communities, and perceptions of policing practice. The findings revealed that the designations of the police and level of awareness measures, including gender, sexuality, frequency of socializing with others, contact experienced while socializing, and friends, influenced officers' awareness of people from minority communities. Additionally, the officers' race and ethnicity had no impact on their awareness and perceptions of diverse community members.

Conclusion

Police brutality and racial profiling have a long history in the U.S. police force. Race and class are an integral part of the role of law enforcement in the American society (Brown, 2019). The origins of policing in America provide an understanding of how the police force has been historically designed to oppress minority communities. City policing in the Northern parts of the United States was influenced by the policing model used in London. However, policing in the Southern and Frontier regions developed differently (Brown, 2019). Policing in the Northern and Southern parts of America were bound to be different particularly because the former had large cities/urban centers which were not the norm in the latter. The form of policing in the South and Frontier regions encouraged the empowerment of elite and poor Whites while controlling slavery. Therefore, these regions established slave patrols for the policing of Black Americans and the protection of White Americans. Some scholars consider the slave patrol as the first American policing system that formed the basis of the policing experiences that Black Americans would encounter over the years.

People of color, especially Black Americans, were criminalized and incarcerated through systematic racism before and after the Civil War, which influenced policing reforms in the years leading to beginning of the War on Crime introduced by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965. Since the beginning of modern policing, law enforcement has perceived persons of color as internal, volatile threats to established social orders in the U.S. and the state authority (LeBrón, 2019). The Progressive era of the early 20th century saw the establishment of laws and policing practices that disproportionately targeted Black American (Hinton & Cook, 2021). Proactive policing practices and methods introduced in the 1960's and '70s as crime-control mechanisms for urban centers had negative impacts on people of color because they disproportionately targeted minority communities. In Detroit, such tactics led to the death of 17 black Americans in two years (Hinton, 2017). Proactive policing was readily embraced in the large urban communities, and gradually spread to suburban and rural areas.

Certain laws have also exacerbated the discrimination of minorities. For instance, drug-free zone laws have had a disproportionate impact on minority ethnic communities and Whites. These laws have an uneven impact on minorities due to the residential segregation that pushes low-income minority groups to densely populated urban areas and the majority Whites to less dense suburbs (Hinto et al., 2018). There has been a persistent notion in American that the ghetto is a grisly part of the city that is dominated by drug crimes and violent behavior. Anderson (2013) identifies a common metaphor, the “iconic ghetto,” that is used to make stereotypical associations, and promotes racial discrimination and prejudice. This metaphor is considered a symbol of racism and residence of the Black man (Wyatt-Nichol & Seabrook, 2016). Police profiling and brutality seem to be a problem not only in the U.S. but also other parts of the world. Studies have found evidence of these vices in Europe, France, the UK, Canada, and Australia,

and China (Huang, 2019; Idriss, 2021; Robinson, 2017; Roux & Roché, 2016; Wortley, S., & Roswell, 2006).

Racial disparity and mass incarceration are significant problems in the U.S. that have made the situation dire for disadvantaged neighborhoods. Some analysts maintain that the disproportionate police-citizen contact in minority communities is a result of their increased involvement in crime. A 2015 report showed that 53% of the murders for which the offender's race was known were committed by Black offenders (DOJ, 2016). However, except for grave violent crimes, there are no racial disparities in criminal behavior for most types of crime (Braga et al., 2019). Numerous studies show that Black Americans have far more contact with the police than do Whites (Baumgartner et al., 2017; Baumgartner, Epp, & Shoub, 2018; Fagan et al., 2016; Horrace and Rohlin, 2016).

The current data shows that there are differences in the intensity of police profiling and brutality among urban, suburban, and rural communities, as well as the policing practices in these areas. Urban police departments often engaged in excessive enforcement and surveillance practices (Braga et al., 2019). The current literature shows that minority officers are more likely to patrol urban, densely-populated, and low-incomes areas that tend to be occupied by a greater portion of ethnic minorities; (Cochran and Warren, 2012). Urban communities are highly prone to instances of police brutality and racial profiling. Low-incomes communities are pushed to the ghetto parts of inner-cities and the police heavily target these areas.

Suburban communities experience different levels of police brutality and racial profiling than do urban communities. Metropolitan areas have higher police-involved homicide than suburban areas (Edwards et al., 2018). Residents in suburban communities report higher levels of satisfaction with the police than those from urban communities (Verga et al., 2018). However,

suburban communities experience racial disparities in policing that mimic those of urban areas. Scholars have found extreme Black-White disparities in the arrests (Beck, 2019), traffic stops (Bates, 2010), and aggressive law enforcement (DOJ, 2015) in suburban areas. Rural areas have different demographics and structures than urban and suburban areas, and, therefore, face unique challenges. The evidence of racial profiling by rural police is limited and inconsistent. A study by Verno (2011) found that rural police did not demonstrate racial biases. Data on fatal shootings by on-duty police in the U.S. compiled by the Washington Post from 2015 through 2020 revealed that fatal police shootings occurred at a high rate in rural areas and there were significant racial disparities in police-involved killings (*Washington Post*, 2021).

The judicial system is often criticized for perpetuating the disparate treatment of minority communities. NASEM (2018) explains that criminal justice policies that practices usually appear to be race neutral but in reality, have disparate racial effects. The criminal justice system in the U.S. seems to facilitate the persistent discrimination of minorities by the police. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2017) revealed that 72 percent of police officers do not believe that officers who consistently do a poor job are held accountable. Varghese et al. (2019) maintain that unarmed people of color have encountered police officers who use unnecessary or excessive force, yet many of these officers are rarely held accountable. Jochelson (2013) argues that the judiciary assumes Parliament's role by creating new police powers. Rather than protecting people's rights and interests, courts create police powers that threaten the same rights and interests. Issues of racial discrimination continue to taint the image of the U.S. judicial system, with judges, jurors, and persecutors being accused of racial bias that has contributed to sentencing disparities (Berdejó, 2018; Hinton et al., 2020; Jones, 2013). Several Acts are designed to address issues related to police brutality and racial profiling, including the Violent

Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2021, Police Misconduct Provision, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Community policing has been proposed as a solution to transform the police beyond the conflicts that the society and the police have had in the past (Brown, 2019). The DOJ (2014) defines community policing as a “philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime” (p. 1). Community policing brings the police and the community together to identify the problems and needs of the community. It not only shifts policing from a state-centered to a people-centered approach but also fosters a more democratic form of policing (Diphorn & van Stapele, 2021). Numerous studies affirm the positive impact of community policing on the community and police-community relationship (Musuguri, 2018; Peyton et al., 2019; Rukus et al., 2018).

Community members can participate in policing their own neighborhoods in various ways, including patrol-focused neighborhood groups (Pridmore et al., 2019) and participatory policing (Larsson, 2017). Community participation in policing is influenced by factors such as confidence in the police, crime problems in the community, community attachment, and personal gains of participating (Choi & Lee, 2016), public social control, social cohesion, and police legitimacy (Schreurs et al., 2018), risk perception and trust in the police (Schreurs et al., 2020), and crime rates (Brunton-Smith & Bullock, 2019). Community participation can improve police effectiveness, create democratic accountabilities and scrutiny, and reduce crime rates (Brunton-Smith & Bullock, 2019; Farrington, 2008). However, community participation in policing activities is associated with some negative outcomes such as vigilantism, stereotyping, shaming

by misrepresenting crime levels in the community and focusing on fear, feelings of anxiety, and increased interpersonal surveillance (Pridmore et al., 2019; Walby & Joshua, 2021).

Community organizations play an important role in solving many of the problems in communities. They may facilitate the coordination between law enforcement agencies and citizens (Brunton-Smith & Bullock, 2019), promote a sense of community (Johnson, 2015), solve problems, and collaborate effectively with their local law enforcement agency (McCampbell, 2010). The current literature also suggests that hiring the police to police the neighborhoods in which they live is a potential solution to strained police-community relationships. It may help to reduce bias by police officers as well as community members (DOJ, 2015). The U.S. has a geographic orientation and, therefore, community policing proposes that officers should be assigned to patrol the same areas for long periods of time to help build familiarity with the community members (Lamin & Teboh, 2016).

The current evidence shows that citizens' perceptions of the police seems to be predicted by race and where they live. People living in communities with above average levels of crime tend to perceive the police more negatively than those who live in communities with little or no crime (Robinson, 2017). Minority communities – especially Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians – are more likely to have negative perceptions of the police (Ekins, 2016; Nadal et al., 2017; Thomas & Russell, 2019). Studies have found that Black Americans are more likely to report negative perceptions of the police than Latinx and other minority communities (Nadal et al., 2017; Sibrava et al., 2019). Black police are more likely to report that racial profiling occurs in their police department (Wilson et al., 2015). Community perceptions of the police are influenced by numerous factors, including race, model of policing, personal and vicarious experiences, news media, satisfaction with the police, perceptions of interactions with the police, experiences of

victimization, procedural justice, and general beliefs about the occupation of policing (Chermak & Wilson, 2020; Circo et al., 2019; Franklin et al., 2019; McClure et al., 2019; Novak, 2005; Wheelock et al., 2019).

Citizen's perceptions of community policing have a strong positive impact on crime prevention behaviors and satisfaction with police (Scheider et al., 2003). However, the literature shows that community policing may not change residents' perceptions of policing strategy, police demeanor towards citizens, and orientations of the police to work with community members (Braga & Bond, 2009). These sentiments have been echoed by Weisburd et al. (2011) who found that hotspot policing did not have a significant impact on perceived police legitimacy, perceptions of collective efficacy, and fear of crime. According to the current evidence, minority communities' perceptions of community policing and its impacts are influenced by age, medial influence, and racial issues (Griggs, 2017). Police perceptions of the police-community relationship are more positive in the primarily White neighborhoods (Stein & Griffith, 2017) and their attitudes towards community collaboration initiatives are influenced by their perceptions of organizational justice and self-legitimacy, and being assigned to a patrol division (Nix et al., 2018).

Considering the widespread and persistent cases of police brutality and racial profiling, there is a need to identify potential solutions to the strain that these vices cause on the police-community relationship and their adverse impacts on minority communities. This literature review reveals that minority communities are more likely to have negative views of the police, which can be explained by the current trends and statics in police racial profiling and brutality. Community policing has been proposed as a viable solution to the broken relationship between the police and minority communities. Specifically, hiring police officers to police the

neighborhoods in which they live has been found to have consistently positive impacts on community well-being and community perceptions of the police.

The existing literature shows that communities of color continue to experience brutality and racial profiling by the police despite interventions to address the issues, and minority ethnic communities continue to have negative perceptions of the police. Therefore, there is a need to identify the factors that influence people's perceptions of the police, which may inform future interventions to improve policing. In this regard, the current study aimed to determine the relationship between the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of racial profiling and brutality by the police, and residents' perceptions of the police. There is also a need to focus on urban and suburban areas because they experience the highest rates of police brutality and racial profiling. The current literature also shows that urban areas have higher police-involved killings than suburban areas (Edwards et al., 2018), and residents in suburban communities report higher levels of satisfaction with the police than those from urban communities (Verga et al., 2018). Further research would help to substantiate the current findings and provide a more current picture of the police brutality and racial profiling in urban and suburban areas.

The current evidence on citizen's perceptions of the police is conflicting, with some scholars showing that citizens generally have positive perceptions of the police, while others report that the public mostly has negative perceptions of the police (Nadal & Davidoff, 2015). Additionally, previous studies have been conducted in different settings, using different populations, which limits the generalizability of their findings across all geographical settings and populations. The extant literature reveals that community perceptions of the police vary by race and place, which also makes it difficult to generalize the perceptions of the police across all

communities (Nadal et al. (2017). Therefore, the current study is needed to determine the generalizability of previous findings in the literature. The study results may provide evidence to substantiate or refute previous findings on the relationship between community policing and perceptions of the police. By investigating urban and suburban communities in Chicago, this study has added to the number of different settings and populations explored in the literature, and thus expand the current knowledge on community policing, police brutality and profiling, and perceptions of the police in urban and suburban areas.

The research question guiding this study is as follows: to what degree do the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police predict residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities? There are three variables in the above research question. The extent to which community policing is practiced is one predictor (independent) variable. The key predictor (independent) variable is the likelihood of racial profiling and brutality by the police, while the dependent variable is residents' perceptions of the police. A questionnaire survey was conducted to collect the data needed to answer the research question. Each variable was measured using a validated instrument.

Method

This section describes the methods that were used to conduct the study. The section covers several methodological aspects including the research design, participants, and data collection procedures. A rationale is also provided for the methods selected to conduct the study.

Research Design

The proposed study used a quantitative methodology with a correlational design. The philosophical foundation of quantitative research is that true knowledge can only be determined through observation and measurement (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020). Quantitative research examines phenomena using statistical methods, trends, and frequencies (Mohajan, 2020). Quantitative methods can be used in studies that measure behaviors, perceptions, opinions, and attitudes to quantify them (Uher, 2018). In this regard, they are appropriate for the proposed study because it attempts to measure residents' perceptions of the police and police behavior related to racial profiling as well as potential improvements to the current system. Researchers usually conduct quantitative research to establish the relationship between variables, explain causal relationships, and describe current situations (Mertler, 2021). The current study aimed to establish the relationship between community policing, the likelihood of racial profiling and brutality by the police, and residents' perceptions of the police.

Unlike the qualitative approach that answers the research question using narrative data, quantitative methods answer the research question using numerical data (Eyisi, 2016). Therefore, the quantitative approach is more appropriate for this study considering that the research question inquires about the relationship between variables and thus requires numerical data. The current study is guided by the following research question: to what degree do the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or

brutality by the police predict residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities? Quantitative methods can be applied objectively and replicated by other researchers and are thus more reliable than qualitative methods (Pathak, Jena, & Kalra, 2013). Additionally, qualitative research is exposed to research and respondent biases (Tomaszewski, Zarestky, & Gonzalez, 2020). Numerous studies have used a quantitative approach to measure community policing, its related factors, and its impacts (Miles-Johnson, Fay, & Wiedlitzk, 2021; Peyton et al., 2019; Rukus, Warner, & Zhang, 2018), racial bias by the police (Pica and Verno, 2011), and community perceptions of the police (Chermak & Wilson, 2020; Nadal et al., 2017).

This study used the correlational design to answer the research question. Correlational research is conducted to examine the relationship or association between variables using the data from a single group of respondents (Buhse et al., 2018). Specifically, this study used the correlational-predictive design. This design aims to evaluate the relationship between two or more variable but does not determine causality (Baltaci, 2019). It is appropriate for studies that aim to predict an outcome variable from one or more predictor variables. In this study, the extent to which community policing is practiced is one independent (predictor) variable, residents' perception of the police is the dependent (outcome) variable, and the likelihood of participants having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police is the key predictor (independent) variable.

To answer the correlational-predictive question, a multivariate regression analysis was conducted. Multivariate regression is commonly used for relating a set of two or more variables, with multiple independent variables. In regression analysis, the aim is to obtain a prediction of one variable, given the values of the others (Angelini, 2019). The Pearson's r value was obtained to determine the strength of the correlation between the independent (predictor) variables and the

outcome variable. An r value of 0.1 to 0.3 indicates a weak correlation; 0.3 to 0.5 indicates a medium strength correlation; and 0.5 to 1.0 indicates a strong correlation. The r^2 value was obtained to determine the degree to which the independent variables explained the variance of the dependent variable. The beta coefficient (β) was also obtained to indicate the degree of change in the outcome (dependent) variable for every 1-unit change in the predictor variables. The Beta value shows the strength of the effect for each predictor variable. The p -value was obtained using a multivariate regression to determine whether there is a significant predictive relationship between the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of racial profiling and brutality by the police, and residents' perceptions of the police, and whether the null hypothesis should be rejected. Additionally, the following assumptions of multivariate regression were tested: the relationship between the outcome (dependent) variable and the independent variables is linear; the residuals are normally distributed; there are no outliers; the independent variables are not highly correlated with each other; and observations are independent from one another.

Participants (Level 2)

The participants included adult U.S. citizens from diverse ethnic communities, including Whites, Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Communities. In 2020, the White non-Hispanic population was the largest in the U.S. (57.8%); the Hispanic population was the second largest (18.7%), while Black Americans were the third largest population (12.1%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020a). Data from 2019 shows that the American Indian and Alaska Native alone population constituted 1.3% of the U.S. population, while Asian alone were 5.9% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b). The current data shows that there are significant disparities in police treatment of different ethnic groups in the U.S. For instance, a report by the

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (2018) revealed that while the majority of victims in police-related killings in 2016 were Whites, an assessment of the data based on their proportion in the total population showed that Hispanics, Native Americans, and Blacks had higher death rates: for the Whites, the rate was 2.9 per million people compared to 3.23 for Hispanic Americans, 6.66 for Blacks, and 10.13 for Native Americans.

The target population of this study included adult citizens from urban and suburban areas in Chicago, Illinois. The research sample was drawn from this population. The participants included randomly selected adults (18 years and above) who were willing to participate in the study. The required sample size was estimated using a power analysis. Using a medium effect size of 0.3, a statistical significance alpha of 0.05, and statistical power of 0.95, it was determined that a sample size of 46 was sufficient to answer the research question. The figure below shows the results of the power analysis.

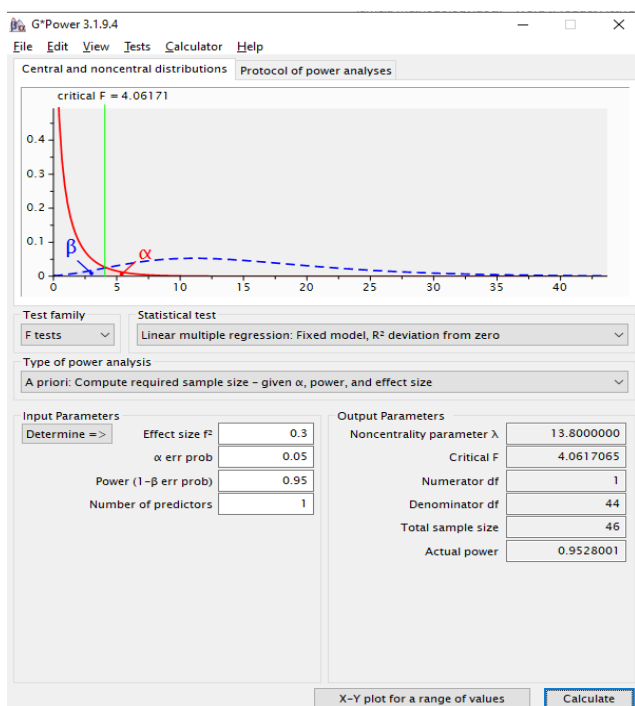


Figure 1. Power Analysis of Estimated Sample Size

Instruments/Materials (Level 2)

This section describes the instruments that were used to collect data to answer the research questions. Three variables were measured in this study: community policing, resident's perception of the police, and the likelihood of racial profiling and brutality by the police. Each variable was measured using a validated instrument as described below.

Police and Law Enforcement (PLE) Scale

The PLE Scale was introduced by English et al. (2017). The questionnaire aims to measure the frequency and negative past experiences of police-based discrimination. The PLE Scale consists of a five-item scale. Each item is measured using a six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = 'Never' to 6 = 'Always.' The questionnaire is scored by finding the average of all five items and calculating a composite score. Higher scores indicate greater frequency and more negative experiences with the police. The instrument developers found that the PLE Scale had a high reliability, with a Cronbach's coefficient of .87. It also has a high validity: a measure of convergent validity established that the PLE scores were positively associated with reports of racial discrimination ($\beta = .72, p < .01$) (English et al., 2017).

Perceptions of Police Survey (POPS)

The POPS was developed by Nadal and Davidoff (2015). The questionnaire measure individuals' perceptions of the police. The tool measures 12 item across two scales: general attitudes toward police (nine items) and perceptions of police bias (three items). The questions comprise of statements that respondents are asked to agree or disagree with. The items are measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = 'strongly agree' to 5 = 'strongly disagree.' Examples of items on the POPS questionnaire are "Police officers are friendly," "Police officers protect me," "Police officers treat all people fairly," "I like the police," and "The

police are good people.” A lower score indicates the respondent feels more positively towards the police. A higher score indicates the respondent feels more negatively towards the police. According to the instrument developers, the POPS has a high reliability, with an overall Cronbach’s coefficient of .94 for the two-factor solution. The instrument has a high validity, accounting for 70.44% of the variance (Nadal & Davidoff, 2015).

Community Survey on Public Safety and Law Enforcement

The Community Survey on Public Safety and Law Enforcement (CSPSLE) was developed by the U.S. Department of Justice [DOJ], Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) in 2014. The questionnaire measures the opinions and experiences of community members with the police. The questionnaire has 26 items across five subscales: community involvement (five items), safety (10 items), procedural justice (three items), performance, and contact and satisfaction (eight items). The items include both Likert scale questions with varying ranges and closed-ended questions. The questionnaire also has a five-item section to measure the respondents’ demographics, including years lived in the community, gender, age, and race. To measure community policing, this study only used the first subscale, community involvement, which consists of five items measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = ‘Not at all’ to 5 = ‘To a great extent.’ The demographic section was used to collect the respondents’ demographic information.

Procedure

The research first sought IRB approval to conduct the study. Once approval was provided, the researcher recruited participants until the estimated sample size was achieved. The participants were recruited using random sampling. Random sampling is a sampling technique in which every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected. It is used when the

population is accessible and known (Elfil & Negida, 2017). The researcher approached individuals in person and through social media platforms and requested them to participate in the study. The researcher primarily found potential participants on social media platforms, including Facebook and Instagram, and messaged them requesting their participation. The social media search was filtered to find users who are based in the Chicagoland area. Both recruitment methods were used to enhance the chances of achieving the target sample size. The researcher recruited only the participants who are 18 years or older. Those who agreed to participate were asked to provide their email addresses and informed consent forms were sent for them to sign. The informed consent process included distributing a written consent form with information about the purpose and scope of the study. Only participants who agreed to participate and signed the form were invited to continue.

The researcher then distributed the three research instruments – PLE Scale, POPS, and CSPSLE – to collect data. The instruments were created into online questionnaire forms using Google Forms, and the links to the online surveys were emailed to the participants who give their consent. The researcher provided the participants with instructions on how to complete the questionnaire. The instructions covered the expectations for each section, as well as how to indicate the responses for the different types of questions. The participants were asked to provide honest information, and were provided with a timeline for the completion of the survey (one week).

Once the online surveys were completed, the researcher tabulated the raw data using Microsoft Excel. The raw data in electronic format was protected using passwords. To protect the participants' privacy, no information with personal identifiers was collected. The researcher

entered the tabulated raw data into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software to analyze it.

Results

This study aimed to examine the relationship between community policing, racial profiling or brutality by the police, and perceptions of the police. The study was guided by the following question: to what degree does the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police predict residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities? To answer this question, the researcher collected data from adult citizens in Illinois and conducted quantitative analysis on the data. The results of the analysis are reported in this chapter. The chapter first summarizes the demographic characteristics of the participants, which is followed by a description of the analysis procedures and a summary of the results of analysis.

Descriptive Data

The participants of this study included adult citizens from urban and suburban areas in Chicago, Illinois. An online questionnaire survey was used to collect information from the participants. A total of 112 participants completed the survey. Table 1 below summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample. The table provides the means and frequencies for each demographic category.

Table 1*Demographic Characteristics of Sample*

Baseline characteristic	<i>n</i>	%
Age		
18-29 years	12	10.71%
30-39 years	22	19.64%
40-49 years	21	18.75%
50-59 years	34	30.36%
60-69 years	13	11.61%
70 years or older	10	8.93%
Gender		
Male	66	58.93%
Female	46	41.07%
Education Level		
High School graduate/GED	13	11.61%
Associates Degree	16	14.29%
Bachelor's Degree	25	22.32%
Master's Degree	28	25.00%
Doctorate Degree	19	16.96%
Doctor of Medicine	11	9.82%
Marital Status		
Single, never married	18	16.07%
Married/domestic partnership	35	31.25%
Widowed	20	17.86%
Divorced	21	18.75%
Separated	18	16.07%
Employment Status		
Employed for wages or salary	22	19.64%
Self-employed	14	12.50%
Out of work	15	13.39%
A homemaker	11	9.82%
Student	18	16.07%
Military	13	11.61%
Retired	11	9.82%
Unable to work	8	7.14%
Race		
Black or Black American	91	81.25%
White	2	1.79%
American Indian or Alaska Native	4	3.58%
Prefer not to answer	15	13.39%
Average household income		
0- \$24,999	15	13.39%

\$25,000- \$49,999	18	16.07%
\$50,000- \$74,999	23	20.54%
\$75,000- \$99,000	16	14.29%
\$100,000- \$124,000	15	13.39%
\$125,000- \$149,999	14	12.50%
\$150,000 or higher	11	9.82%

According to the data shown in Table 1 above, the sample was diverse. Both genders were well represented in the sample, with males being the majority ($n = 66$, 58.93 %). Most of the participants were Black or Black American ($n = 91$, 81.25 %) and Whites were the smallest group in the sample ($n = 2$, 1.79%). A majority of the participants were aged 50-59 years ($n = 34$, 30.36 %). The data also showed that most of the participants had completed a Master's degree ($n = 28$, 25.00%). A majority of the participants reported that they were married or in a domestic partnership ($n = 35$, 31.25 %). The employment status data showed that most of the participants were employed for wages or salary ($n = 22$, 19.64%). The analysis also revealed that most participants had an average annual household income of \$50,000- \$74,999 ($n = 23$, 20.94%). Based upon the descriptive analysis of the sample demographics we can have confidence that this is a sufficiently diverse sample to generalize the findings to the broader Black/Black American population of the region.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 below summarizes the descriptive statistics of the predictor variables and the dependent variable. The table provides the means and standard deviations (SDs) of these variables. The minimum and maximum values of each variables are also provided in Table 2.

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics of Predictor and Independent Variables*

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Perceptions of police	112	2.00	5.00	3.438	.786
Racial profiling	112	1.00	4.50	1.348	.765
Extent of community policing	112	1.00	4.00	1.875	.850
Valid N (listwise)	112				

The data displayed in Table 2 shows that the minimum value of perceptions of police was 2, while the maximum was 5 and the mean was 3.438 ($SD = .786$), which indicates that most participants had fairly neutral perceptions about the police. The data shows that the mean value of racial profiling by the police was 1.348 ($SD = .765$), which, based on the PLE Scale, shows that most participants rarely experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police. The mean value of the extent of community policing is 1.875 ($SD = .850$), which, on the CSPSLE Questionnaire scale of 1 to 4, shows the participants perceive that community policing is close to not being practice at all.

Table 3 below provides the descriptive statistics for the study variables by race. The data shows the racial differences in the participants' perceptions about the extent of community policing, racial profiling and brutality by the police. Table 3 provides data for four primary groups: Black or Black American, White, American Indian or Alaska Native, and those whom preferred not to answer.

Table 3*Perceptions of the Extent of Community Policing by Race*

		Extent of community policing				Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	
What is your race?	Black or Black American	35	38	14	4	91
	White	0	1	0	1	2
	American Indian or Alaska Native	2	0	2	0	4
	uncertain	6	6	3	0	15
Total		43	45	19	5	112

According to the data provided above, most Black or Black American participants thought that that community policing was only practiced once in a while ($n = 38, 41.76\%$), with a sizeable number reporting that community policing was not practiced at all ($n = 35, 38.46\%$). Whites were divided on the matter, with 50% ($n = 1$) reporting that community policing was practiced “a little” and 50% ($n = 1$) reporting that community policing was practiced a lot. The data also shows that 50% ($n = 2$) of American Indian or Alaska Natives thought that community policing was not practiced at all, while the other 50% ($n = 2$) reported that community policing was “somewhat” practiced. Of those who preferred not to identify their race, 40% ($n = 6$) reported that community policing was not practiced at all, 40% ($n = 6$) thought that community policing was practiced “a little,” and 20% ($n = 3$) reported that community policing was “somewhat” practiced. Table 4 below provides descriptive data for the racial differences in the experiences of racial profiling or brutality by the police.

Table 4*Participants Experiences of Racial Profiling or Brutality by the Police by Race*

		Racial profiling or brutality by the police							Total
		1.00	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	4.00	4.50	
What is your race?	Black or Black American	68	7	6	3	5	1	1	91
	White American	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	American Indian or Alaska Native	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	4
	uncertain	13	1	1	0	0	0	0	15
Total		85	8	7	3	5	2	2	112

Table 4 shows that most Black or Black American participants reported never having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police ($n = 68$, 74.73%), while 7.69% reported having experienced once in a while and 6.59% reported that they seldom experienced it. The White participants reported having never experienced racial profiling and brutality by the police ($n = 2$, 100%). Among American Indian or Alaska Native participants, 50% ($n = 20$) reported never having experienced racial profiling and brutality by the police, while 25% ($n = 1$) reported having experienced it often and 25% ($n = 1$) reported having experienced it always. Of those who preferred not to indicate their race, 86.67% ($n = 13$) reported never having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police.

Research Question 1: It is hypothesized that the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police have a significant predictive relationship with residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities.

The predictive relationship between the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police, and residents' perceptions of the police was examined using multivariate regression analysis.

Quantitative analysis of the relationship between the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police, and residents' perceptions of the police

The predictive relationship between the two independent variables (the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of participants having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police) and the outcome variable (residents' perceptions of the police) was analyzed using a multivariate regression. Multivariate regression is commonly used for relating a set of two or more variables, with multiple independent variables. The researcher conducted the regression analysis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

The Pearson's r value was obtained to determine the strength of the correlation between the independent (predictor) variables and the outcome variable. The r^2 value was obtained to determine the degree to which the predictor variables explained the variance of the outcome variable. The Beta value was obtained to determine the strength of the effect for each predictor variable. The p -value was obtained to determine whether the relationship between the variables was significant and whether the null hypothesis should be rejected. The output of the SPSS analysis is summarized in the tables below. Table 2 below shows the model summary. The model summary explains the relationship between the predictor variables and the dependent variable.

Table 5*Model Summary*

Model	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> Square	Adjusted <i>R</i> Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.503 ^a	.253	.239	.686

- a. Predictors: (Constant), the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police

According to the results shown in Table 2, the Pearson's *r* value of the model is 0.503. An *r* value of 0.503 indicates that there is a strong correlation between the predictor variables, the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of participants having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police, and the dependent variable, residents' perceptions of the police. The results show that the *r*² value is 0.253, which indicates that the two predictor variables explain 25.30% of the variance in the residents' perceptions of the police.

Table 3 below shows the results of ANOVA analysis.

Table 6*ANOVA Analysis*

Model		Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Sig.
1	Regression	17.341	2	8.671	18.451	<.001 ^b
	Residual	51.221	109	.470		
	Total	68.563	111			

- a. Dependent Variable: perceptions of police
- b. Predictors: (Constant), the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police

An ANOVA analysis was conducted to determine whether the results were significant. The results shown in Table 3 indicate that the *p*-value is <0.001. The analysis shows that the relationship observed between the predictors and the independent variable was highly

statistically significant, considering the a priori significance alpha value of 0.05. These results also indicate that the null hypothesis can be rejected. Table 4 below shows the coefficients of the model.

Table 7

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficient	<i>t</i>	Sig.
		<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.643	.213		17.140	<.001
	racial_profiling	.305	.086	.297	3.526	<.001
	extent_of_community_policing	-.328	.078	-.355	-4.219	<.001

a. Dependent variable: residents' perceptions of the police

b. Predictors: (Constant), the extent to which community policing is practiced, the likelihood of participants having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police

According to the results displayed in Table 4, a unit change in the extent to which community policing is practiced results in a -.328 unit change in the residents' perceptions of the police ($p < 0.001$). These results show an increase in the extent to which community policing is practiced can decrease negative perceptions of the police (the POPS scale has a five point likert scale ranging from 1 = 'strongly agree' to 5 = 'strongly disagree,' which shows that higher scores indicate more negative perceptions of the police). A unit change in the likelihood of experiencing racial profiling or brutality by the police causes a .305 unit change in the residents' perceptions of the police ($p < 0.001$), which show that an increase in the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling by the police can lead to an increase in negative perceptions of the police.

Quantitative analysis of the relationship between demographic variables and residents' perceptions of the police

The predictive relationship between four demographic and the dependent variable (residents' perceptions of the police) was analyzed using a multiple linear regression. The analysis was conducted to determine whether demographic variables had a significant influence on residents' perceptions of the police, given that the predictor variables only explained 25.30% of the variance in the dependent variable. Table 8 below provides the model summary for the demographic variables, income, age, gender, and education level.

Table 8

Model Summary of Demographic Variables

Model	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> Square	Adjusted <i>R</i> Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.192 ^a	.037	.001	.78814

a. Predictors: (Constant), What is your gender?, What is your age group?, What is your highest level of education completed?, What is your approximate average household income?

According to the results shown in Table 8, the Pearson's *r* value of the model is 0.192, which indicates that there is a weak correlation between the demographic variables, and the dependent variable, residents' perceptions of the police. The results show that the r^2 value is 0.037, which indicates that the two predictor variables explain 3.7% of the variance in the residents' perceptions of the police. Table 9 below shows the results of ANOVA analysis.

Table 9*ANOVA Analysis of Demographic Variables*

Model		Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Sig.
1	Regression	2.525	4	.631	1.016	.402 ^b
	Residual	65.844	106	.621		
	Total	68.369	110			

Dependent Variable: perceptions of police

- a. Predictors: (Constant), What is your gender?, What is your age group?, What is your highest level of education completed?, What is your approximate average household income?

An ANOVA analysis was conducted to determine whether the relationship between the demographic variables and the dependent variable was significant. The results shown in Table 9 indicate that the *p*-value is 0.402. This analysis shows that the relationship between the demographic variables, income, age, gender, and education level, and the independent variable was not statistically significant.

The researcher also conducted a regression analysis to determine whether individual demographic variables had a significantly relationship with the residents' perceptions of the police. This analysis included other demographic variables that were ignored in the above analysis. Table 10 below shows the model summary.

Table 10*Model Summary*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.203 ^a	.041	-.016	.80070

- a. Predictors: (Constant), What is your zip code?, What is your highest level of education completed?, What is your age group?, What is your gender?, What is your employment status?, What is your marital status?

The model summary shown in Table 8 includes four demographic variables: age, gender, education level, and income. The model summary in Table 10 include six demographic variables: age, gender, education level, employment status, marital status, and location (the zip codes were categorized as urban, suburban, and rural). The results of the analysis revealed that this model explained only 4.1% of the variance in residents' perceptions of the police ($r^2 = 0.041$). Table 11 below shows the results of the ANOVA analysis.

Table 11

ANOVA Analysis of Demographic Variables

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2.793	6	.465	.726	.630 ^b
	Residual	64.754	101	.641		
	Total	67.546	107			

- a. Dependent Variable: perceptions_of_police
- b. Predictors: (Constant), What is your zip code?, What is your highest level of education completed?, What is your age group?, What is your gender?, What is your employment status?, What is your marital status?

According to the results shows in Table 11, the model did not show a significant correlation with the dependent variable. The results reveal that the six variables combined did not have a significant relationship with the residents' perceptions of the police ($p = 0.631$). To determine whether individual variables had a significant correlation with the dependent variable, the coefficients were examined. Table 12 below shows the coefficients of each demographic variable.

Table 12*Coefficients*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.024	.615		6.543	<.001
	What is your gender?	.065	.158	.041	.409	.683
	What is your age group?	-.109	.079	-.146	-1.374	.173
	What is your marital status?	-.054	.071	-.079	-.752	.454
	What is your highest level of education completed?	.005	.062	.009	.086	.932
	What is your employment status?	.054	.048	.116	1.127	.262
	What is your zip code?	-5.369E-6	.000	-.063	-.632	.529

a. Dependent Variable: perceptions_of_police

b. Predictors: (Constant), What is your zip code?, What is your highest level of education completed?, What is your age group?, What is your gender?, What is your employment status?, What is your marital status?

According to the results displayed in Table 12, none of the variables individually had a significant relationship with the dependent variable. None of the demographic variables examined had a p -value less than 0.05: age ($p = 0.173$), gender ($p = 0.683$), marital status ($p = 0.454$), education level ($p = 0.932$), employment status ($p = 0.262$), and location ($p = 0.529$). The model analyses reveal that age, gender, education level, income, marital status, employment status, and location have very little influence on how individuals perceive the police.

Discussion

The present study investigated whether the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police predict residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities. To answer the research question, the researcher adopted a quantitative methodology with a correlational design. A multiple regression analysis was conducted on the raw data collected from 112 participants. The results of analysis provided insights into the relationship between community policing and the racial profiling or brutality by the police. The results show that the two predictor variables had a highly significant predictive relationship with residents' perceptions of the police when combined ($p < 0.001$). The findings show that the predictor variables combined have a strong correlation with the dependent variable ($r = 0.503$). In addition, the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police explained only 25.30 percent of the variance in residents' perceptions of the police, which implies that perceptions of the police are largely influenced by other factors.

The beta values show that an increase in the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling by the police can lead to an increase in negative perceptions of the police ($\beta = .305, p < 0.001$). An increase in the extent to which community policing is practiced can decrease negative perceptions of the police ($\beta = .328, p < 0.001$). It was hypothesized that the extent to which community policing is practiced and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police has a significant predictive relationship with residents' perceptions of the police in urban and suburban communities. The extent to which community policing is practiced was operationally defined as the degree to which the police live in a community and engage in the activities of community policing work as measured using the five-item Community

Involvement subscale of the Community Survey on Public Safety and Law Enforcement (CSPSLE). The likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police was operationally defined as the frequency in which residents have had negative experiences with the police related to racial profiling or brutality within the past five years as measured using the five-item Police and Law Enforcement (PLE) Scale. Residents' perceptions of the police was operationally defined as the extent to which residents agree to positive statements about the police as measured using the 12-item Perceptions of Police Survey (POPS). The observed p -value of <0.001 shows that the hypothesis was supported and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected.

The data revealed patterns that are not consistent with some existing literature that show that Black Americans are more likely to experience racial profiling and brutality by the police (Baumgartner et al., 2017; Horrace & Rohlin, 2016). The existing literature shows that Black Americans have far more negative contact with the police than do Whites and are disproportionately targeted by the police (Baumgartner et al., 2018). While most of the participants in this study were Black or Black American ($n = 91, 81.25\%$), a majority reported rarely experiencing racial profiling or brutality by the police ($M = 1.88, SD = .85$). Precisely, most Black or Black American participants reported never having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police ($n = 68, 74.73\%$).

Furthermore, the existing evidence shows that citizens' perceptions of the police seem to be predicted by race and where they live, and studies show that Black Americans are more likely to report negative perceptions of the police than Latinx and other minority communities (Nadal et al., 2017; Thomas & Russell, 2019). The present findings again contradict the existing literature, given the study findings show that only 14.29% of Black or Black American

participants ($n = 13$) had negative perceptions of the police (which includes those who disagreed or strongly disagreed to the positive statements about the police). However, the influence of race on perceptions of the police cannot be ascertained because race was not a variable examined in the regression analysis and there was not enough variability in this sample to compare across racial groups. It is also difficult to make such generalizations because community perceptions of the police vary by place (Nadal et al., 2017). The patterns identified in the data may explain why Black or Black American participants had fairly neutral perceptions of the police. Having mostly never experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police, it may be logical why most Black Americans in this study did not harbor negative perceptions of the police.

The present findings substantiate previous findings that demonstrate a significant relationship between racial profiling and brutality by the police and perceptions of the police. Pryce et al. (2021) Black American's perceptions of the police were influenced by vicarious experiences of friends and relatives and personal experiences. Jackson et al. (2020) found that most forms of police violence were significantly and negatively associated with perceptions of the police. The findings of this study were similar, showing that an increase in the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police may increase residents' negative perceptions of the police ($\beta = .305, p < 0.001$). In addition, the study findings support previous literature that found a significant relationship between community policing and perceptions of the police. Scheider et al. (2003) found that citizens' perceptions of community policing had a strong positive impact on perceptions of police effectiveness. However, the present findings contradict previous evidence showing that the extent to which community policing is practiced may have a weak or no impact on residents' perceptions of the police. Braga and Bond (2009)

found that community policing may not change residents' perceptions of policing strategy, police demeanor towards citizens, and orientations of the police to work with community members.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations are the potential weaknesses of the study. The first limitation is a sampling limitation. The sample was drawn from a single geographic setting – Chicago, Illinois – which may limit the generalizability of the findings to other settings. In addition, while the study attempted to target participants of diverse races, Black Americans were the largest majority in the sample (81.25%), while other races such as Whites were disproportionately represented and others missing from the sample. The distribution of race in the sample may influence the outcomes of the study. This study used self-reported data to answer the research question. Self-reported data may expose the study to response bias due to dishonesty or the lack of introspective ability, which refers to the ability to assess oneself accurately (Rosenman et al., 2011). Another potential limitation arising from self-reported data is recall bias. Recall bias occurs when study participants fail to accurately remember previous events or omit details. Recall bias is a major threat to internal validity.

The use of a single instrument to measure the variables may be a limiting factor because the measures used may not cover all aspects of the variables being measured. For instance, the POPS scale used in the questionnaire may not provide a comprehensive picture of the residents' perceptions of the police. Furthermore, a limiting factor of using a quantitative approach is that quantitative methods only provide snapshots of the phenomena rather than an in-depth look into the phenomena (Rahman, 2016).

Future Directions for Research

Future studies should examine the research variables using more diverse samples to minimize chances of biased findings. Future studies may replicate the current project at different

geographical settings to determine the generalizability of the study findings across other populations. Studying different settings is important because perceptions of the police vary by place (Nadal et al., 2017). Future studies may use larger samples to answer the research question. Larger samples offer the advantage of more data points, lower margin of error, and better accuracy, which improves the external validity of the study and the generalizability of the study findings (Vasileiou et al., 2018).

Additionally, the findings show that the two predictor variables account for only 25.30% of the variance in residents' perceptions of the police, implying that perceptions of the police are largely explained by other factors. Future research should examine more predictor variables such as race, socio-economic status, and other relevant constructs that may have an influence on people's perceptions of the police. Given that quantitative research only reveals the patterns and trends in the research data, future studies should use qualitative methods to examine the underlying factors influencing perceptions of the police and generate more insights into the research topic. Qualitative methods can reveal the underlying reasons for observed patterns and generate an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Busetto et al., 2020).

Implications for Policy or Practice

The findings of this study show that the extent to which community policing is practiced, and the likelihood of having experienced racial profiling or brutality by the police may influence residents' perceptions of the police, albeit fairly. These findings encourage police departments in urban and suburban areas to review and improve their practices such as police stops, arrests, frisking, and summons to prevent racial bias and discrimination by the police. Urban and suburban police departments often engaged in excessive enforcement and surveillance practices disproportionately targeted to people of color (Braga et al., 2019). The police should be trained to recognize bias and prejudice and be impartial; such training should occur in the police

academies and on the job. Police departments should allocate adequate budgets for police officer training and regularly evaluate the trends in or rate of racial profiling and brutality by their police officers. Incentives such as awards, recognition, and salary bonuses may be provided to encourage police officers to abstain from discriminatory behavior. Training programs should also focus on training police officers to appropriately address and respond to the social problems and conditions they encounter as first responders.

The study findings affirm that community policing may influence perceptions of the police. Community policing has been proposed as a solution to transform the police beyond the conflicts that the society and the police have had in the past (Brown, 2019). Law enforcement officers should strive to create a personal, responsive presence in the communities they serve. Police departments can improve police-community relationships by creating a shared vision with community members, creating a shift in power between the police and community leaders, and including community representatives in department meetings. Workshops and seminars on community policing may be a viable way to involve the community in policing and collaboratively deliberate on issues affecting both the community and the police in order to come up with a joint solution for the issues that have strained police-community relations in the past. Practices such as hiring police officers to police the neighborhoods in which they live may improve community well-being and community perceptions of the police.

Policy makers have a significant influence on police-community relations. Policy makers at federal, state, and local levels should continue to promote community-oriented policing. Future policies should emphasize positive, non-enforcement contact with the public as a way to enhance police legitimacy and improve public perceptions of the police. Policies and legislation may also focus on increasing expenditure to support community policing efforts; the Violent

Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 is an example of a federal legislation introduced to provide more funds for community policing efforts.

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