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Authority with Procedural Justice: The Establishment and Enforcement of Expectations of Public Trust

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AUTHORITY WITH PROCEDURAL JUSTICE: THE ESTABLISHMENT AND
ENFORCEMENT OF EXPECTATIONS OF PUBLIC TRUST

by

Paris Desiree Eikanger Stoops

An undergraduate honors thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

in

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Criminology and Criminal Justice

Thesis Advisor

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Abstract

This thesis supposes all police officers should exercise authority with procedural justice, where implementation of nationwide procedural justice standards should explicitly prioritize establishing and enforcing expectations of public trust—*justitia erga omnes*. A qualitative temporal literary argument morally, ethically, socially, and democratically supported by a broad spectrum of criminal justice research, analyzed alongside traumatically racialized experiences, at the intersectionality of five administrations worth of sequent presidential crime policies and earth-shattering junctures in the lives of everyday Americans. Five brief companion analyses follow, exploring overlapping moral and ethical perspectives of dignity, respect, and *fairness* within contemporary policing in America.

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Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 What is rightful policing?

One of the most brilliant legal minds of our time explains. According to Tracy L. Meares, Walton Hale Hamilton Professor of Law at Yale Law School, and member of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing—at heart, all humans are more likely to voluntarily obey the laws of their land when they believe authorities have the right to tell them what to do, whereupon police serve as both minders and reminders of community—producing enduringly significant messages about the kind of place a community is or aspires to be (Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). Almost politically paradoxical at first glance, the testament of rightful policing does not depend on the actual lawfulness of police conduct, instead, rightful policing primarily depends on the procedural justice, or fairness, of police conduct—perceived and measured not by the state, but by the common people in whom democratic state power is vested (Meares, 2013). The most societally precious tenet of this theory is that procedural justice does not rely on police as ever more effective crime fighters, instead procedural justice helps society move toward substantially democratic police governance (Meares, 2013).

According to Meares, rightful policing is grounded in the social psychological concept of legitimacy (Meares, 2013). This means that the American people accept the legitimate democratically elected authority of the American government, collectively empowering and entitling it to make policy decisions on behalf of the people, including enforcing the rule of law (Meares, 2013). Instrumentally, from the identical democratic viewpoint of the American people,

when evaluating police conduct in terms of legitimate authority, the people systematically focus on a few vital dimensions of law enforcement (Meares, 2013):

Participation: People report higher satisfaction levels when they have an opportunity to explain and, vitally during police-citizen interactions, to feel heard by police officers (Meares, 2013).

Fairness: People care greatly about fairness (Meares, 2013). They look for neutrality, objectivity, factuality, consistency in decision-making, and officer transparency (Meares, 2013).

Dignity: People expect to be treated with human dignity, respect for their civil rights, and politeness and courteous respect (Meares, 2013).

Trust: During their interactions with authorities, the American people want to believe authorities are acting out of a sense of benevolence toward them, to trust the motivations of the authorities are sincere and well-intentioned—without guile, malevolence, indifference, or intolerance (Meares, 2013).

Together, these indicia embody the values of American democracy and comprise the model of procedural justice—the basis of legitimacy (Meares, 2013).

1.2 Introduction

For good or bad, undeniably Americans exist in a digital age where coming events have an uncanny ability to cast their shadows before them—particularly alarming, given the fragility

of democracy and the incendiary potential for mass social unrest stemming from disillusionment, distrust, and racial injustice. As expert authors and tenacious researchers postulate within the growing field of procedural justice, America reflects upon the tragedy of past racial events through an ever more explosive and socially critical lens.

My thesis examines research on legitimacy and rightful policing, expressed as the field of process-based “procedural justice.” Dimensions of participation, fairness, dignity, and trust are confronted by the harsh reality of everyday life and the experiences of marginalized Americans. Purposefully uncovering much potential to understand the legitimacy of policing in America, as it mirrors the social and cultural framework of human responses and the broader nature of America itself, encapsulated within the lens of law enforcement. A lens currently, but not indomitably, handcuffed by our culture of violence, mass incarceration, and racialized injustice. The progression and evolution of procedural justice theory become a dynamic extension of American society, amplifying the meritorious social connections from the many ways it has been assessed, emphasizing the urgency, breadth, and diversity of this research as an illustration of its importance and immediacy.

By examining procedural justice through a temporal literary review of an extensive body of existing research published from 1990 to 2020, I draw progressive, overarching moral, legal, ethical, political, and social evidentiary threads together to demonstrate why prioritizing the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust is vitally imperative to both the success and legitimacy of procedurally just, process-based policing and the long-term integrity and legitimacy of American democracy. Five brief companion analyses follow, exploring overlapping moral and ethical perspectives of dignity, respect, and *fairness* within contemporary

policing in America. Racial divide and gaping socio-economic inequality continue to grow ever more relevant and impactful in policing today. Row on row, the headstones of generations of Black Americans travail onward, unbound remembrance, powerfully searing each exigency of political and policy failure. The consequences of oversight or injustice may conceivably become crimson de novo, spilling into global democratic structures of civilization. The findings of this review should prove ultrapractical and serviceable to law enforcement agencies, community stakeholders, and policymakers, furthering positive, constructive discussion between police departments and the communities they protect and serve (President's Task Force, 2015).

The birth of legitimacy and procedural justice theory temporally validates the genesis of racialized experiences—operationally affirming the beatings, deaths, riots, and presidency that fiercely impressed long-overdue changes upon the system and the tireless efforts of scholars and researchers striving to pave a policing policy path toward the construction of enduring trust. As policing emerges from our violent, racially divided past toward a propitious future, the core antecedent of legitimacy is the *fairness* of the procedures police use—rendering a predictable, high-quality experience of legitimate, proper justice to all—regardless of race, gender, or age (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The coalescing vantage points presented will ultimately reveal a cohesive roadmap of hope, good cops, and modern policing (Meares, 2013).

Chapter II: Methodology

2.1 Methodology

Evidence to support this integrated analysis is revealed through careful evaluation of its literary sources and complex racial trauma begot by state-sanctioned violence, which happened alongside criminal justice reform by presidency, identifying associations with my primary research supposition. Five brief companion analyses follow, exploring overlapping moral and ethical perspectives of dignity, respect, and *fairness* within contemporary policing in America. I analyze extant information and synthesize critical observations from within the materials, traumas, significant events, and policies, comparing the relationships and noting any points of dissensus between them.

The nature of research evidence utilized by scholars in this discourse community can be summated by the literary review of studies relevant to the scope of procedural justice, social psychology, anthropology, and policing, authored by a racially and academically diverse global community. The methodological approach is meticulously and pragmatically expressed through research stemming from multiple noteworthy disciplines—procedural justice, criminal justice policy and crime control practices, criminal law and criminology, police-community relationships, racial profiling, order maintenance, social psychology, investigative reporting, social and cultural anthropology, urban affairs, authors, researchers, and students.

Gallantly spotlit by one primary inspiration—*The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* [A.3.6], two pillars of understanding surface at the forefront of

the overarching framework of this review: first, trust between law enforcement and the people they protect and serve, is an essential element of peaceful, benevolent democracy (President's Task Force, 2015). Second, the integrity of the American criminal justice system and safe, effective delivery of policing services are decisively critical to the stability of American society (President's Task Force, 2015).

At its heart, this series of overlapping qualitative analyses explores the temporal progression of procedural justice theory alongside the moral, ethical, and democratic necessity for improving the process of policing. Though a large body of literature on trust, fairness, procedural justice, and legitimacy exists, I chose to analyze these articles, readings, reviews, and supporting materials because they are authored by a well-rounded balance of academics, intellectuals, and policing professionals (Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). The materials are thoughtful, make timely appearances without scholarly guise or veiled political intent, and are passionately dedicated to pursuing transparent findings through methodological accuracy and truth.

Chapter III: Temporal Analyses (1990 to 2020)

3.1 Temporal Proem

Appendices A to C contain detailed keynotes of the primary sources. Throughout my undergraduate journey, they have become extraordinarily powerful inspirations. The intersections of procedural justice research, racial trauma, and crime policy are unmistakable. The palpable sense of urgency within the discourse is distinct and persistent, with solutions roaring to outpace a destination tempo of destruction. Exploratory reading of the keynote primary sources in advance is highly encouraged and thoroughly worthwhile. The thoughts expressed within the original research offer many invaluable perspectives on the state of the problem, the plight of the people, and the force of tradition—past, present, and future.

The temporal analyses within Chapter III highlight each research source alongside many earth-shattering junctures in the lives of everyday Americans, the omnipresent cultural horror of complex racial trauma, and the cascading bleed-over of crime policy by presidency. Eighteen culturally devastating racialized experiences collide at the intersectionality of five presidential administrations and key crime policies; ultimately, cause and effect intermingle provocatively within the thought space of the twenty-six evolutionary procedural justice research corpora. Together, these powerful socio-intellectual forces coproduce three analyses, temporally delineated by consecutive decades, ultimately amalgamating in summary.

In hindsight, the totality of the research is hauntingly prophetic, oft fierce, unflinchingly validating the history of marginalization and racializing structures that have intensified the

collective and cumulative cultural tragedy of Black Americans who suffered brutally during police-citizen encounters (President's Task Force, 2015; Solis et al., 2009). Concurrently, the summation of the review becomes a powerful mirror—drawing progressive, overarching moral, legal, ethical, and social evidentiary threads together while responsibly reflecting a social and cultural framework of traumatic human responses affirming the genesis of racialized experiences. Poignant and powerful, the research and subsequent analyses insistently project an ongoing and acute need for change, underscored with hopeful potential for the broader scope of American society itself, expressed through the lens of *fairness* in the application of constitutional law and the actions of law enforcement.

3.2 The First Decade (1990 to 1999)

3.2.1 Introduction (1990 to 1999)

The first decade of this temporal review spans the inaugural timeframe of one singular prominent research piece igniting this discourse and keeping theoretical watchtowers burning from 1990 to 1999, intertwined with the excruciating injustices perpetrated against African Americans: Rodney King (1991), Anthony Baez (1994), Abner Louima (1997), and Amadou Diallo (1999) (Tyler, 1990). The analysis strongly suggests that had senior staff responsible for departmental policy, candidate selection, and the hiring/probationary evaluation of new officers, spotlight character and the broader capacity for moral judgment overarching interpretation of legal statutes proactively in 1990—Rodney King would never have been kicked and clubbed fifty-six times, Anthony Baez and Abner Louima would have remained very much alive and whole to their family-communities, and Amadou Diallo would nowise have endured staggeringly sadistic

physical torture and disfigurement (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Onion et al., 2010; Smith, 2020; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998).

3.2.2 Analysis (1990 to 1999)

For many upwardly-mobile-middle class and young urban professional “yuppie” Americans, the 1980s represented a decade of glamorous excess—a culture of greed and opulent wealth was openly revered—celebrities flaunted big hair and fast cars, vibrant color and spandex were all the rage. At long last, broader civil rights and gay culture seemed to have stepped permanently from the shadows. However, as the decade wore on, a seedy and insidiously adhesive underbelly slithered along its depths. Cocaine and violence flooded our streets, soon torsioning into an even more debilitating crack cocaine explosion within many poor minority communities. The specter of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) claimed lives by the tens of thousands, spreading fear and ignorance toward all minority communities like wildfire. During this era, from 1981 to 1989, an up-and-coming Republican and future presidential hopeful named George H.W. Bush [C.1] served as Vice-President, witnessing firsthand the wicked serpent clandestinely coiled within the Iran-Contra Affair; a viper whose venom bore *Erythroxyllum coca* through fangs of smoke and syringe, where many urban minority communities were fully engulfed by the destructive power and political popularity simultaneously wielded by “get tough” on crime policy (Iran-Contra Affair, 2017; Javdani, 2019).

3.2.2.1 1990

Sure enough, as the newly elected American President at the tail end of 1989, Bush immediately got to work on his own bill, implementing the Crime Control Act of 1990 just one year later. The effects were swift and seismic, criminalizing many non-violent low-level status offenses, spearheaded by a fresh focus on youth arrest and lengthy confinement that devastated minority communities still reeling from the onslaught of the crack cocaine epidemic (Javdani, 2019). Going to prison had become an ordinary and predictable life experience course trajectory for many young Black men and women, much like graduation or marriage is for others (Meares, 2009). One determined social psychologist fearlessly stepped forward in 1990 and presented a shining new perspective—Tom R. Tyler’s *Why People Obey the Law* [A.1.1.] stated that people obey the law because they believe it is proper, irrespective of the outcome, evaluating the relative justice or injustice of their treatment (Tyler, 1990).

Tyler realized that all humans value a chance to state their case, where everyone expects to be treated with dignity and respect—voluntarily obeying legitimate and moral law and accepting *fair* decisions (Tyler, 1990). Centrally, within the law enforcement community, this meant that police officers who recognized that exercising authority with fairness, dignity, and respect would be voluntarily accepted and obeyed (Tyler, 1990). Historically, for some departments, the idea of exercising police authority with fairness, dignity, and respect was tantamount to a totally alien concept (Tyler, 1990). A dimension far from a routine practice by law enforcement, especially within socio-economically disadvantaged minority communities (Meares, 2013; Tyler, 1990). Black and Brown people had experienced many generations of pain and persecution. Anger, resentment, and fear remained constant, a collective experience of

palpable daily suffering. Then, quite by chance, eighty-one seconds of graphically violent video footage would reveal their nightmarish horror to the world—police yelling racial slurs, kicking and clubbing a young Black man fifty-six times (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022).

Rodney King [B.1] would survive but never be the same.

3.2.2.2 1993

In 1993, Democrat Bill Clinton [C.2] stepped into the White House as President and, within one year of taking office, implemented a strict new crime policy of his own—the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Meares, 2013). The measure put many more officers on the streets, introduced harshly punitive “three strikes” laws, and imposed dramatically harsher prison sentences that created lifelong incarceration for both violent and non-violent offenders (Johnson, 2014). Tragically for Black and Brown communities, whose youth were already experiencing the cultural normalization of prison as an ordinary and predictable life experience course trajectory, the deeply racialized prison population began a devastating ascent trajectory of astronomical mass incarceration that continues to this day (Johnson, 2014; Meares, 2009).

3.2.2.3 1994 – 1999

The Clinton years would see three more utterly devastating traumas to the Black community, all centered around New York City. A young Black man was home visiting his family for Christmas in 1994, partaking in the most American pastimes—playing catch football with his brothers (Weiser, 1998). Anthony Baez [B.2] was killed simply as a consequence of his football striking a nearby patrol car; a young Black man violently choked to death by the illegal

use of a lethal strangulation hold on his neck (Mazelis, 1998; Weiser, 1998). His murderer had numerous other on-the-job incidents alleging the excessive use of force working as a police officer (Mazelis, 1998; Weiser, 1998). Worse still, three years earlier, his commanding officer had recommended the officer be transferred due to a number of “police brutality” complaints (Mazelis, 1998; Weiser, 1998). The same commander had already changed his shift, given him a new partner, and recommended he undergo psychological counseling (Weiser, 1998). Union power shielded the officer, blocked the transfer, and enabled him to keep his job until 1997; he was finally convicted in federal court in 1998 (Mazelis, 1998; Meares, 2013; Weiser, 1998).

Only a year and a half later, a disgustingly sadistic display of torturous psychosexual criminality was perpetrated against a Black Haitian immigrant held in police custody at a busy New York City precinct (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). Abner Louima [B.3] was injured so severely that he was hospitalized for months and required three major surgeries (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). One more devastating incident followed at the end of the decade, when a young Black Guinean immigrant obediently reached into his back pocket for his wallet and was subsequently slaughtered in a hail of gunfire by four plainclothes officers (Braithwaite, 2017; Smith, 2020). Amadou Diallo [B.4] had finally saved enough money to attend college and had just shared this news joyfully during a phone call to his mother (Braithwaite, 2017; Smith, 2020). It was the last time she would hear his voice (Braithwaite, 2017; Smith, 2020).

3.2.3 Summary (1990 to 1999)

For many younger suburban-dwelling Americans, the 1990s revealed their first visceral, unedited glimpse of a long, disturbingly bloody, improvident, inner-city pattern. As more details

emerged around the atrocious circumstances of these cases, striking similarities took center stage—first, no proactive effort was made by nearby officers to intercede and stop the violence, maltreatment, and injustice (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022). Second, despite overwhelming evidence of guilt, no officers were held criminally accountable at the local level—most were placed on paid administrative leave and eventually returned to some form of interim duty (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Weiser, 1998). Third, only after federal jury conviction for civil rights violations through excessive use of force under color of law did subsequent reactive civil litigation finally garner multi-million dollar settlements (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Smith, 2020; Weiser, 1998). Fourth, concerted departmental efforts were made to sanitize moral, ethical, racial, and legal culpability, as well as skew media perceptions and portrayals of the facts surrounding the incidents—veering sharply away from facing the egregious absence of *fairness*, dignity, and respect white-officers showed Black-citizens during police encounters (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Smith, 2020; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998). Though written nearly four hundred years ago, John Donne’s immortal prose adapts most eloquently to this very footing—No *department* is an island, entire of itself, every *officer* is a *reflection* of *our democracy*, a part of the main; if a *citizen* be washed away by *injustice*, *America* is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a *community* of thy friend’s or of thine own were, and therefore never send to know for whom the *siren* tolls; it tolls for thee (Donne, 2000).

3.3 The Second Decade (2000 to 2009)

3.3.1 Introduction (2000 to 2009)

The second decade of this temporal review spans the timeframe of prominent research advancing exponentially further—the framework of legitimacy is evolving, broadening, and taking a substantially defined shape—plainly worded, potent, moral, ethical, political, and socio-economic dimensions enter the discourse and assertively argue in favor of departmental accountability alongside the tenets of fair, procedurally just, rightful policing. Overall, the discourse gains forceful academic momentum from 2000 to 2009. Procedural prophecies forever fused in time with a series of devastating events and tragedies to the Black community—including the violent and wholly preventable shooting deaths of twelve-year-old DeAunta T. Farrow (2007), and Oscar J. Grant III (2009), racial obscurity in the wake of the patriotic fury of 9/11, the categoric devastation and political indifference surrounding Hurricane Katrina, and the exsanguination of cultural wealth during The Great Recession (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019; De Witte, 2022; Great Recession Timeline, 2017; Thomas, 2005).

3.3.2 Analysis (2000 to 2009)

As the Clinton years rolled to a close, apart from technological fears surrounding the Y2K computer bug, most Americans looked jubilantly forward to the new millennium (Rutledge et al., 2023). Wallstreet was booming, the housing and credit markets thrashed in a carefree feeding frenzy, most could find work as desired, where the biggest scandal of the era seemed to revolve around presidential hornswoggling, the first phallus, a blue Gap dress, and a buxom twenty-one-year-old brunet intern (Waxman & Fabry, 2018). Few outside minority communities

perceived the racial impact of simmering injustice stirring within the bottomless pit of mass incarceration (Waxman & Fabry, 2018). Fewer still could have imagined the blood, smoke, and fear that would soon plunge America into a decades-long global war on terror—siphoning more than eight trillion dollars from our domestic infrastructure and vital social services (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019).

3.3.2.1 2001

Returning the reins of power to the Republican party, George W. Bush [C.3]—son of none other than former President George H.W. Bush [C.1], strode confidently into the Oval Office in 2001. Less than one year into his first term, nineteen terrorists would hijack and crash four jet airliners; two struck the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York, one struck the Pentagon in Washington D.C., and the last exploded in a Pennsylvania field as brave passengers fought back (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019). Nearly three thousand died on 9/11 during the deadliest attack on U.S. soil in American history, enraging the nation and rallying an outpouring of patriotic support for New York City—the widespread racial inequality and police profiling woes of minority communities once again became shrouded and buried—this time by twisted metal, soot, and gaping sorrow from sea to shining sea (Bates, 1893; A Timeline of the U.S., 2019).

3.3.2.2 2003

Thirteen years had passed since Tom R. Tyler's *Why People Obey the Law* [A.1.1] stated that people obey the law because they believe it is proper, irrespective of the outcome, evaluating the relative justice or injustice of their treatment (Tyler, 1990). In 2003, Jason Sunshine and Tom

R. Tyler's *The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing* [A.2.1], would build on that visionary research premise and profoundly delineate the stated definition of legitimacy—identifying mechanisms for social control as a universal feature of all human societies that ensure people follow norms, rules or laws (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Notably, legitimacy strongly influences public reactions to police, where the core antecedent of legitimacy is the *fairness* of police procedures (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In essence, this meant that the process-based approach to regulation (where legal authorities depend upon their ability to activate feelings of obligation and responsibility for their effectiveness), is affirmatively linked to justice-based judgments about legal authorities—essential, elemental facets of procedural justice (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Legitimacy is a social value distinct from police performance evaluations (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

From the perspective of complex racial trauma caused by policing policy, these findings became both paramount retrospective and painfully prophetic—police have a great deal more control over how they treat people than crime rates (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Crime will fluctuate due to many factors beyond direct police control, but procedural *fairness*—treating people with dignity and respect unbiasedly—does not depend on crime rate fluctuations (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Police should be accountable to the citizens they serve, acknowledging individual dignity and personal civil rights by rendering decisions neutrally and objectively, regardless of ethnicity and socio-economic status of the person (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). All American people merit nothing less than the procedural justice-based model of policing.

3.3.2.3 2004

In 2004 Tom R. Tyler and Cheryl J. Wakslak's *Profiling and Police Legitimacy: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Police Authority* [A.2.2] took the issue by the bullhorn, investigating racial profiling as an attribution about police motives, exploring the types of police behavior that heighten or lessen the occurrence of profiling attributions, and the consequences of such attributions (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Obviously, efforts had to be made to eliminate profiling, robustly dealing with preventing its occurrence (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Still, Tyler & Wakslak firmly stated that acute attention should remain focused on the psychological factors affecting interpretations of minority interactions with the police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Crucially, when people indicated a fair experience from police and/or when they indicated police were generally fair in dealing with their community, they were far less likely to infer that any profiling had occurred altogether (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Once again, robust findings stressed the value of transparency, and of making decisions in ways that spotlight authority with neutrality, where people are less likely to infer they have been profiled when they are treated with politeness and respect by the police—even though the actual quality of interpersonal treatment is not necessarily a firm indicator of the neutrality by which police make rightful decisions (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). The research actively affirmed that police are capable of healthy relationships with the communities they serve simply by treating minority encounters respectfully and neutrally (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Overall, these data supported the general argument that process-based regulation has essential advantages for the police and policing in general—especially striking, given the unique nature of being stopped by police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Tyler & Wakslak had demonstrated that a policing model

focused on *fairness* was highly beneficial to both the community and police, but media and political attention remained keenly focused on the Middle East—Saddam Hussein had been captured, but the global manhunt for Osama bin Laden had only just begun (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

3.3.2.4 2005

President Bush was reelected for a second term in 2005, and two years later he signed the Second Chance Act of 2007, focusing on unique and somewhat esoteric Faith-Based and Community Initiative programs that struggled from inception to meet the needs of individuals, nor adequately factored the cultural differences of prisoner reentry (Lessons Learned, 2018). As a result, mass incarceration costs soared, and another generation of minority families was shattered by loved ones enduring life sentences without the possibility of parole, many for non-violent offenses (Lessons Learned, 2018). Though it was abundantly clear to many researchers by 2003 that the procedural justice-based blueprint for regulation created social order by engaging public cooperation with law and legal authority, perhaps due to the ongoing war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, the message was not resonating with politicians and policymakers (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

3.3.2.5 2006

The summer of 2006 would see another devastating blow dealt to Americans, this time by Hurricane Katrina (Thomas, 2005). Surging floodwaters covered vast areas of coastal Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana—storm surge overwhelmed levees separating Lake Pontchartrain, when they failed eighty percent of New Orleans was flooded entirely, thousands

died, and millions lost power, homes, jobs, and schools (Thomas, 2005). Adding insult to devastation, the government was disastrously slow to help thousands of poor Black citizens suffering and dying, more and more bodies piled with each passing day and delay, lawlessness and anarchy overtook the innocent and the elderly without mercy (Thomas, 2005). Many minority communities felt totally betrayed; the President seemed distracted by Iraq and wholly insensitive to the dire survival needs of poor Black people (Thomas, 2005).

Within the discourse, two sweeping comparative analyses by preeminent African American racial justice scholar Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller commanded center stage in 2006. The first piece, *Gender, Race, and Urban Policing: The Experience of African American Youths* [A.2.3], spoke in a direct tone—plainly revealing painful gendered facets of adolescent African American experiences with, and expectations of, law enforcement (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Brunson and Miller demonstrated that the aggressive policing strategies used in poor urban neighborhoods posed grim harm to adolescent residents, and these injustices were shaped by gender (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Crucially, young men reported police violence and were treated routinely as suspects, regardless of their involvement in delinquency—forsaken innocence in the absence of proven guilt (Brunson & Miller, 2006). This study dependably confirmed the heartbreaking judgments minority communities experience—it is not merely status as a minority youth living in poor urban communities that exposes young males to aggressive policing strategies, but rather starkly, simply that they are young African American men (Brunson & Miller, 2006). A shockingly overt, oppressive, psychologically, and culturally damaging message intensively conveyed during adolescence that abominably began in early childhood, hopelessly ethno-replicating generation after generation (Brunson & Miller, 2006). For the average White suburban American, a routine police stop might best be described as an

inconvenient nuisance; for a minority American, particularly a Black male, the experience represents immediate life-threatening danger.

The second companion research piece by Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller published in 2006, *Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States* [A.2.4], revealed the perpetuation of systematic cultural trauma inflicted by many commonplace policing practices—where young Black men automatically see themselves as symbolic assailants in the eyes of law enforcement (Brunson & Miller, 2006). This research evidence sternly emphasized the importance of measuring accumulated negative experiences to better understand minority-police relations and procedural justice's imperative urgency (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Fundamentally, more aggressive or disrespectful police behavior at the onset of an encounter directly increased the likelihood of fear-based resistance or non-compliance (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Unfortunately, many negative police actions are unfairly ecologically patterned and disproportionately experienced by Blacks (Brunson & Miller, 2006). The unsettlingly aphoristic irony is, minority citizens display the highest rates of compliance found in white officer/citizen encounters—though unbearably, polite obedience is undoubtedly not enough to save a Black man, as revealed by the racial profiling and murder of Amadou Diallo [B.4] in 1999 (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Moving forward as a nation, regardless of whether police act in accordance with the law, policymakers and law enforcement leadership should recognize that young Black male experiences of harassment have lasting cultural consequences for perceptions of police legitimacy and community cooperation (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Furthering the goals of this thesis, these findings unyieldingly stress the importance of procedural justice—the process-based criteria individuals draw upon to determine whether they are treated *fairly* (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

3.3.2.6 2007 – 2008

The following summer, a twelve-year-old sixth-grade Black boy named DeAunta T. Farrow [B.5] had the misfortune of randomly drawing the attention of two plainclothes officers conducting a stakeout as part of a 2007 narcotics investigation (Momodu, 2017). Eyewitnesses stated that when confronted, the child had obediently removed a soda pop and potato chips bulging from his pocket (Momodu, 2017). The officers involved and their department claimed the boy had pulled out a toy gun and “made a gesture” that resulted in his being fatally shot to death (Momodu, 2017). Despite the heartbreaking loss of a young, innocent Black child and the outrage of the African American community, city officials stalled and resisted providing any additional information regarding the circumstances of the shooting—ultimately, no one was held accountable for the incident (Momodu, 2017). This led some to speculate whether the primary reason for the obscurity of information was to avoid the potential cost of a future multi-million dollar civil settlement (Momodu, 2017).

In the wake of this tragedy, three powerful pieces of research emerged during 2007: first beginning with *Is Neighborhood Policing Related to Informal Social Control?* [A.2.5] by Brian C. Renauer (Renauer, 2007). Perceptions of the urban environmental conditions surrounding all eighteen catastrophically complex racial traumas within this analysis mirrored the results of this study (Renauer, 2007). Perceptions of police effectiveness and legitimacy had significantly diminished in each disadvantaged neighborhood, intensely strained by perceptions of racial profiling and other intensified types of neighborhood policing activities, disastrous police-resident encounters, and collective cultural absorption of pre-existing racialized attitudes (Renauer, 2007).

Second, undoubtedly and with good reason, African Americans possess more negative judgments about the police than all other ethnic groups (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). A fact that demands prompt improvement of public perceptions of police legitimacy urgently within all disadvantaged minority communities (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Accurately predicted by Lyn Hinds and Kristina Murphy in *Public Satisfaction with Police: Using Procedural Justice to Improve Police Legitimacy* [A.2.6], the unfair actions of individual police officers had a direct and fundamentally negative impact, dramatically lowering judgments of police legitimacy within minority communities (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). For those experiencing persistent racial discrimination, no threat of mere sanction for disobedience will merit cooperation (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Black people fear for their lives during each and every police-citizen encounter in America.

Third, Rod K. Brunson bluntly explains the legacy of racial discrimination, illustrating the quintessential importance of understanding the impact of accumulated discriminatory experiences, where race and personal experience with racial profiling have become the strongest and most consistent predictors of negative attitudes toward the police (Brunson, 2007). Brunson's study, *"Police Don't Like Black People": African-American Young Men's Accumulated Police Experiences* [A.2.7], states that direct experience with racial discrimination has lasting adverse effects on individual perceptions, bleeding through shared experiences within communities by way of a litany of large and small events African Americans face in daily life (Brunson, 2007). The impact of this finding cannot be overstated, today Americans live in a digital age where each incident of racialized injustice becomes an immediate part of the painful reality experienced by all African Americans—this trauma does not fade, it manifests in a palpable, omnipresent cultural fear of law enforcement.

This raises dynamic implications for police oversight policies and suggests that police organizations should develop complaint review processes that are accessible to all citizens and inspire confidence among them (Brunson, 2007). Ultimately, police administrators and scholars should look beyond the usual official complaint process to assess citizen satisfaction, instead choosing to intensely monitor the prevalence of police misconduct and taking swift, firm policy measures to eliminate it (Brunson, 2007). In particular, it has become abundantly clear that a two-tiered system involving local prosecutors and police executives holds the most appreciable promise toward accelerating citizen trust (Brunson, 2007). Specifically, citizen complaints against officers should be initiated in the prosecutor's office rather than police stations (Brunson, 2007). Throughout the majority of beatings, asphyxiations, and deaths, a deadly undertow of past departmental failures undermined and/or actively intimidated the capability of citizens to make complaints in the months and sometimes years prior to each incident. Where complaints were made, some departments downplayed or ignored public pleas for disciplinary action against violent officers altogether.

Toward the end of 2007, it was readily apparent to average Americans that the economy was in real trouble (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). The housing market had slumped and stalled—many feared predatory subprime mortgages with higher interest and adjustable rates targeting borrowers with lower credit scores had played a major role in the decline (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). First-time minority home borrowers were hit hardest, no longer able to pay the exorbitant monthly payments; inevitably, many were forced into default and lost their homes to foreclosure (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). The cascading fiscal effect left personal credit in ruins, and down payment savings usurped forever, as well as dashing any future hope of partaking in the primary wealth-building opportunity home ownership affords everyday

Americans (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). The Great Recession had begun (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). President Bush attempted to right the economic ship with the Economic Stimulus Act of 2008 (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). Still, the subprime mortgage implosion had already begun a chain reaction of monolithic corporate bankruptcy, business closures, job loss, and poverty (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). As the stock market sank to the depths, many working Americans lost their jobs and saw lifelong retirement savings crumble to dust (Great Recession Timeline, 2017).

3.3.2.7 2009

The New Year bore yet another traumatic blow to the Black community in 2009, as a young, unarmed, Black father named Oscar J. Grant III [B.6] was gunned down in the back and killed (Smith, 2020). The officer who shot him claimed he meant to deploy his Taser, and the whole incident had been an unfortunate accident (Smith, 2020). Shockingly, though an unusually rare and successful jury conviction for involuntary manslaughter would hold his killer somewhat accountable, the trivial sentence passed down was only two years in prison with “double credit” for time already served (Smith, 2020). The Grant family subsequently won a wrongful death and civil rights lawsuit, receiving nearly \$3 million dollars in total, but the agonizing underlying message to the Black community remained horrifyingly clear—in life and death, Black people continue to receive hollow justice (Smith, 2020).

Yet 2009 was not entirely without hope on the horizon, a powerful Democrat, the first African American Presidential frontrunner in history was running for office—Barack Obama [C.4] would become President in November, representing the triumph of centuries of long-awaited hopes and dreams (Cowell, 2021; Great Recession Timeline, 2017). Only weeks in

office, newly elected President Obama rapidly approved a colossal \$787 billion dollar stimulus package, but sadly, the widespread corporate economic damage had already spilled into global markets (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). Subtly and perhaps most tellingly, a disturbing corporate prophecy cast its gaze on the markets of future generations—Standard and Poor’s (S&P) lowered the United States Governmental credit rating from AAA to AA+ for the first time in history (Great Recession Timeline, 2017). Obama regrouped and refocused his first term in office on rebuilding the economy and completing the hunt for al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden—two years later, he would be successful in bringing the world’s most notorious terrorist to justice (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019).

In cultural tandem, the discourse community produced three powerful research pieces in 2009. First, beginning with *Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods* [A.2.8] (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Rod K. Brunson and Ronald Weitzer raised disturbing questions surrounding racial profiling and community composition (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). High levels of socioeconomic disadvantage and neighborhood disorganization clearly registered markedly higher rates of police misconduct toward residents—notably, where adolescent males bore the brunt, experiencing the most involuntary, adversarial contact with police (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Brunson and Weitzer determined that age is the most potent predictor of citizen attitude toward personal experiences with police, frequently translating into minority youth disempowerment (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Black youth are viewed with even greater suspicion in economically distressed, high-crime neighborhoods (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Woefully, the volume of street crime characteristic of poor minority communities also promotes an insidious opportunity for police corruption and malfeasance (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Yet, these impoverished residents have the least capacity to hold officers accountable

(Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). As will be demonstrated by the catastrophic explosion of traumatic Black deaths between 2010 and 2020, this research is painfully prophetic. The findings bravely confronted the dire need for immediate police accountability and accessible citizen complaint review boards, positively controlling for disadvantaged minority neighborhood socioeconomic conditions—yet politicians and policymakers remained silent—not the least bit surprising, considering the broad scope of political and socio-economic indifference toward the suffering of millions of Black American families during Hurricane Katrina and the Great Recession (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Great Recession Timeline, 2017).

Second, Tracey L. Meares published a fiery lecture filled with hope in 2009, *The Legitimacy of Police Among Young African-American Men* [A.2.9]. At heart, Meares states that legitimacy is the primary form of policing with the single most significant potential to solve the race issue today—emphasizing process rather than outcome and moral engagement instead of criminal deterrence (Meares, 2009). Legitimacy in law enforcement is not merely a nascent strategy; it is a polarizing movement with the remarkable potential to transform American law enforcement, achieve community safety, and heal longstanding rifts between police and minority communities (Meares, 2009). Police should become the acting fulcrum of the solution to racial injustice in America, as opposed to the traditional flash point for racial problems (Meares, 2009). Procedures that all parties regard as *fair* facilitate positive relations among group members and preserve the peaceful fabric of society, even in the face of conflicts of interest (Meares, 2009). Together, process and procedure form the essence of legitimacy—meaning that while it may not be obvious how a particular case should come out, it is almost always clear how parties should proceed and be treated in that specific case (Meares, 2009). This is the group value model of procedural justice, central to legitimacy-based compliance (Meares, 2009). The analysis dares to

totally reimagine American law enforcement, where the demographic most likely to be entangled in the criminal justice system, does not automatically presume police behave antagonistically toward them (Meares, 2009). Meares states that the existence of community social networks should empower all African Americans as a group with the authority to assert departmental accountability and propel meaningful change (Meares, 2009). Lamentably, it would be six more long years before Meares would draw the ears of law enforcement agencies nationwide as a member of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (Meares, 2009). During that time, seven-year-old Aiyana Mo'Nay Stanley-Jones, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, twelve-year-old Tamir Rice, and Walter Scott all died at the hands of law enforcement.

Third, rounding out the powerhouse research triumvirate of 2009, Carmen Solis, Edwardo L. Portillos, and Rod K. Brunson weigh in with *Latino Youths' Experiences with and Perceptions of Involuntary Police Encounters* [A.2.10] (Solis et al., 2009). In sharp contradiction to some of the more diplomatically worded research pieces of the past, Solis, Portillos, and Brunson directly confront race and racism in combination with other forms of subordination (Solis et al., 2009). Crucially, racism is central to understanding individual minority experiences with police (Solis et al., 2009). Rancorously in America today, discrimination has become a functional mechanism of law enforcement efforts, and these intentionally aggressive policing initiatives routinely undermine effective police-community relations (Solis et al., 2009). As a consequence, officers working in racialized spaces require prompt and effective training, to transform the public belief police do not care about minority communities, nor provide them the same level of protection and concern shown to White communities (Solis et al., 2009). Well-suited to immediate cost-effective implementation, training officers to facilitate conflict and dispute resolution while respecting issues of human dignity is crucial to building trust within

minority communities (Solis et al., 2009). Police officers epitomize American democracy and, by extension, should rightfully uphold what it means to be American and to represent all Americans fairly.

3.3.3 Summary (2000 to 2009)

Long-standing, deep-rooted, systemic structural racism expressed as a nationwide political culture of mutually reinforcing inequitable systems and veiled indifference toward the lives of Black people and minority Americans, has undermined the great values of our nation and jeopardizes the legitimacy of American democracy (De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020). Racial stereotypes, inequality, and injustice are not merely repugnant precipitates of a flawed criminal justice system in America today—instead, they form one potent symptom of a ubiquitous, overarching, systemic social cancer that has been permitted to metastasize through every organization of American authority and influence—political-governmental, educational, corporate-workplace, socio-economic-financial, healthcare-medical, and mass media portrayal to name a few (De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020). Extremist terrorists attacked on 9/11, Hurricane Katrina was a force of nature, and The Great Recession was the product of deregulated-corporate-greed, yet regardless of the cause and calamity, the cultural effect remained the same for the Black community—more shades of deliberate moral, ethical, socio-economic, environmental, judicial, and political racializing obscurity—currently manifesting as bureaucratic indifference, criminal persecution, and the purposeful propagation of poverty (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019; De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020; Great Recession Timeline, 2017; Thomas, 2005).

3.4 The Third Decade (2010 to 2020)

3.4.1 Introduction (2010 to 2020)

The third decade-plus-one-year of this temporal analysis spans the bloodiest Black death toll, igniting a rapid global research expansion within the discourse from 2010 to 2020. The bottomless depths of the unbearable cultural sorrow seeping through another decade of cumulative violence and tragedy—rife with discriminatory beliefs, stereotypes, and the woefully unequal distribution of resources—are intensely brutal and shocking (Braga et al., 2019; Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024). The research has become a subject charged by life-or-death urgency, where inequity, social deprivation, and cumulative racial trauma are literally crying out for sweeping, rightful, procedurally just policing reform and broadscale nationwide political accountability (Braga et al., 2019; Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024).

Although many researchers and social advocates are strenuously pressuring for change in federal, state, county, and city governments, at the end of the decade, the fabric of structural racism and social risk will be rigidly reinforced once again (Egede & Walker, 2020). This time at the chilling intersection of police brutality, unemployment, food insecurity, housing instability, and limited access to transportation and health care spreading virally alongside the COVID-19 pandemic (Egede & Walker, 2020). A few of the Black Americans who brutally lost their lives during police-citizen encounters within this decade include seven-year-old Aiyana Mo’Nay Stanley-Jones (2010), Eric Garner (2014), Michael Brown (2014), twelve-year-old Tamir Rice (2014), Walter Scott (2015), Alton Sterling (2016), Philando Castile (2016), fifteen-year-old

Jordan Edwards (2017), Stephon Clark (2018), Breonna Taylor (2020), George Floyd (2020) and eleven-year-old Monica Goods (2020).

3.4.2 Analysis (2010 to 2020)

3.4.2.1 2010

The spring of 2010 brought a tidal wave of environmental destruction to the Gulf of Mexico—a horrific explosion on an off-shore oil drilling platform named Deepwater Horizon killed eleven workers and spilled four million barrels of crude oil into the sea over eighty-seven days (Allain, 2024). The wellhead was five thousand feet below the ocean surface, piercing another thirty thousand feet into the earth underneath to reach black gold—precious hydrocarbon oil reserves (Allain, 2024). Cleanup crews could not manage the spill as the oil rig sank to the depths (Allain, 2024). Disenfranchised shoreline communities in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama—hardest hit by Hurricane Katrina—now faced an immediate crude assault washing ashore (Allain, 2024). Chemical dispersants left persistent toxic residue in water and sediments, destroying vital habitats and countless species and devastating essential marine-based food sources for marginalized communities surrounding the region (Allain, 2024). Systemic inequalities potently exacerbated the disastrous effects—economic disruption, a litany of short and long-term health risks, disproportionate socio-economic recovery efforts, and discriminatory environmental injustice—unilaterally perpetuated by persistent structural racism inherent to defective governmental policy (Allain, 2024). Less than one month after the Deepwater Horizon explosion, the heart-wrenching slaughter of a seven-year-old Black girl would shatter the African American community again.

Aiyana Mo’Nay Stanley-Jones [B.7] was sleeping on the couch near her grandmother, when six masked Special Response Team (SRT) members conducting a night raid on camera for an A&E crew filming an episode of *The First 48*, burst through an unlocked front door (A&E; n.d.; Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020; *The First 48*, n.d.). Within seconds, a single shot struck Aiyana in the head, exiting her neck—the young girl died instantly (Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020). A familiar visage of discrimination immediately took shape: first, the police department floated the culturally devastating falsehood that a fragile, elderly Black grandmother had somehow instigated the fatal shot (Leduff, 2010). Second, following two hung juries, all charges against the officer involved in the shooting would be dropped; he continued to collect a paycheck for nine more years before retiring from law enforcement (Smith, 2020). Third, following lengthy delays, the City of Detroit would eventually settle with the Stanley-Jones family for \$8.25 million dollars (Smith, 2020). Perhaps more than any other, this case encapsulates the tragic effects of Black cultural exploitation by mass media at the convergence of racial discrimination within law enforcement (Egede & Walker, 2020; Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020).

As minority communities bravely stood fast, resolute determination halted the darkness. Two exceptional research pieces shone brightly from the discourse: first, Jacinta M. Gau, and Rod K. Brunson adeptly parry procedural naysayers with *Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing: A Study of Inner-City Young Men’s Perceptions of Police Legitimacy* [A.3.1] (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Gau and Brunson recognized that police and citizens often hold vastly different views of law enforcement practices—noting the discrepancy could be especially pronounced where order maintenance policing was concerned (Gau & Brunson, 2010). They firmly asserted that aggressive order maintenance policing—manifesting in the form of widespread racialized stop-and-frisks and broken windows-based strategies—reduces public

support for police, undermines police legitimacy, and may veritably increase crime in vulnerable communities (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Although procedural justice may appear to stand in juxtaposition to the concept of order maintenance policing, commendatory horizons uniting these concepts—clearly delineating the direct and collateral effects of aggressive order maintenance policing, while positively illuminating the legitimacy procedural justice engenders—will determine the future of effective crime reduction strategies (Gau & Brunson, 2010). The consummate goal is the promotion of public safety, emphasizing procedural justice and police legitimacy as elemental components of all policing paradigms, including order maintenance (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Second, on the twentieth anniversary of *Why People Obey the Law* [A.1.1.] Tom R. Tyler and Jeffrey Fagan introduce *Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?* [A.3.2] explaining why the justice of police policies and practices becomes the key factor in shaping police legitimacy—pointing directly toward process-based policing (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The social norms model—legitimacy—states that public views of police directly influence public cooperation, ever mindful that legitimacy reflects a distinct social value where racial differences in attitudes toward police become key characteristics of trust and confidence (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Consistent with rational choice, Tyler and Fagan explain that it may actually serve short-term self-interest to break the law, therefore instrumental strategies appealing to self-interest are inadequate for managing crime and security, particularly in disadvantaged communities where minorities regularly experience heavy-handed racialized policing strategies (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Exactly as this study predicted, aggressive order maintenance strategies have deeply wounded minority communities, exacerbating mistrust and widespread fear of police (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

3.4.2.2 2012

As the political winds in New York City began to stir, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist named Wendy Ruderman spotlighted painfully pervasive racial narratives in a 2012 article (Ruderman, 2012). Her piece, *Rude or Polite, City's Officers Leave Raw Feelings in Stops* [A.3.3] revealed that city police had stopped and frisked nearly seven-hundred-thousand people in 2011 alone, eighty-four percent were Black or Latino (Ruderman, 2012). Minority citizens often experienced aggressive tactics, demeaning expletives laced with profanity, racial slurs, and a plethora of insults (Ruderman, 2012). Sadly, this was not a new phenomenon; the NYPD had demonstrated a long and bloody history of police brutality and racial profiling (Ruderman, 2012). Decades of institutionalized violence systematically violated the constitutional rights of Black and Latino Americans—most believed officers stopped them based on race alone (Ruderman, 2012). These bitter encounters were often brief, but the painful discriminatory impressions they made became granular, long-lasting racial scars (Ruderman, 2012). Unfortunately, this baleful piece would fall on politically deaf ears; a frail Black father-of-six would die gasping for air, pinned face-down to the sidewalk in an illegal chokehold by the arm of an NYPD officer just two years later (Ruderman, 2012).

The racialized reactivity, violence, and moral detachment of aggressive order maintenance policing policies in disadvantaged communities have created explosive minority dissatisfaction (Gau et al., 2012). In 2012, Jacinta M. Gau, Nicholas Corsaro, Eric A. Stewart, and Rod K. Brunson published *Examining Macro-Level Impacts on Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy* [A.3.4] demonstrating why procedural justice offers hope and remains the strongest predictor of legitimacy, even against the deleterious impacts of concentrated poverty

and disadvantage in struggling communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau et al., 2012). Every police officer should take a stand to stop racism, build trust, and increase empowerment in vulnerable communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau et al., 2012). Yet irrespective of the social-moral obligation of law enforcement departments to protect and serve all citizens equally, police dependably enhance legitimacy among the public simply by adhering to the tenets of *fairness* and respectfulness—the transformational power of procedural justice ameliorates the very fabric of structural racism and social risk (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau et al., 2012).

3.4.2.3 2013

Determined to bring about change, Tracey L. Meares dropped a bombshell in 2013. Her visionary essay, *The Good Cop: Knowing the Difference Between Lawful or Effective Policing and Rightful Policing - and Why it Matters* [A.3.5] neatly unmasked the ongoing problem of evaluating police conduct solely with respect to lawfulness—namely, American law has almost no contemporary capacity today to tell officers how to stop or arrest people legitimately (Meares, 2013). Within the strands of the police effectiveness discussion, lawfulness itself is largely irrelevant—almost as if social scientists presume policing takes place lawfully, yet evaluating policing regarding lawfulness is a crucial aspect of American democracy (Meares, 2013). Fundamentally, Meares states that government agencies that treat citizens with respect, dignity, and *fairness* build and replicate a healthy democracy (Meares, 2013). By affirming and enhancing the status of minorities within society, law enforcement agencies also honor vulnerable communities with a positive sense of self and identity (Meares, 2013). Rightful policing depends on procedural justice—the *fairness* of police conduct—not the lawfulness of police conduct (Meares, 2013). This is the path to sustainable change.

Communities care about procedural justice because it imbues a sense of pride and respect (Meares, 2013). Historically, the realities of street policing have defied description in legal terms because the execution of police power takes place mainly at the discretion of individual police officers, but this does not absolve police departments of responsibility for the discriminatory practices routinely taking place on the street (Meares, 2013). For a century or more, many law enforcement agencies have become effectively insulated by deeply entrenched union power, interfering with rules and transformational reform (Meares, 2013). Rules tying the hands of management attempting to punish corrupt officers who discriminate against minority citizens, violate their civil rights through racial profiling, zero-tolerance policing, aggressive police stops, covert surveillance, and the chronic abuse of discriminatory police policy ambiguously endorsed by political leaders determined to reduce violent crime at any cost (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2013). Policing policies that permit structural racism should be changed immediately, acknowledging the concerns of Black people and validating rightful policing strategies that utilize procedurally just community support structures (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2013).

One might expect from the congruency of the circumstances surrounding the complex racial traumas that followed from 2014 through spring 2015 that the research published from 2010 to 2013 was conducted in response to these killings—not so. The history of marginalization and discrimination targeting Black Americans spans a quarter millennium of slavery, a century of Jim Crow, and decades of mass incarceration (Egede & Walker, 2020). The recent beatings, asphyxiates, and shootings of unarmed Black Americans—including the murder of young Black children—were virtually certain deaths. Racial suffering, looming within the omnipresent culture of terror Black Americans experience daily, and the theoretically predicted nightmares of researchers studying the totality of cultural discrimination mutually reinforced throughout all the

inequitable systems of authority in America (Egede & Walker, 2020). Structural racism permeating housing, education, employment, credit markets, health care, and the criminal justice system creates interconnected systems that intensely imbue these inequities, encouraging racial stereotypes and fostering unequal distribution of resources (Egede & Walker, 2020).

3.4.2.4 2014

New York City is notoriously hot and humid during the summer months. In the sweltering heat of mid-July 2014, the world would see an unconscionably damning video of a police officer choking a middle-aged Black man suffering from chronic asthma to death (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). Eric Garner [B.8] helplessly gasped his last words “I can’t breathe, I can’t breathe, I can’t breathe” (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). Disturbing and predictable, no criminal charges were ever filed, and the police union stepped in and saw that the officer involved continued collecting an \$85 thousand dollar annual salary on desk duty for five more long years (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). The City of New York dragged its heels, eventually paying the Garner family \$5.9 million dollars (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). Unfortunately, it would be six more excruciatingly long years before the State Assembly acted, establishing criminal penalties for the use of a chokehold by police (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). Less than one month after the death of Eric Garner [B.8], eighteen-year-old Michael Brown [B.9] was confronted by police in Saint Louis County, Missouri, ninety-seconds later he lay dead in the street, where his bloody corpse remained in full view for hours (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020). Witnesses stated Brown had peacefully surrendered; he was executed with his hands in the air (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020). The officer who killed Brown was never indicted for a crime, and the City of Ferguson,

Missouri, would eventually settle with the Brown family for a meager \$1.5 million dollars (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020).

Shortly before Thanksgiving in late 2014, a twelve-year-old Black boy named Tamir Rice [B.10] was sitting on the ground alone, playing with a plastic toy gun at a local park (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). A rookie officer who had lied on his job application—previously deemed “emotionally unstable” and “unfit for duty” during a previous police recruit job in an upscale Cleveland suburb—executed the child within seconds of arriving on the scene (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Experts believe the terrified boy was never even given the chance to put his hands up (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Typical of so many local city governments, the City of Cleveland eventually settled with the Rice family for \$6 million, while the police union shielded a “timebomb” working a desk job for three more long years—no criminal charges were ever filed (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). To the Black community, this grotesque act of police brutality reaffirmed a painful history riddled with state-sanctioned violence (Egede & Walker, 2020; Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). One month later, President Obama signed an executive order, establishing the Task Force on 21st Century Policing—Rod K. Brunson and Tracey L. Meares would feature prominently, alongside the hard work and dedication of many others (President’s Task Force, 2015). The President charged the task force with the vital imperative of identifying the best policing practices and offering recommendations to promote effective crime reduction while building public trust (President’s Task Force, 2015). The task force set forth its mission (President’s Task Force, 2015).

3.4.2.5 2015

As springtime emerged in the Carolinas, an unarmed Black father-of-four was stopped—supposedly for a simple brake light outage (Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Walter Scott [B.11] fled on foot swiftly, terrified for his life (Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Seconds later eyewitness video captured a North Charleston, South Carolina police officer shooting Scott in the back eight times, and planting a stun gun beside the dying man in a feeble attempt to provide a more credible defense for his murderous actions (Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Despite the fact North Charleston had long been marred by persistent allegations of racial profiling and police discrimination, in a surprising twist, a judge sentenced the officer who committed the shooting to twenty years in prison (Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Only one year after the murder, the City of North Charleston also agreed to pay the Scott family \$6.5 million in a pre-trial settlement (Botelho & Moghe, 2015; Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Intense public ire and political scrutiny may have played a pivotal role in this case, sending a swift, loud, and clear message that the people of Charleston would no longer tolerate police shooting unarmed Black citizens—President Obama stood firmly behind them (Botelho & Moghe; Egede & Walker, 2020; Superville, 2015). Three weeks after the killing of Walter Scott, the Task Force on 21st Century Policing presented its final report to the President (President’s Task Force, 2015).

Throughout his eight years in office, President Obama supported many programs that comprehensively addressed core community issues—poverty, education, healthcare, and public safety—in many ways, the *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* [A.3.6] is a powerful commentary on his legacy as a statesman and peacemaker (Cowell, 2021; President’s Task Force, 2015). Published in May 2015, the report acknowledged the existence of

past and present injustice and discrimination, vital steps to establishing a culture of transparency and accountability, essential to healing longstanding cultural wounds, building public trust, and establishing legitimacy (President's Task Force, 2015). The Task Force on 21st Century Policing firmly stated that law enforcement agencies should adopt and enforce policies prohibiting profiling and discrimination based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, age, gender, gender identity/expression, sexual orientation, immigration status, disability, housing status, occupation, or language fluency (President's Task Force, 2015).

Vitaly, the report stressed that departmental leadership should begin by supporting an officer culture that reflects the values of protection and dignity from within, implementing a defined policy framework with clearly delineated purposes and goals—improving, *fairness*, effectiveness, efficiency, and procedural evolution, without infringing on individual civil rights (President's Task Force, 2015). Police policies should reflect community values by embracing a guardian mindset to build public trust and legitimacy, protecting vulnerable children and youth most at risk for crime or violence (President's Task Force, 2015). Central to procedural integrity, all internal departmental policies and aggregate data should be made publicly available to ensure visibility and transparency and maintain public accountability (President's Task Force, 2015).

Befitting decades of dedication, hard work, and emphatic research within the discourse, President Obama recognized that trust between law enforcement and the American people they protect and serve is decisively the key to the stability of America (President's Task Force, 2015). Implementing aggressive instrumental crime-fighting strategies poses far-reaching potential damage to public trust (President's Task Force, 2015). Singularly and most paramount, law enforcement cannot build community trust if it is regarded as an occupying force, imposing

militaristic bureaucracy on the community (President's Task Force, 2015). Therefore, increasing trust between law enforcement and the communities they protect and serve is imperative to the future stability of American society as a whole (President's Task Force, 2015). The report concludes with a message of enduring hope and encouragement: Americans are problem solvers, and rectifying longstanding issues and challenges in the field of law enforcement and the criminal justice system is within the scope of this great nation (President's Task Force, 2015).

In the fall of 2015, the White House held a forum on criminal justice (Egede & Walker, 2020; Superville, 2015). There, President Obama poignantly addressed the nexus of race and the American criminal justice system—namely, the African American community experiences a unique form of chronic, systemic, structural racism, social risk, and excessive force in ways that are not happening in other communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Superville, 2015). Further, the President stressed that the overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers do the right thing, and always want to do the right thing—performing a tremendously tough job under the harshest of circumstances, sometimes in very dangerous neighborhoods (Egede & Walker, 2020; Superville, 2015). The President urged law enforcement agencies to promote wellness and safety at every level of their organizations, including adopting procedural justice principles for all internal policies and interactions—acting with *fairness*, dignity, and trust from within (President's Task Force, 2015). By promoting legitimacy internally as a multi-partner effort, they are applying the principles of procedural justice through officer wellness and safety (President's Task Force, 2015). Critical support for the officers, their colleagues, their agencies, and public safety will establish a transformative police culture of transparency and accountability from the ground up (President's Task Force, 2015).

Published within the same year as the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* [A.3.6] five important research pieces brought valuable data to the discourse; first, Jacinta M. Gau and Rod K. Brunson asserted within *Procedural Injustice, Lost Legitimacy, and Self-Help: Young Males' Adaptations to Perceived Unfairness in Urban Policing Tactics* [A.3.7] that police misconduct becomes most prevalent in socially disorganized communities—even officers who do not engage in explicit misbehavior might display frustration, cynicism, and lack of empathy for victims (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Majority-Black residents of high-violence neighborhoods are more likely to experience both direct and vicarious harassment or mistreatment at the hands of police (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Disillusionment and disaffection perpetuate crime because vulnerable communities do not believe the police will help protect them, and they are very fearful of experiencing negative police attention historically associated with racial profiling and the many forms of institutionalized structural racism (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024). Unmasking the most disturbing Janus within modern broken windows theory, namely, racial profiling, discrimination, police misconduct, and lack of courteous compassion have the capacity to become the most prevalent inequitable structures in socially disorganized communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024). A host of social risks reinforce parallel practices that accelerate the temporal timeframe of physical deterioration, while simultaneously emboldening the harshest rationale behind the amplification of order maintenance policing policies (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024).

Second, within the grounding research piece, *Explaining Officer Compliance: The Importance of Procedural Justice and Trust Inside a Police Organization* [A.3.8] Peter J. Haas, Maarten Van Craen, Wesley G. Skogan, and Diego M. Fleitas demonstrate that the most

significant opportunity for transformative change in law enforcement policy will come from the top down (Haas et al., 2015). The extent to which law enforcement officers obey instructions and adhere to police policies is of permanent concern to departmental leadership and the community (Haas et al., 2015). Therefore, it becomes essential to examine the primary influential role of bureaucratic organizational mechanisms and their impact on the para-militarization of police culture in recent decades to best prevent police misconduct and excessive use of force (Haas et al., 2015). Police officers who are treated *fairly* and respectfully by immediate supervisors and departmental management will, in turn, be more likely to treat citizens in a procedurally just way as well, powerfully enhancing citizen cooperation and compliance (Haas et al., 2015). By setting an example of the proper procedural justice approach, individuals in leadership positions provide an exceptional opportunity to enhance officer obedience to departmental rules on the use of force and facilitate the implementation of police policies that contribute to preventing police violence while concurrently showing respect for individual civil rights (Haas et al., 2015). Both on the street and within the department, together procedural justice and trust form one concept—trust does not merely flow from the experience of fairness; it is a core constitutive element at the heart of procedural justice (Haas et al., 2015).

Third, although police are conceived and constituted by law and through law, within *Rightful Policing: New Perspectives in Policing* [A.3.9] Tracey L. Meares and Peter Neyroud illustrate why the traditional bureaucratic focus on the lawfulness of police conduct, inherently obscures identification and remedy of problematic policing behavior (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Policymakers who promote successful crime-fighting statistics as the best way to assess police effectiveness are failing to grasp that racially charged stop-and-frisk tactics, widespread public surveillance, or other potentially discriminatory everyday policies and practices, create intense

community resentment and diminish public perceptions (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). By providing quality treatment, demonstrating decision-making *fairness*, giving voice, and fulfilling expectations of benevolent treatment, the interaction between the police officer and the citizen stopped becomes rightfully shaped in a unique way that is simply not possible when the officer operates within the singular dimension of lawfulness (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). People want to feel comfort—not fear—when the police are present, to anticipate they will receive help and professional treatment when needed, where autonomy, privacy, and bodily integrity are not subject to the whim of any individual police officer (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). To be implemented successfully and effect real change, individual departmental commitments to rightful policing require consistent, long-term, broadly conceived, well-coordinated policy and training efforts among various contexts—crime reduction, community relations, and internal discipline (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

Fourth, hot on the heels of *Rightful Policing: New Perspectives in Policing* [A.3.9] comes a compelling companion research piece, *Lawful or Fair? How Cops and Laypeople Perceive Good Policing* [A.3.10] where Tracey L. Meares, Tom R. Tyler, and Jacob Gardener establish that American law confers a distinctive monopoly on the use of coercion to enforce laws and maintain order upon both the state and its legal authorities—including police officers (Meares et al., 2015). Consequently, police compliance with the law becomes the most critical aspect of law within our democratic society (Meares et al., 2015). The American people care most about the procedural justice and fairness of police actions; therefore, procedural justice factors are more influential to public judgments than the technical legality of police behavior (Meares et al., 2015). America was born of rebellion and political revolution, freeing itself from the unjust yolk of colonial tyranny. Policymakers should remain cognizant that police are instruments of the law,

trained in law, yet always principally accountable to public judgments of *fairness*, respect, and dignity (Meares et al., 2015). Blindness to the source of public feelings at any level of law enforcement ultimately proliferates the public view that police actions are inappropriate and should be sanctioned—creating a potential flashpoint for widespread protest, civil unrest, and violence (Meares et al., 2015). Ever mindful, American democracy was never free, nor can its enduring lifeforce ever be taken for granted.

Fifth, the cities of Oakland, Stockton, and Salinas, California, are racially diverse communities with significant minority populations. Within *Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy: Using Training as a Foundation for Strengthening Community-Police Relationships* [A.3.11] Daniela Gilbert, Stewart Wakeling, and Vaughn Crandall pivot around one main focus— providing authentic hope and utility for procedurally just, rightful policing policy in daily service (Gilbert et al., 2015). Procedural justice theory and police legitimacy acknowledge the issue of distrust between police and communities of color, shaping how police do their work and creating a roadmap toward significantly improving public trust (Gilbert et al., 2015). The adapted curriculum showcased within—the brainchild of a handful of determined and decisively forward-thinking departments in 2015—establishes a practical, effective, affordable, and versatile department training process (Gilbert et al., 2015). Mentor-officer-lead instructors meticulously developed the lesson plan (Gilbert et al., 2015). Course objectives and supporting materials stemmed from a dynamic combination of credible street experience, long-standing expertise in teaching, and peer counseling and leadership, with the singular goal of merging procedural justice principles successfully with the reality of day-to-day police work (Gilbert et al., 2015). The lesson plan was a smashing success. The adapted training curriculum strengthened the skills of police officers in carrying out the principles of procedural justice

(Gilbert et al., 2015). The results exceeded officer expectations, police managers found the training practical and effective in supporting authentic community engagement, and the pragmatic, cost-effective utility of the lesson plan quickly laid a foundation for improved community relations and crime reduction (Gilbert et al., 2015).

3.4.2.6 2016

It was the beginning of summer 2016, one day after the 4th of July celebrations in Baton Rouge, Louisiana (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). Another middle-aged Black father would be ripped forever from his loved ones. Alton Sterling [B.12] was tased repeatedly, forced to the ground, immobilized, and executed—shot six times at point-blank range (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). Officer body camera footage revealed that seconds after arriving on the scene, the officer who committed the killing had already drawn his gun and threatened to shoot (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). The Black community had reached the boiling point, furious over departmental contributions to the climate of fear and mistrust (Skene & Toohey, 2019). The Chief of Police offered a public apology to the Sterling family, acknowledging that the officer “should never have been hired” or “entrusted with a badge” (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018). The officer was fired but never faced state or federal criminal charges, thus he appealed with the backing of the police union, and in another bizarrely horrifying plot twist—was ultimately allowed to withdraw his termination, in favor of a retroactive resignation in 2019 (Romo, 2018; Skene & Toohey, 2019; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018). The Chief profusely apologized to the people of his community again, stating that the record showed “a well-documented pattern of unprofessional behavior, police violence, marginalization, polarization and implicit bias by a man who should have never, ever worn this uniform” (Skene & Toohey, 2019). The officer who

killed Alton Sterling received paid administrative leave throughout the investigations (Egede & Walker, 2020; Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018). Yet, the Sterling family would wait almost five long years before East Baton Rouge Metro Council finally approved a settlement of \$4.5 million dollars paid over four years (Egede & Walker, 2020; Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018).

One day later, in Falcon Heights, Minnesota, a young Black father named Philando Castile [B.13] was shot five times and killed in front of his spouse and four-year-old daughter while obediently reaching for his driver's license (Smith, 2020). The officer involved was described by his own lawyers as “nervous,” and he had stopped the Castile family car because the two adult occupants resembled Black armed robbery suspects with “wide noses and dark skin”—undeniable racial profiling (Smith, 2020). The City of Saint Anthony fired the officer, yet following five days of deliberations, inexplicably acquitted him of all criminal charges and offered a “voluntary separation” so he could “find another job” (Smith, 2020). Predictably, the acquittal sparked immediate outrage, igniting heated protests (Smith, 2020). There would be a lengthy wrongful death lawsuit before the Castile family was finally awarded a \$3.8 million dollar victory (Smith, 2020). Both cases painfully reaffirmed that discriminatory criminal justice practices in one sector, are reinforced by embedded racial inequities in parallel laws and political policies, expressed as an overall lack of value and respect toward Black lives (Egede & Walker, 2020; Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018).

3.4.2.7 2017

In a rather unusual twist of political theater, celebrity business mogul and wildly popular reality TV star Donald Trump [C.5], shrewdly capitalized on economic anxieties, skillfully

massaged racial tensions, and dodged a string of sexual assault allegations to win his bid for the White House (Pace & Furlow, 2016). As the newly elected American President, he stepped confidently into the Oval Office in 2017, upending years of staunch political convention—more than half of White voters backed Trump, while nearly ninety percent of Blacks voted Democrat (Pace & Furlow, 2016). President Trump inherited an anxious, deeply divided nation, writhing with warring perceptions of racial, theological, and cultural discrimination from many sides (Pace & Furlow, 2016). Equal parts perplexing and fascinating, this was his very first elected or appointed government office (Pace & Furlow, 2016). One year into office, President Trump signed a criminal justice bill named the First Step Act, attempting to make the American justice system fairer by reducing excessive sentences, lowering recidivism, and confronting sentencing law inequities that disproportionately harmed Black Americans (Nellis & Komar, 2023; Stockman, 2020). Undeniably, the Trump administration will continue to project a tremendously far-reaching influence on policy-making and criminal justice long into the future—the direct result of serendipitous timing—having successfully nominated three Supreme Court justices (Pace & Furlow, 2016).

Following another devastating shooting in April 2017, for the first time in forty-five years, Texas jurors would find an on-duty police officer guilty of murder (NBCDFW Staff, 2023). As teenagers often do, an innocent fifteen-year-old unarmed Black star-athlete and straight-A student named Jordan Edwards [B.14] had attended a nearby house party among family and friends (Criss, 2017; Keller, 2022; Young, 2017). About to return home, he was sitting in the front passenger seat of a car driven by his older brother, when he was fatally shot through the back of the head by a rifle round—none in the vehicle had criminal records (Criss, 2017; Keller, 2022; Young, 2017). The officer involved in the killing lied about the car driving

“aggressively” toward him—body camera footage showed the car was driving away from him when he fired (Criss, 2017; Keller, 2022; Young, 2017). A Dallas County grand jury convicted the officer of murder, ultimately sentencing him to fifteen years in prison (Criss, 2017; Keller, 2022; Young, 2017). Texas jurors sent a powerful message of support to the Black community that day, rejecting the appeal, making certain the guilty officer would serve his entire sentence, and ultimately awarding \$21.6 million to the Edwards estate in a wrongful death lawsuit (NBCDFW Staff, 2023).

Published in 2017, *The Effects of Perceived Phenotypic Racial Stereotypicality and Social Identity Threat on Racial Minorities’ Attitudes About Police* [A.3.12] by Kimberly B. Kahn, J. Katherine Lee, Brian C. Renauer, Kris R. Henning, and Greg Stewart, established that positive interpersonal interactions between racial minorities and police officers—through transmissions of respect, politeness, and value—demonstrated the capacity to increase racial minority trust in police (Kahn et al., 2017). Crucially, the data also revealed that stereotypes are not equally applied to all racial group members—stereotyping varies within racial groups—creating gradational harm by the associated effects on behaviors, attitudes, and affects (Kahn et al., 2017). This means that structural racism takes on many forms, where discriminatory practices become insidiously oppressive (Kahn et al., 2017). The more racial minorities believe they resemble a typical member of their racial/ethnic group, the greater their concern about being treated negatively by police (Kahn et al., 2017). Blacks who are highest in perceived phenotypic racial stereotypicality have darker skin tones and distinct facial features, including broader noses and lips—agonizing reminders of past racial hierarchies that still end lives today (Kahn et al., 2017). Circumstances that proved hauntingly accurate in the case of Philando Castile [B.13], who was shot five times and killed in front of his spouse and four-year-old daughter while

obediently reaching for his license (Smith, 2020). Castile and his spouse resembled Black armed robbery suspects with “wide noses and dark skin”—undeniable evidence of stereotypical discriminatory beliefs manifesting on duty as racial profiling (Egede & Walker, 2020; Kahn et al., 2017; Smith, 2020).

Social identity-related threats do create self-fulfilling prophecies between police and racial minorities; the more racial minorities feel negativity based on race, the more they avoid interacting with police (Kahn et al., 2017). Pulled over for a broken taillight, Walter Scott [B.11] fled on foot, terrified for his life, eyewitness video captured a North Charleston, South Carolina police officer fatally shooting Scott in the back eight times (Egede & Walker, 2020; Kahn et al., 2017; Smith, 2020; Vann & Ortiz, 2017). Though it lends zero tolerance for an officer fatally shooting an unarmed, fleeing Black man, the research explains that by anticipating less cooperation by a racial minority, the officer involved may have erroneously perceived fear, discomfort, and other behavioral cues as suspicious, negatively leading to a fatal encounter (Kahn et al., 2017). Kimberly B. Kahn, J. Katherine Lee, Brian C. Renauer, Kris R. Henning, and Greg Stewart wisely state that explicit training for police officers on social identity threat, as well as the impact of phenotypic racial stereotypicality on social identity threat, may offer a practical solution—through training and informed education, officer misperceptions of social identity threat as enforcement indicators of guilt or danger would be avoided (Kahn et al., 2017).

3.4.2.8 2018

The spring of 2018 witnessed another fatal shooting in California. This time, a young unarmed Black father of two named Stephon Clark [B.15] was fatally shot in his family backyard talking on a cellular phone—he had recently been struggling with mental health concerns,

including suicidal thoughts and depression (Madison et al., 2019; Simon & Krupa, 2019).

Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Sacramento County District Attorney both declined to bring charges against the officers who shot Clark, lingering questions remained regarding the intentional disengagement of body-worn camera audio recording, and independent autopsy findings that revealed Clark had been shot eight times total, including six times in his back (Madison et al., 2019; Simon & Krupa, 2019). Disturbing contradictions with versions of events suggested by the Sacramento Police Department and County Coroner report (Madison et al., 2019). The City of Sacramento agreed to pay a settlement of \$2.4 million in 2019 (Simon & Krupa, 2019). Though not necessarily the direct purview of law enforcement policy, creating interconnected health support systems that acknowledge the mental health concerns of Black communities, increasing minority access to care while simultaneously reducing social risk, would enhance neighborhood stability while helping to build trust and save lives in vulnerable communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Madison et al., 2019; Simon & Krupa, 2019).

3.4.2.9 2019

From start to finish, 2019 was a geo-political cauldron hissing at the brim, seeking any provocation to boil over. On the home front, controversy and wild speculation swirled in every conceivable direction. The U.S. Justice Department conducted a massive investigation into elite college admissions, polarizing gun violence tore families apart and exacerbated ideological divides (2019 Events, 2020). President Trump was impeached—though later found not guilty (2019 Events, 2020). Even familiar ‘ol Facebook found itself in hot water—agreeing to pay a \$5 billion dollar fine to settle privacy and antitrust allegations by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) (2019 Events, 2020). Yet the ultimate specter of sorrow spawned thousands of miles

away, possibly at a seafood market in Huanan, China, or as a zoonotic fugitive of the Wuhan Institute of Virology (WIV)—COVID-19 would claim millions of lives worldwide over the next three years (Gostin & Gronvall, 2023). As the virus raged, racial disparities in COVID-19 infections and deaths among Black Americans would reveal an inalienable truth—structural racism exists in America, and it dynamically targets the entire Black population (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gostin & Gronvall, 2023).

Enhancing perceptions of long-term public trust and legitimate governmental authority is not only essential to building trust in police and strengthening perceptions of police legitimacy but also vital to maintaining stability in society—together, like two sides of the same coin—forming universal human perceptions of *fairness* and trust, coetaneous within a healthy, peaceful democratic society (Kahn et al., 2019). A Portland State University-based study conducted in Portland Oregon, *Public Response to Community Engagement Patrols in High Crime Areas* [A.3.13] by researchers Kimberly B. Kahn, Kris R. Henning, Greg Stewart, Brian C. Renauer, Christian Peterson, Renée Jean Mitchell, Yves Labissiere, and Sean Sothern, carved out dedicated time on duty for Portland Police Bureau (PPB) officers to positively engage with members of their community in pursuit of this goal (Kahn et al., 2019). Though undeniably, past police presence in the most vulnerable minority areas typically created a tense and stressful cultural atmosphere of suspicion and fear, officers positively focused on community-policing ideals and respectful, polite, non-investigative approaches—community engagement patrols (CEP)—did not produce negative police attitudes (Kahn et al., 2019). In the search for a procedurally just path forward, this encouraging and illuminating study offers hope by testing and deploying a promising intervention that directly addresses social risk factors (Kahn et al., 2019). Although it will take consistent public pressure to effect radical changes in the structure

and components of criminal justice policies, this piece provides valuable evidence to guide the ongoing effort toward implementation of nationwide procedural justice standards explicitly prioritizing the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust (Egede & Walker, 2020; Kahn et al., 2019).

Plainly stated, police need public support and cooperation to control crime and hold offenders accountable effectively (Braga et al., 2019). *Race, Place, and Effective Policing* [A.3.14] by Anthony A. Braga, Rod K. Brunson, and Kevin M. Drakulich directly confronted the pervasive police culture perpetuating minority fear and oppression (Braga et al., 2019). A culture rooted in a long history of structural racism and discriminatory practices, widely associated with racial disparities and overly aggressive contemporary policing strategies (Braga et al., 2019). The research calls for immediate criminal justice policy reforms—including the mandatory, unilateral reduction in investigatory stop-and-frisks (Braga et al., 2019; Egede & Walker, 2020). Critically disadvantaged urban neighborhoods where Black people disproportionately reside lack the immense social and political capital required to marshal policy change (Braga et al., 2019). As a democratic society, the American people should participate in sustainable change and take a permanent stand to stop racism (Braga et al., 2019; Egede & Walker, 2020).

To restore trust and effective working relationships with minority communities, police departments should renew policy efforts to develop, implement, and sustain crime-control strategies that are both *fair* and effective (Braga et al., 2019). By coupling problem-oriented crime-control efforts with complementary attempts to increase community engagement and enhance procedural justice in their interactions with the public—as suggested by the previous study initiative, *Public Response to Community Engagement Patrols in High Crime Areas*

[A.3.13]—police departments can simultaneously enact effective crime-control practices that minimize harmful racial disparities and improve legitimacy in vulnerable, disadvantaged minority neighborhoods (Braga et al., 2019; Kahn et al., 2019; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024). A co-production of community engagement, procedurally just rightful policing policy, and problem-oriented crime control efforts that address the policing paradox within order maintenance policing policy—namely process-based strategies of hotspot policing—clearly show great promise across communities of color (Braga et al., 2019; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Kahn et al., 2019; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024).

3.4.2.10 **2020**

By March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic had reached the state of Kentucky (2019 Events, 2020). The Governor declared a state of emergency, closing schools and businesses in a desperate attempt to slow the spread of the virus—residents huddled in their homes (2019 Events, 2020). All first responders, including police officers and emergency medical technicians, faced intensified daily exposure to fear, suffering, and death in the line of duty during the pandemic (2019 Events, 2020). Many died from contracting the virus, exposed while stoically performing their jobs and serving their communities (2019 Events, 2020). A young Black female emergency medical technician named Breonna Taylor [B.16] died too, though not from COVID-19; she was shot six times by police and killed in her bed (Onion et al, 2021). Louisville Metro Police officers busted through her apartment door with a battering ram, acting on a no-knock warrant to search for signs of drug trafficking—no drugs were found in her apartment (Onion et al, 2021). Two years later, an investigation by the U.S. Justice Department would reveal a disturbing pattern of racial discrimination and abusive police practices in the Louisville Metro

Police Department (Onion et al, 2021). Although the officer involved in the shooting was fired, he was also acquitted of all criminal charges (Onion et al, 2021). Ultimately, the City of Louisville agreed to pay a \$12 million dollar wrongful-death settlement to the Taylor family (Onion et al, 2021). In response to national protests, outcries from civil rights activists, and intense scrutiny from political leaders, no-knock warrants have been permanently banned in Louisville, Kentucky (Onion et al, 2021). Proof positive that collective civil resistance can become transformational, yet the system continues to postpone reform, delaying proactive action to shield against evolving forms of discrimination (Robson, 2019).

Two months later, in May of 2020, an unarmed Black father of five named George Floyd [B.17] was murdered by a white Minneapolis Police Department officer named Derek Chauvin (Arango et al., 2022). Viral video revealed that Floyd was pinned face down in handcuffs, while Chauvin held his knee on Floyd's neck for nine minutes (Arango et al, 2022). Three other officers were present, and two actively participated—one by kneeling on Floyd's upper legs and holding his wrists, while another held his legs (Arango et al, 2022). As George Floyd lay gasping "I can't breathe" for nine long minutes, no officer intervened to stop the police brutality (Arango et al, 2022). In a bizarrely underexplored twist to this case that raises potential conspiracy concerns, at one time, both George Floyd and his murderer Derek Chauvin were working on the same private security team, just down the street from the Third Precinct (Elassar, 2020). Maya Santamaria, the former El Nuevo Rodeo club owner, said: "We all worked together certain nights, and they would have crossed paths" (Elassar, 2020). Upon seeing a video of the Floyd murder, Santamaria also stated: "I didn't understand what I was seeing. I kept yelling at my phone, telling Chauvin to get off of him. It's horrible. It's absolutely beyond words. And having known Chauvin, I can't believe he didn't have the humanity to listen to this poor man begging

for his air and his life” (Elassar, 2020). Officer Chauvin had been the subject of at least 22 prior complaints or internal investigations during his nineteen years with the Minneapolis Police Department (Elassar, 2020). For almost seventeen of those years, he had also worked off-duty as a security guard at the El Nuevo Rodeo nightclub (Elassar, 2020). The Minneapolis City Council unanimously approved a \$27 million dollar pre-trial settlement to the Floyd family, Chauvin would be sentenced to twenty-two and a half years in prison, and the other three officers involved were each sentenced to several years (Arango et al, 2022; Shapiro & Lloyd, 2021). George Floyd’s death profoundly impacted the American people, but feelings of anger and sadness were particularly acute among minority communities—affecting nearly half of all Black Americans (Arango et al, 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020). Many Black people also suffered from depression and anxiety, dramatically exacerbated by the ongoing social deprivation of the COVID-19 pandemic (Arango et al, 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020).

Three days before Christmas the same year, an eleven-year-old Black girl named Monica Goods [B.18] was traveling with her family to visit relatives in upstate New York (Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). Briefly reviewing vital elements of the case: Monica’s father Tristan Goods was driving, and his wife and two daughters were passengers in their family SUV—none knew little Monica was not wearing a seatbelt (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). A New York State Trooper pulled the Goods family SUV over for speeding, and Mr. Goods allegedly refused to provide his license and registration (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). A verbal argument began, and seconds later, the officer sprayed pepper spray into the Goods SUV (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). Sensing imminent danger and fearing for the lives of his family and himself, Mr. Goods sped off (Collman, 2021; Marcus,

2023; Matkin, 2021). A high-speed vehicle pursuit ensued; the officer involved rammed the Goods vehicle twice from behind with his police car (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). After the second vehicle strike to the rear of their car, the Goods family SUV crashed into a guardrail and rolled over repeatedly, ejecting, crushing, and killing young Monica (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021).

Police audio recordings revealed the officer involved had lied into his radio, falsely claiming Mr. Goods had rammed his police car twice (Appea, 2021; Matkin, 2021). Later, during grand jury testimony, it was revealed there were two prior events where the same officer had rammed cars from behind; he exhibited a pattern of ramming vehicles using the same technique (Appea, 2021; Matkin, 2021). Although the New York Supreme Court initially dismissed the murder charge against the officer, an appellate panel is currently considering reinstating the murder charge, and federal and state lawsuits are still pending (Appea, 2021; Pignone, 2023). According to the top State Police union leader in New York, the union was “not fazed” to hear about the state Attorney General filing a motion to reinstate a murder charge against the officer (Pignone, 2023). Expert accident reconstruction has determined the high-speed chase lasted three to five minutes, during which the officer rammed the Goods SUV at speeds in excess of one hundred miles per hour (Pignone, 2023). Although a tragic series of compounding factors contributed to the death of Monica Goods, the officer involved made an inexcusably rash decision to pursue and ram a vehicle with two small children inside, and a concerted effort to conceal the extent of his legal involvement and criminal culpability, as well as skew facts surrounding the incident.

Though it was published earlier in 2020, the circumstances leading up to Monica Goods' [B.18] tragic death in December, bear a strikingly compelling parallel to the wide-ranging research study by Daniel S. Nagin and Cody W. Telep, *Procedural Justice and Legal Compliance: A Revisionist Perspective* [A.3.15] (Nagin & Telep, 2020). Substantive study conclusions state that perceptions of procedurally just treatment and legitimacy are the corollary of a lifetime accumulation of historical, cultural, community, and familial influences (Nagin & Telep, 2020). Tristan Goods initially complied with the State Trooper, obediently pulling over and engaging in communication, however verbal escalation by the officer through the use of expletives, followed by spraying pepper spray into the Goods SUV in the presence of Mr. Goods' wife and two young children, caused him to panic and flee (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021; Nagin & Telep, 2020). Procedurally just, rightful, *fair*, and polite treatment of Mr. Goods would almost certainly have de-escalated the situation, reduced fear, and increased his willingness to comply (Nagin & Telep, 2020). In the absence of procedurally just treatment and legitimacy, Mr. Goods did not trust that his family would remain safe, and thus fearing for their lives and his own, he instinctively reacted by fleeing at high speed—unaware his vehicle would be repeatedly rammed from behind, and that his young daughter was made all the more vulnerable, by not wearing her seatbelt (Nagin & Telep, 2020).

3.4.3 Summary (2010 to 2020)

Perhaps the American people have been too patient? Accepting that policing policy improvements will be incremental and not without departmental setbacks (Nagin & Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021). Though hardly so tardy as to become centennial, where no rightful, legitimate democracy considers institutionalized violence, police brutality, and murder tolerable (Nagin &

Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021). Persistently troubling within American policing today, vulnerable communities struggle within a seamless web of structural racism, begging for ways to measure individual officer compliance and hold their abusers accountable (Egede & Walker, 2020; Nagin & Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021).

Immediate implementation of a federal law requiring mandatory departmental reporting to the U.S. Justice Department-funded police misconduct registry—the National Decertification Index (NDI)—would be an excellent first step (Vera, 2021). Terminating sloppy recruiting practices that allow problematic officers to wander from agency to agency, actively and immediately, on day one of the law going into effect (Vera, 2021). The obvious incentive for departmental cooperation seems plain and obvious—compliant departments will receive generous federal funding, and non-compliant departments will receive zero federal funding dollars (Vera, 2021). The more contentious issue will lie with police union acceptance and departmental implementation of a new moral and ethical concept—calling for fellow officers to immediately intervene when they see wrongdoing—stopping colleagues from engaging in discriminatory practices, racial profiling, and police brutality (Kahn et al., 2017; Nickeas, 2021; Vera, 2021). Such a policy would also have to empower local police union members to speak up and take formal disciplinary action, permanently expelling unethical union members who are violating their professional policing oath or abusing their power—at heart, weeding out the violent, the unscrupulous, and the unethical wrong-doers from police union membership (Nickeas, 2021). A blue-collar working union staffer for United Steel Workers and ex-police officer named Smith may have said it best: “I don’t think that culture is isolated in law enforcement, and not in unions. That’s part of American culture: no one wants to be a rat, but I

would say union police officers today have a choice – change their culture or watch their rights get legislated out of existence” (Nickeas, 2021).

3.5 Temporal Summary

For more than thirty years, a plethora of brilliant scholars have demonstrated the dire urgency and undeniable scientific merit of procedurally just police treatment. Their research path has become mournfully well-worn, transmuting cause and requiem, temporally validating criminal justice research as one battlefield in the ongoing war against discrimination, systemic structural racism, and administrations mutually reinforcing inequitable systems of political dead space saturated with generations of Black blood (Egede & Walker, 2020). At long last, the severe psychological trauma resulting from state-sanctioned violence, including the most recent police brutality of the Taylor, Floyd, and Goods cases, alongside chronic exposure to racial discrimination, has been documented by the U.S. Justice Department (Arango et al., 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). These official revelations validate the many disturbing interwoven patterns of systemic racial discrimination and abusive police practices, in combination with inadequate access to health care and statistically authentic racial disparities in COVID-19 infections and deaths—together, powerfully illustrating the intersection of structural racism, social risk, and health disparity festering within American society (Arango et al, 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021).

The names of the African Americans who brutally lost their lives are purposely intermingled and specifically interwoven within the research timeline—experiences representing

an excruciatingly small fraction of the actual toll of human suffering and death perpetrated against families of color within minority communities. No legally factual, moral, or ethical basis for plausibly denouncing the urgency of transformative police policy reform exists. The true expostulation has become how many more Black bodies need to lay in the streets or die in their beds before the American people collectively mobilize and, at long last, participate in sweeping nationwide policy change with political accountability.

Chapter IV: Primary Evidentiary Associations

4.1 Introduction

Policing is an essential, valuable, democratic, multi-racial social contract, legitimately bound by trust and accountability to the American people (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2009; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015). Discriminatory beliefs, stereotypes, and unequal distribution of departmental resources deeply affect disadvantaged communities through a myriad of trajectories—social deprivation, psychological trauma, and in extreme instances physical injury and death (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2009; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015). Harm resulting from any form of state-sanctioned violence—aggressive order maintenance policing, police brutality, or chronic exposure to concentrated racial discrimination targeting the poor and most vulnerable—powerfully diminishes public perceptions of trust, dignity, and fairness (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2009; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015). Underpinning this analysis, the integrity of the American criminal justice system, and the safe, effective delivery of policing services, are decisively the key to the stability of America, therefore implementation of nationwide procedural justice standards should affirmatively and explicitly prioritize the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015).

4.2 Primary Associations

In a healthy democratic society, people accept that legitimate authority is entitled to make decisions and enforce the rule of law (Meares, 2013). Rightful policing is founded on the social

psychological concept of legitimacy; therefore, when evaluating the quality of police conduct, the American people primarily focus on *participation*, *fairness*, *dignity*, and *trust*—the most vital dimensions of public service in law enforcement (Meares, 2013). Together, these four indicia comprise the model of procedural justice—the psychological basis of legitimacy—a shared public belief, the perception of participating and being heard, of receiving fair treatment, of being met with dignity, and trust that police officers and the legal process will be impartial (Meares, 2013). Crucially, public perceptions of procedurally just treatment and legitimacy become the net outcome of a lifetime accumulation of historical, cultural, community, and familial influences (Nagin & Telep, 2020).

Naturally, during police-citizen interactions, people report higher levels of satisfaction when they have an opportunity to *participate* and explain themselves (Meares, 2013). Yet, equal participation has been consistently denied to minority communities for many generations—in political discussion and decisions, in the enforcement of criminal justice policy, in opportunities for education and employment, in healthcare and nutrition, and most certainly in the accumulation of multi-generational wealth (Egede & Walker, 2020; Meares, 2009; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015). In the span of only three decades, going to prison became an ordinary and predictable life experience for young Black Americans (Meares, 2009). The ripple effect of criminalizing many non-violent, low-level status offenses that focused on youth arrest and confinement became painfully obvious: future generations would be denied opportunities to build and accumulate wealth, participate in educational development, and contribute to the social and economic improvement of their communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Javdani, 2019; President’s Task Force, 2015). Real change begins with law enforcement and government treating people with dignity and fairness and by building and replicating

healthy, democratic communities that affirm and enhance the status of minorities within society (Meares, 2013). Police, in particular, have the ability to give minority persons something valuable and long overdue—a positive sense of self, an American identity presumed innocent and equal in the eyes of authority (Meares, 2013).

All Americans care greatly about *fairness*; they look for neutrality, objectivity, factuality and consistency of decision-making, and transparency (Meares, 2013). Yet by their very presence, structural racism, police brutality, and chronic exposure to discrimination are grossly unfair (Egede & Walker, 2020). Poisonous discriminatory beliefs and stereotypes create toxic interconnected systems of embedded inequities, forming an oppressive, psychologically and culturally damaging message conveyed most intensively during adolescence, but often beginning traumatically in early childhood, bitterly ethno-replicating over generations (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Egede & Walker, 2020). For example, it was not merely status as a minority youth living in a poor urban Cleveland, Ohio community that exposed twelve-year-old Tamir Rice [B.10] to brutally aggressive policing strategies that resulted in his death, but blisteringly starkly, that he was a young African American boy (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Egede & Walker, 2020; Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020).

Most assuredly, the concept of fairness is bilateral; police officers should be treated fairly by supervisors and management (Meares, 2013; Haas et al., 2015; President’s Task Force, 2015). Legitimacy and fairness should be strongly and persistently promoted by law enforcement agencies internally, applying the very same principles of procedurally just treatment to all police officers and support staff equally (Meares, 2013; Haas et al., 2015; President’s Task Force, 2015). It bears noting that within a healthy democratic society, education, employment, housing, credit markets, health care, and the criminal justice system should all mutually reinforce fair

practices that protect and encourage diversity, with social and racial equality throughout the population, not merely an economically entitled fraction of the population (Egede & Walker, 2020).

Everyone expects to be treated with *dignity*, with respect for their civil rights, and with common decency and politeness (Meares, 2013). Polite treatment that accords dignity and respect demonstrates concern for civil rights, translating into membership in a valued group within society (Meares, 2009). The potential for bias of authority, discrimination, or incompetence should never be permitted to make vulnerable members of society feel less worthy (Meares, 2009). Always mindful, authorities should be held accountable to the American people, acknowledging the dignity and civil rights of individuals by rendering decisions neutrally and objectively, regardless of ethnicity, geographic location, or socio-economic status (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). As Americans, we should exercise our democratic right to vote, supporting measures that prescribe a neutral and fair culture of policing practice that reflects the core values of protection and dignity at the ballot box—especially for the most endangered members of our society—vulnerable minority children and youth most at risk for crime or violence (President’s Task Force, 2015).

During police-citizen interactions, people want to believe the authorities are acting out of a sense of neutrality and benevolence toward them, to *trust* the individual motivations of the officers are sincere, genuine, and well-intentioned (Meares, 2009; Meares, 2013).

Fundamentally, law enforcement cannot build community trust if it is regarded as a paramilitary-occupying force, imposing fear, violence, and environmental control on the community (Egede & Walker, 2020; President’s Task Force, 2015). Severely damaging minority perceptions of public trust, police misconduct, and lack of compassion have increasingly become most

prevalent in the most vulnerable, socially disorganized communities, accelerating their temporal timeframe of physical deterioration, while simultaneously emboldening the harshest rationale behind the amplification of oppressive order maintenance policing policies (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024).

As a first step in the process of rebuilding public trust in law enforcement, the federal government should make departmental reporting to the National Decertification Index (NDI) mandatory; forever terminating the loophole of sloppy recruiting practices that continue to allow violent, incompetent, deceptive and/or problematic officers to wander like circuitous chameleons from agency to agency (Nickeas, 2021; Vera, 2021). The second step calls for police unions to step forward, mandatorily requiring fellow officer-members to immediately intervene when they see wrongdoing, stopping colleagues from engaging in discriminatory practices, racial profiling, and police brutality (Kahn et al., 2017; Nickeas, 2021; Vera, 2021). In bylaw, perpetuity, and practice forevermore, weeding out the violent, the unscrupulous, and the unethical wrong-doers from law enforcement (Nickeas, 2021). The third step requires that all police policies and aggregate law enforcement data should be made publicly available promptly, ensuring transparency and accountability to the community (President's Task Force, 2015).

4.3 Summary of Evidentiary Associations

Vulnerable communities struggle within a seamless web of structural racism, begging for ways to measure individual officer compliance and hold their abusers accountable (Egede & Walker, 2020; Nagin & Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021). Racial stereotypes, inequality, and injustice are not merely repugnant precipitates of our flawed criminal justice system; they form a ubiquitous symptom of a systemic social cancer that has been permitted to metastasize

throughout every organization of authority and political influence (De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020; Nickeas, 2021; Vera, 2021). Broad discretion allows police to shape, redescribe, and recategorize many social situations and legal contexts (Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). The bad actors abuse this discretion in the form of racial profiling, zero-tolerance policing, aggressive police stop-and-frisks, covert surveillance, and the unethical defense of violent police actions (Kahn et al., 2017; Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). A police force for good epitomizes American democracy, rightfully upholding what it means to be American and to fairly represent all Americans (Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015).

Good cops alone cannot solve the problems of our society (Meares, 2013). Meaningful change should collectively address the core community issues of poverty, education, health, and safety (President's Task Force, 2015). Procedurally just, process-based police policy should prevail in America, overseen by legitimate governmental regulations that ensure police, courts, and government exercise authority fairly over the American people, for no rightful, legitimate democracy considers institutionalized violence, police brutality, and murder tolerable (Nagin & Telep, 2020; Tyler & Fagan, 2010; Vera, 2021). Reciprocally, the men and women who protect and serve our communities also deserve the utmost respect, dignity, and fairness; law enforcement agencies should promote the wellness and safety of police officers at every level of their organizations, including the adoption of rightful, procedurally just principles for all internal police policies and employee interactions (President's Task Force, 2015). Looking forward, increasing participation, *fairness*, dignity, and trust between American communities and the hard-working law enforcement agencies who protect and serve them is undoubtedly well within the scope of this great nation (President's Task Force, 2015).

Chapter V: The Establishment of Legitimacy

5.1 Introduction

Rightful policing is founded on the social psychological concept of legitimacy as a social value, significantly influencing policing (Meares, 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Procedural justice is the basis of legitimacy (Meares, 2013). Thus, legitimacy and procedural justice simultaneously become immensely important co-concepts for the accurate measurement of public perceptions of policing policy and fair practice—and pivotally together, they also become powerful, solution-oriented, rightful concepts, capable of reshaping policing in America (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Meares, 2013; Pastor et al., 2023). Best of all, procedural justice is highly accessible and easy to practice in daily police duty—as simple as treating people with respect and dignity, of making decisions in fair, transparent, and ethically accountable ways that allow people to have a voice (Hanway & Hambly, 2023).

Distinctly, before pressing further, in the purest sense of the social psychological obligation owed to the American people, morality is the most potent social justification for agency compliance and the ethical alignment of police cultural reforms; however, this analysis focuses on legitimacy for three critical reasons (Meares, 2009; Pastor, 2023). First, legitimacy is an amalgamation of perceptions regarding the law and the legal authorities that enforce it; the government remains in control, in sharp contrast to the development of subjective values of morality (Meares, 2009). Second, legal constraints and lobbyists would endlessly muddle the most effective methods for the government to shape itself around the morality of individual agencies (Meares, 2009). Third, and most importantly, legitimacy is a more stable basis for

voluntary agency compliance than subjective values of morality from the government perspective (Meares, 2009). Meaning greater legitimacy translates into more agency compliance, whether or not compliance is in the personal interest of an individual organization (Meares, 2009). This is because the moral standards of an individual agency might not necessarily fall in line with overarching authoritative dictates, but evaluations of legitimacy are strictly based on procedural *fairness* (Meares, 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

From both sides of the coin, internally within agencies and on the streets, legitimacy-based law enforcement focuses on persuasion rather than punishment, and persuasion requires the authoritative body to create necessary social capital by engendering trust between governors and the governed—this includes police-citizen interactions, and officer-management interactions (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). This concept helps counterbalance the ongoing social pitfall of evaluating police conduct solely with respect to lawfulness, for as written today, American law has little to no capacity to instruct police officers how to stop or arrest someone in a legitimate way (Meares, 2013). Long term, only by establishing strong, trustworthy, ethical foundations to purposefully direct the moral directives and legitimate conduct of law enforcement agencies and their personnel, will the ultimate goal of procedurally just, rightful policing be realized in America—chiefly, foundations that actively become legitimate through daily use in police service (Meares, 2013; Pastor et al., 2023; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). As an administrative crescendo, legitimacy transcends law enforcement; it is not merely a nascent strategy; instead, it is the contemporary face of a democratizing movement with the remarkable potential to transform public perceptions of authority (Meares, 2009).

5.2 The Establishment

Thirty-four years ago, Tom R. Tyler stated that legitimacy was a core precondition to the effectiveness of authorities; he recognized that legitimacy reflected normal, moral, and ethical social values (Tyler, 1990; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The procedural justice perspective would later argue that police legitimacy is linked to public judgments about the fairness of the processes through which police make decisions and exercise authority—evolving into process-based policing strategies (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Throughout the research period that follows, perceptions of police effectiveness and legitimacy have significantly diminished, particularly in socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhoods further strained by aggressive order maintenance policing activities, violently discriminatory police-resident encounters, and negative pre-existing attitudes voicing strong minority dissatisfaction (Gau et al., 2012; Gau & Brunson, 2010; Renauer, 2007). Exactly as predicted, unfairness in the exercise of authority leads to alienation of minority communities and police officers, and police-citizen defiance, alongside community and agency noncooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Regardless of whether police act in accordance with the law today, generations of Black Americans have experienced traumatic fear, pain, and suffering; horrors that have inflicted devastating cultural consequences, obliterating perceptions of police legitimacy and crippling community communication (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Legitimate police authority should acknowledge the existence of injustice—past and present, alongside the racialized structures that have perpetuated discrimination; vitally important first steps to establishing a culture of transparency and accountability; essential to healing longstanding cultural wounds, building public trust, and establishing an effective and accountable ethical agency culture moving forward

(Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015; Renauer, 2007). At first glance, procedural justice may appear to stand in juxtaposition to the entire concept of order maintenance policing, but in point of fact, the illuminating legitimacy procedural justice engenders is an elemental component of all policing paradigms—including order maintenance strategies (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Acutely, the problem lies with aggressive order maintenance policing strategies, manifesting in the form of discriminatory racial profiling and widespread stop-and-frisks that compromise procedural justice and undermine police legitimacy (Kahn et al., 2017; Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Process and procedure embody legitimacy in daily police work; in other words, it may not be obvious how a particular case should come out, but it is almost always clear how parties should proceed and be treated (Meares, 2009). Procedures that police officers and citizens regard as fair and just facilitate positive police-citizen relationships and preserve the peaceful fabric of democratic society—even in the face of conflicts of interest (Meares, 2009). In turn, ethical officers uphold the law by acting fairly, and doing the legitimate thing—conducting their job of enforcing the law through proper police procedure—in a rightfully fair and trustworthy way that meets or exceeds the expectations of department superiors (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023). Centrally, law enforcement agencies should promote legitimacy internally, and police officers should rightfully uphold the moral vision, mission concepts, and guiding principles of their agency in everyday service—applying the principles of procedural justice far and wide (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015).

In the light of cataclysmal rifts between local police departments and the communities they protect and serve, President Barack Obama [C.4] commissioned *The Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* [A.3.6], which emphatically stressed that law

enforcement culture as a whole, should embrace a guardian mindset of policing to build public trust and enhance legitimacy. Overlapping process and procedure, the guardian mindset of policing prioritizes and emphasizes another layer of community compassion through additional dimensions of social service (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015). Officer-guardians should be trained appropriately to enhance the legitimate coproduction of community partnerships alongside carrying out effective policing duties and furthering trust through the establishment and maintenance of positive community contact (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015). Structural racism, discrimination, and injustice have caused great harm to community trust (Egede & Walker, 2020; President's Task Force, 2015). The guardian mindset reinforces ethical police culture through transparency and accountability, building public trust and legitimacy in accordance with stated policy, process, and procedure (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President's Task Force, 2015).

The importance of legitimacy in law enforcement cannot be overstated; legitimacy is fundamental to proper police training, the rightful strategies and fair tactics of police policy, genuine community participation, and the integrity of peaceful, enduring American democracy (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Legitimacy acts as the dividing line between a police force that merely possesses legal authority to enforce the law and a procedurally just force that rightfully values both legal and moral authority (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013). A gross social injustice has been allowed to putrefy for far too long, fostering discrimination for generations through the mutual reinforcement of inequitable systems of structural racism (Egede & Walker, 2020). Police misconduct and lack of compassion are most prevalent in socially disorganized communities, accelerating their temporal timeframe of physical deterioration while

simultaneously emboldening the harshest rationale behind the amplification of order maintenance policing policies (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024).

Realistically, law enforcement departments can only expect to see community trust and police legitimacy flourish after a period of time (Egede & Walker, 2020). The profound cultural lacerations of minority communities reopened and exacerbated by ongoing systems of interconnected institutionalized racism, are far too raw (Egede & Walker, 2020). Instead, a credit of fairness and moral trustworthiness should be slowly banked and built upon for future generations, beginning with Black and Brown youth today (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013). Legitimate policy improvements will be incremental, and not without setbacks and struggle, but gradually as generational confidence improves, hope will metamorphose into a valuable cultural currency, reinforcing the great promise of American democracy (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013; Renauer, 2024). Police executives should embrace ethical police culture, promoting fairness and legitimate solutions internally and in daily service; policies not only designed to quell violence, but also to enhance public safety and improve community quality of life by changing the attitudes and dispositions of those most impoverished, underprivileged, fearful, and alienated—the marginalized residents of vulnerable minority communities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares & Neyroud, 2015; Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; Renauer, 2007; Renauer, 2024).

By demonstrating procedural fairness alongside effective community service, a harmonious alignment of legitimate policing policy and community values takes shape—trust and confidence become a two-way street—public confidence and trust in police services grows, making police officers feel more accountable and responsive to the needs of the community

(Hanway & Hambly, 2023). Together, procedural justice and police legitimacy acknowledge the existence of injustice—past and present—affirming the distrust and the racialized structures that have perpetuated discrimination within vulnerable communities of color; positively shaping how police do their duty; and significantly improving public trust through a fair, effective, and versatile police force that upholds the highest standards of ethical police culture (Gilbert et al., 2015; Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015; Renauer, 2007; Renauer, 2024). Research findings validate the concerns of citizens and police officers alike; meaningful dialogue and supportive agency-community engagement are especially important; openness and transparency on both sides improve confidence and reinforce mutual trust (Hanway & Hambly, 2023).

5.3 Summary of Legitimacy

In the post-pandemic world, the concepts of building citizen trust and nurturing police legitimacy have, at long last, taken their deservedly rightful place as the well-established foundational principles underlying the relationship between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve (President’s Task Force, 2015). People obey the law because they believe those enforcing it have legitimate authority; thus, robust ethical standards coupled with officer integrity and competency will undoubtedly be required to restore the trust of the American people (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015). Vital public confidence and generalized support for policing as an institution will rapidly evaporate if public perceptions of trust and legitimacy are negatively impacted by flawed policing policy, unfair procedures, or discriminatory actions in the future (Hanway & Hambly, 2023). Therefore, the procedural justice-based principle of treating citizens with *fairness*, dignity, and respect should

become the new normal—the routine rule, and not the exception—in all police-citizen interactions (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Nagin & Telep, 2020).

The American people confer legitimacy exclusively onto governmental authorities whom the citizens believe to be acting in procedurally just ways; crucial to this social covenant, law enforcement cannot and will not build community trust, if it is regarded as an occupying paramilitary force, unfairly imposing fearsome control and oppressive amplification of order maintenance policing policies on the community (Gau & Brunson, 2015; President’s Task Force, 2015; Renauer, 2024). The time has come for law enforcement culture to embrace an ethically-framed guardian mindset, to build trust and restore legitimacy in unison throughout the strata of law enforcement agencies and within the communities they protect and serve (President’s Task Force, 2015). Agencies should establish an ethical police culture of public transparency and community accountability, not only to establish public trust and forge legitimacy, but absolutely critically, to ensure that agency decisions conform to publicized policy, mission statement agency values, ethical standards, and expectations of public trust (Pastor, 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015).

Of tremendous sequence to the internal structure of police departments, the instrumentally based model of legitimacy is often found in leadership studies, demonstrating that support is based upon leadership performance in dealing with problems (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The top strata of police executives who recognize the need to establish internal agency legitimacy will facilitate the means through a leadership style that exudes respect, dignity, and accountability; by making fair and transparent decisions that allow police officers and support staff to have a voice—reconfiguring internal law enforcement agency culture from top brass to entry-level recruits (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015;

Renauer, 2024). The fairness and justice of both internal and external police policies and practices are key factors shaping police legitimacy overall; people evaluate the legitimacy of authority by the fairness with which the authoritative body exercises its authority (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Crucially, once agency performance has been measured, the legitimate authority of the department will still be shaped by the procedural justice of its policies and practices—pointing directly to the future of process-based policing strategies (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

Chapter VI: The Guardian Mindset

6.1 Introduction

To better evaluate the potential of the guardian mindset within police culture, one must first construe the face of its brother in blue—the warrior mindset (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). Quite strangely, the history of the warrior concept of policing is now considered somewhat predictably traditional, associated with an overarching mantra of police departments as paramilitary bureaucratic organizations and of militarizing policing tactics and ordinary responses; where some today even believe it was consistent with prevailing and customary views of past police work—to search, to chase, and to capture or apprehend criminals (Egede & Walker, 2020; McLean et al., 2019). This is simply not so—the purview of logical fallacy.

Between 1988 and 1995, lapping the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton Administrations, a new bipartisan commission appointed by the Secretary of Defense made a series of recommendations to Congress (Lockwood, 2004). On November 5, 1990, P.L. 101-510 was enacted, providing Congressional authority for military base closure (Lockwood, 2004). Four Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) commissions operating during 1991, 1993, and 1995, would recommend the closure or realignment of ninety-eight major military bases, and hundreds of smaller installations and facilities, all in a wishful attempt to save an estimated \$57 billion in Department of Defense spending (Lockwood, 2004). The subsequent National Defense Authorization Act of 1997 (the 1033 program) allowed the Department of Defense to rid itself of excess military equipment, passing it off to local authorities—the only catch was, that law enforcement departments would have to pay the cost of shipping (Barrett, 2020). According to the Law Enforcement Support

Office (LESO), more than \$7.4 billion dollars worth of surplus military property has been transferred to more than eight thousand law enforcement agencies nationwide—including highly sophisticated fully automatic rifles, night vision equipment, and heavily armored mine-resistant ambush protected (MRAP) vehicles (Barrett, 2020). Stranger still, both federal governmental and law enforcement agency records are shoddy and inconsistent, making it extremely difficult for political scientists and researchers to determine precisely what volume and type of military equipment is actually in the hands of police departments (Barrett, 2020). From the University of Tampa, Florida, Ryan Welch states, “Our research suggests that officers with military hardware and mindsets will resort to violence quickly and often” (Barrett, 2020).

Long before the warrior-soldier concept pervaded the culture of American policing, officers just considered themselves “cops” who protected and served their fellow citizens (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). Therein lies the paradoxical irony, the warrior concept originally began as a narrow, highly specialist focus, accentuating hand-selected elite disposition and temperament into an idealized police-warrior-soldier—the best of the best (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). From its confined beginning, intended for use in very rare incidents, the warrior mindset began to expand rapidly in tandem with the arrival of billions of dollars worth of surplus military equipment, merging men and machines into the concept of “men and metal—mental mettle” in everyday policing—extolling and embracing it in police books, in law enforcement articles, in officer interviews, and recruit training—until it became the prevailing, venerated, archetypical modern evolution of police culture (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). Indoctrination into this warrior-soldier-enculturation often begins in police academies, usually without any proper distinction to delineate the context of its atypical and highly specialized tactical application (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015).

6.2 Guardian Thought

Fundamentally, in its defense, the warrior mindset within policing culture began with the very best of intentions—to improve officer safety and reduce deaths in the line of duty (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). The guiding concept is, should officers find themselves in a deadly situation, they would require the mental mettle of a well-trained warrior-soldier to fight on, persevere against all odds, and prevail in saving lives (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). However, once fully peer-saturated and indoctrinated, the dark side becomes fully apparent (Van Brocklin, 2015). This same lifesaving warrior mindset can auto-engage a virtually all-consuming, ever-present, hyper-vigilant autonomic life force of its own (Van Brocklin, 2015). Essentially what constitutes disturbing elements akin to the rise of a police state; if citizens do what the police tell them to do, the police encounter will proceed smoothly, but officer perceptions of non-compliance could rapidly provoke and/or justify an immediate warrior-soldier tactical response (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015).

Stated plainly, what started as a specific, limited-application, tactical concept of a warrior mindset deployed during a handful of isolated, deadly confrontations expanded and mutated into a prevailing umbrella influence of police warrior culture over American law enforcement agencies (Van Brocklin, 2015). Tragically today, the warrior mentality often leads to excessive use of force, making it more likely that both the police officer and/or the citizen get injured or even killed (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015). In the wake of many highly publicized officer-involved shootings, and at least 20 American cities entering into settlements or consent decrees with the Department of Justice for unconstitutional and racially discriminatory patterns of police practices, the Obama Administration passed an executive order creating the

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing in December of 2014 (President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). At heart, *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* [A.3.6] sought to return this paramilitary djinn to its bottle, stating that building trust and nurturing legitimacy between police officers and the American people is the singularly most valuable foundational principle—defining, underlying, and reshaping—the nature of police-citizen relations between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve, for better or worse (President's Task Force, 2015). The report and volumes of research, stress that law enforcement culture as a whole should embrace a guardian mindset—rather than a paramilitary warrior-soldier mindset—to build trust and legitimacy, both within law enforcement agencies and with the people they serve (Egede & Walker, 2020; McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015).

The post-2015, President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing concept of guardian-mindset policing, prioritizes and emphasizes dimensions of social service—respect, dignity, and *fairness*, alongside traditional policing—placing value in the coproduction of community partnerships and effective policing policy, as well as the establishment of positive community contact that builds trust (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015). A growing number of police professionals, researchers, and social psychologists now argue that a primarily warrior-soldier-centered police mindset actually reduces officer safety on the street, by creating police-citizen conflict and exacerbating avoidable violence (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). The constant warrior-soldier mindset accompanied by overly aggressive order maintenance police tactics may actually trigger negative and/or violent citizen reactions that were otherwise avoidable (Van Brocklin, 2015). Violence is rare in police-citizen contacts, but fear and anger are potent social contaminants, sometimes provoking a primitive fight-or-flight response from a

normally calm and rational individual (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). Universally approaching every police-citizen encounter with a warrior mindset that frames every citizen as a potential enemy, causes great harm to the people, destroying citizen cooperation and trust across the breadth and depth of the community (McLean et al., 2019; Van Brocklin, 2015). When the community refuses to cooperate with officers, the job of the police becomes much more dangerous (Van Brocklin, 2015).

This reality becomes particularly acute in the most vulnerable minority communities, especially majority-Black communities possessing zero concept of police as guardians, instead, their experience has long been one of “bullies in uniform” who inspire terror by means of discriminatory practices, racial profiling, and violence (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Aggressive order maintenance policing in the form of frequent pedestrian and vehicle stop-and-frisks, sometimes accompanied by provocative, antagonistic language—racial slurs and profanity—have profoundly weakened police authority and crippled citizen trust in the eyes of many Black Americans, dramatically reducing or eliminating their willingness to comply with police directives altogether (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). African American citizens describe deplorable acts of regular, institutionalized violence during police-citizen interactions: officers shoving, punching, kicking, and using mace against Black people (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). The more indirect techniques of victimization and torment have included deliberate geographical displacement and abandonment—transporting individuals to unfamiliar neighborhoods and dropping them off—not only an inconvenient practice but one with potentially life-threatening consequences in dangerous and unfamiliar neighborhoods (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

6.3 Summary of Mindsets

The balanced application of the guardian mindset offers the most encouraging potential for widespread acceptance, revealing that it is possible to train officers to be tactically aware and confidently empowered while promoting safety, all without automatically approaching every police-citizen encounter as a potential domestic combat zone (Van Brocklin, 2015). Essential to restoring trust within this fragile police-community covenant, law enforcement agencies should acknowledge the long history of persistent injustice, racial discrimination, and police violence, past and present, including the many ways it has harmed the establishment of expectations of public trust (President's Task Force, 2015). Although some current guardian mindset proponents focus intently on the argument that warrior police have no place in a democratic society, a more pragmatic and realistic focus on the impeccable character of those chosen to wear a badge and bear the responsibility of protecting and serving our democracy, is almost certainly the wisest path forward (McLean et al., 2019; Nila & Covey, 2008; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015).

Illuminating this promising policing passage forward, research affirmatively underscores the positive improvements and encouraging outcomes the guardian mindset has already demonstrated in daily practice (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). First, a culture of transparency and accountability should be widely established, effectively building public trust and engendering legitimacy in accordance with federal standards of rightful, procedurally just, policing policy in America (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Procedural improvements in officer training will dramatically remediate police-citizen encounters in the field, ultimately providing better service, increased

safety, and strengthened police-community relations (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Law enforcement culture should embrace the incorporation of the guardian mindset into day-to-day police work to build trust and increase legitimacy within agencies and with the public (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015).

Research strongly encourages the lifetime accumulation of positive racial, cultural, community, and familial influences would have the transformative power to generate hope, primarily through its innate ability to weight positive public perceptions observably (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Steps toward achieving this new standard of excellence within the shortest timeframe possible should explicitly prioritize the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust; all law enforcement agencies should adopt procedural justice as the guiding principle for internal departmental and external police policies and practices, to best guide the *fairness* of interactions and to improve trust and legitimacy simultaneously with rank and file officers and with the citizens they protect and serve (President's Task Force, 2015).

Chapter VII: Expectations of Public Trust

7.1 Introduction

In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, the mission of law enforcement has become increasingly uncertain, unforgivingly complex, and politically opaque (Pastor et al., 2023). Organizational doubt and a marked increase in violent crime—including the resurgence of gang-related violence, property crime, and minor misdemeanor offenses—are stirring increasing deliberation about the most effective crime-fighting strategies to fund with precious tax dollars (Pastor et al., 2023). Policymakers ink the rising waters with conflictually befuddling political agendas, some urge greater leniency and tolerance, others question the classification of certain offenses as criminal violations, and everyone wants greater public trust, satisfaction, and safety (Pastor et al., 2023). Magnify these whirling developments within the refractory of political polarization, public incivility, and budgetary controversy about the value of government services as a whole, and the once seemingly purposeful simplicity of policing becomes a labyrinthine political moonscape (Pastor et al., 2023).

Within functional democracies, police officers have unique powers and legal responsibilities, transcending the duty of ordinary citizens—the exceptional responsibility of police duty demands that officers take the lead, working supportively with the community to solve problems as they arise (Pastor et al., 2023). Public trust, confidence in police services, and public cooperation are the foundations of policing as a legitimate agent of authority, enforcing the rule of law (Pastor, 2023). Symbiotically, the same public trust and confidence bestowed by the American people on law enforcement is equally essential to the function of law enforcement

agencies and policing in America—two sides of the American sigillum (Pastor, 2023). If public perceptions of either the fairness or effectiveness of police services diminish, the public will lose respect for law enforcement, stop trusting police officers, and withdraw voter support (Pastor, 2023). Yet Americans are courageously ingenious problem solvers; thus, it would be categorically inaccurate ever to acquiesce that the institutions of fair democracy and policing are damaged beyond repair (Pastor, 2023; President’s Task Force, 2015). Though police procedure and policy may presently find themselves under the gun to evolve with the times, the attitudes of anarchy—oft professed by obscurant social media critics who place subversive slogans and extremist ideology above the public trust and safety of the American people—are agents of mass division, chaos, and confusion, the would-be slayers of rightfully peaceful democracy (Pastor, 2023).

Only by establishing strong, trustworthy, ethical foundations to purposefully direct the moral directives and legitimate conduct of law enforcement agencies and their personnel, will the ultimate goal of procedurally just, rightful policing be realized in America (Pastor et al., 2023). The long-term roadmap of American law enforcement should become concurrently correct and self-correcting through regularly reconnecting and realigning within these same ethical borders (Pastor et al., 2023). The common denominator facilitating the intersectionality of these foundations is the “agency culture” lived by individual officers within each law enforcement department (Pastor et al., 2023). Culture is a subjective human experience, therefore building and upgrading an ethical law enforcement agency derived from an idea flowing from within a culture, becomes profoundly simple as a theoretical concept, yet tremendously complex to actualize in daily practice (Pastor et al., 2023). The process begins with the top strata of police executives—leadership who recognize the need, facilitate the means, and wield ultimate

departmental authority—reconfiguring internal agency culture from top brass to entry-level recruits (Pastor et al., 2023).

7.2 Great Expectations

The following components examine and compare the relationships between existing policy reform sources, alongside the urgent promise to affirmatively establish and enforce expectations of public trust. They are intended to serve as a bridge of hope toward healing police-community relations, particularly within the context of disadvantaged minority neighborhoods and the declining resources of agencies tasked to protect and serve them. Law enforcement agencies themselves should initiate the first wave of ethical police culture reforms, whilst simultaneously promoting and perpetuating constructive police-citizen dialogues, alongside the emergence of ongoing public co-responsibility (Pastor, 2023). Having established public transparency, through the vested interest of a diverse group of community stakeholders subscribing to the shared pledge of mutual obligation, these fledgling ethical-police-culture reforms should be elaborated upon and refined—maturing into a fluid state of evolution, capable of adapting to meet public expectations of departmental accountability and the ongoing enforcement of public trust (Pastor et al., 2023). Successful evolution cannot merely be politically superimposed from outside police culture, it must take root from within (Pastor, 2023).

Three systemic obstacles block the agency path to real transformation, jeopardizing the promise of ethical organizational police cultures as transformative agents of hope for lasting change (Pastor et al., 2023). First, the galvanizing power of existing agency culture is inherently resistant to change (Pastor et al., 2023). Second, the palpably noxious atmosphere of

hopelessness and divisiveness exacerbates police-citizen mistrust, particularly social media foddering paranoia, skepticism, and distrust (Pastor et al., 2023). Third, an emergence of disjointed, gradationally reactive approaches to police reform, causes a cataract of unforeseen, unwanted, and undesirable secondary effects (Pastor et al., 2023). Left unchecked, these obstacles may seek to thwart the goals of meaningful change (Pastor et al., 2023).

The solution lies with the awareness, understanding, and dedicated commitment of police leadership today, and of the next generation of leaders preparing to wear the mantle tomorrow—they are the essential antecedents, building, upgrading, and maintaining the momentum of an ethically focused law enforcement culture (Pastor et al., 2023). The skill, integrity, fairness, and ingenuity of police leadership create the fluid ability to anticipate and enact necessary agency course corrections—adapting in real time, improvising on short notice, and overcoming obstacles as they present themselves (Pastor et al., 2023). The scope of exceptional leadership requires strenuous reminders and honed reinforcement, seamlessly creating the inherent, self-replicating ability to anticipate course corrections, build consensus, and elevate the vital importance of mandatory ethical conduct (Pastor et al., 2023). Given the paramilitary saturation of existing agency culture, exerting the gravitas of forward-thinking leadership will not be complicated, and when ethical agency culture saturates widespread police culture, it will suffuse a strong, self-replicating, self-perpetuating behavioral boundary, generation after generation (Pastor et al., 2023). The authority and confidence of departmental leadership will bring police conduct and culture into line with straightforward expectations of public trust, and the mandatory application of ethical principles in daily police work (Pastor et al., 2023). In the immortal words of Theodore Roosevelt, “If you’ve got them by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow.”

Arguably, though police leaders and line personnel experience life through the lens of law enforcement, they do not live in a bubble, they are keenly aware public trust and community confidence in policing are actively deteriorating, yet, though the current state of decline is very real—it is not ungovernable, nor unadaptable (Pastor, 2023). Genuinely meaningful efforts to strengthen and reinforce ethical agency cultures will not magically and instantaneously resolve current public perceptions of mistrust, nor quell the growing divide between present-day public expectations and the moribund discriminatory policies of the past (Pastor, 2023). However, these efforts will redirect the focus of agency leadership and police personnel toward the prioritization of preferred, principled, rightfully proper outcomes moving forward, thus allowing agencies to begin an open and sincere public dialogue about shared obligations and co-responsibilities to achieve conjoint long-term community policing goals (Pastor, 2023).

Having set long-term community-policing goals, the next phase of ethical police cultural evolution establishes a definite Chief aim (Pastor et al., 2023). There are *three* crucial steps departments should take toward building, upgrading, and maintaining a healthy, ethical, agency culture—empowering the finest qualities of law enforcement personnel to protect and serve their communities, maintain public trust, and uphold the ideals of American society—*effectiveness*, *accountability*, and *fairness* (Pastor et al., 2023).

First, police executives should consider the moral vision, mission concept, and guiding principles of their agency, comparing conformity and ethical alignment, with the functional aspects of educational content, officer training, and the measured *effective* performance of police actions on the streets (Pastor et al., 2023). Concretely, no department will ever register the achievement of perfect, flawless conformity—rather, it is an idealized vision of police culture to

enduringly strive toward, an abstract in the ultimate police pursuit of perfection (Pastor et al., 2023).

Second, virtually all organizational cultures have existing “ethical anchors” of *accountability*, and as such, the strengths and weaknesses of individual law enforcement agencies do not exist randomly in a policing policy vacuum (Pastor et al., 2023). Therefore, the upgrading and realignment of individual police departments should be built alongside existing honorable strengths, contemporaneously affirming the trust and confidence of police officers in the ethical commitment, accountability, and legitimacy of police leadership (Pastor et al., 2023). Stated plainly: practice what you preach. There is a tremendous depth of talent, intellect, work ethic, and sophistication within the ranks of law enforcement; officers face adversity bravely, are courageous and are accustomed to grim challenges (Pastor, 2023). Time after time, day after day, fundamentally police want to pursue that which is good, right, and just (Pastor, 2023). Ethical police officers uphold the law by acting fairly and doing the legitimate thing, in a rightfully fair and trustworthy way (Pastor, 2023). Qualities that should be consolidated by fair, skilled, trustworthy, ethical departmental leadership, creating hospitable conditions that gradually stimulate community self-respect, neighborhood ownership, citizen engagement, and public trust to flourish (Pastor et al., 2023).

Third, if one imagines a law enforcement agency as a living, breathing organism—possessing an awareness of social and emotional identity, where trust becomes its metabolism, and departmental vision authorizes the physical accomplishment of each daily mission—*fairness* breathes life, becoming the sentient embodiment of guiding principles (Pastor et al., 2023). In short, standards of fair and ethical conduct need to be adopted, absorbed and applied within all aspects of law enforcement agency operations—including every internal administrative action, as

well as external communications, interactions with governing legal jurisdictions, the political spheres of elected officials, community members, and all external partners (Pastor et al., 2023). Police enforce the law, bearing tremendous responsibility to protect, serve, and uphold public trust; in return, the public owes police robust support, and reciprocal community responsibility (Pastor, 2023). The purpose of promoting ethical agency culture embodies the very essence and urgency of policing itself, the life force of law enforcement today, and the future of American law enforcement tomorrow (Pastor, 2023). The anatomy and ethical culture of good cops exist where police departments thrive, fully executing the most noble, rightful, and trusted values of the profession (Meares, 2013; Pastor, 2023). *Unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno*—one justice for all Americans, all for one America.

7.3 Summary of Public Trust

Each year, law enforcement finds itself increasingly over-flame in the crucible of public and political opinion, where racially controversial discriminatory practices have attracted intense scrutiny from all sides (Pastor et al., 2023). A contentiously unpredictable political climate and increasingly polarizing press, colliding at the intersection of sensational social media controversies, has exacerbated many cultural separations, including those that already existed between law enforcement agencies and the American people (Pastor et al., 2023). Effective police reform should generate mutual trust through uniformity of fairness in decision-making, examining law enforcement agency culture, and actively transforming negative community cultural assumptions, while eliminating discriminatory past practices (Pastor et al., 2023). To improve the fairness and effectiveness of public safety, the role of the American people cannot be passive, nor simply find fault in the system—the public needs to remain informed and

invested in the process, accountable for sharing community expectations and navigating common ground with complementary internal departmental policy (Pastor, 2023). This requires that people—regular citizens, take a vested interest in the support of service and rightful duty of policing, and the values law enforcement agencies stand for—including co-responsibility and a mutual obligation in the form of voter-support for respectably consistent public funding that healthy departments require to function properly (Pastor, 2023).

At the heart of the public mistrust stalemate, are negative citizen perceptions that American law enforcement agencies knowingly permit unjust inconsistencies to exist between stated departmental principles, and the daily conduct of police personnel (Pastor, 2023). In order to remediate this toxic atmosphere, law enforcement agencies should honestly, openly, and directly assess active inconsistencies, dutifully reconciling and conclusively aligning the conduct of police personnel to march step in time with publicized policy, mission statement agency values, ethical standards, and expectations of public trust (Pastor, 2023). Given the traumatically abominable racial circumstances, associated violence, and mass media saturation surrounding the many entangled socio-economic and political facets of decaying public trust, it is highly unlikely a group outside the authority of law enforcement leadership, will have the “mental mettle” to remedy these concerns (McLean et al., 2019; Pastor, 2023; Van Brocklin, 2015).

Moreover, law enforcement leadership should always play the primary, crucial role in establishing and enhancing public trust in police, bridging the divide of shared police-community responsibility (Pastor et al., 2023). The most pragmatic and successful evolving reforms will always be poised to emerge from authentic discussion within the acting profession (Pastor et al., 2023). Therefore, police agencies should now embrace the leading role in developing and applying ethical, principle-led policing policy (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023). Not only to

engender sustained public trust and confidence in police services, but also to constructively reexamine, reshape, and morally upgrade the ethics of agency cultures as dynamic, living socio-eco-systems; recognizing that the most effective, ethically centered policing protects their profession and the community equally—essential shields of human rights, dignity, and well-being (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023).

American law enforcement agencies should render fair, effective, just, trustworthy, racially and socially unbiased, constitutionally legitimate, and legally compliant police services, all whilst accountable to the moral and ethical standards of our free democratic society (Pastor, 2023). Achieving these goals simultaneously becomes dauntingly arduous (Pastor, 2023). Most encouragingly, successful implementation will not necessitate a whole new concept of law enforcement, but rather, great leadership charging a singularly dedicated and dutiful departmental redirection of energy—toward focused, bilateral police-community policy, and the intense procedural commitment to ethics in policing culture moving forward (Pastor, 2023). This solution to the many issues of public trust and community confidence requires the mutual police-community recognition that genuine trust is not a static, passive quality (Pastor, 2023). Trust is a fluid, malleable, relational, and reciprocal social currency, where *fairness*, personal ethics, and human character values become the ultimate benchmarks of effective policing (Pastor, 2023). Amidst our ever-shifting domestic landscape, strong, adaptable, ethically grounded law enforcement agencies are unquestionably necessary to the day-to-day function of American democracy, to national security, to personal safety, and to the well-being of all everyday Americans—in this day, on the morrow, and for generations yet to come (Pastor et al., 2023).

Chapter VIII: Combat Culture

8.1 Introduction

Throughout the history of America, violence and the powerful deterrence factor afforded by our reputation as dutiful guardians of democracy, possessing stoic willingness and superior military capability to battle and win war, has projected a welcoming sense of democratic identity, safety, and security over much of the free world (Bloom, 2007). Certainly, violence and unwavering courage served an essential, necessary, and useful purpose in the theaters of World War II, and the brutal geo-political climate of the Cold War that followed (Bloom, 2007). Yet on the flip side of national courage and duty, some individual violent behavior in perception of duty has exposed testimonials toward total loss of control; in the heat of emotion, any sense of moral gravitation lost its rightful anchor (Bloom, 2007).

8.2 Warrior Guardians

Psychologists whisper the omnipresence of dehumanization, the inherent flaw of technological man, detached and indifferent; the underprivileged and impoverished are ridiculed as libidinous unwashed; the houseless an inconvenient waste whose extraordinary disparity renders them invisible; our elders a torpid threat to the present, drawing precious pensions funds and Medicare (Bloom, 2007). Viewing outlying others with detachment, as objectified bodies, integers, or animals that warrant our most terrible actions, would seem a reasonable—nay virtually plausible—explanation for violence unleashed; yet what depths of unimaginable sorrow prevail if the wretched opposite were true (Bloom, 2007). University of California, Los Angeles,

Professor of Anthropology, Alan Fiske, and Assistant Professor, Rady School of Management, University of California, San Diego, Tase Rai, argue just that—virtuous violence is neither a stone-cold solution to a problem nor a failure of inhibition; most importantly of all, it is not blind to moral thoughts—very unsettlingly, morality is often a potently captivating motivating force (Bloom, 2007; Fiske & Rai, 2014). Fiske and Rai state, “People are impelled to violence when they feel that to regulate certain social relationships, imposing suffering or death is necessary, natural, legitimate, desirable, condoned, admired, and ethically gratifying” (Bloom, 2007; Fiske & Rai, 2014).

Stranger still, violent actions in the line of duty may reflect a noble origin-desire to do the right thing, to protect brothers and sisters in arms, to exact a just and righteous vengeance, or to teach outlying others a lesson they will never forget (Bloom, 2007; Fiske & Rai, 2015). For centuries in America, a profound authoritarian structural continuity between violence, crime, and punishment has existed in the name of societal recompense, requital, deterrence, racial oppression, segregation, or discipline—consequences of color, creed, and ethnicity, the criminal justice system has lawfully imposed (Bloom, 2007). Violence acted under the banner of morality, whether mirrored sophisticate of legal sanction, by the vanquishing of our enemies in war, or by punishing others for ethical malefaction, may indeed be motivated by the disturbing introspective awareness that the victims are also fully human, moral beings—they are us, and we are them (Bloom, 2007).

8.3 Summary of Combat Culture

Perhaps as Americans, some prefer a comforting illusion—the mirage of optimism—rest at the feet of Lady Liberty, a relief that our worst acts of inhumanity and institutionalized indifference as a nation—police brutality, violence, structural racism and discrimination—are based on a series of confusing and complex political and policy failures; others that our world would be made better, simply by deactivating isolating ideologies to achieve a clear grasp of cohesively-collective societal reality—going clear, within the dystopian hive-mind (Bloom, 2007). The bitter truth may indeed be much more challenging to coexist alongside: the very best and worst tendencies of Americans may actually arise, precisely as an outcome of seeing others as human (Bloom, 2007). Moral event horizons—where those like us inhabit an observable universe of privileged tolerance. And the outlying others lie beyond, culturally, ethnically, ideologically, or socioeconomically bound within a voiceless Black hole of invisible disparity, unable to affect outside observation or meaningful change.

Genuine moral and ethical progress in American society may involve taking a powerful introspective gaze at the many forms of doubt, ambivalence, and human character failure that attend acts of brutality and violence (Bloom, 2007). By extension, upgraded moral and ethical progress in American law enforcement should require senior police executives and management responsible for departmental policy, candidate selection, as well as the hiring and probationary evaluation of new officers, to make character and the broader capacity for uniform fairness, ethical courage, and moral judgment the primary focus (Bloom, 2007; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998). Effectively overlapping, agency leadership should recognize that the *fairness* of ethically centered policing protects, serves, and champions our communities and the entire policing

profession (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023). Police are both Warriors and Guardians of American Democracy; it is the measure of the courageously impartial heart that defines the badge (Nila & Covey, 2008).

Chapter IX: Discussion

9.1 Key Findings

This analysis supports the theory that all police officers should exercise authority with procedural justice, where implementation of nationwide procedural justice standards should explicitly prioritize the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust:

Supportive findings begin with recognition of a pattern of failure by existing officers on scene, to intercede and stop fellow officers from engaging in racial violence, maltreatment, and injustice during incidents of civil rights violations and excessive use of force from 1990 to 2020 (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022). Despite powerful audio-video evidence of guilt, police officers were rarely held criminally accountable for their actions, in point of fact, the majority received paid administrative leave and eventually returned to some form of law enforcement duty (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Weiser, 1998). State and local policy reforms were generally long overdue and consistently reactive, meaning they followed a pattern of federal jury conviction for civil rights violations through excessive use of force under the color of law before policy reform was considered (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Smith, 2020; Weiser, 1998).

Broad discretion allowed police officers and law enforcement departments to shape, redescribe, and recategorize social situations and legal contexts (Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). The bad actors abused this discretion in the form of racial profiling, zero-tolerance policing, aggressive police stop-and-frisks, covert surveillance, and the unethical defense of violent police actions (Kahn et al., 2017; Meares, 2013; President's Task Force, 2015). In some

cases, a pattern of concerted departmental efforts was made to sanitize moral, ethical, racial, and legal culpability, as well as skew media perceptions and portrayals of the facts surrounding the incidents of civil rights violations and excessive use of force. Racially disrespectful, undignified, unfair departmental accounts often blamed minority victims, alongside friends and relatives, veering sharply away from taking moral, ethical, and legal agency responsibility (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022; Smith, 2020; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998).

Experts in the field of police management suggest the most pragmatic and successful departmental reforms are poised to emerge from authentic discussion within the acting profession (Pastor et al., 2023). Police agencies should embrace the leading role in developing and applying ethical, principle-led policing policy (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023). The fairness and justice of internal and external police policies and practices are key factors shaping police legitimacy overall; people evaluate the legitimacy of authority, by the *fairness* with which the authoritative body exercises its authority (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Overall, the weight of the research examined strongly suggests that once agency performance has been measured, the legitimate authority of the department will be shaped by the procedural justice of its policies and practices, pointing directly to the future of process-based policing strategies (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

Good cops alone cannot solve the problems of our society (Meares, 2013). Meaningful change should collectively address the core community issues of poverty, education, health, and safety (President's Task Force, 2015). To improve the fairness and effectiveness of public safety, the role of the American people cannot be passive, nor simply find fault in the system—the public needs to remain informed and invested in the process, accountable for sharing community expectations and navigating common ground with complementary internal departmental policy

(Pastor, 2023). Effective police reform should generate mutual trust through uniformity of *fairness* in decision-making, examining law enforcement agency culture, and actively transforming negative community cultural assumptions, while eliminating discriminatory past practices (Pastor et al., 2023). Based on the analysis of research evidence, it is my firm assertion that no legally factual, moral, or ethical basis for plausibly denouncing the urgency of transformative police policy reform exists. Rather, the truest expostulation has become, how many more Black bodies will lay in the streets or die in their beds before the American criminal justice system is changed for the better and for good.

9.2 Interpretation

These findings support a myriad of evidence found within the existing literature. For generations, vulnerable communities and individuals have urgently sought ways to measure policing policy compliance and hold abusers accountable (Egede & Walker, 2020; Nagin & Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021). American law enforcement agencies should render fair, effective, just, trustworthy, racially and socially unbiased, constitutionally legitimate, and legally compliant police services, remaining accountable to the moral and ethical standards of our free democratic society (Pastor, 2023). Achieving these goals simultaneously will be dauntingly arduous (Pastor, 2023). Long-standing, deep-rooted, systemic structural racism, expressed as a nationwide political culture of mutually reinforcing inequitable systems, jeopardizes the legitimacy of American democracy (De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020). Racial stereotypes, inequality, and injustice are not merely repugnant precipitates of a flawed criminal justice system, they have formed one ubiquitous, overarching, systemic social cancer (De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020).

Extremist terrorists attacked on 9/11, Hurricane Katrina was a force of nature, and The Great Recession was the product of deregulated-corporate-greed, the Covid-19 pandemic was a tussive microscopic airborne virus, yet regardless of the cause and calamity, the cultural effect remained the same for the Black community—moral, ethical, socio-economic, environmental, judicial, and political racializing obscurity (A Timeline of the U.S., 2019; De Witte, 2022; Egede & Walker, 2020; Gostin & Gronvall, 2023; Great Recession Timeline, 2017; Thomas, 2005). The findings of this analysis converge with minority demands for moral and ethical progress in American law enforcement, requiring senior police executives and management responsible for departmental policy, candidate selection, as well as the hiring and probationary evaluation of new officers, to make character and the broader capacity for uniform *fairness*, ethical courage, and moral judgment the primary focus (Bloom, 2007; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998).

Diverging from most existing literature, the bitter truth may indeed be much more challenging to coexist alongside: the very best and worst tendencies of Americans—including police officers, may actually arise not from racializing obscurity, but precisely as an outcome of seeing others as human (Bloom, 2007). Not merely as a result of personal moral folly, but as a moral event horizon—where those like us inhabit an observable universe of privileged tolerance. And the outlying others lie beyond, culturally, ethnically, ideologically, or socioeconomically bound within a voiceless Black hole of invisible disparity, unable to affect outside observation or meaningful change. This analysis reveals the reason may be masked by the frustrating social enigma that genuine moral and ethical progress in American society, may involve taking a powerful introspective gaze at the many forms of doubt, ambivalence, and human character failure that attend acts of brutality and violence, or it may be profoundly plain—misinformation, occluded by simple human greed (Bloom, 2007).

For more than thirty years, a plethora of brilliant scholars have demonstrated the dire urgency and undeniable scientific merit of procedurally just police treatment. Their research path has become mournfully well-worn, transmuting cause and requiem, temporally validating criminal justice research as one battlefield in the ongoing war against discrimination, systemic structural racism, and administrations mutually reinforcing inequitable systems of political dead space saturated with generations of Black blood (Egede & Walker, 2020). I strongly concur with existing research; no rightful, legitimate democracy considers institutionalized violence, police brutality, and murder tolerable (Nagin & Telep, 2020; Vera, 2021). This position is further validated by the many disturbing interwoven patterns of systemic racial discrimination and abusive police practices, in combination with inadequate access to health care alongside statistically authentic racial disparities and deaths, that together, powerfully illustrate the intersection of structural racism, social risk, and health disparity festering within American society (Arango et al, 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021).

9.3 Limitations

In generalizable terms, the results of this analysis are limited to the scope and content of the materials examined as a part of the review. A great deal more research exists in the field of criminal justice. Hierarchical top-down organizational structures and autocratic leadership styles also typically find themselves dependent on the willingness of lower rank-and-file personnel to voluntarily obey management instructions (Haas et al., 2015; Pastor et al., 2023). This is likely to present obstacles that will need to be unpacked by police leadership and researchers, during the ongoing implementation and practice of ethical police cultural and process-based policy changes

(Brunson & Miller, 2006; Haas et al., 2015; Pastor et al., 2023; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2010; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Recurring misconduct has drawn the attention of concerned police chiefs, executives, management, and researchers, but as later research encourages, the limitations that exist within such organizational models and leadership styles are not insurmountable (Haas et al., 2015; Pastor et al., 2023). Some guardian mindset proponents also focus quite intently on the argument that warrior police have no place in a democratic society, however, recent research suggests a more pragmatic and realistic focus on the impeccable character of those chosen to wear a badge and bear the responsibility of protecting and serving our democracy, is almost certain to be the wisest and most internally well-received policing path forward (McLean et al., 2019; Nila & Covey, 2008; President’s Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015).

9.4 Implications

9.4.1 Policy Implications

These data provide robust evidence to support the immediate implementation of a federal policy directing mandatory departmental reporting to the U.S. Justice Department-funded police misconduct registry—the National Decertification Index (NDI) (Vera, 2021). Actively and immediately terminating sloppy recruiting practices that allow problematic officers to wander from agency to agency (Vera, 2021). Severe psychological trauma resulting from state-sanctioned violence should also be routinely documented and statistically incorporated into an open public database by the U.S. Justice Department (Arango et al, 2022; De Witte, 2021; Egede & Walker, 2020; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021).

A culture of transparency and accountability should be widely established, effectively building public trust and engendering legitimacy in accordance with federal standards of rightful, procedurally just, policing policy in America (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should establish an ethical police culture providing public transparency and community accountability, not only to establish public trust and forge legitimacy, but absolutely critically, to ensure that agency decisions conform to publicized policy, mission statement agency values, ethical standards, and expectations of public trust (Pastor, 2023; President's Task Force, 2015). Procedural improvements in officer training should dramatically remediate perceptions of officer *fairness* during police-citizen encounters in the field, ultimately providing better service, increased safety, and strengthening police-community relations (McLean et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Procedurally just, process-based police policy should prevail in America, overseen by legitimate governmental regulations that ensure police, courts, and government exercise authority fairly over the American people (Nagin & Telep, 2020; Tyler & Fagan, 2010; Vera, 2021).

9.4.2 Implications for Practice

In everyday practice, police unions should be taken into primary consideration, particularly regarding the application of departmental upgrades (Nickeas, 2021; Pastor, 2023; Vera, 2021). Unions should accept and encourage departmental implementation of a new moral and ethical concept that calls for fellow officers to immediately intervene when they see wrongdoing, stopping colleagues from engaging in discriminatory practices, racial profiling, and police brutality (Nickeas, 2021; Vera, 2021). Such a policy should also create the ability for local police union members to speak up, vote, and take formal disciplinary action, permanently

expelling unethical union members who violate their professional policing oath or abuse their power (Nickeas, 2021). This single step could weed out the violent, the unscrupulous, and the unethical wrong-doers from police union membership forevermore (Nickeas, 2021). To further remediate toxic cultural conditions, law enforcement agencies should honestly, openly, and directly assess active inconsistencies, dutifully reconciling and conclusively aligning the conduct of police personnel to march step in time with publicized policy, mission statement agency values, ethical standards, and expectations of public trust (Pastor, 2023).

Internally, the instrumentally based model of legitimacy is essential, suggesting that officer support is based upon leadership performance in dealing with problems (Pastor et al., 2023; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This affirms that law enforcement leadership should always play the primary, crucial role in establishing and enhancing public trust in police by bridging the divide of shared police-community responsibility (Pastor et al., 2023; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The men and women who protect and serve our communities deserve the utmost respect, dignity, and *fairness*; law enforcement agencies should promote the wellness and safety of police officers at every level of their organizations, including the adoption of rightful, procedurally just principles for all internal police policies and employee interactions (President's Task Force, 2015). These data also suggest the top strata of police executives—those who recognize the need to establish internal agency legitimacy, will facilitate the means through a leadership style that exudes respect, dignity, and accountability; by making fair and transparent decisions that allow police officers and support staff to have a voice, effectively reconfiguring internal law enforcement agency culture from top brass to entry-level recruits (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President's Task Force, 2015; Renauer, 2024). Successful implementation should not necessitate a whole new concept of law enforcement (Pastor, 2023). Instead,

successful implementation requires great leadership, charging a singularly dedicated and dutiful departmental redirection of energy toward focused, bilateral police-community policy and the intense procedural commitment to ethics in policing culture moving forward (Pastor, 2023). Effectively overlapping, agency leadership should recognize that the *fairness* of ethically centered policing protects, serves, and champions our communities and the entire policing profession (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023).

Last, law enforcement agencies should acknowledge the long history of persistent injustice, racial discrimination, and police violence, past and present, including the many ways it has harmed the establishment of expectations of public trust (President's Task Force, 2015). Ethical law enforcement culture should embrace the incorporation of the guardian mindset into day-to-day police work, to build trust and increase legitimacy within agencies and with the public (McLean et al., 2019; Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; President's Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). The balanced integration and application of the existing warrior mindset and the new guardian mindset together offer the most encouraging potential for widespread police-citizen acceptance (Pastor, 2023; Pastor et al., 2023; Van Brocklin, 2015). It is possible to train officers to be tactically aware and confidently empowered while promoting safety, all without automatically approaching every police-citizen encounter as a potential domestic combat zone (Van Brocklin, 2015). American Police serve as both Warriors and Guardians of Democracy; these data optimistically authenticate the measure of the courageously impartial heart, does indeed define the badge (Nila & Covey, 2008).

9.5 Future Research

A growing body of research affirmatively underscores the positive improvements and encouraging outcomes the guardian mindset of policing has demonstrated in daily practice (McLean et al., 2019; President’s Task Force, 2015; Van Brocklin, 2015). Future researchers should consider exploring the social and structural connections the guardian mindset emphasizes from the perspective of police officers, their agencies, and the communities they protect and serve. The many ways it could be assessed—particularly quantitative studies measuring the internal and external fairness of police procedures—should become a core moral and ethical component of evaluating rightful, procedurally just, process-based policing policies in the future.

For example, researchers have already begun connecting Explainable Artificial Intelligence (XAI) with fairness measures, where modern explainability methods powerfully enhance quantitative fairness metrics using SHAP (SHapley Additive exPlanations) (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Lundberg, 2020; Shap, 2024). While SHAP is a game theoretic approach, seeking to explain the output of machine learning models, the possibility of adapting it to connect optimal public credit allocation with local agency explanations using classic Shapley values, is truly a fascinating hypothesis to explore in the future (Lundberg, 2020; Shap, 2024). I believe XAI with enhanced quantitative fairness metrics could be used to predict and explain the legitimacy of process-based models of policing, and to measure the fairness of individual officer-agency and police-citizen interactions, lending itself to adaptation within many law enforcement contexts—crime reduction, community relations, training and informed education, and even internal discipline (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Meares & Neyroud, 2015; Nagin & Telep, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024).

In particular, I suggest commencing focus on the exploration of quantitative fairness metrics adapting and using XAI to create a custom-tailored framework of optimal allocations and SHapley Additive exPlanations for process-based policing (Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024). An XAI not only capable of predicting and explaining legitimacy but also generating a numerical fairness score from 1 to 100—a simple, straightforward quantitative measurement of the *fairness* of police procedures in real-time via analysis of live digital audio and video feed from dash and body-worn cameras (Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024). These active street data could then be used by departmental management to monitor the individual fairness scores of each on-duty officer, where the system instantaneously identifies, flags, and alerts supervisors of potentially problematic police-citizen encounters (Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024). By enabling prompt executive communication with officers in response to low fairness scores, unfair processes could be addressed immediately, correcting for misperceptions of social identity threat, safely mitigating enforcement indicators of guilt or danger on the street, and increasing public perceptions of legitimacy (Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Admittedly, as I suggest descending further down the rabbit hole exploring quantitative fairness metrics, the three competing understandings of Explainable Artificial Intelligence (XAI)—contrastive, functional, and transparency—somewhat muddy the waters of practical application, though not insurmountably (Bao and Zeng, 2024). Each understanding would have to be clearly delineated and subject to governmental regulation before explainable AI was implemented by American law enforcement (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Lundberg, 2020; Shap, 2024). Practically speaking, XAI understanding should always become teleological, regardless of the

nature of the explanation (Bao and Zeng, 2024). For the purposes of future exploration suggested in this thesis:

Contrastive understanding should focus on outcomes produced by the AI paradigm, elucidating the overall efficiency of this paradigm—the “why” and “why not” questions—juxtaposing factual outcomes with counterfactual scenarios while clearly articulating “the rationale for preferring one particular solution over other possibilities” to the agency (Bao and Zeng, 2024).

Functional comprehension should rely on human understanding of the function and goals—focusing on the overall *fairness* of the process-based procedural justice model—where the objectives of the AI model assume the output fulfills this specific function of policing (Bao and Zeng, 2024). Agencies should possess the ability to explain AI results by accepting a clear ethical definition of the model’s function—legitimacy—assessing and measuring its effectiveness (Bao and Zeng, 2024).

Transparency in AI is not just a feature but a crucial safeguard that protects the civil rights of human users (Bao and Zeng, 2024). It ensures their right to be informed and to know the potential effects on their personal well-being (Bao and Zeng, 2024). This transparency legitimizes the technology, providing a sense of security and reassurance (Bao and Zeng, 2024).

Each understanding presents unique aspects and challenges in forming a standardized framework for policing (Bao and Zeng, 2024). Universally, the *fairness*—legitimacy—of this technology and the trust assurance between the developers of XAI and users remains paramount to its future success in measuring the *fairness* of legitimate, process-based, procedurally just police-citizen encounters (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Braga et al., 2019; Brunson & Miller, 2006; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Kahn et al., 2019; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024; Sunshine & Tyler,

2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2010; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Technologically speaking, mutual trust should always encompass both the credibility of the XAI and the trustworthiness of AI model creators (Bao and Zeng, 2024). Undoubtedly, this would require domestic agency development centered around a Ritual Dialog Framework (RDF) in partnership with the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) and the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to shield the integrity of the data, safeguard the civil rights of officers and the American people, and maintain national security (Bao and Zeng, 2024).

Circling back to future research, and bearing these competing understandings in mind, I believe XAI with modern explainability methods could powerfully enhance quantitative fairness metrics utilizing classic value data—adapted to improve situational testing, candidate selection, probationary evaluation of new officers, and ongoing officer training (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Kahn et al., 2017; Lundberg, 2020; Renauer, 2024; Shap, 2024). This, in turn, could dramatically reduce departmental costs and inaccuracies, especially those currently associated with manual audio and video data review by humans (Renauer, 2024). Explainable AI could rapidly improve agency efficiency in meeting minority demands for moral and ethical progress in American law enforcement (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Bloom, 2007; Nickeas, 2021; Renauer, 2024; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998). Explainable Artificial Intelligence (XAI) is an incredibly powerful modern technological refinement (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Lundberg, 2020; Shap, 2024). It could evolve alongside procedural fulfillment, providing a modern universal standard of transparent, quantitative analyses using statistical methods, with an unbiased and impartial data-driven focus on measuring legitimacy by scoring the *fairness* of police procedures—efficiently advancing policing in the 21st century (Bao and Zeng, 2024; Bloom, 2007; Nickeas, 2021; Renauer, 2024; Tyler, 1990; Weiser, 1998).

Chapter X: Concluding Summary

The *fairness* of police procedures is the persistent common denominator, recurrently emphasized throughout this thesis. Rightful policing depends on the procedural justice—namely, the fairness—of police conduct (Meares, 2013). Procedural justice is the basis of legitimacy (Meares, 2013). Fairness is absolutely essential to American democracy (Meares, 2013). The American people confer legitimacy exclusively onto governmental authorities whom the citizens believe to be acting in procedurally just ways; crucial to this social covenant, law enforcement cannot and will not build community trust, if it is regarded as an occupying paramilitary force, unfairly imposing fearsome control and oppressive amplification of order maintenance policing policies on the community (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013; President’s Task Force, 2015; Renauer, 2024). Vital public confidence and generalized support for policing as an institution will rapidly evaporate if public perceptions of trust and legitimacy are negatively impacted by flawed policing policy, unfair procedures, or discriminatory actions in the future (Hanway & Hambly, 2023).

The wisest approaches to solving public trust concerns and building community confidence will seriously take into consideration the mutual police-community recognition that genuine trust is not a static, passive quality (Pastor, 2023). Trust is a fluid, malleable, relational, and reciprocal social currency, where fairness, personal ethics, and human character values become the ultimate benchmarks of effective policing (Pastor, 2023). Looking forward, increasing participation, fairness, dignity, and trust between American communities and the hard-working law enforcement agencies who protect and serve them is undoubtedly well within the scope of this great nation (President’s Task Force, 2015).

The procedural justice-based principle of treating others with dignity and respect should become the new normal—the routine rule, and not the exception—in all officer-agency and police-citizen interactions (Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Nagin & Telep, 2020). Steps toward achieving this new standard of fair, process-based, excellence-in-policing within the shortest time frame possible, should explicitly prioritize the establishment and enforcement of expectations of public trust; all law enforcement agencies should adopt procedural justice as the guiding principle for internal-departmental and external police policies and practices, to guide the mutual *fairness* of all interactions best, and to improve trust and legitimacy simultaneously between agencies, rank and file officers, and the citizens they protect and serve (President’s Task Force, 2015).

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Appendix A

Primary Sources (1990 to 2020)

Appendix A is intended to provide the requisite historical background armature from twenty-six research annotations, including critical components, specific legal descriptions, and essential theoretical definitions of the evolving concepts within the original research—primarily in the words of their original creators, to best shield against repetitive decomposition. The reexamination of research sources is followed by a brief summary of thought that ties back into the main body of my thesis.

A.1 The First Decade of Research (1990 to 1999)

A.1.1 Why People Obey the Law: Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and Compliance

Tyler, T. R. (1990)

Where legal authorities recognize the key to effectiveness lies with the ability to make laws and decisions that will be obeyed, attempting to act in ways that promote public compliance with the law, Tom R. Tyler magnificently trailblazes what will become the preeminent modern psychological elucidation—why people obey or disobey the law—explored through two waves of data, bearing bifurcated goals (Tyler, 1990). The first goal contrasts instrumental and normative perspectives on why people follow the law (Tyler, 1990). The instrumental perspective underlies deterrence literature: people shape behavior to respond to changes in

tangible immediate incentives and penalties associated with following the law (Tyler, 1990). The second goal explores how people react to personal experiences with legal authorities, focusing on the impact of these experiences regarding views of legitimacy—where legitimacy is a core precondition to the effectiveness of authorities (Tyler, 1990). Throughout, the book scrupulously explores and defines compliance from a normative perspective (Tyler, 1990). Tyler is concerned with examining just and moral influence, as opposed to self-interest—examining the connection between normative commitment to legal authorities and law-abiding behavior, where people view compliance with the law as appropriate because of attitudes about how they should behave—voluntarily assuming the obligation to follow legal rules and personally committed to obeying the law, irrespective of punishment (Tyler, 1990).

Methodologically, the research examines the extent to which normative factors influence compliance with the law, independent of deterrence judgments, where the data were collected in a longitudinal study of randomly selected citizens in Chicago (Tyler, 1990). The first wave of the study consisted of 1,575 citizens interviewed about their normative and instrumental views concerning the law and their behavior toward it (Tyler, 1990). The second wave of the study, a subset of 804 respondents, were reinterviewed about the same topics one year later—subscribing to the essential procedural characteristic of a panel study (Tyler, 1990). The analysis focused on the judgments people make about their personal experiences, identifying aspects of experience people consider important, and the influence of these aspects on their reactions to the experience as a whole (Tyler, 1990).

A lone beacon cast hope into darkness, the critical implications of the Chicago study revealed normative issues matter—people obey the law because they believe it is proper, reacting

with evaluations of relative justice or injustice, factors unrelated to outcome—because humans value a chance to state their case and be treated with *fairness*, dignity, and respect (Tyler, 1990). People are more responsive to normative judgments and appeals; their responsiveness leads to the evaluation of laws and decisions of legal authorities in normative terms—obeying legitimate and moral law and accepting fair decisions (Tyler, 1990). Police officers and judges who recognize and respond to normative concerns, exercising authority more effectively, will be voluntarily accepted and obeyed (Tyler, 1990).

The landmark findings presented by Tyler regarding normative attitudes transcended the fields of social psychology, criminal justice policy and crime control practices, criminal law, and criminology as surely as the Chicxulub impactor ended the Mesozoic era (Tyler, 1990). By no slight twist of aphoristic scholarly irony, Tyler influenced what governance thinks and does, where attitudes and behavior are increasingly becoming focused on the potential for influence of social values considering what is right and proper—decisively framing procedurally just evolutions of the future (Tyler, 1990). Although this research is profoundly striking, articulating a momentous difference from the superannuated self-interest models that had dominated schools of thought within law, psychology, political science, sociology, and organizational theory during the late twentieth century, catastrophically for the Black community, it would remain a mere theoretical animus for many years to come (Tyler, 1990).

A.2 The Second Decade of Research (2000 to 2009)

A.2.1 The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing

Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003)

Thirteen years later, the overarching hypothesis guiding this next watershed analysis stresses the importance of legitimacy beyond the mere influence of instrumental factors shaping reactions to the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Exceptionally designed, this scintillant study by Jason Sunshine, and Tom R. Tyler meticulously explored two issues about police legitimacy: first, the issue of relative importance of police legitimacy in shaping public support of the police and policing activities, compared to the importance of instrumental judgments about (1) the risk that people will be caught and sanctioned for wrongdoing, (2) the performance of the police in fighting crime, and/or (3) the fairness of the distribution of police services (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Within this first issue, three aspects of public support for the police were examined—public compliance with the law, public cooperation with police, and public willingness to support policies that empower police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Second, the issue of which judgments about police activity determine people’s views about the legitimacy of the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Crucially, this study measured influence—the influence on people’s judgments about procedural justice (the manner in which the police exercise authority) is compared to the influence of three instrumental judgments (risk, performance, and distributive fairness) (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Note: to facilitate more accessible optics while visually cataloging the summary, the refining form of progressive exploration during this data analysis,

materializes the ethereal exploration of these two conceptual issues into a two-stage model—the corporeal of the two issues above—reflecting process-based regulation.

Stated definitions according to Sunshine and Tyler: legitimacy and instrumental models; legitimacy is defined as a property of an authority or institution, that leads people to feel an obligation to the authority or institution, is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed—representing an acceptance by people of the need to bring their behavior into line with the dictates of an external authority (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This feeling of obligation is not simply linked to the authority's possession of instruments of reward or coercion but also to the properties of the authority itself, which leads people to feel it is entitled to be obeyed (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). As a property, legitimacy reflects a normal, moral, or ethical social value orientation, expressed as a feeling of responsibility to defer toward authority and institutions (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Legitimacy is not merely instrumental (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Instrumental models are defined as the suggestion that people's willingness to accept and cooperate with legal authorities is linked to evaluations of police performance, to risk, and to judgments about distributive justice (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This model, the instrumental perspective, suggests that the police gain acceptance when the public views them as (1) creating credible sanctioning threats for those who break rules (risk), (2) effectively controlling crime and criminal behavior (performance), and (3) fairly distributing police services across people and communities (distributive fairness) (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Operationally, within this exploration of the two issues about police legitimacy, the clockwork of this study also has two stated goals: first, to test the argument that police legitimacy has an essential influence on public support for the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

To achieve the first goal, the study examines the impact of police legitimacy on three aspects of public support: behavioral compliance with the law, behavioral cooperation with the police, and public willingness to support policies that empower the police to use their discretion in enforcing the law (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Also compartmentalized within the first goal, the study compares the influence of legitimacy to the influence of three types of instrumental judgments: risk, performance, and distributive fairness (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Second, to examine the determinants of legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The procedural justice perspective argues police legitimacy is linked to public judgments about the fairness of the processes through which police make decisions and exercise authority—if the public judges that the police exercise authority using fair procedures—this model suggests the public will view the police as legitimate and will cooperate with policing efforts (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). However, enclosing the original overarching hypothesis guiding this analysis, unfairness in exercising authority will lead to alienation, defiance, and noncooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Sunshine & Tyler state that this procedural justice-based perspective on the antecedents of legitimacy is contrasted again, with an instrumental model that links police legitimacy to instrumental judgments about the police—where the instrumental model suggests police develop and maintain legitimacy through effectiveness in fighting crime and disorder in the community (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

As a fascinating intellectual aside that will bear fruit during later analyses—Sunshine and Tyler also assert this same instrumentally based model of legitimacy, is often found in studies of political leaders, where public support is based upon leader performance in dealing with economic and social problems (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The method employed by this study consisted of examining responses from two samples of New Yorkers, considering three major ethnic groups—Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics, using questionnaire-based responses

to “voice of the community” surveys (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The first survey was conducted before the World Trade Center attack on 9/11 (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The second survey was conducted after that attack—representing an additional facet in the form of a naturally occurring quasi-experiment, in that comparison of the two results, allowed researchers to address the question of whether procedural concerns are less important, when concerns about national security are higher (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The two studies also differed slightly, including the method of sampling and some of the questions asked—Study Two was improved based upon the problems encountered in Study One (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Groundbreaking findings of the two surveys show: first, legitimacy has a strong influence on the public reactions to police, and second, the core antecedent of legitimacy is the *fairness* of the procedures used by the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Vitaly, this model applies to both White and minority group residents (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The stated definition of legitimacy becomes profoundly refined by Jason Sunshine and Tom R. Tyler: to further the broader concept of legitimacy, mechanisms for social control are a universal feature of all human societies, ensuring that people follow its norms, rules, or laws—where bringing the behavior of members of the public into line with standards, rules, and laws is a core function of legal authorities (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). As a consequence of this concept, understanding how people respond to different potential mechanisms of social control is essential to policymakers, legal scholars, and social scientists (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Unflinchingly, this study concerns public responses to one specific institution of social control—the police, and to one mechanism of social control—police legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

More broadly, at this study stage, the two ethereal issues have now solidified into a corporeal two-stage model, outlining the reflections of process-based regulation that follow (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Sunshine & Tyler state that process-based regulation seeks to manage the relationship between legal authorities and the communities they police through self-regulation that flows from the activation of people's own feelings of responsibility and obligation to the community and community authorities (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). These social values—legitimacy—are linked to public assessments of the fairness in which authorities exercise their discretionary authority when implementing the law and/or making decisions about whether and how to provide assistance to those in need (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This process-based approach to regulation builds upon the recognition by social theorists that legal authorities depend upon their ability to activate feelings of obligation and responsibility for their effectiveness, and that those feelings are linked to justice-based judgments about legal authorities—essential, elemental facets within the evolution of procedural justice theory (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Central results of this analysis provided sturdy supportive assumptions about the psychology upon which procedural justice-based policing rests: first, the assumption public evaluations of police legitimacy impact compliance with the law, the willingness to cooperate with and assist the police, and whether the public will empower police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Within both studies, no other independent variable measured had the sweeping influence of procedural justice on police/community relations (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This broader impact of legitimacy explains why it was the dominant predictor of positive orientation for each component, and other independent variables only influenced particular aspects of community orientation toward police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). These core findings support the argument

that legitimacy is a social value, distinct from performance evaluations, where such values have a distinctly significant influence on support for the police—equating to a solid normative basis of public support for police, distinct from police performance—providing clarity that ethical judgments about obligation and responsibility are essential to public support for police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). People are not primarily instrumental in their reactions to the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). They do not judge police in instrumental terms; instead, reactions to police are linked to fundamental social values—supporting the classical Weberian argument of 1968 regarding the normative basis of public reactions to authority, evolving through Tyler in 1990, where cooperation and empowerment, in addition to compliance, are collectively influenced by legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Poignantly reflecting turbulent conditions within American society, these findings firmly opposed the flawed notion that if police effectively fight crime, they will inevitably alienate the public (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). By focusing on the psychology underlying public views of police legitimacy, the police can enhance their image in the eyes of the public, objectively be more effective in enforcing the law, and gain greater discretion in performing regulatory duties (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This pellucidly revealed the intrinsic value of focusing on understanding the determinants of legitimacy—where this eloquent analysis circled back to its operational clockwork—referring to the second of its two stated goals examining the determinants of legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Hence, it was already crystal clear in 2003 that a procedural justice-based blueprint for regulation—police exercising authority fairly—created social order by engaging public cooperation with law and legal authority (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Overall, the research forcefully asserted that the foremost theory upon which procedural justice-based policing rests is that evaluations of legitimacy are primarily based on procedural fairness, which is firmly supported by the survey findings of this study (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Procedural justice proved the primary antecedent of legitimacy among the samples of New Yorkers, whose survey feedback asserted the dominant strength of procedural justice—judgments so striking that it is clearly the primary factor shaping legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). From the perspective of policing, these findings became both paramount retrospective and painfully prophetic—police have more control over how they treat people than crime rates, crime will fluctuate due to factors beyond police control, but procedural fairness—treating people with respect, in an unbiased fashion, is not dependent on crime rate fluctuations (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Thunderously substantiated by Sunshine and Tyler twenty-one years ago, authorities should be accountable to citizens, acknowledging their dignity and civil rights by rendering decisions neutrally and objectively, regardless of ethnicity—all the American people, merit nothing less than the procedural justice-based policing model (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

A.2.2 Profiling and Police Legitimacy: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Police Authority

Tyler, T. R., & Wakslak, C. J. (2004)

By 2004, racial profiling issues had burst centrally within public discussions of police-community relations, blamed for a variety of ills, from increasing friction between the police and minority communities to decreased confidence in and cooperation with the police overall (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). This robust paper, by Tom R. Tyler and Cheryl J. Wakslak, plainly reports the results of four distinct studies investigating racial profiling as an attribution of police

motives, where each study meticulously explores the types of police behavior that heighten or lessens the occurrence of profiling attributions, and the consequences of such attributions (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). These four studies extended the analysis of subjective profiling judgments by examining their antecedents—finding strong support for the procedural justice hypothesis—the *fairness* with which the police exercise authority influences whether members of the public view the police as actively profiling (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Situations in which legal authorities may be acting based on the race of a person comprise the multi-faceted perspectives of racial profiling (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Legal scholarship focuses on profiling based on ascribed characteristics (race, gender, or age) that either are illegal or ought to be unlawful—according to federal law (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Criminologists remain interested in determining how often profiling based on ascribed characteristics actually occurs—temporal criteria (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Police institutions have long focused on profiling as a reflection of possible racism among legal authorities that leads to “bias-based” policing—political optics; crucially, although each perspective differs in specific focus, all attempt to study the actual behavior of legal authorities (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

This analysis approaches profiling from a different perspective, which is the method of studying attributions (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Observational studies of the behavior of legal authorities suggest authorities seldom make overtly racially oriented statements that link police behavior to racial profiling, thus from this perspective, the subjective experience of being profiled is an aspect of a more generalized desire to understand events by minorities (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Tyler and Wakslak asked two critical questions: first, what are the

consequences when someone makes a profiling attribution to explain police behavior, and does inference, regardless of validity, affect support for police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004)? Second, what factors shape inferences about whether profiling has occurred—namely, what variables are people relying on when they make profiling judgments about police behavior, and do factors beyond race predict whether minorities/nonminorities feel profiled (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004)?

The first study tested the arguments using inferences about personal experiences with police based on a study of a sample of Oakland and Los Angeles residents on the West Coast (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). The second study tested the arguments on personal and general levels, based on a study of a sample of young people living in New York City—East Coast (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). The third and fourth studies tested the same arguments using judgments about the general prevalence of profiling based on samples of New York City residents on the East Coast (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Unquestionably, findings presented by all four studies revealed that people react negatively to attributions of profiling, regardless of whether they have personally experienced it or believe it occurs generally in their neighborhood and city (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). These findings support the first hypothesis by replicating the findings of prior studies—*inference about the motives underlying police behavior shape support for the police, true in both personal experiences with police and general evaluations of police* (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). These findings also highlight the value of psychology as a framework, where approaching issues of policing and regulation focuses on the subjective experience of profiling, not the objective experience of being profiled—the public certainly believes profiling exists (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). That belief is directly linked to an apparent decrease in support for police (Tyler &

Wakslak, 2004). Efforts to eliminate profiling must robustly deal with preventing its occurrence, but acute attention should also remain focused on the psychological factors affecting interpretations of minority interactions with the police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). The procedural justice framework, in particular, is indispensably valuable for understanding how to manage issues of profiling (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). When people indicate a fair experience from police and/or when they indicate police are generally fair in dealing with their community, they are less likely to infer profiling occurs (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Tyler and Wakslak demonstrated that police are capable of healthy relationships with the communities they serve, and treating minority encounters respectfully and neutrally—supporting the general argument that process-based regulation has important advantages for the police, and policing in general—especially striking, given the unique nature of being stopped by police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Three aspects of procedural *fairness* are crucial: quality decision-making, quality treatment, and inferences about trustworthiness (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). These insightful findings stress the value of transparency—of making decisions in ways that spotlight authority neutrality (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Notably, people are less likely to infer they have been profiled when they are treated with politeness and respect by the police, even though the quality of interpersonal treatment is not necessarily a firm indicator of the neutrality by which police make rightful decisions (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). The broader takeaway is that a policing model focused on fairness benefits the community and police (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Process-based regulation creates an environment of fairness that naturally fosters cooperation with police, where the public gains from an increasingly neutral and respectful police force (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Organically, the solution had become temporally concretized within the field of research by 2004—increasing community support for police also allows police to function more

effectively, better focusing on serving the community—a symbiotic win-win that substantially benefits police and the public (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

A.2.3 Gender, Race, and Urban Policing: The Experience of African American Youths

Brunson, R. K., & Miller, J. (2006)

The precedence of this research piece throbs with suffering, impressing itself upon this discourse stage forthrightly. The somber undertone of this sweeping comparative analysis by African American scholar Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller reveals crucial gendered facets of African American adolescent experiences with and expectations of law enforcement, demonstrating aggressive policing strategies used in urban poor neighborhoods pose grim harm to adolescent residents (Brunson & Miller, 2006). These injustices are shaped by gender (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Young men reported police violence and were treated routinely as suspects, regardless of their involvement in delinquency (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Young women describe being stopped for curfew violations; some also expressed concerns about police sexual misconduct (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

Evidence is persistently drawn from exhaustive in-depth interviews with youths, investigating how gender shapes interactions with the police, illustrating the differential harms of urban policing, and the dire need for systematic research focus on the intersections of race and gender in criminal justice practices (Brunson & Miller, 2006). These interviews facilitate a deeper contextual understanding of events and individuals involved, comparing the personal experiences of young men and women with the police, youth understanding of neighborhood

policing, and knowledge of police misconduct within their communities (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Namely, the findings of Brunson and Miller explosively delineated how gender intersects with race and place, shaping youth expectations of law enforcement and the quintessential nature of police/youth interactions (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

These study results dependably confirmed the heartbreaking judgments minority communities experience (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Brunson and Miller proved it is not merely status as a minority youth living in poor urban communities that exposes young males to aggressive policing strategies, but rather starkly, that they are young African American men (Brunson & Miller, 2006). An oppressive, psychologically, and culturally damaging message intensively conveyed during adolescence that abominably began in early childhood—hopelessly ethno-replicating generation after generation (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

A.2.4 Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States

Brunson, R. K., & Miller, J. (2006)

Drawing from a more extensive qualitative study of violence in the lives of Black youths, this seminal analysis by Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller specifically examines 40 young Black male experiences and perceptions of police harassment and misconduct (Brunson & Miller, 2006). By 2006, a growing body of research had begun to examine the relationship between the Black experience with police and perceptions of police legitimacy (Brunson & Miller, 2006). While young urban minority men were the primary recipients of proactive policing efforts, up to this point, few studies had investigated their particular experiences with police in-depth (Brunson & Miller, 2006). This disquisition provided a visceral contextual examination of young urban

African American male perceptions of the nature, circumstances, and meaning of proactive policing in their everyday lives (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

Crucially, this analytical research evidence reveals young Black men see themselves as symbolic assailants in the eyes of the police, emphasizing the importance of measuring accumulated negative experiences to understand better minority-police relations and the imperative urgency of procedural justice (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Analyses considering police behavior have brought three critical key issues to light—more aggressive or disrespectful police behavior at the onset of the encounter increases the likelihood of resistance or non-compliance, negative police actions are ecologically patterned and disproportionately experienced by Blacks, and in reality, minority citizens display the highest rates of compliance found in White officer/citizen encounters (Brunson & Miller, 2006). These study findings indicate that the relationship between race and suspect demeanor is therefore struck labyrinthian by police interaction (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

Within the context of urgency in implementing procedural justice standards; the daedal combination of the perceptual framework officers bring to interactions with residents of ecologically ‘contaminated’ places, and the frequent involuntary police contact coupled with citizen perception of poor treatment during police contacts, creates an accumulated body of lived experiences that shapes young Black male perceptions of the police (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Regardless of whether police act in accordance with the law, young Black male experiences of harassment have lasting cultural consequences for perceptions of police legitimacy and community cooperation (Brunson & Miller, 2006). These findings unyieldingly stress the

importance of procedural justice—the process-based criteria individuals draw upon to determine whether they are treated fairly (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

A.2.5 Is Neighborhood Policing Related to Informal Social Control?

Renauer, B. C. (2007)

Objectively, according to Brian C. Renauer, essential neighborhood social processes have numerous labels: informal social control, social cohesion, collective efficacy, social capital, community capacity, sense of community, friendship networks, and citizen participation (Renauer, 2007). His distinctive study focuses on informal social control, representing the collective perception that neighbors are willing to engage in specific social control actions to prevent crime and delinquency (Renauer, 2007). Controlling for neighborhood structural disadvantage, neighborhood fear of crime, social cohesion, and perceptions of government responsiveness, this research addresses the conflicting hypotheses regarding the relationship between public and informal social control—investigating perceptions of positive or negative relationships to informal social control that neighborhood policing manifests (Renauer, 2007). Critically, the study will further assess whether perceived levels of police-resident coproduction are better predictors of informal social control than a general perception of police effectiveness or legitimacy (Renauer, 2007).

Most often, studies of neighborhood social control typically aggregate responses from a random sample of residents in each neighborhood (Renauer, 2007). In contrast, this study used a single survey response from a neighborhood association leader to estimate neighborhood social processes and police-resident co-production (Renauer, 2007). Survey data from 81 neighborhood leaders representing 81 Portland, Oregon neighborhoods, along with crime and census data

involving multivariate OLS regression and correlations, were analyzed, primarily focused on whether public institutions like the police can promote informal social control (Renauer, 2007). The survey asked neighborhood leaders to use their knowledge of residents and local institutions to discern how the “average neighborhood resident” would answer the question, pragmatically acknowledging a few resultant potential limitations—the use of a cross-sectional methodology without a longitudinal framework, limiting the accurate direction of reported empirical relationships and causality; and the use of a single neighborhood informant, which does not provide an assessment of the overarching neighborhood social climate and police-resident relationships where the preferred method for the study—Hierarchical Linear Models (HLM), examines between and within neighborhood variation model estimates and variables (Renauer, 2007).

This analysis is one of the few research studies empirically assessing public social control through the lens of neighborhood policing, in particular, if police-resident coproduction and police legitimacy are related to informal social control—raising critical issues of efficacy and the promises made by community-based policing styles (Renauer, 2007). Not unexpectedly, key findings revealed neighborhood social capital is negatively related to poverty levels, particularly where neighborhood associations are not representative of actual neighborhood racial composition, undermining legitimacy (Renauer, 2007). Core components of community policing—the frequency of police involvement in community meetings, social events, crime prevention education, and citizen patrols, did not predict social capital (Renauer, 2007). Perceptions of police effectiveness and legitimacy are significantly diminished in disadvantaged neighborhoods, further strained by specific types of neighborhood policing activities, police-resident encounters, and pre-existing attitudes (Renauer, 2007). A powerfully prophetic canary in

the coalmine published eight years before the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing convened in 2015, the results of this unique study further indicated a community style of policing alone, may not be enough to overcome deeply entrenched attitudes toward police in disadvantaged communities, potentially discouraging informal social control (Renauer, 2007).

A.2.6 Public Satisfaction with Police: Using Procedural Justice to Improve Police Legitimacy

Hinds, L., & Murphy, K. (2007)

At first glance, one might sense a cultural conundrum within this 2007 study, perhaps even scholarly undertones of oxymoronic irony. The stated limitations include a sample comprised of an overrepresentation of higher educated, more affluent, older participants of a predominantly Caucasian ethnic/racial homogenous segment of the Australian population compared to United States research (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). However, Lyn Hinds and Kristina Murphy subtly and brilliantly establish, that it is these significant structural and social differences in policing between the United States and Australia, where African-Americans possess more negative procedural justice judgments about police than other ethnic groups, that demand improved public perceptions of police legitimacy urgently within all disadvantaged minority communities (Hinds & Murphy, 2007).

Employing responses to an extensive, cross-sectional postal survey (n = 2611), this study is based on the core tenet scholars recognize legitimacy is not simply instrumental in nature, but also reflects a social value orientation toward authority and institutions—the normative perspective of legitimacy (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Therefore, developmentally, according to

Lyn Hinds and Kristina Murphy, the institutional legitimacy of policing as a fundamental social value by which people are willing to accept the authority of individual police officers is learned during childhood (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). As children age into adolescence and adulthood, both direct and indirect experiences shape judgments of police legitimacy, thus the actions of individual police have a direct and fundamental impact by either enhancing or lowering judgments of police legitimacy—namely, people defer to, and obey, official directives or commands by legitimate institutions because of respect and acceptance of the institution's authority to make decisions, not the threat of sanction for disobedience (Hinds & Murphy, 2007).

Though the normative perspective of legitimacy comprises a number of aspects, Hinds and Murphy assert that procedural justice, where police legitimacy is linked to public judgments about the fairness of the processes through which the police make decisions and exercise authority, is most important (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). These data analysis explored the relationship between perceptions of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and public satisfaction with police, specifically testing two hypotheses: (1) that perceptions of police legitimacy shape satisfaction with police more than instrumental evaluations of police performance and distributive fairness, and (2) that procedural justice is the primary factor shaping perceptions of police legitimacy, not instrumental judgments about police performance or distributive fairness (Hinds & Murphy, 2007).

Potently, these independent findings half a globe away, again distinctly demonstrate that people who believe police use procedural justice when exercising authority are more likely to view police as legitimate, and in turn are more satisfied with police services (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). As the first study of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and public satisfaction with

police in an Australian jurisdiction, identifying factors shaping public support for police, emphasizing contemporary policing strategies that develop, and maintain stronger partnerships between police and communities, the present study is momentously significant (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Although differing somewhat from US-based research, with the Australian emphasis on evaluations of instrumental factors in judgments of police legitimacy, and the overall influence of race/ethnicity on judgments of procedural justice and police legitimacy remaining to be explored in Australia, the confirming research assessments corroborated fair and effective policing in Australia will be enhanced by policing strategies that emphasize the use of procedural justice (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). Simply put half a world away, this research positively and optimistically confirmed procedural justice strengthened police-community relationships by building support for police and feelings of obligation to cooperate with the police (Hinds & Murphy, 2007).

A.2.7 “Police Don’t Like Black People”: Young Men’s Accumulated Police Experiences

Brunson, R. K. (2007)

This doggedly perspicacious study by Rod K. Brunson, bluntly examines racial discrimination, illustrating the quintessential importance of understanding the impact of accumulated discriminatory experiences, where race and personal experience with racial profiling are among the strongest and most consistent predictors of attitudes toward the police (Brunson, 2007). Specifically, direct experience with racial discrimination has lasting adverse effects on individual perceptions, bleeding through shared experience within communities by way of a litany of large and small events African Americans face in daily life (Brunson, 2007).

The goal of this tenacious analysis was to gain a detailed understanding of how respondent interactions collectively shaped perceptions and coalesced with experiences of family members, friends, and neighbors (Brunson, 2007). This methodological approach recognized the magnitude of parsing the accumulated experiences of young Black males, routinely studied as criminals, and considered menaces in their neighborhoods, but seldom commanding viewpoints wrought as a credible starting point for social inquiry (Brunson, 2007). Evidence was primarily drawn from in-depth interviews with 40 African American adolescent males in a disadvantaged urban community, investigating direct and vicarious experiences with police harassment and violence impacting their perceptions (Brunson, 2007).

The research findings Brunson reveals, highlight the compelling value of studying young urban Black men disproportionately suspected and stopped by police, where comprehensive and nuanced measures of police/citizen encounters clearly underscore both the urgency and importance of examining the impact of accumulated adverse experiences (Brunson, 2007). These data strongly emphasize the assessment of these particular social interactions in the context of accumulated experiences with discriminatory events, permeating the collective encounters of African Americans as a group (Brunson, 2007). Brunson states that the research findings have dynamic implications for police oversight policies and suggest that police organizations should develop complaint review processes that are not merely accessible to citizens, but also inspire confidence among them—crucial toward improving the image of police legitimacy in minority communities and positively impacting citizen trust and satisfaction (Brunson, 2007).

Instrumental efforts aimed at law enforcement reform largely hinge on the question of who is best suited to investigate charges of police misconduct, therefore police administrators and scholars should look beyond official complaints when trying to assess citizen satisfaction, and

closely monitor the prevalence of police misconduct (Brunson, 2007). Although some citizen groups across the United States have persuaded local government and law enforcement officials to establish civilian panels to investigate allegations of police wrongdoing, Brunson strongly emphasizes that a two-tiered system in particular, involving local prosecutors and police executives, holds appreciable promise toward accelerating citizen trust—specifically, citizen complaints against officers initiated in the prosecutor’s office, rather than in police stations (Brunson, 2007).

A.2.8 Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods

Brunson, R. K., & Weitzer, R. (2009)

Though a litany of prior studies demonstrates high levels of socioeconomic disadvantage and community disorganization typically register higher rates of police misconduct toward residents, raising the question of racial composition, most existing research has focused on adults (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Given that adolescent males are much more likely to experience involuntary, adversarial contact with police, Rod K. Brunson, and Ronald Weitzer build on foundational ecological literature with qualitative evidence regarding the experiences and attitudes of male youths residing within three disadvantaged neighborhoods, each differing by racial composition—one predominantly Black, one predominantly White, and the third racially mixed (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

Evidence was drawn primarily through in-depth interviews generating quantitative data centering on the ways in which race and neighborhood context influence the orientations of

young males toward the police, where these data consistently and progressively affirmed, that age is a predictor of citizen attitude toward and personal experiences with police (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Specifically, age translates into disempowerment as minority youth are viewed with suspicion in economically distressed, high-crime neighborhoods, conversely, the volume of street crime characteristic of poor minority communities promotes opportunity for police corruption and malfeasance, yet residents have little capacity to hold officers accountable (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Notably, the three neighborhoods studied almost perfectly matched in socioeconomic indicators: poverty rate (26%), median household income (\$23,000-\$25,000), and unemployment rate (12%-15%), thus the study holds socioeconomic status constant while varying racial composition (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

Consistently, the findings of Brunson and Weitzer support that race does indeed make a difference in youth treatment by police and youth perceptions of officers (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). While replete discussion of future policy implications is beyond the scope of this article, significant findings suggest that if officers clearly explained the reasons for a stop, behaved politely and respectfully, and refrained from using gratuitous or excessive force, it may downscale the prevalent belief officers lacked proper grounds, and increase citizen willingness to cooperate in future (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Momentously prophetic of the bloody decade to come, these findings point to the dire need for greater police accountability—Blacks appear to be treated poorly no matter where they live, insistently calling for the immediate establishment of accessible, citizen complaint review boards positively controlling for neighborhood socioeconomic conditions (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

A.2.9 The Legitimacy of Police Among Young African-American Men

Meares, T. L. (2009)

Within this fiery lecture, Tracey L. Meares eloquently unravels why legitimacy in law enforcement is not merely a nascent strategy—it is a polarizing movement with the remarkable potential to transform American law enforcement, achieve community safety, and heal longstanding rifts between police and minority communities—nothing less than ensuring domestic tranquility (Meares, 2009). Functionally within her argument, the police act as a fulcrum, within the solution to the problem of race in America, insofar as the police have traditionally been the flash point for so many racial problems (Meares, 2009). The group at the heart of the debate are young, poorly educated, urban-dwelling African American men whose entanglement within the various criminal justice systems of this nation critically impedes their prospects for success (Meares, 2009). This Meares essay confidently suggests the prevalence and intensity of criminal justice involvement among this group are the very reasons why the police, paradoxically, may indeed be the solution (Meares, 2009).

To frame this bravely implacable, solo-authored analysis, Meares names the form of policing with the most tremendous potential to solve the race issue—legitimacy—emphasizing process rather than outcome, and moral engagement as opposed to criminal deterrence (Meares, 2009). Notably at inception, prior research shows the negative opinions of people of color are durable, and without regard to group-specific experiences with legal authorities—a critical point about specific experience, because contact with police is not randomly distributed—men have more contact, the young have more contact, the poor have more contact (Meares, 2009). For Black men without a high school degree, imprisonment is modal in statistical terms, meaning

going to prison is an ordinary life experience course trajectory—like graduation, marriage, a first job, or having children is for everybody else (Meares, 2009). Therefore, if imprisonment is modal among young, poorly educated, urban-dwelling African American men, so is contact with the police and, with it, a unique opportunity to make a positive difference in the lives of these young men (Meares, 2009).

According to Meares, positive experiences lead to positive evaluations of police legitimacy at a later date, even when the relevant experience with the police led to a negative outcome (Meares, 2009). Although research suggests morality to be the more powerful of the normative reasons for compliance, these data focus on legitimacy for three reasons (Meares, 2009). First, legitimacy is an amalgamation of perceptions regarding the law and the authorities that enforce it—where the government is in control, in contrast to the development of personal morality (Meares, 2009). Second, legal constraints on the most effective methods for government to shape the individual morality of citizens (Meares, 2009). Third, and most importantly, Meares stresses that legitimacy is a more stable basis for voluntary compliance than personal morality from the government perspective—meaning, greater legitimacy translates into more compliance, whether or not compliance is in an individual's personal interest (Meares, 2009). Still, personal morality may not align with authoritative dictates (Meares, 2009).

The next logical question Meares answers is the meaning of compliance, the belief an authority has the right to dictate proper behavior (Meares, 2009). Meares states that social psychologists have helpfully tied an explanation of governmental legitimacy to thought processes that people undertake when evaluating official behavior and actions (Meares, 2009). Processes that lead to an outcome are important indicators to individuals because they

demonstrate how the authority in question views the group to which the evaluator perceives herself as belonging (Meares, 2009). Procedures that all parties regard as fair, facilitate positive relations among group members and preserve the fabric of society, even in the face of conflicts of interest that exist in any group whose members have different preference structures, and different beliefs concerning how the group should manage its affairs (Meares, 2009). Together, process and procedure are the essence of legitimacy—while it may not be obvious how a particular case should come out, it is almost always clear how parties should proceed and be treated in that specific case—the group value model of procedural justice, central to legitimacy-based compliance (Meares, 2009).

The group value model illustrates how people connect their treatment by government officials to social value assessments, focusing on three factors: standing, neutrality, and trust (Meares, 2009). By standing, researchers are referring to indications the authority recognizes an individual's status and membership in a valued group, such as polite treatment and treatment that accords dignity and respect, such as concern for rights (Meares, 2009). Neutrality refers to indications to the perceiver that she is not being made to feel less worthy than others because of an authority's bias, discrimination, or incompetence (Meares, 2009). Trust refers to the extent to which a perceiver believes the authority will act fairly and benevolently in the future (Meares, 2009).

Resultant findings reveal persuasive empirical evidence: legitimacy factors mattered more toward compliance than instrumental factors (Meares, 2009). Regression analyses explored the relative impact of legitimacy on the compliance of respondents, public deterrence, peer disapproval, and personal morality—the regression estimate for legitimacy on compliance, was

about five times greater than the estimate for deterrence, testing compliance directly and unequivocally affirmed legitimacy has a profound impact on behavior (Meares, 2009). This is not to say instrumental means of producing compliance are ineffective; deterrence does influence compliance in some way, but research shows legitimacy is much more critical (Meares, 2009). Two examples of law enforcement policy actively motivate this theory—Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN), a billion-dollar federal program designed to promote innovative gun-crime reduction strategies throughout the nation, where this essay focuses on one strategy—Offender Notification Forums (Forums), achieving a 37% decrease in the monthly homicide rate after the start of the program compared to the preceding three years, and the High Point Model—a second notable strategy more relevant to legitimacy, where police officers investigated dealers and other personnel central to the operation of an open-air drug market in the West End neighborhood of High Point (Meares, 2009). Each example implemented a process that emphasized the direct moral engagement of offenders by a group of law enforcement agents, community service providers, and, critically, community members (Meares, 2009).

The third and final vital issue addressed by Meares in this lecture is the potential for young African American men involved in the criminal justice system to accept the new path of policing (Meares, 2009). Meares emphasizes that these challenges are severe (Meares, 2009). The stakes are incredibly high, but this research demonstrates offenders are just as likely as nonoffenders to believe in the legitimacy of the law (Meares, 2009). This visionary paper dares reimagine an America in which the demographic group most likely to be entangled in the system does not automatically presume police behave antagonistically toward them, and the existence of social networks empowers all African Americans as a group, with hope (Meares, 2009).

A.2.10 Latino Youths' Experiences with and Perceptions of Involuntary Police Encounters

Solis, C., Portillos, E. L., & Brunson, R. K. (2009)

Historically, according to Carmen Solis, Edwardo L. Portillos, and Rod K. Brunson, Afro-Caribbean communities have been viewed by police as dangerous, warranting aggressive policing tactics, and established literature points to a long history of hostile police-community relations (Solis et al., 2009). This exploratory study attempts to give voice to Latino/a youth concerning their experiences with and perceptions of police in New York City (Solis et al., 2009). Solis, Portillos, and Brunson utilized semi-structured, open-ended questions to obtain detailed information—conducted, tape-recorded, transcribed, and coded by the first author, where respondents were asked to provide detailed accounts of both positive and negative encounters with police and suggest solutions to improve police and community relations (Solis et al., 2009).

The study employed a Latino critical race (LatCrit) conceptual framework to examine Afro-Caribbean youths' detailed accounts of encounters with police officers in public spaces to fully explore how particular policing strategies shaped the way police-citizen encounters are viewed by Latino/a youth (Solis et al., 2009). The LatCrit perspective builds on existing critical race theory and emphasizes the effects of oppressive institutions on Latino/a populations. Together, these frameworks call for the exploration of the intersection of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression in shaping the historical and daily experiences of people of color living in the United States (Solis et al., 2009). Overall, this conceptual perspective is characterized by the view that race and racism, in combination with other forms of

subordination, are central to understanding individual experiences with police (Solis et al., 2009). The LatCrit framework then uses experiential knowledge of people of color to assess how police and criminal justice processes marginalize or subordinate Latino/a communities through discriminatory and aggressive policing practices (Solis et al., 2009).

Perhaps unintentionally in America today, discrimination has become a functional mechanism of law enforcement efforts, where aggressive policing initiatives routinely undermine effective police-community relations, thus officers working in racialized spaces require prompt and effective training to increase understanding of how perceptions of criminality are perpetuated (Solis et al., 2009). In line with these features, findings reveal application of the LatCrit perspective offers a demonstration of how aggressive policing tactics are used as oppressive tools to control "dangerous" urban Latinos/as and, in doing so, reinforce broader systems of structural inequality—particularly through the widespread use of stop-and-frisk strategies (Solis et al., 2009).

The interview data revealed respondents believe police do not care about their communities, nor provide the same level of protection and concern shown to White communities (Solis et al., 2009). Study participants also reported police interactions involved racial profiling, disrespectful treatment, and officer uncertainty about youth immigration status. Pervasive, aggressive policing in respondent neighborhoods was unilaterally reported by both Puerto Rican and Dominican youth (Solis et al., 2009). Although the NYPD has worked with young people through Law Enforcement Explorers and Cops and Kids, Latino/a youth do not attend these programs in substantial numbers—Afro-Caribbean youth are neglected, thus the department falls short of its stated goal of opening lines of communication with all communities (Solis et al.,

2009). Training officers to facilitate workshops on conflict and dispute resolution and issues of human dignity is crucial to success (Solis et al., 2009). If police strategies designed with youth in mind are to be recognized as legitimate, the voices and experiences of young people should be heard, including the implementation of policies adopting equitable initiatives involving officers helping and serving community-wide (Solis et al., 2009). Perhaps the most practically suited to immediate cost-effective implementation, the prophetic revelations of this down-to-earth study could have saved many lives. Ineluctably, police officers epitomize American democracy and, by extension, should rightfully uphold what it means to be American.

A.3 The Third Decade of Research (2010 to 2020)

A.3.1 Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing: A Study of Inner-City Young Men's Perceptions of Police Legitimacy

Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010)

This influential paper by Jacinta M. Gau and Rod K. Brunson spotlights procedural justice as the process-based criterion by which individuals evaluate whether they were treated fairly (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Intellectually, at first glance, procedural justice may appear to stand in juxtaposition to the concept of order maintenance policing, but the illuminating legitimacy procedural justice engenders is an elemental component of all policing paradigms, including order maintenance (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Acutely, Gau and Brunson state that failure to adhere to principles of procedural justice reduces public support for police and may veritably increase crime (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Though research reveals tensions between the core tenets of procedural justice and order maintenance policing, deconstruction has unquestionably authenticated citizen perceptions of procedural justice directly influence beliefs about police legitimacy (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Unfortunately, police and citizens often hold vastly different views of law enforcement practices, and this discrepancy may be especially pronounced where order maintenance policing is concerned (Gau & Brunson, 2010). The present study transparently dissected aggressive policing tactics through the lens of procedural justice, in an effort to better understand the intersection of procedural justice and aggressive order maintenance policing, analyzing interview data from 45 young men in socioeconomically disadvantaged urban areas (Gau & Brunson, 2010). These critical data revealed that citizens harbored deep resentment, believing that their socioeconomic status and/or race made them de facto suspicious (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Framing this analysis, quantitative data from adult samples primarily captures only a thin cross-section of society, overlooking the experiences and perceptions of urban, adolescent males disproportionately targeted for street stops, pat-downs, and arrests (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Secondly, these data compare involuntary police experiences of law-abiding young men with those of active offenders, examining whether perceptions of mistreatment are unique to serious delinquency or negative experiences transcending delinquency status (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Constitutionally, the broader conclusion is that aggressive order maintenance manifesting as widespread stop-and-frisks can compromise procedural justice and undermine police legitimacy (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Core research findings of Gau and Brunson further validated the potential for conflict in uniting these concepts, delineating the direct and collateral effects of aggressive order

maintenance policing, and fundamentally stressing the need to find commendatory horizons (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Therefore, the consummate goal for scholars and police executives is determining effective crime reduction strategies that promote public safety while emphasizing *fairness* through procedural justice and police legitimacy (Gau & Brunson, 2010). This means future research should continue critically and perpetually examining modern policing strategies—for willingly or unintentionally, order maintenance and zero-tolerance protocols jeopardize procedural justice (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Last, but certainly not least, though not directly represented in the present study, moral and ethical inferences undeniably affirm police are obviously highly deserving of attention—candid interviews with officers personally charged with carrying out order maintenance policing could offer vital insight into stop-and-frisk and broken windows-based strategies, obtaining opinions about effectiveness, drawbacks, and overall wisdom of the generalized order maintenance approach (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

A.3.2 Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?

Tyler, T. R., & Jeffrey Fagan. (2010)

Where public cooperation involves both obeying the law and working with police or other community members to help combat crime, police themselves must be able to elicit cooperation from community residents to be effective in lowering crime and creating secure communities—this requires communication (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Intriguingly, by contrasting two models of cooperation, tested through two distinct hypotheses, in the pursuit of three distinct aggregate goals, Tom R. Tyler and Jeffrey Fagan seek to determine the motivation for

cooperation, and conversely, the factors defeating cooperation and on whom the consequences of defeat fall (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

The first model of cooperation is a social control or instrumental model—arguing people are motivated by self-interest (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The social control or instrumental perspective argues that people’s actions are governed by self-interest through sanctions or incentives (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This is consistent with rational choice assumptions about human motivation, that police can encourage cooperative behavior by demonstrating utilitarian value to communities—practical crime-fighting and/or that rule breakers are punished (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Unfortunately, from the instrumental perspective, sometimes it serves short-term self-interest to break, rather than obey, the law (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Cooperation with law enforcement agencies and other legal actors has the capacity to follow suit (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Some citizens may see little immediate personal utility in supporting police efforts to control crime, reporting crimes and criminals, or helping in community efforts to fight crime (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Helping police also has short-term costs, ranging from minor inconveniences to grave danger of retaliation; therefore, strategies appealing to self-interest are often inadequate for managing crime and security (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Empirical research supports this assertion, finding only weak correlations between risk and compliance and little connection between police performance and public cooperation (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

The second model of cooperation is a legitimacy or social norms model—hypothesizing public views about the institutional legitimacy of police and the law, which directly influences public cooperation (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This means that the law expresses moral and social norms widely held by dominant and subordinate social groups (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

Accordingly, the legitimacy argument suggests police gain leverage for the co-production of security by inculcating the widespread perception that their actions and decisions are legitimate (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This assertion builds upon a long line of theory, arguing for the centrality of legitimacy to perpetuate the effectiveness of state actors—a plenitude of existing research strongly suggests people obey the law because they believe it is legitimate (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Legitimacy is defined as a feeling of obligation to obey the law and to defer to the decisions made by legal authorities (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Therefore, legitimacy reflects an essential social value distinct from the self-interest to which social authorities appeal to gain public deference and cooperation (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Past research measured legitimacy through the perceived obligation to obey legal authorities, as well as trust and confidence in authorities; more recent studies have further operationalized legitimacy via identification with the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Transcending past research that legitimacy encourages deference, and more recent research emphasizing the importance of police leverage in securing cooperation from the public, the purpose of these data is to test the value of legitimacy in motivating public collaboration with local legal authorities—hypothesizing that legitimacy influences public willingness to cooperate with police, independent of sanction risks or experiences with punishment (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Additionally, this study assessed the contribution of legitimacy to cooperation with the police and other legal actors to fight crime and produce security (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). It explored the influence of legitimacy by critically distinguishing the influence of legitimacy from the influence of a second noninstrumental variable—resident identification with neighborhood (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

This study tested two hypotheses: first, that perceived or attributed legitimacy influences citizen cooperation separately from the instrumental influences of public evaluations of police

performance, such as perceptions of the ability of the police to detect wrongdoing and effectively fight crime (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This first hypothesis is tested separately for two aspects of cooperation: the willingness to help the police in their crime investigations and the willingness of citizens to work with others in the community to collectively produce security (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Second, whether the link between legitimacy and cooperation differs across ethnic groups where procedural justice will be the central antecedent of legitimacy (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

Previous research has identified racial differences in attitudes toward the police as an essential characteristic of American communities, where minorities have lower levels of trust and confidence in the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). By contrast, this study assessed whether racial differences influence the degree to which police legitimacy shapes cooperation within the majority and minority communities—noting, that residents in poor neighborhoods with high concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities experience different forms and strategies of policing that produce different views of the police, independent of the outcomes of generalized police-citizen interactions (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This analysis conscientiously included these perceptions and experiences as explicit and separate components of a framework to explain differences in cooperation with police and compliance with the law by race (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Tyler and Fagan drew specifically from a longitudinal research design in which people were interviewed both before and following their personal experiences with police, testing the impact of personal experience on evaluations of legitimacy and cooperation with the police—hypothesizing that experiencing procedural justice will have positive consequences upon public views of police, irrespective of whether people received favorable or unfavorable outcomes (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

The study also pursued three distinct aggregate goals: first, to extend prior arguments concerning the value of legitimacy in shaping compliance to include an examination of the influence of legitimacy on cooperative behavior (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Second, to explore the psychology of cooperation with the police. Third, to examine whether and how ratings of the fairness of procedures during personal experiences with the police enhance or attenuate perceived legitimacy (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Evidence for this analysis was gathered through a random sample of New York City residents interviewed by telephone at two points in time (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The first wave occurred in 2002, and the second in 2004 (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The Wave 1 sample of 1,653 respondents was drawn from a stratified random sample of residential telephone numbers (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Non-White residents were oversampled to produce a high proportion of Hispanic and African American respondents (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Interviews were conducted in English or Spanish, based on the language preference of the respondent (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The ethnicity of the respondent and the interviewer were not matched (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). When a home was reached, the adult in the household with the most recent birthday was interviewed (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The response rate for the Wave 1 survey was 64% of eligible respondents (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Approximately one year later, attempts were made to re-contact and reinterview all interviewed respondents (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Among those identified and recontacted, the response rate for Wave 2 was 53% (n = 879) (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Although efforts were made to trace and re-interview those who had moved, only respondents still living within the same neighborhood were included (n=830) (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). A comparison of the 830 re-interviewed to the original Wave 1 sample indicated no statistically significant differences in ethnicity, gender, age, income, or education (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). At inception, several challenges for empirical assessment of procedural

justice presented themselves—procedural justice reflects judgments about how authority is exercised (quality of decision-making, neutrality, and consistency) and the quality of interpersonal treatment (respect, politeness, and consideration) (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). However, muddying the waters somewhat, distributive justice also informs legitimacy, involving the fairness and equity of police service delivery to persons across all social and demographic groups (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Aware that unfair distribution could reflect receiving too little or too much, this study asked survey respondents to indicate whether services were distributed fairly to people like the respondents (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

The findings of Tyler and Fagan empirically affirmed that legitimacy does develop from aspects of experience with policing, distinct from instrumental judgments about police performance (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Motivating public cooperation is crucial to identifying the antecedents of legitimacy—the degree to which legitimacy rests on a normative base reflects a judgment about the appropriateness of police behavior (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The findings of this study confirm the first model of cooperation—instrumental influences—by demonstrating that people are more cooperative with police when they believe police performance is more effective and that police create a credible threat of punishment for wrongdoing (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). However, while the potential value of instrumental approaches is clear, so are the limitations—the influence of instrumental approaches on behavior is small and costly to implement (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). The findings of this study also confirmed the second model of cooperation, namely, the value of a legitimacy-based approach rests on the finding that appeals to legitimacy shape behavior (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). These data demonstrated that people are more willing to cooperate with the police when they view police as legitimate social authorities (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). If people view the police as more legitimate, they are more likely to

report crimes in their neighborhood, and minority group members are more likely to work with neighborhood groups (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

This study tested two hypotheses: first, whether perceived or attributed legitimacy influenced citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police to fight crime in their communities, separately from the instrumental influences of public evaluations of police performance (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Second, whether the link between legitimacy and cooperation differed across ethnic groups (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Results positively supported the first hypothesis, indicating legitimacy does shape willingness to cooperate with the police in fighting crime, however, the results of the second hypothesis for working with others in the community are quite mixed—legitimacy does encourage working with others among minorities, but not among Whites—though overall within both groups, citizens who identify with the community, are more willing to cooperate with others in their community (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

This study successfully achieved all three of its stated aggregate goals, where the silver lining was the procedural justice-legitimacy connection—conclusively providing a robust framework for understanding the basis of public cooperation with police, similar to the established basis of compliance (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). A general model of police behavior can be identified, indicating how the police encourage public cooperation via compliance with the law and through active cooperation with the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This link is normative and widely shared, evident among White and minority respondents (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). Legitimacy increases following personal experience with police, among both favorable and unfavorable outcomes, as long as those involved feel that the procedures are fair (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

Tyler and Fagan established that the justice of police policies and practices are key factors shaping police legitimacy (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). As hypothesized in procedural justice, people evaluate the legitimacy of police mainly in terms of judgments about the *fairness* by which police exercise authority (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). This does not render performance assessments irrelevant; performance is one factor shaping legitimacy (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). However, once performance has been measured, procedural justice still shapes legitimacy—pointing directly to process-based policing (Tyler & Fagan, 2010). In a hopeful America where the strategy of process-based policy prevails, police, courts, government, and for-profit corporations would strive to exercise authority in ways all American people evaluated as fair—omphalos for legitimate and enduring democracy (Tyler & Fagan, 2010).

A.3.3 Rude or Polite, City's Officers Leave Raw Feelings in Stops

Ruderman, Wendy. (2012)

This timely article by journalist Wendy Ruderman was intended to highlight painfully pervasive racial narratives and minority perspectives as a worthy body of knowledge from which valuable broader lessons can be drawn for the future of procedural justice—particularly as a way of seeking community resilience through trust and legitimacy (Ruderman, 2012). According to statistics provided by the New York Police Department and the Center for Constitutional Rights, in 2011, New York City police officers stopped nearly 686,000 people, 84 percent of them Black or Latino (Ruderman, 2012). Notably, the United States Supreme Court holds that in order for police to frisk someone, they must have a reasonable belief the person is armed and dangerous (Ruderman, 2012). While police can stop a person if they believe a crime is afoot, that is insufficient legal reason to conduct a frisk (Ruderman, 2012).

Evidence for this article was gathered from interviews with 100 people stopped by the New York police in impoverished minority neighborhoods (Ruderman, 2012). The interviews consisted of five questions to determine when and where citizens were stopped, the first thing the police officer said, how the officer addressed citizens, did the officer explain the reason for the stop and the last thing the officer said (Ruderman, 2012). The informal street survey, conducted over two weeks by The New York Times, sought to get at the root of an angry groundswell against police among residents in predominantly poor, minority neighborhoods (Ruderman, 2012).

The answers Ruderman gathered offered a prophetic glimpse toward future racial traumas through the bitter contemporary experience of many, raising urgent questions about departmental emphasis on *fairness*, courtesy, and respect to mend relationships within minority neighborhoods (Ruderman, 2012). While encounters were often brief, painful impressions became granular, long-lasting scars (Ruderman, 2012). Minority citizens experienced aggressive tactics, expletives laced with profanity, racial slurs, and a plethora of insults (Ruderman, 2012). Many interviewed believed officers stopped them based on race alone (Ruderman, 2012). The mayor acknowledged officers are not always respectful, pledging efforts to improve interactions and reduce animosity through professionalism and respect (Ruderman, 2012). In 2012, a federal judge granted class-action status to a lawsuit alleging that the New York City Police Department's stop-and-frisk tactics systematically violated the constitutional rights of Black and Latino Americans (Ruderman, 2012).

A.3.4 Examining Macro-Level Impacts on Procedural Justice and Police

Legitimacy

Gau, J. M., Corsaro, N., Stewart, E. A., & Brunson, R. K. (2012)

The result of explosive minority dissatisfaction with the reactivity and detachment that characterize the professional policing model, procedural justice is, by definition, a social-psychological concept grounded in citizen perceptions, judgments, and opinions influenced by police behavior (Gau et al., 2012). This timely, socially contemporary study by Jacinta M. Gau, Nicholas Corsaro, Eric A. Stewart, and Rod K. Brunson integrates macro-level policing literature within the psychological-based procedural justice framework, to uncover the effects sociostructural environment has on procedural justice and police legitimacy (Gau et al., 2012).

Primarily drawn from a hierarchical linear model presenting integrated census and survey data within a single, mid-sized city, this research by Gau, Corsaro, Stewart, and Brunson expands on the theory of procedural justice by incorporating macro-level features of the sociostructural environment in two ways; first determining the impact of context on resident perceptions of procedural justice, and second, analyzing contextual influences on police legitimacy while controlling for procedural justice (Gau et al., 2012). Combining tract-level measures of concentrated sociostructural disadvantage with individual-level, survey-based perceptions of procedural justice to test each of these variable's relative contribution to people's perceptions of police legitimacy, this study offers insight into whether macro-level factors significantly affect procedural justice and police legitimacy (Gau et al., 2012).

Conducted in 2010, by a university-based survey research center, data for this study were culled from three distinguishable sources through a community phone survey of a mid-sized Midwestern city that developed as a factory hub—blooming during the industrial revolution and later declined as economic strains were accompanied by violent crime (Gau et al., 2012). The first source was a general-population survey measuring instrumental respondent and normative perceptions of law enforcement, beliefs in the legitimacy of the police, and perceived cohesiveness with their neighbors (Gau et al., 2012). Second canvased, how police attitudes are materially shaped by vicarious experiences, as opposed to personal contacts (Gau et al., 2012). Third, the resurveying of prior studies demonstrates continuity and stability in global attitudes irrespective of recent personal experiences with officers (Gau et al., 2012).

Predictably, findings revealed residents of disadvantaged areas typically experienced heightened levels of frustration with and cynicism toward local police (Gau et al., 2012). Yet, the effect of procedural justice on police legitimacy remained robust against the deleterious impacts of concentrated disadvantage (Gau et al., 2012). Concentrated disadvantage exerted a marginally significant impact on procedural justice and police legitimacy while controlling for procedural justice (Gau et al., 2012). In other words, procedural justice remained the strongest predictor of legitimacy, even when accounting for macro-level characteristics, validating procedural justice as an essential antecedent of police legitimacy (Gau et al., 2012).

The study also promulgates procedural justice is equally effective in both maligned and advantaged areas, creating a uniquely promising approach for police to adopt in distressed neighborhoods to reap an array of positive outcomes—greater participation in police-community efforts to reduce crime, and more willingness to report victimization experiences (Gau et al.,

2012). Irrespective of the social-moral obligation to protect and serve, dependably police enhance legitimacy among the public simply by adhering to the tenets of *fairness* and respectfulness that constitute procedural justice, where fundamentally, policing in high-crime, disorderly, disadvantaged areas is both quantitatively and qualitatively different from policing in the regions that endure less social and economic strain (Gau et al., 2012).

A.3.5 The Good Cop: Knowing the Difference Between Lawful or Effective Policing and Rightful Policing - and Why it Matters

Meares, T. L. (2013)

For if the law is indeed a seamless web, and the legal domain the province of lawyers and law professors; within this visionary essay, Tracey L. Meares luminously exposes the gaping chasm looming within the strands of the police effectiveness discussion: lawfulness itself, is largely irrelevant—almost as if social scientists presume policing takes place lawfully (Meares, 2013). There are two dominant ways to evaluate police: the first seeks to determine whether police conduct comports with the law, and the second assesses whether police are effective crime fighters (Meares, 2013). This Meares study will present a panoptic third—rightful policing—which does not depend on the actual lawfulness of police conduct (Meares, 2013). Instead, rightful policing primarily depends on the procedural justice, or fairness, of police conduct—not on police as ever more effective crime fighters, instead procedural justice helps society move toward substantially democratic police governance (Meares, 2013).

Methodologically, this essay proceeds as a systematic evaluation: metrics, lawfulness, crime-fighting effectiveness, and the theoretical foundation underlying rightful policing,

including the implications of both theory and empirical results governing police in a meaningfully democratic way—also known as, the anatomy of a Good Cop (Meares, 2013). Within the first dominant evaluation on metrics and lawfulness—materializing from within the classical Weberian policing theorem of 1968—the law itself legitimizes, authorizes, circumscribes, and shapes police activity to distinguish police from vigilantes (Meares, 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). According to this view, evaluating policing regarding lawfulness is one of the most important aspects of a democratic society (Meares, 2013).

Meares explains that law suffuses policing, regulating police conduct: from international treaties to federal statutory and constitutional law, to state constitutions, statutes, regulations, local ordinances, and internal department administrative regulations (Meares, 2013). Much of this law specifies remedies for rule transgression, primarily about redressing the illegitimate exercise of power—a trade-off between the risk of arbitrary or oppressive enforcement and individual rights (Meares, 2013). Yet lawful police transgressions are typically framed observations concerning constitutional law—arrests and stops become problematic because they do not conform to the Fourth and Fifth Amendment principles restricting and circumscribing these actions (Meares, 2013). If constitutional violation was the problem, then the architecture of law and rights both describes and solves problematic urban street policing (Meares, 2013).

Unfortunately, the realities of street policing defy description in legal terms because the execution of police power takes place mainly at the discretion of individual police officers—meaning opportunities for corruption are higher (Meares, 2013). It is difficult to punish police officers who violate the law because agencies in many municipalities are subject to strong union rules that tie the hands of management (Meares, 2013). Broad discretion allows police to shape,

redescribe, and recategorize situations and contexts in ways that defy strictly defined codes, such that attempts to specify strict rule compliance seem somewhat misfitting among controversies—racial profiling, zero-tolerance policing, aggressive police stops, covert surveillance, and the defense of police actions by political leaders determined to reduce violent crime (Meares, 2013).

The second dominant evaluation—crime-fighting effectiveness seeks to determine whether or not police are effective at reducing crime (Meares, 2013). Today, our nation takes for granted the idea that police lower crime rates, but conventional wisdom from the 1960s until the mid-1990s was that police had a minimal impact on crime rates (Meares, 2013). That is, until President Clinton put policing on the map in 1994 with his crime bill, there existed no natural opportunity to interrupt a crime control agenda dominated by criminal legislation and imprisonment (Meares, 2013). The Clinton administration established the Community Oriented Policing (COPS) Office, mandating the distribution of 100,000 police officers among local jurisdictions, innovations in econometrics, and evaluating policing strategies (Meares, 2013). Though the aforementioned increase in police forces conclusively resulted in lower crime rates—within the democratic goldilocks zone, stands rightful policing—the panoptic third way to evaluate police, attentive to lawfulness and effectiveness, capturing critical dimensions neither prevailing mode managed to do (Meares, 2013).

Rightful policing is grounded in the social psychological concept of legitimacy, that people accept legitimate authority is entitled to make decisions and enforce the rule of law (Meares, 2013). When evaluating police, people systematically focus on a few dimensions (Meares, 2013). One is participation, where people report higher levels of satisfaction when they have an opportunity to explain (Meares, 2013). Fairness—people care a great deal about fairness;

they look for neutrality, objectivity, factuality of decision-making, consistency in decision-making, and transparency (Meares, 2013). Dignity—people expect to be treated with dignity, respect for their rights, and politeness (Meares, 2013). Trust—in their interactions with authorities, people want to believe authorities act out of a sense of benevolence toward them, to trust the authorities' motivations are sincere and well-intentioned (Meares, 2013). Together, these indicia comprise a model of procedural justice—the basis of legitimacy (Meares, 2013).

Paramount findings within this essay, supported by a robust body of global social science evidence, incontrovertibly demonstrate people are more likely to voluntarily obey the law when they believe authorities have the right to tell them what to do (Meares, 2013). Meares reveals that truly good policing is enjoyed by all, whether or not they experience positive individual outcomes (Meares, 2013). People care about procedural justice because it provides pride and respect, which are much more critical motivators of behavior than formal punishment, for loss of social status can occur without punishment (Meares, 2013). By affirming and enhancing the status of others within society, police are giving that person something valuable—a positive sense of self and identity—law enforcement and government treating people with dignity and *fairness* builds and replicates healthy, democratic communities (Meares, 2013).

Fundamentally according to Meares, the ongoing problem with evaluating police conduct solely concerning lawfulness is that American law has little to no capacity, as it is written today, to tell officers how to stop or arrest someone in a way that supports police legitimacy (Meares, 2013). Police are both minders and reminders of community, producing significant messages about the kind of place a community is or aspires to be (Meares, 2013). Yet all too often, identifiable minority groups receive the short end of the constitutive process; a proper democracy

addresses the consequences of this reality and aspires to promote the Good Cop (Meares, 2013). Perhaps the most powerful and legally grounded argument in favor of rightful policing currently in existence, this piece stands alone, both shield and paradigm shift of American democracy.

A.3.6 Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. (2015)

Where trust between law enforcement and the people they protect and serve is essential in a democracy, the integrity of the American criminal justice system, and the safe, effective delivery of policing services, are decisively the key to the stability of America (President's Task Force, 2015). In light of events that exposed rifts in the relationships between local police and the communities they protect and serve, on December 18, 2014, President Barack H. Obama II—most notably, the first African American President of the United States of America (2009-2017), and the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2009—signed an executive order establishing the Task Force on 21st Century Policing (President's Task Force, 2015).

The President charged the task force with identifying best policing practices and offering recommendations to promote effective crime reduction while building public trust (President's Task Force, 2015). Committed to the process of arriving at a consensus around its recommendations, the task force brought diverse perspectives together to engage in meaningful dialogue on emotionally charged issues respectfully and effectively—where the type of constructive dialogue engaged in was meant to serve as an example of future dialogue that should occur throughout the nation (President's Task Force, 2015).

The task force met seven times in January and February of 2015, to hold listening sessions that brought the 11 members of the task force together with more than 100 individuals from diverse stakeholder groups—law enforcement officers and executives, community members, civic leaders, advocates, researchers, academics, and others—in addition to many other Americans who submitted written testimony to study the problems from all perspectives (President’s Task Force, 2015). To better facilitate the success of its mission, the task force presented two primary overarching admonitions: the President should support the creation of a National Crime and Justice Task Force to examine all areas of criminal justice and propose reforms; and as a corollary, the President should support programs that comprehensively and inclusively focus on community-based initiatives addressing core community issues—poverty, education, and health and safety (President’s Task Force, 2015).

The task force expressed its findings as recommendations, each with action items, organized around six main topic areas or “pillars”: Building Trust and Legitimacy, Policy and Oversight, Technology and Social Media, Community Policing and Crime Reduction, Officer Training and Education, and Officer Safety and Wellness (President’s Task Force, 2015).

Pillar One: Building Trust and Legitimacy - Building trust and nurturing legitimacy is the foundational principle underlying the nature of relations between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve; people are more likely to obey the law when they believe those enforcing it have legitimate authority (President’s Task Force, 2015). The public confers legitimacy only on those considered to act in procedurally just ways—crucial to this social covenant—law enforcement cannot build community trust if it is regarded as an occupying force, imposing control on the community (President’s Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement culture

should embrace a guardian mindset to build trust and legitimacy within agencies and with the public (President's Task Force, 2015). Toward that end, law enforcement agencies should establish a culture of transparency and accountability to build public trust and legitimacy, which is critical to ensuring that decision-making remains in accord with the stated policy (President's Task Force, 2015).

Pillar Two: Policy and Oversight - Emphasizes that police policies should reflect community values (President's Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should collaborate with community members to improve relationships, increase community engagement, and foster cooperation (President's Task Force, 2015). All policies and aggregate data should be publicly available to ensure transparency (President's Task Force, 2015).

Pillar Three: Technology & Social Media – The use of technology can improve policing practices and build community trust and legitimacy, but its implementation should be built on a defined policy framework with its purposes and goals clearly delineated—improving, effectiveness, efficiency, and evolution, without infringing on individual rights—where law enforcement adopts model policies and best practices for technology-based community engagement that increases community trust and access (President's Task Force, 2015).

Pillar Four: Community Policing & Crime Reduction – Stresses the importance of community policing as a guiding philosophy for all stakeholders, emphasizing working with neighborhood residents to co-produce public safety, supporting a culture and policing practice that reflects the values of protection and dignity—especially for the most vulnerable—children and youth most at risk for crime or violence (President's Task Force, 2015).

Pillar Five: Training & Education - Focuses on the training and education needs of law enforcement, where law enforcement agencies should engage community members, particularly those with special expertise, in the training process and provide leadership training to all personnel throughout their careers, and a national postgraduate institute of policing for senior executives should be created—including a standardized curriculum preparing participants to lead agencies in the 21st century (President’s Task Force, 2015).

Pillar Six: Officer Wellness & Safety - Emphasizes the support and proper implementation of officer wellness and safety as a multi-partner effort—critical for the officers, their colleagues, their agencies, and public safety (President’s Task Force, 2015). Two specific strategies recommended for the U.S. Department of Justice include (1) encouraging and assisting departments in the implementation of scientifically supported shift lengths and (2) expanding efforts to collect and analyze data on officer deaths, injuries, and “near misses” (President’s Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should promote wellness and safety at every level of the organization, including adopting procedural justice principles for all internal policies and interactions (President’s Task Force, 2015).

Specific recommendations, most relevant to this review: law enforcement culture should embrace a guardian mindset to build public trust and legitimacy, adopt procedural justice as the guiding principle for internal and external policies and practices, and guide interactions with the citizens they serve (President’s Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should acknowledge injustice and discrimination, past and present, and how it harms the promotion of community trust—establishing a culture of transparency and accountability to build public trust and legitimacy per stated policy (President’s Task Force, 2015). Within organizations, law

enforcement agencies should promote legitimacy internally by applying the principles of procedural justice (President's Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should consider the potential damage to public trust when implementing instrumental crime-fighting strategies (President's Task Force, 2015).

Annual community surveys, ideally standardized across jurisdictions with accepted sampling protocols, should track the level of trust in police by their communities—just as they measure changes in crime (President's Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should create a diverse workforce containing a wide range of races, genders, languages, life experiences, and cultural backgrounds to improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities (President's Task Force, 2015). Central to overall public safety, law enforcement agencies should build relationships with immigrant communities based on trust (President's Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should adopt and enforce policies prohibiting profiling and discrimination based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, age, gender, gender identity/expression, sexual orientation, immigration status, disability, housing status, occupation, or language fluency (President's Task Force, 2015).

Community policing should be infused throughout all law enforcement agencies' culture and organizational structure, utilizing multidisciplinary, community team approaches for planning, implementing, and responding to crisis situations with complex causal factors (President's Task Force, 2015). Communities should support a culture and practice of policing that reflects the values of protection and dignity for all, especially the most vulnerable (President's Task Force, 2015). Offensive or harsh language can escalate a minor situation—law enforcement agencies should underscore the importance of language used and adopt policies

directing officers to speak with respect (President's Task Force, 2015). Law enforcement agencies should engage community members in the training process and should provide leadership training to all police personnel throughout their careers (President's Task Force, 2015). While much work remains to be done to address longstanding issues and challenges in the field of law enforcement and the broader criminal justice system, Americans are problem solvers (President's Task Force, 2015). Increasing trust between law enforcement and the communities they protect and serve is well within the scope of this nation (President's Task Force, 2015).

A.3.7 Procedural Injustice, Lost Legitimacy, and Self-Help: Young Males' Adaptations to Perceived Unfairness in Urban Policing Tactics

Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2015)

Where legitimacy acts as the dividing line between a police force that merely possesses legal authority to enforce the law and one that enjoys both legal and moral authority, Jacinta M. Gau and Rod K. Brunson meticulously affirmed that people who see the police as procedurally just, are more likely to view them as legitimate (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Distinctively, although most research has been quantitative, focusing on the statistical link between procedural justice and police legitimacy, this study presents a salient qualitative examination of in-depth interviews with young men residing in disadvantaged, urban neighborhoods to uncover the specific actions police take that are seen as unjust and erode legitimacy (Gau & Brunson, 2015).

Primarily drawn from face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with youth and young adults residing in distressed urban areas, evidence detailing the intricacies of procedural justice and its effects, offered precious insight into the precise workings of procedural justice—

distinctly, the relationship between procedural injustice, eroded police legitimacy, and enhanced reliance on self-help behaviors among minority youth in high-crime, urban neighborhoods (Gau & Brunson, 2015). These data were derived from in-depth interviews with inner-city young men living in three St. Louis neighborhoods: one majority White with low violent crime rates, one mixed race with moderate violence, and one majority Black with high violent crime rates (Gau & Brunson, 2015). This study analyzed respondent accounts of negative police experiences, mistrust of police, and perceived need for self-reliance, revealing that all three are primarily concentrated in the highest-crime neighborhood (Gau & Brunson, 2015).

The findings stress two primary conclusions (Gau & Brunson, 2015). First, the current study provides an overlap between police misconduct and compromised social control, where prior research asserted police misconduct is most prevalent in socially disorganized communities (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Even officers who do not engage in explicit misbehavior might display frustration, cynicism, and lack of empathy for victims (Gau & Brunson, 2015). The present study corroborated prior data, finding respondents residing in a majority-Black, high-violence neighborhoods were more likely than their counterparts in mixed-race or majority-White, lower-crime areas to experience both direct and vicarious harassment or mistreatment at the hands of police (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Second, police procedural injustice perpetuates crime by way of disillusionment and disaffection where the community does not believe the police will help protect them, and they fear negative police attention (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Conversely, people's attitudes improved when police made a deliberate effort to be respectful and neutral, to treat persons with dignity, and to improve outcomes by reaching out and connecting—even in police-initiated encounters, procedurally just treatment is impactful, the message matters more than the vehicle used to convey it (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Legitimacy is the *deus ex machina* by

which the community reaches out for assistance and support or turns away from police while freefalling into the abyss (Gau & Brunson, 2015). This research neatly unmask the most disturbing and cruelly prophetic Janus within modern broken windows theory (Gau & Brunson, 2015). Namely, police misconduct and lack of compassion are most prevalent in socially disorganized communities, accelerating their temporal timeframe of physical deterioration, while simultaneously emboldening the harshest rationale behind the amplification of order maintenance policing policies (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Renauer, 2024).

A.3.8 Explaining Officer Compliance: The Importance of Procedural Justice and Trust Inside a Police Organization

Haas, N. E., Van Craen, M., Skogan, W. G., & Fleitas, D. M. (2015)

The extent to which police officers obey instructions and policies is of permanent concern to police leaders and the community, especially in preventing police misconduct and excessive use of force (Haas et al., 2015). In this groundbreaking study examining the potential of a procedural justice approach for stimulating officer compliance, Peter J. Haas, Maarten Van Craen, Wesley G. Skogan, and Diego M. Fleitas brilliantly elucidate that procedural justice and trust together form one concept—expressly that trust does not merely flow from the experience of fairness, it is a constitutive element of perceived procedural justice (Haas et al., 2015).

Hierarchical, top-down organizational structures and autocratic leadership styles depending on the willingness of lower-ranking personnel to obey instructions voluntarily were considered useful for many years (Haas et al., 2015). Yet, difficulties implementing policy changes and recurring misconduct have drawn the attention of police chiefs and researchers to

the limitations of such organizational models and leadership styles (Haas et al., 2015). Building on procedural justice and social exchange frameworks, applying structural equation modeling through comprehensive research on relationships and employee behavior, the goal of this article is to examine whether officer compliance can be linked to the quality of interaction and communication between supervisors and officers—testing the extent fair decision making and fair treatment are related within a general measure of compliance, including officer endorsement of rules regarding the use of force (Haas et al., 2015). The primary evidence for this study drew from examinations of officer compliance, using survey data collected among 536 police officers of the Metropolitana Police in Buenos Aires (Haas et al., 2015).

Findings suggest that a procedural justice approach may indeed be a successful route for police managers and supervisors to increase officer compliance in general, enhance officer obedience to the rules on the use of force, and facilitate the implementation of police policies that contribute to preventing police violence (Haas et al., 2015). Namely, rather than viewing police misconduct individually, it is essential to examine the role of organizational mechanisms and their influence on police culture (Haas et al., 2015). Though unable to directly measure actual police behavior, this study specifically measured attitudes toward supervisory directives, department policies, and opinions of rules on the use of force (Haas et al., 2015). Prior research supports the premise that attitude predicts actual officer behavior (Haas et al., 2015). However, these data did not allow the confrontation of theoretical frameworks with other existing theories to assess relative explanatory power (Haas et al., 2015). Nonetheless, this research encouragingly indicates internal procedural justice positively enhances police compliance with policies and regulations, greatly benefiting the organization and the public (Haas et al., 2015). Despite the aforementioned police cultural challenges, police management should try its utmost to

implement elements of procedural justice in their organization (Haas et al., 2015). If police officers are treated fairly by their supervisors and, in turn, treat citizens in a procedurally just way as well, this is assuredly the most promising way forward for police to enhance citizen cooperation and compliance (Haas et al., 2015).

A.3.9 Rightful Policing: New Perspectives in Policing

Meares, T. L., & Neyroud, P. (2015)

Regardless of the lawfulness of police behavior, a lack of procedural justice in encounters changes public perceptions of policing agencies, leading to a lack of trust, ill-will, and ultimately less peace (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Tracey L. Meares and Peter Neyroud meticulously substantiate consideration of the lawfulness, effectiveness, and legitimacy of police conduct—rightful policing, allows both the police officer and the citizen stopped, to be right in a way that is not possible when one operates within the singular dimensions of lawfulness (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

This prodigiously comprehensive essay begins by thoroughly assessing police action with respect to effectiveness and lawfulness in reducing crime and increasing public safety (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Effectiveness in crime fighting has become a primary police evaluation metric (Haas et al., 2015). Still, those who promote success at crime fighting as the best way to assess police effectiveness often need help understanding stop-and-frisk, widespread public surveillance, or other everyday policies and practices diminish public perception (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Lawfulness—typically, measuring good policing regarding lawfulness does not focus on police effectiveness in reducing crime (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Instead, the focus lies on police adherence to strict dictates constraining their discretion, generally resulting in less

policing and more liberty for individuals (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). The higher levels of crime that might result from less policing are simply cast as the price citizens pay for more freedom, utterly ignoring the fact crime and predation among individuals result in significantly less freedom for residents of high-crime communities (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Although police are conceived and constituted by law and through law, focusing on the lawfulness of police conduct also inherently obscures the identification and remedy of problematic policing behavior (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

In addition to effectiveness and lawfulness, Meares and Neyroud state there is a third way to evaluate policing: rightful policing (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Attempting to account for the values people assess within individual officer behavior and agency conduct generally, effective policing and lawful policing differ from rightful policing in three primary ways (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). First, rightful policing does not depend on an assessment of police as ever more effective crime fighters—though rightful policing often leads to more compliance with the law, lower crime rates, and ultimately movement toward police governance that is substantively democratic (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Second, rightful policing does not depend on the lawfulness of police conduct, primarily it depends on the procedural justice or *fairness* of that conduct (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Third and finally, rightful policing is better for cops on the street, where its precepts encourage the people whom police deal with on a daily basis to comply with the law, and police directives, also encouraging safer behaviors during contact (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

Rightful policing is unique, not simply confined to constitutional policing nor entirely subsumed by crime reduction—it achieves both, by promoting fairness and engendering trust in

police among the public (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). People want an opportunity to explain their situation, to tell their side of the story, to believe authorities are acting out of a sense of benevolence toward them, to believe motives are sincere and well-intentioned, and that authorities are responding genuinely to concerns (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). All four of these factors—quality of treatment, decision-making fairness, voice, and expectation of benevolent treatment—comprise “procedural justice” (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Public perceptions of procedural fairness, lead to popular beliefs of legitimacy (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

Potent findings affirm that legitimacy-based law enforcement focuses more on persuasion than punishment, persuasion requires authorities create the necessary social capital, engendering trust between governors and the governed (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Legitimacy is crucially important, where the following triumvirate issues delineate its progressive implementation: training, strategies and tactics, democracy, and community participation (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Training—despite improvements over the last 20 years, police training at multiple phases retains a strong bias in favor of rules, particularly legislation, constitutional criminal procedure, and departmental policies (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Across most typical jurisdictions, reliance on law and procedure is still the primary qualification for recruits and managers (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Strategies and tactics—ofttimes, compelled by the ever-present demand to reduce crime statistics, bureaucrats focus on strategies and tactics designed to parsimoniously reduce violence (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Instead, police executives should consider more holistic solutions designed not only to quell violence but also to enhance safety by changing the attitudes and dispositions of those alienated in ways that sustain voluntary compliance—ala hot spot policing that is deterrence-based and legitimacy-based (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Democracy and community participation—police are minders and reminders of community—

producers of significant messages about the kind of place a community is or aspires to be (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Policing defines community, though the genesis of American policing did not evoke the benevolent image of a kindly community protector, but the more sinister form of the slave patroller (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Procedural justice literature makes clear the ways this dark history undermines trust in police, yet this same literature provides a roadmap for a more positive relationship, benefiting those who need help from police, and supporting their participation in democratically led government (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

Police and other legal actors are the framework of the community, shaping what people think, feel, and do (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). People want to feel comfort, not fear, when the police are present, to anticipate they will receive help and professional treatment when needed—becoming invested in the communities in which they live (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Conclusively, when people evaluate police and court systems as procedurally fair, they identify more with the community and engage socially by trusting neighbors, politically by voting, and economically by shopping and going to entertainment venues within that community (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). If we are to believe the criminal justice system offers a curriculum of lessons on what it means to be a citizen, the overt curriculum of policing, found most obviously in the text of the United States Constitution, is designed to convey concern for civil rights—where autonomy, privacy and bodily integrity are not subject to the whim of any individual police officer (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

Meares and Neyroud stress that the hidden curriculum of policing is a function of how people are treated, and the ways in which groups derive meaning regarding their status, in the eyes of legal authority resulting from that treatment (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Too often, the

hidden curriculum of policing strategies sends clear signals to certain citizens, that they are members of a special, dangerous, and undesirable class—crucially, people do not necessarily learn these lessons, rather what is learned depends on the degree and frequency of exposure, and on individual and community resilience (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Commitment to rightful policing requires broadly conceived and coordinated efforts among a variety of contexts—crime reduction, community relations, and, vitally, internal discipline—to effect real change (Meares & Neyroud, 2015). Should we fail the future, banishing the confluence of genuine public interests and the accountability of authority to those toiling under it by ignoring the fundamental sense of public fairness and legitimacy—that which remains is injustice for all (Meares & Neyroud, 2015).

A.3.10 Lawful or Fair? How Cops and Laypeople Perceive Good Policing

Meares, T. L., Tyler, T. R., & Gardener, J. (2015)

This analysis serves as a latitudinous, yet deeply philosophical and sobersided diplopia, helping to elucidate our understanding that while the law confers upon the state and its authorities, including police, a monopoly on the use of coercion expressly to enforce laws and maintain order, police compliance with the law is arguably the most important aspect of law within a democracy (Meares et al., 2015). It is the very existence of rules of law limiting the power police officers exert and the claim that police compose a rule-bound institution, that merits our democratic acceptance that police should be empowered to make discretionary decisions to carry out law enforcement—the pursuit of justice, the protection of individual liberties, and the battle against crime (Meares et al., 2015). Therefore, recognizing the central framework of law and the constitutional standards under which law is enacted to the existence

and mission of policing, would seem to ensconce the potentiality that the proper, prospectively best way to evaluate police conduct, is with respect to legal rules—especially constitutional ones (Meares et al., 2015). However, Tracey L. Meares, Tom R. Tyler, and Jacob Gardener will take strong issue with this view, instead pointing the way forward toward creating relationships between the police and the public, enhancing cooperative efforts to maintain social order, building identification with a lasting commitment to communities, the law, and government (Meares et al., 2015).

The goal of this study was to improve the identification of key factors influencing public views about police conduct, expressly to ascertain the relative influence of lawfulness and procedural justice in policing upon public judgments about the appropriateness of police conduct, and the need to discipline police officers (Meares et al., 2015). Innovative factorial experiments incorporating videos winnowed out from police training tapes and YouTube.com, combined with real-life interactions of varying intensity between police officers and citizens, were presented to questionnaire respondents to test how citizens perceived and evaluated police encounters, generating the primary evidence for this study (Meares et al., 2015).

Assessing the legality of police actions, findings confirmed the goal of this study—procedural justice factors are indeed more influential to public judgments than the actual legality of police behavior (Meares et al., 2015). However, three facets are vitally important to understanding these data results— firstly, ordinary public intuitions about rightful police behavior do not comport with the law, primarily people care about the procedural justice and fairness of police actions (Meares et al., 2015). Second, it is imperative to separate lawfulness from unlawfulness, fairness, and unfairness—acutely mindful police are creatures of law, trained

in that law, but still very accountable to public judgments of *fairness* (Meares et al., 2015). Third, the procedurally just approach positively leads to public satisfaction and safer streets, however, the same scrutiny people place on the procedural justice of police actions, also emphasizes the negative consequences of an exclusively lawful focus during police-community interactions—authority blindness to the source of public feelings, proliferates the public view police actions are inappropriate and should be sanctioned (Meares et al., 2015). If Lady Liberty herself stood before the social crossroads of our republic, this formidable research exists as a blazing way-marker, guiding society toward the high-climbing road of enduring American democracy—ever mindful, democracy was never free, nor can its life force ever be taken for granted.

A.3.11 Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy: Using Training as a Foundation for Strengthening Community-Police Relationships

Gilbert, D., Wakeling, S., & Crandall, V. (2015)

In this working paper, Daniela Gilbert, Stewart Wakeling, and Vaughn Crandall pivot around one main focus—that procedural justice and police legitimacy acknowledge the issue of distrust between police and communities of color, while shaping how police do their work to significantly improve public trust through a practical, effective, affordable, and versatile department training process (Gilbert et al., 2015).

Drawing primarily on the nuanced research evidence and wide-ranging study of Tracey L. Meares and Tom R. Tyler, the Oakland Police Department, community leaders and clergy in that city, the Stockton and Salinas police departments, and the California Partnership for Safe

Communities (CPSC) worked together to adapt and deliver a training curriculum developed by the Chicago Police Department (CPD) (Gilbert et al., 2015). Police officer-led instructors meticulously developed the lesson plan, course objectives, and supporting materials stemming from a dynamic combination of credible street experience, expertise in teaching, peer counseling, and leadership applying procedural justice principles to the reality of day-to-day police work (Gilbert et al., 2015).

Core findings revealed the adapted training curriculum showcased, strengthened officer's skills in carrying out the principles of procedural justice, and exceeded officer expectations; police managers found the training practical and effective supporting authentic community engagement, and pragmatic utility quickly laid a foundation for improved community relations and crime reduction (Gilbert et al., 2015). Oakland, Stockton, and Salinas, California are racially diverse communities with significant minority populations, providing authentic hope and utility for procedurally just, rightful policing policy in daily service (Gilbert et al., 2015).

A.3.12 The Effects of Perceived Phenotypic Racial Stereotypicality and Social Identity Threat on Racial Minorities' Attitudes About Police

Kahn, K. B., Lee, J. K., Renauer, B., Henning, K. R., & Stewart, G. (2017)

Fundamentally, a race-based social identity threat framework facilitates understanding of low-level trust in police by racial minorities—when individuals feel that they will be treated differently or devalued based on their race, gender, or sexual orientation, it can have powerfully negative behavioral, affective, and cognitive consequences (Kahn et al., 2017). The current study by Kimberly B. Kahn, J. Katherine Lee, Brian C. Renauer, Kris R. Henning, and Greg Stewart

hypothesizes racial minority phenotypic racial stereotypicality may increase race-based social identity threat in police interactions, leading to distrust and decreased participation with police (Kahn et al., 2017). The treatise further examines specifically how racial minorities' self-rated phenotypic racial stereotypicality and experience of race-based social identity threat impact their perceived trust in the police and their likelihood of cooperating with police in the future (Kahn et al., 2017).

The methodology by which these relationships are tested draws upon a random representative survey of city residents in Portland, Oregon, exercising a serial multiple mediation model with a returned sample size of 1200 (Kahn et al., 2017). One-hundred-sixty-eight racial minorities, whose racial groups are negatively stereotyped in the policing domain (Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and multiracials), were included to test the central hypothesis in proportion to citywide demographics, except for an underrepresentation of Latinos (Kahn et al., 2017).

The findings of this compelling study illustrate perceived phenotypic racial stereotypicality influences within target psychological perspectives, where self-reported phenotypic racial stereotypicality was associated with experiencing race-based social identity threat—the more racial minorities believed they resembled a typical member of their racial/ethnic group, the more they indicated concern about being treated negatively by police (Kahn et al., 2017). Consolidating these findings, stereotypes are not equally applied to all racial group members; instead, stereotyping and its associated effects on behaviors, attitudes, and affect vary within racial groups (Kahn et al., 2017). This means Blacks who are highest in perceived phenotypic racial stereotypicality have darker skin tones, and distinct facial features, including

broader noses and lips—agonizing reminders of racial hierarchies, lived in chains, soaked in blood-toil, in step with the lash (Kahn et al., 2017).

Centrally, this analysis bravely confirms racial minorities do indeed report different police attitudes based on their self-assessed appearance as minority community members—perceived phenotypic appearance impacts the psychological experiences of individuals and impacts important policing attitudes (Kahn et al., 2017). A striking and pivotally consequential finding (Kahn et al., 2017). Tragically, bleeding through minority communities, these social identity-related threats may create self-fulfilling prophecies between police and racial minorities; the more racial minorities feel negativity based on race, irrespective of past or anticipated experience, the more they avoid perceptibly uncomfortable engagement interacting with police (Kahn et al., 2017). Similarly, by anticipating less cooperation by racial minorities, police may erroneously perceive minority discomfort and other behavioral cues are suspicious, negatively leading to engagement with minority communities—differential treatment manifesting as a cruel societal irony, disingenuous, cyclically perpetuating an existence of pain and distrust (Kahn et al., 2017).

Understanding these varied psychological, contextual, and individual factors influencing racial minority attitudes toward police, and examinations, within and between racial groups—provide thorough information for police and citizens to engage effectively and respectfully, augmenting overall public safety (Kahn et al., 2017). Crucially imperative are transmissions of respect, politeness, and value by listening to and acknowledging citizen concerns and increasing racial minority trust in police (Kahn et al., 2017). Nonverbal cues, including higher levels of visual contact, interaction length, and tone of voice, are also functionally associated with more

tremendous respect—officer training focusing on these cues has the capacity to increase trust within vulnerable communities (Kahn et al., 2017). Finally, explicit training for police officers on social identity threats and the impact of phenotypic racial stereotypicality on social identity threats may avoid misperception of social identity threats as enforcement indicators of guilt or danger (Kahn et al., 2017). This summation of positive interpersonal interactions between racial minorities and police officers offers a route to enhanced trust in police, counteracting the effects of social identity threat (Kahn et al., 2017). Like coming events, casting hope, rather than shadows before them, these data are the beating heart of a procedurally just policing future, circulating the power to save lives.

A.3.13 Public Response to Community Engagement Patrols in High Crime Areas

Kahn, K. B., Henning, K., Stewart, G., Renauer, B. C., Peterson, C., Mitchell, R. J., Labissiere, Y., & Sothern, S. (2019)

Echoing the best practices outlined in the landmark report, *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*, where police-community relationships and trust hold the key toward a more effective and equitable policing future, this intrepid study by Kimberly B. Kahn, Kris R. Henning, Greg Stewart, Brian C. Renauer, Christian Peterson, Renée Jean Mitchell, Yves Labissiere, and Sean Sothern evaluates an experiment to improve resident opinions of police in Portland, Oregon (Kahn et al., 2019). This study initiative intended to carve out dedicated time for officers to positively engage with community members in areas specifically experiencing high crime and/or diminished livability (Kahn et al., 2019).

Portland Police Bureau (PPB) officers conducted community engagement patrols (CEPs) in 60 high-crime areas, prioritizing non-investigative contact with community members to build trust and promote positive police–community interactions (Kahn et al., 2019). Evidence was primarily drawn from surveys that were immediately mailed to 11,760 households, where a total of 1,537 completed surveys were returned (13.1 percent) (Kahn et al., 2019).

Findings reveal the Portland CEP intervention provided evidence demonstrating the benefits of conducting supplemental CEPs in high-risk areas, and though community attitudes did not improve, resident reports of increased positive contact are a dedicated building block within a more extensive community-policing program, enhancing perceptions of long-term trust and legitimacy (Kahn et al., 2019). The study also successfully countered the potential “backfire” hypothesis in which additional police presence in high-need areas facilitates enforcement, but harms trust in police and perceptions of police legitimacy—having officers focus on community-policing ideals and non-investigative approaches in high-risk areas buffered adverse effects (Kahn et al., 2019). PPB crime analysts also developed and employed an inventive approach to deliver directed patrol calls through the computer-aided dispatch (CAD) system for the CEP program, adopting the system to provide highly successful directed patrols for subsequent initiatives and problem-oriented policing missions (Kahn et al., 2019).

When considering the adoption of similar CEP-based interventions, lessons learned from the Portland program aid effectiveness: first, when selecting potential areas for intervention, certain types of high-risk areas are more amenable to community policing (Kahn et al., 2019). Second, whereas officers had flexibility in the kind of community engagement they could engage in during the CEP call, additional training and practice with officers may develop skills for more

effective community engagement, including engagement most facilitating trust and legitimacy (Kahn et al., 2019). Third, though not possible in this experimental CEP intervention, due to limiting pre-contact within neighborhoods to ensure fidelity, direct communication with neighborhoods ahead of time may allow officers to tailor behavior to community needs better (Kahn et al., 2019).

Kimberly B. Kahn, Kris R. Henning, Greg Stewart, Brian C. Renauer, Christian Peterson, Renée Jean Mitchell, Yves Labissiere, and Sean Sothern successfully welcomed to Portland, Oregon, many of the paramount pillars set in motion by *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (2015), itself illustratively foreshadowed by Tom Tyler's central book, *Why People Obey the Law? Procedural Justice, Legitimacy and Compliance* (1990) (Kahn et al., 2019; President's Task Force, 2015). Most encouragingly, although racial minorities, immigrants, and other vulnerable groups typically perceive police presence and community engagement with suspicion, the CEP intervention did not produce negative police attitudes, promisingly illuminating a hopeful and procedurally just path forward (Kahn et al., 2019).

A.3.14 Race, Place, and Effective Policing

Braga, A. A., Brunson, R. K., & Drakulich, K. M. (2019)

This review by Anthony A. Braga, Rod K. Brunson, and Kevin M. Drakulich serves as a broad, realistic analysis helping to demystify racial differences in crime and the criminal justice system to frame a focused discussion on race, place, and policing (Braga et al., 2019). Beginning by summarizing race differences in crime and the criminal justice system, this analysis fundamentally establishes that police need public support and cooperation to be effective in controlling crime and holding offenders accountable (Braga et al., 2019).

Weak police-minority community relationships rooted in a long history of discriminatory practices and overly aggressive contemporary policing strategies associated with racial disparities call for immediate reforms and a unilateral reduction in investigatory stops (Braga et al., 2019). Critically disadvantaged urban neighborhoods where Blacks disproportionately reside, lack the immense social and political capital required to marshal change (Braga et al., 2019). In many disadvantaged communities of color, poor relationships between the police and residents undermine effective policing, yet the policing paradox impoverished communities of color feel continues to produce tragic consequences (Braga et al., 2019). Evidence was primarily drawn from existing scientific research on policing policies and practices, evaluating efficacy in crime controlling and resultant community experience (Braga et al., 2019).

The findings of this research evidence suggest specific policies and practices that could improve police-minority community relations and enhance police effectiveness, where police would benefit from the general willingness of community members to cooperate with them to report crimes, identify offenders, assist in open investigations, and address persistent social conditions that facilitate crime (Braga et al., 2019). Effectiveness and legitimacy are powerfully influenced by the consequences of specific tactical and policy choices (Braga et al., 2019). To restore effective working relationships with minority communities, police should renew their efforts to develop, implement, and sustain crime-control policies that are both *fair* and effective (Braga et al., 2019).

By coupling problem-oriented crime-control efforts with complementary attempts to increase community engagement and enhance procedural justice in their interactions with the public, police can simultaneously enact effective crime-control practices that minimize harmful

racial disparities and improve legitimacy in disadvantaged minority neighborhoods (Braga et al., 2019). Braga, Brunson, and Drakulich pronounce paramount measure set in motion by *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (2015), illustratively foreshadowed by Tom Tyler's central book, *Why People Obey the Law? Procedural Justice, Legitimacy and Compliance* (1990) (Braga et al., 2019). The totality of this research demonstrates the coproduction of procedurally just rightful policing policy and problem-oriented crime control efforts—hotspot policing, clearly shows excellent promise across communities of color (Braga et al., 2019; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024). Conversely, the accumulation of research also reveals persistent departmental focus on order maintenance policing policy may exacerbate the policing paradox within impoverished minority communities, yielding tragic cultural consequences (Braga et al., 2019; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares et al., 2015; Renauer, 2024).

A.3.15 Procedural Justice and Legal Compliance: A Revisionist Perspective

Nagin, D. S., & Telep, C. W. (2020)

This perspective serves as a poignant wellspring of modern collective thought on the evolution of police policy. Daniel S. Nagin and Cody W. Telep coherently compound the evidentiary breadcrumbs between the widely held panoptic view that research plausibly demonstrated procedurally just treatment of citizens by police increased willingness to comply and thereby reduced crime rates, into an evolving cognizance (Nagin & Telep, 2020). The research elucidates explicitly the independent overarching societal perception of lifelong accumulative procedurally just treatment and legitimacy, genuinely nourishing lasting cultural, community, and familial trust (Nagin & Telep, 2020).

Sweeping, vividly detailed disquisition analysis and noble reflection prolifically metamorphose from Nagin and Telep's own earlier research summary essay (2017), a premise dutifully echoing the call to action set in motion by *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (2015), itself drawn in measure from the foundational assertion of Tom Tyler's seminal book, *Why People Obey the Law? Procedural Justice, Legitimacy and Compliance* (1990) (Nagin & Telep, 2020). Within this incarnation, Nagin and Telep's wide-ranging research study and expert critique rest on the singular brilliantly substantive conclusion: perceptions of procedurally just treatment and legitimacy are the very corollary of a lifetime accumulation of historical, cultural, community, and familial influences, strongly supported by recent scientific disquisition (Nagin & Telep, 2020).

Thirty-one years of research culminate in this articulate capstone, corroborating decades of theory progression, in many ways drawing all twenty-six previous evidentiary threads together within a singular tapestry of hope for the future of policing. Departments should not expect to see community trust or legitimacy flourish overnight; the deep cultural lacerations within minority communities are far too raw (Egede & Walker, 2020). Instead, a credit of *fairness* and moral trustworthiness should be slowly banked for future generations, beginning with Black and Brown youth and their communities today (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013). Policy improvements will be incremental, and not without setbacks and struggle, but gradually as generational confidence improves, hope will metamorphose into a valuable cultural currency, reinforcing the great promise of American democracy—one nation, one justice, for all (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013; Renauer, 2024).

Appendix B

Complex Racial Trauma (1990 to 2020)

Appendix B examines eighteen traumatic racialized experiences that reiteratively exposed unremitting departmental policy and union failures, exactly as Tyler predicted in 1990 (Tyler, 1990). The selective refusal to rigorously adhere to the overarching principles of procedurally just rightful policing, translated into multiple agencies self-perpetuating racialized injustice, violence, and public alienation, particularly within American communities of color (Tyler, 1990). Agencies neglected crucial steps, failing to identify, hire, and retain noble, morally, and ethically grounded employees during candidate selection and probationary evaluation of new officers (Nickeas, 2021). Some police unions also overtly resisted prioritizing ethically virtuous, process-based policy innovations designed to weed out the violent, the unscrupulous, and the unethical wrong-doers from law enforcement (Nickeas, 2021). As a result, those departments failed to exercise police authority with fairness and dignity—reinforcing and exacerbating structural racism and fanning the flames of minority community hostilities (Egede & Walker, 2020; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Meares, 2013). Under the most egregious circumstances, dreadfully odious indifference continued to persist decade after decade, where deplorable racial traumas would be followed by more unconscionable and entirely preventable violence in the form of beatings, asphyxiates, and shooting deaths.

B.1 Rodney King (1991)

On March 3rd, 1991, in Los Angeles, California, an unarmed Black man named Rodney King, was brutally beaten by white Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officers Laurence Powell, Timothy Wind, and Ted Briseno—Sergeant Stacey Koon made no effort to stop the beating (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Onion et al., 2010). Eighty-one seconds of graphically violent video footage revealed police yelling racial slurs, kicking, and clubbing King fifty-six times (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Onion et al., 2010).

Despite overwhelming video evidence of their guilt, following only seven days of deliberations, a Los Angeles jury acquitted the four Los Angeles Police Department officers who brutally beat King in 1992 (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Lloyd, 2022). Widespread civil unrest immediately erupted throughout Los Angeles (Lloyd, 2022). Over the days that followed, this public outrage spread like wildfire, exploding and turning some city streets into warzones—thousands of fires raged, looting and violence left sixty people dead and twenty-three-hundred more injured, causing an estimated one billion dollars in damages (Lloyd, 2022).

Two years later, a federal jury convicted Koon and Powell for violating King's civil rights through excessive use of force under color of law—both were sentenced to two and a half years in prison; Wind and Briseno were acquitted (Onion et al., 2010). Rodney King received \$3.8 million dollars in a civil suit against the LAPD but passed away in 2012 at the age of only forty-seven (Matiash & Rothman, 2016; Onion et al., 2010).

B.2 Anthony Baez (1994)

On December 22nd, 1994, in New York City, New York, a young unarmed Black man named Anthony Baez, was tossing a football with his three brothers near their childhood home in University Heights, part of the Bronx—Baez lived in Florida, and was visiting his family in New York for the Holidays (Weiser, 1998). The flying football inadvertently hit a nearby patrol car repeatedly (Weiser, 1998). New York City Police Department (NYPD) officer Francis Livoti got out of his patrol car and confronted the brothers, which prosecutors later said led to a struggle during which officer Livoti choked Baez—the young man died moments after (Weiser, 1998). Three years earlier, Livoti’s commanding officer had recommended Livoti be transferred due to a number of “police brutality” complaints—then commander of the 46th precinct, William Casey, had already changed Livoti’s shift, given him a new partner, and recommended he undergo psychological counseling (Weiser, 1998). Union power shielded Livoti (Meares, 2013).

It would take three more long years for the NYPD to finally dismiss Livoti after a separate administrative trial found he had used a deadly and illegal choke-hold on Anthony Baez (Weiser, 1998). Although Livoti was acquitted in 1996 by a state non-jury trial and continued to work for the NYPD until February 1997, he was ultimately convicted in federal court and sentenced to seven and a half years in prison in 1998 (Weiser, 1998). Federal prosecutors stated, “there are numerous other incidents in which Livoti was alleged to have used excessive force in connection with his work as a police officer” (Mazelis, 1998; Weiser, 1998). Much to the relief of the Black community, the conviction would forever bar him from returning to work in law enforcement (Weiser, 1998). After a four-year group legal battle, in a settlement that avoided an

embarrassing civil trial for police brutality and “put this unfortunate incident to rest,” the Baez family received nearly \$3 million dollars from the City of New York (Mazelis, 1998).

B.3 Abner Louima (1997)

On August 9th, 1997, in Brooklyn, New York, an unarmed Black Haitian immigrant and father named Abner Louima, was misidentified and arrested outside the Club Rendez Vous nightclub in East Flatbush, by New York Police Department (NYPD) officers breaking up a crowd (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). Louima worked as a local security guard (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). On scene was Officer Justin Volpe, who had been knocked to the ground amidst the jostling masses (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017). Louima was arrested and taken to the NYPD 70th precinct (Smith, 2020).

While in police custody, Louima was dragged to the bathroom in handcuffs, forced face down on the floor where his pants were yanked down to his knees, then brutally beaten and sodomized with a broken toilet plunger handle by white officer Justin Volpe, who then rammed the blood and feces covered plunger into Louima’s mouth, breaking his teeth (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). Following this gruesome atrocity, Louima was left face down on the floor of a cell, broken and bleeding—his bladder had been punctured, his rectum was torn, his colon was severed, and his teeth were shattered—injuries so severe, he would be hospitalized for months and require three major surgeries (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020).

Although Volpe claimed he was knocked to the ground during the scuffle outside the nightclub, he was not even sure Louima had hit him (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Smith, 2020).

Monstrously, during this lengthy sadistic display of psychosexual criminality, as Louima screamed in agony inside the bathroom, none at the precinct came to his aid (O’Grady & Fertig, 2017; Raspberry, 1999; Smith, 2020). Volpe shouted the “N-word” and “F-cking Haitian” as he slammed, beat, and sodomized Louima’s handcuffed Black body into a weeping heap of flesh, blood, and feces, pleading for life—Louima would survive, and bravely persevere to see his torturer be charged and convicted in federal court on multiple counts of civil rights violations, obstruction of justice, and making false statements to the police (Smith, 2020).

In 1999, Volpe was sentenced to thirty years in prison, and in 200, Louima received an \$8.75 million dollar settlement from New York City for police brutality (Smith, 2020). Abner Louima lives in Florida with his wife and three children (Smith, 2020). Determined to do good with his settlement money, he set up the Abner Louima Foundation to establish a hospital and community centers in Haiti, Florida, and New York that serve those in need (Smith, 2020).

B.4 Amadou Diallo (1999)

On February 4th, 1999, in New York City, New York, a young Black Guinean immigrant named Amadou Diallo—who worked as a local sidewalk vendor selling video cassettes, gloves, and socks, was misidentified by police searching for evidence of a serial rape suspect living in the Bronx area (Brammah, 2017; Smith, 2020). Officers sought to question Diallo as he stood on his apartment stoop; he obediently reached into his back pocket for his wallet; officers mistakenly thought he was pulling a gun—one officer yelled “gun,” and all four began shooting (Brammah, 2017; Smith, 2020).

Diallo was shot nineteen times and killed instantly; forty-one total shots were fired by the four white New York Police Department (NYPD) plainclothes officers—Sean Carroll, Edward McMellon, Kenneth Boss, and Richard Murphy (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020). The shooting catalyzed protests throughout New York City following Amadou Diallo’s death, and many believed the officers had acted without restraint (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020). It is also unclear if the plainclothes NYPD officers ever identified themselves as police to Diallo before opening fire (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020). The last time he spoke to his mother, Diallo joyfully told her the exciting news he had finally saved enough money to pursue his dream of attending college in the United States (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020).

Although the four officers were indicted on second-degree murder and reckless endangerment charges, twenty-three days later, all four were acquitted (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020). The NYPD Plainclothes Street Crime Unit (SCU) came under heavy scrutiny following Diallo’s death, and in 2000 a federal investigation from the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) found that the SCU had engaged in racial profiling—ninety percent of the people stopped-and-frisked by SCU officers were Black or Latino (Mannion, 2020). The SCU was disbanded in 2002, and detectives were redeployed to other NYPD beats (Mannion, 2020). The City of New York settled a lawsuit with the Diallo family for \$3 million dollars, some of the money was used to create the Amadou Diallo Foundation and scholarship fund (Braitham, 2017; Smith, 2020).

B.5 DeAunta T. Farrow (2007)

On June 22nd, 2007, in West Memphis, Arkansas, a twelve-year-old unarmed Black boy, named DeAunta T. Farrow, was walking home to the nearby Steeplechase Apartments with his fourteen-year-old cousin Unseld Nash (Momodu, 2017). Moments later, Farrow was shot and

killed by white plainclothes West Memphis Police Department (WMPD) Sergeant Erik Sammis (Momodu, 2017). Erik Sammis and his partner, Officer Jimmy Evans, were conducting a stakeout of a nearby convenience store as part of a narcotics investigation (Momodu, 2017). According to eyewitnesses, the officers confronted the young men after Sammis noticed something bulging in Farrow's coat pocket (Momodu, 2017). Eyewitnesses also stated that as the sixth-grade child removed a soda pop and chips from his pocket—recently purchased from a nearby gas station convenience store—Sammis fatally shot him (Momodu, 2017).

Sammis and the WMPD claimed that Farrow pulled out a toy gun and “made a gesture” at the officers (Momodu, 2017). The African American community was outraged, fifteen hundred mourners paid their respects at the funeral of DeAunta T. Farrow, where the Reverend Alfred Charles Sharpton Jr. gave the eulogy, demanding more information from city officials regarding the circumstances of the shooting (Momodu, 2017). The U.S. Justice Department investigated but found that Sammis and Evans had acted properly, and Sammis could not be held liable for the young boy's death (Momodu, 2017).

B.6 Oscar J. Grant III (2009)

On January 1st, 2009, in Oakland, California, a young unarmed Black man and father, named Oscar J. Grant III, was shot in the back and killed by Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) police officer Johannes Mehserle at the Fruitvale Station. Mehserle claimed he accidentally fired his gun at Grant when he meant to deploy his Taser (Smith, 2020). Although Mehserle was convicted by a jury of involuntary manslaughter in 2010, he was only sentenced to two years in prison with “double credit” for time already served—meaning each day behind bars before trial counted as two days off his ultimate sentence (Smith, 2020). Subsequently, BART was ordered

to pay Grant's mother \$1.3 million and pay his daughter \$1.5 million in a wrongful death and civil rights lawsuit (Smith, 2020).

B.7 Aiyana Mo'Nay Stanley-Jones (2010)

On May 16th, 2010, in Detroit, Michigan, a seven-year-old Black girl, named Aiyana Mo'Nay Stanley-Jones, was fatally shot in the head while sleeping on the couch in the living room of her home, as her grandmother watched television nearby (Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020). Six masked Special Response Team (SRT) members—Detroit's version of SWAT, had burst through the wrong door in search of a murder suspect (Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020). Lead commando, white officer Joseph Weekley of the Detroit Police Department (DPD), had fired a single shot (Leduff, 2010). The bullet struck sleeping Aiyana in the head, exiting her neck—she died instantly, seconds after SRT entered her home (Leduff, 2010).

Numerous failures played tragic compounding roles in the moments preceding this devastating incident: first, beginning with the timing of a night raid on a home with young children (Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020). Second, allowing an A&E crew filming an episode of *The First 48*—a true crime reality television program—to trail the SRT team as they tossed a flash-bang grenade through the window of the wrong apartment unit, and kicked open its unlocked wooden door to “ramp up excitement” for the cameras (A&E; n.d.; Leduff, 2010; Smith, 2020; *The First 48*, n.d.). Third, police first floated the falsehood that Aiyana's grandmother had grabbed Officer Weekley's gun when the elderly lady had been lying on the far side of the couch, away from the door—further enraging the deeply traumatized Black community (Leduff, 2010). Fourth, officials attempted to dodge blame by saying the SWAT team was not briefed about the presence of young children in the house (Leduff, 2010). However, the neighborhood

informant who led detectives to the address told them children lived there, and children's toys were strewn over the lawn (Leduff, 2010). Following two trials for involuntary manslaughter that both resulted in hung juries, the charges against Officer Weekley would be dropped (Smith, 2020). In 2019, Officer Weekley retired from the Detroit Police Department, and the city of Detroit settled with Aiyana Mo'Nay Stanley-Jones' family for \$8.25 million dollars (Smith, 2020).

B.8 Eric Garner (2014)

On July 17th, 2014, in New York City, New York, a middle-aged Black man named Eric Garner, husband to his childhood sweetheart Esaw Snipes and father of six, was placed in a deadly illegal chokehold by white New York City Police Department (NYPD) Staten Island precinct police officer Daniel Pantaleo, in an attempt to arrest Garner for illegally selling single cigarettes (Smith, 2020). Garner was forced to quit his job as a horticulturist with the New York Department of Parks and Recreation because he suffered from serious health problems, including chronic asthma (Smith, 2020).

Although the medical examiner ruled Garner's death a "homicide" and there was damning video evidence of Garner crying "I can't breathe, I can't breathe, I can't breathe" during the excessive use of force of a forbidden chokehold, officer Pantaleo was never indicted on criminal charges (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). It would be five more long years before the NYPD successfully managed to fire him, suggesting the police union may have resisted allowing departmental leadership to terminate his employment (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). During those five years, Pantaleo remained on desk duty, collecting an \$85,000 annual salary (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019).

The unjustified use of force and abuse of power ignited global protests (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). Still, Black people continue to experience unacceptably high death rates at the hands of police, and police are rarely indicted for killing civilians, accidentally or intentionally (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019). New York City settled a “pre-litigation claim” with Garner’s estate for \$5.9 million (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019).. In 2020, the New York State Assembly passed the “Eric Garner Anti-Chokehold Act” which was signed into law by the Governor of New York state—the act established criminal penalties for the use of a chokehold by police officers (Smith, 2020; Chan, 2019).

B.9 Michael Brown (2014)

On August 9th, 2014, in Saint Louis County, Missouri, eighteen-year-old high school graduate, amateur rapper, and musician Michael Brown, and his friend Dorian Johnson, were confronted by white Ferguson Police Department officer, Darren Wilson, following a reported theft at a nearby convenience store—within ninety-seconds Brown was dead, shot six times in the front of his body (Smith, 2020).

Dorian Johnson reported that Officer Wilson had initiated the confrontation, grabbing Brown by the neck through the window of the patrol car, threatening him, and then opening fire and shooting him (Smith, 2020). Witness statements reported Brown had his hands in the air—a universal sign of surrender (Smith, 2020). Authorities left Brown’s corpse lying in the street for four hours—in front of young children and older people—victimizing a whole community afflicted by generations of police violence and cumulative racial trauma (Smith, 2020). The Black community was outraged (Smith, 2020). A week of protests ignited in Ferguson and spread across the country, some peaceful, others violent (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020).

Ferguson police agencies responded in overwhelming numbers, lobbing tear gas, patrolling city streets with massively imposing mine-resistant ambush-protected (MRAP) vehicles, fully-automatic rifles, and other exotic military gear purchased during the controversial Pentagon military surplus program—the National Defense Authorization Act of 1997—also known as, the 1033 program (Barrett, 2020; Smith, 2020; Lockwood, 2004; Onion et al., 2020).

Although Saint Louis County and the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) investigated, Officer Wilson was never indicted for a crime (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020). However, the same DOJ investigation did eventually find that the Ferguson Police Department had routinely violated the civil rights of its majority-Black population (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020). The City of Ferguson eventually settled a wrongful death lawsuit with the Brown family for \$1.5 million dollars in 2017, and the tragic phrase “Hands up, don’t shoot” became a powerful lexicon within Black communities all across the United States (Smith, 2020; Onion et al., 2020).

B.10 Tamir Rice (2014)

On November 22nd, 2014, in Cleveland, Ohio, a twelve-year-old Black boy named Tamir Rice was playing with a replica toy gun alone in a gazebo at a local park (Smith, 2020). Hauntingly, on dash camera video, the police car is still rolling to a stop within ten feet of the gazebo where the sixth-grade child was shot—the murder of the young boy literally occurs within three seconds of police arriving on the scene (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Police dispatch failed to relay to responding officers, probationary rookie Timothy Loehmann and his veteran partner field-trainer Frank Garmback, that the 911 caller who reported “a male pointing a pistol at random people in the park” had *repeatedly and explicitly stated* the pistol was “probably fake”

and the person pointing the gun was “probably a juvenile”—a tragic omission that cost a young child his life (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020).

Most cruel and egregiously chilling, the officers threatened the boy’s mother, Samaria Rice with arrest, simply because she was yelling at police for refusing to allow her to run to her dying son’s aid; officers physically tackled the boy’s fourteen-year-old sister Tajai, as she desperately tried rushing to her brother (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). The young boy lay dying in a pool of his own blood and excrement, jumbled among disemboweled intestines—strewn still, steaming, and silent on snow-covered grass (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Wailing in despair and panic, Tajai was handcuffed and placed in a squad car with the very same officer who had just gut-shot and killed her baby brother (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020).

Inexcusably wronging Black communities everywhere, during the subsequent investigation, it was revealed that Loehmann, the rookie officer who killed Rice, had lied on his job application about having previously been deemed “emotionally unstable” and “unfit for duty” in his prior job as a police recruit in a Cleveland suburb—three years later his employment was finally terminated with Cleveland Division of Police (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). The City of Cleveland, Ohio, eventually settled a wrongful death lawsuit brought by Tamir Rice’s family for \$6 million dollars (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Still, neither the Civil Rights Division nor the United States Attorney’s Office ever prosecuted the case as a violation of federal statutes (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020). Some out-of-state law enforcement experts in the fatal use of force believe the boy had never pointed the toy gun at a cop, meaning Tamir Rice was never even given a chance to put his hands up (Flynn, 2016; Smith, 2020).

B.11 Walter Scott (2015)

On April 4th, 2015, in North Charleston, South Carolina, an unarmed middle-aged Black man and father of four named Walter Scott was stopped for a brake light outage (Smith, 2020). Eyewitness video captured Walter running away from white officer Michael Slager, who subsequently shot Scott in the back eight times from a distance of fifteen to twenty feet and killed him (Vann & Ortiz, 2017; Smith, 2020). According to the same video, Slager then picked up an unidentified object—which appeared to be his stun gun, from where he opened fire (Vann & Ortiz, 2017; Smith, 2020). Slager then seemed to plant the stun gun by Scott's body to provide himself with evidence for a more credible defense (Vann & Ortiz, 2017; Smith, 2020).

The shooting sparked national protests, throwing a glaring spotlight on North Charleston—a city long pockmarked by allegations of discriminatory policing practices (Smith, 2020). Following a lengthy murder trial and subsequent hung jury, Slager struck a plea deal—he pleaded guilty to one federal charge of deprivation of civil rights under color of law in exchange for dismissal of two other federal charges and South Carolina's murder charge (Vann & Ortiz, 2017; Smith, 2020). Ultimately, a judge sentenced Slager to a mere twenty years in prison, further exacerbating painful sentiments by Black communities around the country through shared experiences of systematic victimization by law enforcement (Vann & Ortiz, 2017; Smith, 2020).

B.12 Alton Sterling (2016)

On July 5th, 2016, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a middle-aged Black man and father named Alton Sterling, was repeatedly tased, then forced to the ground by Baton Rouge Police officer Howie Lake II who pinned Sterling down by kneeling in his chest and thigh (Romo,

2018; Smith, 2020). While pinned down on the cement and immobilized, Sterling was executed—shot six times at close range and killed—officer bodycam footage showed that seconds after arriving on the scene the white officer who killed Sterling, Blane Salamoni, had already drawn his gun and threatened to shoot (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; and WAFB, 2018).

The Baton Rouge Chief of Police would publicly apologize to Sterling’s family and acknowledged that Officer Salamoni “should never have been hired” or “entrusted with a badge” (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). However, although Salamoni was fired, he later appealed the decision and, in yet another bizarre plot twist, was ultimately allowed to withdraw his termination and resign retroactively in 2019 (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020; Yancey-Bragg, 2021). Officer Lake only received a three-day suspension, neither officer faced state or federal criminal charges, and both remained on paid administrative leave during their respective investigations (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). Protests against police brutality erupted throughout Baton Rouge, resulting in the further arrest of roughly two hundred people—predominantly African Americans (Romo, 2018; Smith, 2020). Nearly five years later, the miserly East Baton Rouge Metro Council finally approved the fourth settlement of \$4.5 million paid over four years to the Sterling family, just weeks before the start of a civil trial (Yancey-Bragg, 2021).

B.13 Philando Castile (2016)

On July 6th, 2016, in Falcon Heights, Minnesota, a young Black man and father named Philando Castile was shot five times and killed while reaching for his driver’s license while his partner Diamond Reynolds, and her four-year-old daughter were in the car (Smith, 2020). Latino officer Jeronimo Yanez worked for the Saint Anthony Police Department and was described by his own lawyers in court as a “nervous officer” (Smith, 2020).

Castile was an elementary school cafeteria worker and had properly informed the officer he was carrying a legally permitted firearm just seconds before he was shot to death (Smith, 2020). Diamond live-streamed the shooting on Facebook (Smith, 2020). According to Stanford University sources, the cause for the traffic stop was undeniably due to racial profiling—radio calls indicated the officer stopped Castile’s car because two occupants resembled Black armed robbery suspects with “wide noses and dark skin” (Smith, 2020).

Although Yanez was fired by the City of Saint Anthony, following five days of deliberations he was acquitted on all criminal charges—including second-degree manslaughter and two counts of dangerous discharge of a firearm—despite the fact Yanez had discharged seven total rounds into a car containing a small child (Smith, 2020). The acquittal sparked protests in the city of Saint Paul, Minnesota, Reynolds and the Castile family were awarded \$3.8 million in a wrongful death lawsuit against the city, officer Yanez was offered a “voluntary separation” so he could “find another job” (Smith, 2020).

B.14 Jordan Edwards (2017)

On April 29th, 2017, in Balch Springs, Texas, a fifteen-year-old unarmed Black boy named Jordan Edwards, was shot through the back of the head and killed by a rifle round fired by Officer Roy Oliver of Balch Springs Police Department (BSPD), while Edwards was sitting in the front passenger seat of a car driven by his older brother while leaving a neighborhood house party (Criss, 2017; Young, 2017). Edwards was a straight-A student, talented athlete, and product of a two-parent home—neither Edwards nor any of the teens in the car with him had criminal records, and no evidence has been presented to show they were trying to hurt anyone (Criss, 2017).

Roy Oliver lied about the car driving “aggressively” toward him, body camera footage showed the car was driving forward, away from the officers when Oliver fired three to five rifle rounds into the vehicle from ten to fifteen feet away (Criss, 2017; Keller, 2022; Young, 2017). A Dallas County grand jury indicted Oliver for the murder of Jordan Edwards; he would later be convicted, sentenced to fifteen years in prison, and ordered to pay a ten-thousand-dollar fine—the first on-duty police officer in forty-five years to be found guilty of murder in Texas (NBCDFW Staff, 2023). The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals rejected Oliver’s appeal, meaning he will serve out his sentence (NBCDFW Staff, 2023). In 2023, jurors awarded \$21.6 million to Edwards’ estate, settling a wrongful death lawsuit in federal civil court (NBCDFW Staff, 2023).

B.15 Stephon Clark (2018)

On March 18th, 2018, in Sacramento, California, a young unarmed Black man and father of two, named Stephon Clark, was shot seven or more times and killed by the Sacramento Police Department while sitting in his grandmother’s backyard talking on a cellular phone (Madison et al., 2019; Simon & Krupa, 2019). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Sacramento County District Attorney’s office both declined to bring charges against the officers who shot Clark, igniting widespread protests across the country (Madison et al., 2019).

According to the Sacramento County Coroner’s Office, Clark had been shot by police seven times, including three times in the back; however, an independent autopsy performed by a forensic pathologist retained by the family, found that Clark had been shot eight times—where six of the eight gunshot wounds were in his back, a stark and disturbing contradiction with the County Coroner report (Madison et al., 2019). In June 2019, the City of Sacramento agreed to

pay a settlement of \$2.4 million, held in trust for Clark's two young sons, until they reached the age of twenty-two (Simon & Krupa, 2019).

B.16 Breonna Taylor (2020)

On March 13th, 2020, in Louisville, Kentucky, a young Black woman named Breonna Taylor was shot six times and killed while in bed by white Louisville Metro Police Department Officer Bret Hankison (Onion et al, 2021). Officers busted through her apartment door with a battering ram, acting on a no-knock warrant to search for signs of drug trafficking (Onion et al, 2021). In a tragic twist of bitter irony, Breonna was an emergency medical technician and fellow first responder who served her community; no drugs were found in her apartment (Onion et al, 2021).

Following the incident, although Officer Hankison was fired, he was also later acquitted on all three counts of wanton endangerment, and no charges were ever brought against the other officers (Onion et al, 2021). In response to national protests and outcries from civil rights activists and political leaders, no-knock warrants have been banned in Louisville, Kentucky (Onion et al, 2021). Further, the city agreed to pay Taylor's family twelve million dollars in a wrongful-death lawsuit settlement (Onion et al, 2021). Following a two-year investigation, the Justice Department found a disturbing pattern of discriminatory and abusive practices in the Louisville Metro Police Department (Onion et al, 2021).

B.17 George Floyd (2020)

On May 25th, 2020, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, an unarmed Black man named George Floyd was murdered by Derek Chauvin, a white Minneapolis Police Department officer (Arango

et al, 2022). Chauvin held his knee on Floyd's neck for nine minutes after handcuffing him—Floyd was pinned facedown, repeatedly saying he could not breathe (Arango et al, 2022). Three other officers were also present at the scene—Thomas Lane, Tou Thao, and J. Alexander Kueng (Arango et al, 2022). It was revealed that Kueng had kneeled on Floyd's upper legs and held his wrists, while Lane held Floyd's legs (Arango et al, 2022).

A random-chance bystander video would go viral, inciting a riot in Minneapolis that destroyed a five-mile stretch of East Lake Street and igniting nationwide protests against police brutality and systemic racism (Arango et al, 2022). The county medical examiner ruled Floyd's death a homicide, all four officers were fired, Chauvin was convicted of murder and sentenced to twenty-two and a half years in prison, while the other three officers involved (Lane, Thao, and Kueng), were each sentenced to several years of imprisonment (Arango et al, 2022). Officer Chauvin had been the subject of at least 22 prior complaints or internal investigations during his nineteen years with the Minneapolis Police Department (Arango et al, 2022). Although the Minneapolis City Council unanimously approved a \$27 million dollar pre-trial settlement to the Floyd family, George Floyd's young daughter Gianna will never again feel the loving embrace of her father (Shapiro & Lloyd, 2021).

B.18 Monica Goods (2020)

On December 22nd, 2020, on the I-87 New York State Thruway near Kingston, New York, an eleven-year-old unarmed Black girl named Monica Goods was tragically killed during a high-speed vehicle pursuit by Officer Christopher Baldner, a white New York State Trooper (Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). Monica's father, Tristan Goods, was driving upstate to visit family for Christmas; his wife and two daughters were passengers in their family SUV—none

knew little Monica was not wearing a seatbelt (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). Trooper Baldner pulled the Goods family SUV over for speeding; Mr. Goods allegedly refused to provide his license and registration; an argument ensued and seconds later Baldner sprayed pepper spray into the car, which prompted Mr. Goods to speed off, fearing for the lives of his family and himself (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021).

Unfortunately, no video footage of the stop, pursuit, or crash exists because the New York State Police (NYSP) failed to issue troopers body or dash cameras until April 2021, months after Goods' death (Matkin, 2021). In police audio recordings, Baldner lied into his radio, claiming Mr. Goods had rammed his police car twice—after Baldner's second vehicle strike to the rear of their car, the Goods family SUV crashed into a guardrail and rolled over repeatedly—which ejected and killed the little girl (Collman, 2021; Marcus, 2023; Matkin, 2021). Although Baldner was indicted on charges of second-degree murder, second-degree manslaughter, and first-degree reckless endangerment—the second-degree murder charge would later be dismissed because the state failed to prove Baldner acted with “depraved indifference to human life,” the other charges are still pending (Appea, 2021; Marcus, 2023). During grand jury testimony, it was disturbingly revealed there were two prior events where Baldner rammed cars from behind, meaning he had exhibited a pattern of ramming vehicles using the same technique (Appea, 2021; Matkin, 2021). Multiple civil lawsuits have been filed on behalf of the Goods family but are still pending (Appea, 2021).

Appendix C

Crime Policy by Presidency (1990 to 2020)

Appendix C follows crime policy by presidential administrations, seesawing between Republican and Democrat party affiliations (Leong & Howlett, 2021). Each presented a well-intentioned crime policy to the American people as an act of good faith (Leong & Howlett, 2021). Yet, to varying degrees, each administration failed to predict policy risk nor properly diagnose the racial disparity and social volatility that would be caused, ultimately failing the public interest of minority communities in particular (Leong & Howlett, 2021). Unsurprisingly, higher levels of government legitimacy also equate to a higher likelihood the resulting crime policy will be obeyed by targets among the American population and by law enforcement agencies themselves (Leong & Howlett, 2021).

C.1 George H.W. Bush

Born June 12, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts, George Herbert Walker Bush was a member of the Republican party and served as the 41st President of the United States from 1989 to 1993 (George Bush, 2009; Greenspan, 2022). Of significance to future crime control policy, Bush Sr. cut his teeth as Vice-President from 1981 to 1989—notably, during the racially charged “get tough” on crime Regan Administration. During its first year in office, the first Bush Administration implemented the Crime Control Act of 1990, intensifying the death penalty for certain federal crimes, and somewhat contentiously, impacting a broad spectrum of juvenile justice policies that have followed (Javdani, 2019). This paradigm shift criminalized many non-

violent, low-level status offenses (Javdani, 2019). It translated into a new focus on youth arrest and confinement that would most deeply affect minority communities, often foregoing rehabilitation goals in favor of lengthy institutionalization (Javdani, 2019). Decades later, for many young Black men, going to prison became an ordinary and predictable life experience course trajectory—much like graduation or marriage is for others—this is the unintended racial legacy of the Crime Control Act of 1990 (Meares, 2009).

C.2 Bill Clinton

Born August 19, 1946, in Hope, Arkansas, William Jefferson Clinton is a member of the Democratic party and served as the 42nd President of the United States from 1993 to 2001 (Bill Clinton, 2009; Greenspan, 2022). Believing strict crime policy would alleviate growing public fears of the day, the Clinton Administration implemented the problematic Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, and a highly controversial military surplus to law enforcement hand-me-down armaments program named the National Defense Authorization Act of 1997—also known as, the 1033 program (Barrett, 2020; Lockwood, 2004; Meares, 2013). On one hand, from a policy standpoint, the 1994 measure introduced harshly punitive “three strikes” laws, yet on the other it also established the Community Oriented Policing (COPS) Office, mandating the distribution of 100,000 new police officers among local jurisdictions, as well as encouraging innovations in econometrics and formal evaluation of policing strategies (Meares, 2013). In practice, the act put more officers on the streets, meaningfully furthering protocols for domestic violence investigations (Johnson, 2014). Unfortunately, it also imposed dramatically tougher, somewhat ill-thought-out prison sentences that created indistinguishable lifelong unilateral incarceration strategies for violent and non-violent offenders (Johnson, 2014). In

tandem with sentencing laws, the bill also allocated massive federal funding toward new “for-profit” prisons that have perpetuated decades of mass incarceration—swelling the already deeply racialized prison population to a global all-time high today (Johnson, 2014). As a long-term crime-fighting experiment, in many ways, the bill has socially and financially failed Americans miserably and indelibly scarred communities of color (Johnson, 2014). The National Defense Authorization Act of 1997 cut a \$7.4 billion dollar Trojan horse loose on American streets; in the utterly nonsensical form of surplus military weapons, heavily armored vehicles, and tactical support gear the government simply no longer had any use for, bestowed near free of charge to eight-thousand *civilian* law enforcement agencies (Barrett, 2020; Lockwood).

C.3 George W. Bush

Born July 6, 1946, in New Haven, Connecticut, George Walker Bush is a member of the Republican party and served as the 43rd President of the United States from 2001 to 2009 (George W. Bush, 2009; Greenspan, 2022). In 2007, President Bush signed the Second Chance Act of 2007, establishing unique prisoner reentry demonstration projects in the form of Faith-Based and Community Initiative programs (Lessons Learned, 2018). Though well-intentioned, the act did not live up to expectations for reducing recidivism and remains an ongoing work in progress (Lessons Learned, 2018). Crucially, the measure did not consider individuals' unique needs nor adequately factor the cultural differences of convicted persons (Lessons Learned, 2018). In the wake of overwhelming mass incarceration costs over the decades that have followed, the focus has shifted toward shaping more successful long-term outcomes linked to public safety and overall reductions in recidivism through rigorous ongoing evaluation of reentry programs (Lessons Learned, 2018).

C.4 Barack Obama

Born August 4, 1961, in Honolulu, Hawaii, Democrat and Nobel laureate, Barack Hussein Obama II became the first African American President in history and served as the 44th President of the United States from 2009 to 2017 (Barack Obama, 2009; Greenspan, 2022). On December 18, 2014, President Obama signed an executive order establishing the Task Force on 21st Century Policing—the task force was charged with identifying best policing practices and offering *recommendations* to promote effective crime reduction whilst synchronously building public trust (President’s Task Force, 2015). Although many strides forward have been made since the President’s report was first published—by departments *voluntarily* adopting and implementing concepts outlined within—lamentably, deeply ingrained discrimination, systemic structural racism, and racial disparities still necessitate active and ongoing mandatory policing reforms (Cowell, 2021). In sum, a great deal more exploration into public perceptions and the impact of continuing police reform on communities of color is necessary to facilitate further advancement (Cowell, 2021).

C.5 Donald Trump

Born June 14, 1946, in New York, New York, Donald John Trump is a member of the Republican party and served as the 45th President of the United States from 2017 to 2021 (Donald Trump, 2016; Greenspan, 2022). In 2018, President Trump signed a criminal justice bill named the First Step Act, primarily to make the American justice system fairer by reducing excessive sentences, lowering recidivism by aiding former inmates in successful community reintegration and confronting sentencing law inequities that disproportionately harmed Black Americans (Nellis & Komar, 2023; Stockman, 2020). Thus far, the reforms appear to be

successfully advancing fairer federal sentencing and reducing the prison population—of the nearly thirty-thousand prisoners whose release was expedited, almost nine in every ten have not been rearrested or reincarcerated (Nellis & Komar, 2023; Stockman, 2020). Overall, 90% benefiting from retroactive First Step Act sentencing reductions are Black Americans (Stockman, 2020). However, the Bureau of Prisons has also faced some criticism for using a flawed, racially biased risk assessment instrument that overestimated the risk of minorities (Nellis & Komar, 2023; Stockman, 2020). According to researchers at the National Institute of Justice, continued analysis and ongoing scoring corrections that promote robust and equitable implementation are required (Nellis & Komar, 2023).