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Community Trust in Their Local Police Force: The Gendered Impacts of Police Militarization and Community-Police Relationships

By
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ABSTRACT. While the ideal model of policing includes community collaboration to define and provide safety, the reality of the relationship is strained due to the distinct divide in community-police social boundaries. The gendered impacts of police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy on community trust in the local police force were assessed, using a sequential mixed methods approach. The 2011 national “Police-Public Contact Survey” data were supplemented with a content analysis of journalistic writings and interviews with community organizers. Together, the findings partially supported Strain and Social Boundaries theories. Irrespective of gender social boundaries, militarization led to higher levels of mistrust in the police. While drivers did not trust militarized police, pedestrian mistrust included other factors that illustrated gendered differences. Direct police interactions largely shaped female pedestrian mistrust. In contrast, male pedestrian mistrust stemmed from their community social standing, based on their racial identity, income, and age. Unlike the scholars who used a legal framework, this research contributed to existing literature on police-community relationships by focusing on the people directly impacted under a sociological lens. Additional examinations of police perspectives on community relations are warranted.

INTRODUCTION

When a white supremacist group received permits from the local police to march, I participated in a community event with other residents in the neighborhood to resist hate. Dressed in black clothing and covered faces, the community promoted alternative services to local policing and shouted in front of the city capital: “End police brutality.” “Police get away with murder.” “Cops and Klan go hand-in-hand.” How did we get to the point where neighborhoods align the local police with the Ku Klux Klan?

Ideally, we understand that a local police officer’s role is to serve the community as beacons of safety, and a community’s sense of safety manifests itself as trust between the people and the police. But, in reality, police officers, as members of the criminal justice system, can inflict severe and lethal violence onto a community, including unwarranted deaths. For instance, a county Board of Supervisors in California invested

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“\$5.5 million in federal emergency preparedness funding for Urban Shield, the multiday event that includes tactical exercises for SWAT² teams, bomb squads and emergency workers” (Taylor 2017). While Urban Shield trains local police officers in emergency preparedness, it is better known for militarizing them against terrorist attacks, rather than implementing crime prevention and teaching de-escalation skills. In addition, over half of the national police killings have been either Black or Latino people, indicating a racialized pattern to police violence (Ghandnoosh 2015). These challenging events have given rise to activist groups, like Stop Urban Shield, #SayHerName, and #BlackLivesMatter. In the context of local community policing and the reality of police violence, it is important to question the extent to which the police are responsible for the shifting attitudes in community safety. At the same time, in what ways do communities purposefully distance themselves away from the police? And, how are efforts for more police surveillance in a community justified?

Before exploring some answers to these questions, a brief note about the author is warranted. My personal journey is linked with efforts to end mass incarceration because of my personal relationships and my participation in events similar to the one described above. While my views are more aligned with those of community activists, understanding current community-police relationships is imperative to design evidence based improvements to community safety practices; the ultimate goal is to have someone, a group of people, or organizations that a community can trust to settle civil disputes and function during emergencies, whether or not it be the local police officers. An analysis of current community relations with policing and police officers, even if at the national level, will inform local police departments how to better establish and foster trust with community members. Moreover, both researchers and community organizers can also benefit from the national perspective on community-police relations as they develop policy proposals and safety alternatives to the current policing structure.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars, whose current work on policing and community-police relationship was reviewed for this paper, predominately focused on race relations, gendered policing, and other social and structural barriers that exist between community members and local police officers. These researchers focused heavily on the police academy, the local police departments, and their culture to uncover operational dynamics that may have instigated the unwarranted force and violence in policing.

Structure of the Police Force

Historically, the police force in the U.S. was built on the distinction between the military and civilian law enforcement so that the latter could maintain good relations with the community. Under the Posse Comitatus Act (PCA), the local police are fined if they use the Army or the Air Force to enforce the domestic law without the authorization of the

² SWAT stands for Special Weapons and Tactics.

Constitution or Act of Congress (Gamal 2016:983). While there is a formal legal declaration in the separation of local and military enforcement, Congress support to maintain power over Black bodies through military force can be found throughout American history from the Reconstruction and Civil Rights Eras to today's #BlackLivesMatter movement (2016). Since 9/11, however, the police, as an institution, have taken drastic organizational shifts that further blur the lines between military and civilian law enforcement, as demonstrated by Mastrofski and Willis (2010). Through qualitative interviews, observations, and secondary research of different U.S. local police departments, the researchers found that the police have acquired the legal and technical sources of power and legitimacy to justify these military tactics.

With the change in the police infrastructure, two types of community safety institutions, which are independent of the government, have emerged and now shape the structure of American local policing. The first type falls under police professional associations, which are corporations that have privatized and commercialized policing. The other is a grassroots-based movement that has encouraged more community integration and either smoother relations with local police officers or independence from existing police forces. These organizations have a growing influence in defining and promoting the "best practices" for the local police. Consequently, two "reform" movements in policing arose from these two re-institutional trends – terrorist-oriented policing and community policing. Terrorist-oriented policing refers to the national police response to the recent domestic terrorist incidences that now encourage local officers, in police trainings, "to acquire and use special technologies to combat terrorism, to acquire special training in the use of these technologies and intelligence gathering, and to increase security and surveillance efforts" (Mastrofski and Willis 2010:121). In contrast, community policing advocates for "departments to deformalize, reduce hierarchy, decentralize, and functionally despecialize, while increasing geographic specialization" (p.12). Under the community policing model, strengthening neighborhood bonds and community partnership to prevent crimes are encouraged. Irrespective of the policing model used, terrorist or community, the media and community surveys have illustrated a divide between the community and its local officers; the intensified bureaucracy in police culture has led to the police isolating itself from the community and defusing tension with new violent techniques (p.73). In other words, more police departments are adopting the terrorist-oriented policing, which has severed community ties.

These shifts, in a police culture that distances officers from the community, can be found in recent court cases and in the rhetoric from the police academy. In 2015, *Milan v. Bolin* helped clarify the Fourth Amendment and its protections, in which a woman sued the local police in Evansville, Indiana. In this case, the local police called for a SWAT raid at the woman's home and arrested her and her daughter; these women, who were suspected to have written anonymous threats against the department, were later found innocent (Harvard Law Review Student Authors 2016:1779). This case interrogated the local police's thoroughness in its investigation and asked whether or not the officers had objective reasonableness to uphold the Fourth Amendment. While the court at first denied qualified immunity for the excessive force, the Judge found the excessive force, which included damages to the home and the use of two 'flash bang'

grenades, to be unreasonable because of the incomplete investigation and evaluation of the suspects' threat to the local police (p.1781). Such militaristic treatment of the Evansville women was a sharp contrast to the local police's invitation to a former police investigator who actually wrote the threats, to turn himself in for arrest without incident (p.1781). It was concluded that the officers did not have adequate training or community relations to assess and handle the possible threats, even if little to none, from the two women. Administrative policies of the police force and its department size can also further isolate officers from the community. Nowacki (2015) defined policing, on an organizational level, as the relationship between discretionary police practices and lethal force incidents. From a structural perspective, administrative policies were responsible for the police more likely using lethal force on a Black community member than a White one.

Race Relations in Policing

Amidst the growing use of excessive police force, community trust and its connection to racial differences between an officer and a community member, otherwise termed in the this paper as race heterogamy, has also become one of the more dominant scholarly narratives. Challenges in community-police relations are nothing new. During the Civil Rights Era, the State responded to many racial uprisings with more police militarization and perpetrated a rhetoric that devalued minority communities, specifically the Black community (Gamal 2016:989). Ever since, when there is a police incident of excessive force, the race of the police officer and that of the community member in question are interrogated (Jetelina et al. 2017). Granted, in a cross-sectional study of 5630 use-of-force reports from the Dallas Police Department in 2014 and 2015, there was no clear evidence to indicate that the community member's race influenced the officer's confrontation. The supporting evidence for these findings, however, may be incomplete, as it was the result of an internal police department study based on officer self-reports.

The interpersonal relationship between a community member and the local police during a police stop can also reveal the subtle, subconscious interplay of their racial, gendered, and other identities. More recently, social physiologists studied the relationship of the Oakland Police Department with the local community (Hetey et al. 2016). While White police officers were more likely to stop a Black person than one of any other racial group, an officer, who did not know the community well or was commissioned recently by the city, was even more likely to use force against a community member. That is, both the officer's familiarity and experience with the community influenced how they categorize and label people in their community. The junior officer's limited experience in the community can lend itself to confrontations, while on duty, based on inaccurate assumptions of the community.

Gender and Policing

A largely overlooked social dimension that can subconsciously influence an officer's action is a person's gender identity. It is true that police brutality and harassment often target Black men. However, women of color, specifically Black women, experience a different kind of abuse from police officers that should also be considered. According to Brunson and Miller, while previous research has focused on gender identities other than men, there is a need to investigate gendered treatment further, because "there is strong evidence that African American women and girls receive more punitive treatment within the justice system than their white counterparts" (2006:533). Through qualitative interviews, they found not only that the police tended to be less responsive to poorer neighborhoods in general but also that the young women, especially Black women, from these communities were more likely "to face juvenile justice interventions for minor offenses" (pp. 535-36). Such a racialized and gendered policing trend is largely linked to slavery and the portrayal of the Black woman. In the criminal legal system, the concept of "true womanhood" socially validates only women who are pure victims of the crime (Battle 2016). Pure victimhood refers to women enduring the violence and feeling helpless in the situation. At the same time, "true womanhood" exclusively centers on White women, as the color of her skin is also a determinant of the label (p.113). Ironically, many women of color, specifically in domestic violence cases, identify their motives as self-defense and themselves as the victims (Leisenring 2008:460). However, because of the constructed social perception of their skin color, the criminal legal system can seldom contextualize these women in the true womanhood narrative, even if they committed some form of violence to defend themselves.

Gender considerations are not isolated to community members. Traditional policing, as an institution, promotes strength, authority, and power, has been stereotypically known to be hyper-masculine. Paradoxically, officers when engaged in context of community policing, are expected to foster relationships with their assigned community and to be a trusting mediator in civil disputes; both qualities are typically understood to be more feminine characteristics. In fact, there is evidence that female police officers have the potential to "make a major contribution to improving security and prosperity" (Prenzler and Sinclair 2013:117) in communities. Furthermore, female officers were effective resources for women involved in criminal cases, as departments with a relatively balanced gender distribution had fewer complaints and reports of misconduct. However, women, as well as people with other marginalized identities, remain highly unrepresented in the police force (Workman-Stark 2015). On the one hand, a department can distinguish itself interdepartmentally with their healthy representation of gender and other marginalized identities, as it is likely to create a more cooperative relationship with its community. On the other hand, there can be clash of values within a department, as policing continues to draw on images of hegemonic masculinity to define itself, leaving unresolved tension from the gendered paradox of an officer's role.

Immigration and Policing

In addition to racial and gender identities, immigration and immigration status work simultaneously to help shape the relationship between the community and police. More recently, scholars of immigration-related criminalization have coined the term, “crimmigration” (Rosenbloom 2016:149); it refers to the collaborative efforts between immigration and local police enforcement, even though immigration falls under the purview of the federal government while the local police are under their city jurisdiction. Crimmigration is played out in policies like Arizona’s “show me your papers” law that encourages collaborations between the local police and immigration authorities. The intense surveillance by the local police and increased deportation by immigration enforcement demonstrate a shift in how the two departments interact. Crimmigration is not necessarily a recent partnership; in the 1950’s, police and immigration enforcement worked together in *Rosenberg v. Fleuti* to convict George Fleuti for engaging in sex with another man in public under the punishment of deportation, even though he was a permanent resident in the U.S. (2016:154). While the court ruled in favor of Fleuti to return to the U.S., more recently immigrants have encountered deportation threats from both the local police and immigration enforcement because “the deportation system has come to depend on the existence of an expansive criminal justice system” (2016:150). As the local police exempt Black communities from the Posse Comitatus Act and blur the lines between military and local enforcement, they also operate outside of their jurisdiction and play a role in immigration and deportation.

Additionally, immigration and deportation are laced with racism and sexism, as local policing can play on nativist priorities and fears. A national telephone public opinion survey was evaluated by Justin T. Pickett to determine whether the possible economic and political threats posed by Latinx³ communities are connected to the support for expanding police’s role in immigration enforcement. While there was public support for the local police to operate as immigration enforcement, the comments around the wave of immigrants and gender identities revealed that the public’s fear stemmed from perceived threats. Rhetoric about possible threats posed by immigrants often depicted the loosening of the rigid gender roles, both in its gendered and racial expectations. Community members often adopted these negative attitudes without any experience or interaction with the immigrant community (Pickett 2016:125). Furthermore, deportation continues to be politically attractive and have strong public support because it is seen as “a solution” to immigration, when defined as a problem based on perceived threats.

Opinions about the police among immigrants were largely shaped by the media exposure of police misconduct and by their neighborhood’s relationship with the police. That is, if immigrants lived in neighborhoods with strong collective efficacy and low crime rates, they had more positive views of their local police (Wu et. al 2011:768). Among Asian immigrants, their birth location also influenced opinions of the police. For instance, Chinese immigrants were more likely to be dissatisfied with the police’s effectiveness and demeanor than American-born Asians. In short, as police officers

³ Latinx, a gender neutral term, means relating to Latin American countries, culture, or people of origin or descent.

inflict violence onto a community based on their immigrant identity, immigration status can shape trust in the local police.

Community Organization and Trust in Police

While not many scholars have focused on recent community activism around racial justice, events in Oakland, California provide a historical and temporal context to the current movement, like #BlackLivesMatter, to confront police violence in communities. Oden (1999) reviewed three case studies of Oakland between 1966 and 1996 to illustrate growth in community organization in the face of police confrontations: the political history of urban regimes, the downtown development, and the relationship between the Port of Oakland and the City of Oakland. During these three decades, the city experienced a political shift from a White, Republican-led urban regime to a Black-led urban regime dominated by liberal Democrats. For instance, in the 1960's the city government, best described as rule by "white businessmen" (p.48), focused on Oakland's economic growth rather than the concerns of 40% of the population, namely the Black and poor residents in the Port of Oakland. In response to the city's priorities, grassroots organizations, such as the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, resisted race and class discrimination. The Black Panther Party instituted survival programs that provided community services, such as health services, after-school tutoring, and a food bank. However, the Black Panther Party also confronted the police with violence "because of the perceived and actual record of harassment and brutality of Black people in Oakland" (p.51). Despite being almost defunct, scholars and community organizers, in the past and present, refer to the Black Panther Party as an important group to study when organizing communities.

Today, Oakland faces similar threats in the new manifestations of violence against the community through gentrification and broken windows policing. Like the city leaders in the 1960's, leaders in the general Bay Area have to deal with a housing shortage. Major housing developments are pushing long-time resident members out so that the city can profit more from real estate than it had before. The in-migration of people who can afford the gentrified housing market and are deemed acceptable to the landlord have reshaped the Oakland community's identity. To support the new gentrified community identity, the police now label people who belong to the community differently and practice a "broken windows model" policing; the police attempt to prevent major crimes by policing smaller violations and misdemeanors with large consequences. In following this model, local police departments have become an "overfunded segment of the state" that "dominates, assaults, and helps reinforce the eradication of" those deemed deviant in a community (Camp and Heatherton 2016:3). In other words, people of color and poor communities have become the target of gentrification and broken windows policing. Movements, like #BlackLivesMatter, have developed to organize and support the local communities of color to address police brutality. These new community movements have not only created a support system for Black people but also renewed awareness of the drastic police mistreatment and violence in their communities.

Because these movements are rather new, their effectiveness in uncovering the police's unjust actions and shifting the national opinions on local police remain open questions.

Summary and Suggestions for Future Explorations

While there is ample evidence to demonstrate that, when seen from within a legal framework race and gender stereotypes inform police confrontations, further research is needed to study police-community relationships from the perspective of those directly impacted. Among other issues, focus on the attitudes and behaviors of community members directly impacted by the police would be productive because it will amplify the voices of those who have valuable insights on the subject. In addition, there is an assumption in the literature reviewed above that community-police trust is a consequence of racial and gendered profiling and disparate use of force. Scholars also willingly participate in the narrative that the community does not trust the police because of the multiple racialized incidents in the media. If these assumptions of community mistrust prove to be false, suggestions for productive change in the police force and in community-police relations would be less effective in addressing issues important to communities.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Community mistrust in police seems to be the foundation of the current scholarly narratives about community-police relationships. Many studies have assumed that the police isolate themselves and have poor community relations because of growing militarization. An attempt was made in this study to examine the validity of these assumed narratives by shifting the discussion to the voices of the community members and expanding the experiences to include women. To pursue a more comprehensive understanding of the tensions, with its gendered and racial dimensions, between a community and the police, the following question was posed: What are the gendered impacts of police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy on community trust in police protection?

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

A holistic understanding of community-police relations, with their gendered and racial dimensions, is best available through an interpersonal lens that can reveal the strains in relationships across multiple social boundaries of race, gender, and social class. On the police side, Agnew's Strain Theory was useful to understand the sudden shift in policing tactics to enforce laws and provide safety, from the collaboration with the community to militarization (1985). As for the community members, Lamont and Molnár's overview of Social Boundaries and Bourdieu's Social Capital were used to explain the fractures in the community-police relationship (2002).

Police Militarization, Community Familiarity, and Strain Theory

One ideal model of local policing is Sir Robert Peel's London Metropolitan Police; the goal is to make "a clear distinction between the police and the military. While the military's mission is predicated on the use of force, Peel's principles of policing emphasized crime prevention, public approval, willing cooperation of the public, and a minimal use of physical force" (Bickel 2013). This original concept for community policing is a stark contrast to the reality of modern policing. Today, officers are seen using more weapons, defense gear, and excessive force because of their difficulties realizing Peel's model of local policing that requires a relationship with the community. These shifts to police militarization tactics, as per the Strain Theory, occur "when individuals are unable to achieve their goals through legitimate channels. In such cases, individuals may turn to illegitimate channels of goal achievement or strike out at the source of their frustration in anger" (Agnew 1985:151). That is, police militarization is an illegitimate strategy used to fulfill Peel's principles of serving the community by building relationships and trust. Following this theoretical reasoning, it was predicted that police militarization and reduced community-police familiarity will create more community mistrust in police protection, net of race heterogamy in police-public interactions, age, community population size, income, and the location of the stop.

Social Boundaries and Social Capital: Gender, Race, and Community

Another lens to analyze strains in police-community relations, in addition to the militarization as a product of strain angle, is to interrogate the sources of strain. For example, interactions between police and community members of different bounded identities, hierarchical statuses, and their associated social capital (Bourdieu 1986) can become sources of strain. The first clear social boundary distinction is the hierarchy and expectations within policing, in which the officer is deemed more knowledgeable, than a community member, in defining safety. When gender and racial identities are added to the mix, the interactions across these social boundaries, along with their social capital, can either further strengthen or challenge the trust between a community and the police.

Two interpretations of Social Boundaries paradigms are illustrative in current community-police relationships. Growing numbers of community organizations and activists are attempting to fulfill Peel's vision of the local police, one that constantly collaborates with the community to define safety. Although there are many programs, like *Sheriff and Coffee*, where these conversations happen (Interviewee #1, a Police Officer, 2017 and Interviewee #2, a Community Activist, 2017), strained relationships result from the "interface between dominant and dominated groups in the production of symbolic and social boundaries" through the credentialing system (Lamont and Molnár, 2002:178). That is, because community members have not been formally trained at the police academy or served as an officer, their input to improve policing is often seen as less valid than that of the police.

Secondly, gender and racial differences shape a community's relationship with the local police. The challenging circumstances of these different identity groups, along with their historical legacy of oppression, can "marginalize other groups and block their access to resources" (2002:176). Additionally, according to the police officer interviewed for this paper (Interviewee #1, 2017), policing often relies on discerning "transients" and suspicious behaviors in the local community. As Bourdieu posited in his Social Capital framework, people's identities and behaviors come with or without social capital that assumes "membership in a group which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition" of members, such as a community resident or outsider (Bourdieu 1986:9). Marginalized identity association patterns in policing were evident in the literature reviewed above; an officer was more likely to use physical violence against men than women and more likely to stop people of a darker skin tone than those with lighter skin. Following the Social Boundaries and Social Capital theoretical framework, it was predicted that race heterogamy and gender difference between police and community will create more community mistrust in police protection, after controlling for militarization, age, community population size, income, and the location of the stop.

METHODOLOGY

A sequential mixed methods approach was used to assess the effects of the local police enforcement and its relationship with community on community member's trust and sense of safety. The secondary source used was the "Police-Public Contact Survey" (United States Department of Justice 2011). Results from the survey analyses were elaborated on with a content analysis of current journalistic writings about community-police relations and qualitative interviews with both a local police officer and grassroots organizers from the West Coast.

Secondary Survey Data

The secondary survey data source, the "Police-Public Contact Survey"⁴, is a cross-sectional interview survey conducted by the United States Department of Justice (DoJ) and the Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics in 2008 and 2011. As a supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), interviews were conducted every three years through computer-assisted telephone interviews, face-to-face interviews, or telephone interviews from July to December of a given year. Community members were asked about the nature and characteristics of their face-to-face contacts with the local police, including the reason for and outcome of the contact, during the past 12 months from the time of the interview.

The survey was organized into two different scenarios: Police Pedestrian Stop and Police Traffic Stop. A police pedestrian stop, or a street stop, refers to the police stopping a community member as a pedestrian while walking in public space. A police

⁴ The original collector of the data, or ICPSR, or the relevant funding agencies bear no responsibility for the use of the data or for the interpretations or inferences based on such uses.

traffic stop describes an officer stopping a community member while driving a car. With direct confrontations between an officer and a community member, police pedestrian stop and traffic stop offer unique opportunities to illuminate community-police relations because these stops often catalyze stress, anxiety, and tensions between community members and the police. A nationally representative sample of 62,280 United States residents were chosen through a multistage cluster sample of households to participate in the 2011 survey. They were 16 years or older at the time of the interview.

Given the study's focus on the direct interactions between the community and the police, the available number of people from the Police-Public Contact survey who had experienced a police stop was extremely small; around 200 cases in total. To allow for a robust statistical testing, the sample size was weighted to reflect the nationwide population. In addition, to highlight the gendered effects of policing, the sample was divided between the gender identities⁵ of the community members – female and male. The average female community member was 46 years old and had an income of less than \$20,000. The average male community member was slightly younger, at 44 years old, and reported more income (\$50,000 or more) than women. Both male and female pedestrians were stopped by the police in their community of less than 100,000 people or were displaced at the time of the survey. Meanwhile, male drivers were stopped in a different city or town than where they lived (Appendix A, Table A.1).

Another distinct contributor to community-police relationships, particularly trust, is race heterogamy, or the racial differences between a police officer and a community member. A White officer, for instance, holds the legacy of violence against Black and Brown people due to, but not limited to, colonization, slavery, and immigration. If there is already mistrust derived from this historical context, then past and current acts of police brutality against people of color can exacerbate the already low levels of trust in the local police. Interviewees #2 (the Community Activist), #3 (Detention Coordinator and Research Organizer), and #4 (Volunteer Community Organizer) concurred with this racialized tensions in policing: Police officers target Black and Brown bodies (Interviewee #2 2017). That is, race relations, in a presumed post-racial country, complicate a typical community-police interaction.

In the case of the community members from the “Police-Public Contact Survey”, most police stops occurred between a White officer and a White community member, irrespective of whether it was a woman (66.3% to 76.9%) or a man (69.2% to 70.46). A White officer stopping a non-White female (3.0% to 6.2%) or a male community member⁶ was seldom (Refer to Appendix A, Table A.2).

⁵ Gender identities of community members were determined by their responses to the SEX indicator. While sex identity is based on the biological assignment at birth and gender identity is based on where someone aligns on the spectrum between masculinity and femininity, I will refer to these differences as gendered for ease of reading. More exploration in the importance of distinguishing and representing more identities can be found under Limitations.

⁶ Non-white in the context of the survey refers to the following racial and ethnic identities: Black, American Indian, Alaskan Native, Asian, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, White-Black, White-Americana Indian, White-Asian, White-Hawaiian, Black-American Indian, Black-Asian, Black Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian-Asian, Asian-Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, White-Black-American, Indian, White-Black-Asian, White-American Indian-Asian, White-Asian-Hawaiian, 2 or 3 races, and 4 or 5 races.

Qualitative Methodology

As part of the sequential mixed methods design, statistical analyses of the Department of Justice survey were supplemented with four qualitative interviews and a content analysis of four journalistic articles about policing. Interviews were either in person or over the phone and lasted around an hour long. The interviewees represented the two sides of this conversation – a police officer and community organizers. The first interviewee (Interviewee #1) is a police officer who has been commissioned for almost five years in a community whose population is roughly under 100,000 people. In addition to the interview, I also had the opportunity to participate in a ride along program with this officer. The second interviewee (Interviewee #2) is a grassroots organizer dedicated to demilitarizing the police. She serves as an advocate in a countywide organization and as a legislative member in a nationwide organization. Both organizations work to end mass incarceration and police militarization and to promote community power and prosperity. The third interviewee (Interviewee #3) is a Detention Coordinator and Regional Organizer for an organization that advocates for women who have been incarcerated. These three interviewees were women of color and between late 20's and 30's⁷. Unlike Interviewee #2 and #3 who are paid community organizers, Interviewee #4 is a volunteer for a national grassroots organization that works to build a mass movement to dismantle the prison-industrial complex. The consent form and interview protocol are available in Appendix B.

Current events reviewed for this research included four journalistic writings, two of which were from the perspective of community organizers, and the other two by current or former police officers. In these articles from the past four years, the authors outlined their understanding of current community-police relations in the contexts of Trump's presidency, police militarization, and racial profiling. Anecdotes from the interviews and content analyses have been provided throughout my analyses and conclusions to contextualize, illustrate, and update the story about community-police relations that emerged from the 2011 secondary survey.

DATA ANALYSES: SURVEY AND QUALITATIVE INSIGHTS

Three levels of analyses were used to examine community-police relations. The descriptive analyses organized and contextualized the experiences of community members with their local police. In the bivariate analysis, connections among community members' attitudes about police militarization and community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy experiences offered a preliminary glimpse into the role of relationships and interactions with the local police in trust levels in community safety. In the third and final level, multivariate regression analyses were used to identify the net gendered impact of police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy on community trust in local police protection. A comparative analysis was

⁷ All demographic descriptions throughout this research paper are based on my own interpretations and were not verified with the people described.

also conducted to examine whether these experiences differed when a community member was stopped by a police officer as a pedestrian or as a driver and whether the member was a woman or man.

Operationalization and Descriptive Analysis

A profile of the community members surveyed in the Police-Public Contact Survey, about their opinions on local police protection, militarization, familiarity, and race heterogeneity in community-police interactions, were presented in Tables 1.A through 1.C. Overall, while both community members and local police officers were typically White, relationships were not very strong. Community members reported little familiarity with their local police departments and low levels of trust in the local police department. There was also a higher likelihood of police using force or weapons when they stopped a pedestrian rather than a driver.

Community Trust of Police Protection

The community's responses towards the local police captured in Table 1.A indicated the following: Community members, irrespective of whether they were male or female or whether they were pedestrians or drivers, reported a low trust level in their local police officers. For instance, on a trust index that ranged from 0 to 6 for pedestrians, the average score was 2.8 for females and 2.9 for males. Likewise, male and female drivers indicated mistrust with an average score of 2.9 (on an index range of 0 to 5).

Specific opinions of community members illustrated the low trust levels in the local police. When a police officer stopped a community member on the street, male pedestrians who believed that the officer did not have a legitimate reason for the stop (37.5%) were more likely to think that the officer was not fair ($r = 0.67^{***}$) or that the interaction exceeded an appropriate amount of time ($r = 0.53^{***}$). Similar patterns were also found among female pedestrians who found the stop to have an illegitimate reason (32.1%). In both cases, the majority of male and female pedestrians deemed the officer's actions to be unnecessary (90.2% and 75.5%, respectively).

Drivers displayed similar, even if not as pronounced, mistrust in the police. When male drivers thought the stop lasted for an inappropriate amount of time (22.6%), they were more likely to believe that the stop was illegitimate ($r = 0.37^{***}$), or that the officer's actions were unnecessary ($r = 0.38^{***}$) or excessive in force ($r = 0.40^{***}$). Male drivers who thought the stop was unwarranted (17.7%) also thought that the officer's actions were unnecessary ($r = 0.39^{***}$). Similarly, female drivers who perceived the officer's actions as excessive in force (35.4%), were more likely to think the officer's actions were unnecessary ($r = 0.36^{***}$) or that the stop was unnecessarily long ($r = 0.47^{***}$).

Table 1.A. Community Trust in Police Protection
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

Concepts	Dimensions	Indicators	Values and Responses		Statistics			
					Pedestrian		Traffic	
				Female	Male	Female	Male	
Community Trust in Police Protection	Opinions (At time of Survey)	V118 ¹ . You don't trust the police?	0. Yes	18.0%	22.2%	---	---	
			1. No (n)	82.0 (229793)	77.8 (376052)	---	---	
		V66/248 ² . Was stop legitimate?	0. No	32.1%	37.5%	15.1%	17.7%	
			1. Yes (n)	67.9 (465780)	62.5 (962921)	84.9 (11365587)	82.3 (14061104)	
		V162/304 ³ . Do you feel that these actions were necessary?	0. No	75.5%	90.2%	78.6%	76.7%	
			1. Yes (n)	24.5 (128713)	9.8 (284498)	21.4 (528470)	23.3 (991458)	
		V100. The officer was fair?	0. No	40.1%	39.9%	---	---	
			1. Yes (n)	59.9 (239075)	60.1 (376052)	---	---	
		V305 ⁴ . Force used or force threatened was excessive?	0. Yes	---	---	35.4%	33.5%	
			1. No (n)	---	---	64.6 (557709)	66.5 (1025698)	
	V84/209 ⁵ . Stop was an appropriate amount of time?	0. No	28.6%	22.6%	11.4%	12.4%		
		1. Yes (n)	71.4 (454416)	77.4 (876835)	88.6 (11392188)	87.6 (13986325)		
Actions During Stop	V164/V306 ⁶ . Did you disobey or interfere with the officer(s)?	0. Yes	1.8%	2.6%	0.3%	0.3%		
		1. No (n)	98.2 (465780)	97.4 (942192)	99.7 (11713475)	99.7 (14617129)		
Index of Community Trust in Police Protection ^{7,8}			Mean \bar{x} (s)	2.8 (1.6)	2.9 (1.5)	2.9 (1.4)	2.9 (1.4)	
			Min-Max	0 to 6	0 to 6	0 to 5	0 to 5	
			(n)	(119384)	(175553)	(491758)	(880544)	

¹ V118 is recoded into a Dummy Interval for Pedestrian Stop; Dummy_V118;

² V66/248 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V66; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V248;

³ V162/V304 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V162_withV118; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V304;

⁴ V305 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V305;

⁵ V84/209 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V84; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V209;

⁶ V164/V306 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V164_withV95; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V306;

⁷ Index of Community Trust in Police Protection_Pedestrian = DummyPedestrian_V66 + DummyPedestrian_V118 + DummyPedestrian_V162_withV118 + DummyPedestrian_V100 + DummyPedestrian_V84 + DummyPedestrian_V164_withV95; for male pedestrians, $r = 0.057^{***}$ to 0.666^{***} ; for female pedestrians, $r = -0.088^{***}$ to 0.681^{***} ($p < .001$).

⁸ Index of Community Trust in Police Protection_Traffic = DummyTraffic_V248 + DummyTraffic_V304 + DummyTraffic_V305 + DummyTraffic_V209 + DummyTraffic_V306; for male drivers, $r = 0.00^{***}$ to 0.40^{***} ; for female drivers, $r = -0.01^{**}$ to 0.47^{**} ($p < .001$).

Police Militarization

Community trust levels in their local enforcement could be the product of the interactions during a stop (Table 1.B). To capture the different levels of militarization, three types of violent responses were examined: the officer's use of verbal abuse or threats, physical aggression without a weapon, and, in extreme cases, lethal weapons.

Overall, there were clear patterns based on a community member's gender identity that determined whether a police officer implemented a certain level of violence during a stop. At the same time, when considering the type of stop, pedestrians, regardless of gender identity, were more likely to experience all three levels of militarization ($\bar{x} = 2.4$ for female and 2.9 for male pedestrians on an index range of 0 to 9) than drivers ($\bar{x} = 0.0$ for female and 0.1 for male drivers on an index range of 0 to 7).

During a pedestrian stop (Table 1.B), community members reported that if the officer verbally threatened them, the use of a weapon was unlikely ($r = -0.21^{***}$ to -0.18^{***}). The nature of force and violence, at the same time, was highly dependent on the gender identity of the pedestrian. When police officers shouted at pedestrians during the stop (13.2% for male pedestrians and 19.8% for female pedestrians), they were also more likely to curse ($r = 0.44^{***}$) or use physical force ($r = 0.46^{***}$) with a male pedestrian than a female pedestrian ($r = 0.28^{***}$ and 0.21^{***} , respectively). Similarly, while around half of the pedestrians confirmed use weapons during a stop, a police officer was more likely to use weapons on male (60.8% to 65.9%) than female pedestrians (49.7% to 52.2%).

Cumulative militarization patterns were also gendered based on the different experiences between male and female drivers. When police officers threatened a driver with arrest (0.7% to 2.3%), they were also more likely to use other types of verbal abuse ($r = 0.41^{***}$ to 0.41^{***}) or physical force ($r = 0.42^{***}$ to 0.49^{***}) against a male driver than a female driver ($r = 0.11^{***}$ to 0.31^{***}). In contrast, there was higher likelihood of police officers pointing a gun at a female driver (0.2%) than a male one (0.2%) when they used other types of violence during the traffic stop (for female drivers, $r = 0.17^{***}$ to 0.71^{***} and for male drivers, $r = 0.19^{***}$).

Table 1.B. Police Militarization
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

Concepts	Dimensions	Indicators	Values and Responses	Statistics			
				Pedestrian		Traffic	
			(n)	Female (465780)	Male (962921)	Female (11709888)	Male (14618079)
Police Militarization	Verbal	V138/279. Did the police... Shout at you?	0. No	80.2%	86.8%	98.6%	97.1%
	Assault	V140/281. Curse at you?	1. Yes	19.8	13.2	1.4	2.9
		V146/V287. Threaten to use force?	0. No	95.1%	94.0%	99.9%	12.2%
		V142/V283. Threaten to arrest you?	1. Yes	4.9	6.0	0.1	0.1
		V148/289. Use of Force	0. No	95.7%	98.0%	99.8%	99.2%
		V154. Use of Weapons	1. Yes	4.3	2.0	0.2	0.8
		V148/289. Actually push or grab you?	0. No	88.1%	88.1%	99.3%	97.7%
		V154. Spray you with a chemical or pepper spray?	1. Yes	11.9	11.9	0.7	2.3
		V156. Use an electroshock weapon?	0. No	98.9%	95.4%	99.7%	99.4%
		V150/291. Handcuff you?	1. Yes	1.1	4.6	0.3	0.6
		V158/299. Actually point a gun at you?	0. No	50.3%	39.2%	---	---
			1. Yes	49.7	60.8	---	---
			0. No	50.3%	39.2%	---	---
			1. Yes	49.7	60.8	---	---
			0. No	47.8%	34.1%	99.2%	98.5%
			1. Yes	52.2	65.9	0.8	1.5
			0. No	50.3%	39.2%	99.8%	99.8%
		1. Yes	49.7	60.8	0.2	0.2	
	Index of Police Militarization ^{9, 10}	Mean \bar{x} (s)	2.4 (1.8)	2.9 (2.9)	0.0 (0.3)	0.1 (0.5)	
		Min-Max	0 to 9	0 to 9	0 to 7	0 to 7	

¹ V138/279 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, NEWDummyPedestrian_V138; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V279Recoded.

² V146/287 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V146Recoded; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V287Recoded.

³ V142/283 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V142Recoded; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V283Recoded.

⁴ V148/289 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, NEWDummyPEdestrian_V148; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V289Recoded.

⁵ V154 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V154_withV116.

⁶ V156 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V156_withV116.

⁷ V150/291 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, DummyPedestrian_V150_withV110; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V291Recoded.

⁸ V158/299 are recoded into Dummy Intervals; for Pedestrian Stop, NEWDummyPedestrian_V158; for Traffic Stop, DummyTraffic_V299Recoded.

⁹ Index of Police Militarization_Pedestrian = NEWDummyPedestrian_V138 + DummyPedestrian_V140Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V146Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V142Recoded + NEWDummyPEdestrian_V148 + DummyPedestrian_V154_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V156_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V150_withV110 + NEWDummyPedestrian_V158; for female pedestrians, $r = -0.440^{***}$ to 0.873^{***} ; for male pedestrians, $r = -0.180^{***}$ to 0.461^{***} ($^{***}p < 0.001$).

¹⁰ Index of Police Militarization_Traffic = DummyTraffic_V279Recoded + DummyTraffic_V281Recoded + DummyTraffic_V287Recoded + DummyTraffic_V283Recoded + DummyTraffic_V289Recoded + DummyTraffic_V291Recoded + DummyTraffic_V299Recoded; for female drivers, $r = 0.084$ to 0.705^{***} ; for male drivers, $r = -0.006$ to 0.543^{***} ($^{***}p < 0.001$).

Community-Police Familiarity

The concept of community policing is intended to build relationships in the community, foster a sense of safety in the public sphere for both community members and local police officers and, ultimately, build trust. Yet, just as there was low community trust in the police and the frequent presence of police militarization, there was little to no familiarity between the police officers and the community, either for female or for male community members⁸ (Table 1.C).

The community's infrequent interactions with its local police helped illustrate these low familiarity levels. Male community members who did not report a non-crime emergency to the police (95.0%), for instance, were neither likely to know the police officers in their neighborhood ($r = 0.10^{***}$) nor seek help from the police ($r = 0.15^{***}$). Female community members who have sought help from the police before (94.6%) were also less likely to report future non-crime emergency to the police ($r = 0.14^{***}$).

Table 1.C. Community-Police Familiarity
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

Concepts	Indicators	Values and Responses	Statistics	
			Female	Male
Community -Police Familiarity	V2 ¹ . Do you know any police officers that work in your neighborhood by name or by sight?	0. No 1. Yes (n)	79.6% 20.4 (123061887)	77.7% 22.3 (118217930)
	V3 ² . Have you approached or sought help from the police in the last 12 months?	0. No 1. Yes (n)	91.5% 8.5 (12313646)	92.2% 7.8 (118267679)
	V5 ³ . Reported a non-crime emergency such as a traffic accident or medical emergency to the police?	0. No 1. Yes (n)	94.6% 5.4 (123136463)	95.0% 5.0 (118267679)
	V7 ⁴ . Have you participated in block watch or other anti-crime programs WITH police?	0. No 1. Yes (n)	98.5% 1.5 (123136464)	98.6% 1.4 (118267679)
	Index of Community-Police Relationship Challenges ⁵	Mean \bar{x} (s) Min-Max (n)	0.4 (0.6) 0 to 4 (123061887)	0.4 (0.6) 0 to 4 (118267679)

¹ V2 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; Dummy_V2.

² V3 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; Dummy_V3.

³ V5 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; Dummy_V5.

⁴ V7 is recoded into a Dummy Interval; Dummy_V7.

⁵ Index of Community-Police Familiarity = Dummy_V2 + Dummy_V3 + Dummy_V5 + Dummy_V7; for female participants, $r = 0.064^{***}$ to 0.144^{***} ; for male participants, $r = 0.065^{***}$ to 0.149^{***} ($p < 0.001$).

⁸ On an index range of 0 to 4, where 4 is the highest level of familiarity, the average score was $\bar{x} = 0.4$ for female and male community members.

Bivariate Analyses

To establish if community mistrust was empirically related to police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy, bivariate correlations were examined (Appendix C: Tables C.1-2). When community members were stopped on the street, their answers exhibited patterns of gender differences when they reported community trust. Female pedestrians, for instance, reported higher levels of mistrust when an officer used excessive force or weapons during the stop ($r = -0.48^{***}$). In contrast, male pedestrians reported mistrust when they were not familiar with their local police department ($r = -0.41^{***}$). At the same time, higher magnitudes of trust in the police officer were found when male pedestrians reported a high socioeconomic status or background ($r = 0.56^{***}$).

Meanwhile, community members, who were stopped while driving, reported more mistrust, irrespective of gender identity, when there was police militarization during the stop. Like pedestrians, female drivers reported mistrust when the officer used force or weapons during their stop ($r = -0.31^{***}$). Male drivers also reported mistrust with the use of force ($r = -0.47^{***}$), with community familiarity almost negligible in their responses, unlike their pedestrian peers.

As for other demographic factors, socioeconomic status, age, community size and the stop's location had varying impacts on community mistrust in the local police based on the community member's gender identity. Whereas age and income of female community members had relatively no impact on their trust levels, an older male pedestrian ($r = -0.17^{***}$) with a lower socioeconomic status ($r = 0.62^{***}$) reported lower trust levels, compared to those who were younger and had a higher income. On the other hand, levels of trust for both pedestrians and drivers varied with the community's characteristics. Female community members, for instance, reported mistrust, when they also were from a large community ($r = -0.27^{***}$ for pedestrians and -0.15^{***} for drivers). While male pedestrians' trust in the police also depended on community size ($r = -0.26^{***}$), male drivers reported mistrust when the stop occurred in the town or city where they lived ($r = -0.08^{***}$).

Although the relationship of community mistrust with police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy varied depending on the type of police stop or the community member's gender identity, the robustness of these variations were tested in the multivariate analyses presented in the subsequent section.

Multivariate Regression Analyses and Qualitative Insights

In the final analytical step, multivariate regression analyses were used to test the hypothesis about the net gendered effects of police militarization, community-police familiarity, and race heterogamy of the community and local police. The analyses were disaggregated between police pedestrian stops and traffic stops and further between

the community members' gender identities. Community size, age, annual income, and location of the stop were controlled for in the regression analyses (Table 3, Panel 1-4).

When an officer stopped a community member on the street, the construction of trust, or the lack thereof, in the police revealed gendered differences (Panels 1 and 2). For female pedestrians, challenges from direct interactions and their relationship with the officers, occasioned by militarization and reduced familiarity, largely shaped their mistrust in the police. For instance, if a police officer were to use force and weapons on a female pedestrian during the stop, she mistrusted the police more than if no weapons were used ($\beta = -0.43^{***}$ in Panel 1). But, contrary to Strain theory, the more familiar a female pedestrian was with the police officer who stopped her, the more likely she did not trust the officers to resolve civil disputes or emergencies ($\beta = -0.41^{***}$). Female pedestrians' mistrust was further amplified if they lived in larger (500,000 or more people) than smaller in communities ($\beta = -0.45^{***}$).

In contrast, the social and economic capital of male pedestrians and officers, because of their skin color and income, influenced a male participant's level of trust in his local enforcement (Panel 2). For example, when a White male pedestrian encountered a White police officer on the street, the pedestrian was more trusting of the police officer ($\beta = 0.38^{***}$). Similarly, a pedestrian from an upper socioeconomic background was more likely to trust the police ($\beta = 0.62^{***}$) than a poorer pedestrian. And, unlike the female pedestrians, male pedestrians showed more trust in the police when they were familiar with the department ($\beta = 0.12^{***}$). But, they were more likely to mistrust the officer if they were older (rather than younger) in age ($\beta = -0.17^{***}$).

Unlike pedestrian stops, only a few explanations were available (of the factors considered in this analyses) for a driver's level of trust in their local police force (Table 3: Panels 3 and 4). For female drivers, for instance, only police militarization had a significant negative impact on their trust levels; the more violent the officer was in their traffic stop, the more mistrust they had in the police ($\beta = -0.30^{***}$). There was an even stronger case for male drivers, who were even more unlikely to trust the police who used excessive force or weapons during a traffic stop ($\beta = -0.45^{***}$). Besides violence, male drivers, who were from larger communities (of 500,000 people or more $\beta = -0.20^{***}$) or were older ($\beta = -0.12^{***}$), were also likely to have low levels of trust in the police. This pattern was not found in for female drivers and their trust levels.

Across stops, there were also interesting trust implications that arose from the intersections of racial and gendered social boundaries. Holding racial and gendered social capital, a White male pedestrian was more trusting of the White police officer who stopped him than otherwise ($\beta = 0.38^{***}$). Even non-White male drivers were likely to trust the White police officer that stopped them ($\beta = 0.11^{***}$). Granted, the racial identity of female drivers had little to no effect their trust levels. However, as a White pedestrian, the female community member trusted the officer, if they were also White ($\beta = 0.11^{***}$).

Table 3
Regression Analyses of the Effects of Police Militarization, Community-Police Familiarity, and Race Heterogamy on Index of Community Mistrust of Police Protection, Net of Age, Income, Community Size, and Stop Location^{1,2}
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

	Pedestrian Stops Beta (β)		Traffic Stops Beta (β)	
	<u>Panel 1</u> Female	<u>Panel 2</u> Male	<u>Panel 3</u> Female	<u>Panel 4</u> Male
Police Militarization	-0.43***	-0.12***	-0.30***	-0.45***
Community-Police Familiarity	-0.41***	0.12***	0.01	-0.05
<u>Race Heterogamy:</u>				
White Officer, White Respondent	0.05	0.38***	0.03	0.06
White Officer, Non-White Respondent	0.11***	0.11***	-0.08	0.10***
Age	0.10***	-0.17***	-0.10	-0.12***
Income	0.01	0.62***	0.00	-0.08
Community Size	-0.45***	-0.05	-0.09	-0.20***
Stop in town/city where you live?	0.09	-0.09	-0.10***	0.05
<u>Model Statistics:</u>				
Constant (a)	114.9***	58.1***	529.0***	558.5***
Adjusted R²	0.373***	0.494***	0.136***	0.281***
DF 1 & 2	8 & 119375	8 & 170922	8 & 476165	8 & 876440

* p <= .05; ** p <= 0.05; *** p <= .001.

¹ Index of Community Trust in Police Protection Pedestrian = DummyPedestrian_V66 + DummyPedestrian_V118 + DummyPedestrian_V162_withV118 + DummyPedestrian_V100 + DummyPedestrian_V84 + DummyPedestrian_V164_withV95;

Index of Community Trust in Police Protection Traffic = DummyTraffic_V248 + DummyTraffic_V304 + DummyTraffic_V305 + DummyTraffic_V209 + DummyTraffic_V306;

Index of Police Militarization Pedestrian = NEWDummyPedestrian_V138 + DummyPedestrian_V140Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V146Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V142Recoded + NEWDummyPEdestrian_V148 + DummyPedestrian_V154_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V156_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V150_withV110 + NEWDummyPedestrian_V158;

Index of Police Militarization Traffic = DummyTraffic_V279Recoded + DummyTraffic_V281Recoded + DummyTraffic_V287Recoded + DummyTraffic_V283Recoded + DummyTraffic_V289Recoded + DummyTraffic_V291Recoded + DummyTraffic_V299Recoded;

Index of Community-Police Familiarity = Dummy_V2 + Dummy_V3 + Dummy_V5 + Dummy_V7;

ped_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was White = 1, if else = 0;

ped_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was non-White = 1, if else = 0;

traffic_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was White = 1, if else = 0;

traffic_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was non-White = 1, if else = 0;

Community Size: 1 = Under 100,000 / Not in a place; 2 = 100,000-499,999; 3 = 500,000-999,999; 4 = 1 million or more;

Age: For female participants, Mean = 46.3, Range from 16 to 74; for male participants, Mean = 44.7, Range from 16 to 74;

Income: 1 = Less than \$20,000 or NA; 2 = \$20,000-\$49,000; 3 = \$50,000 or more.

² While all β values were statistically significant because of the large sample size, only Beta values that were substantial (more than +/- 0.10) were discussed.

The level of militarization, or the use of police violence, is a telling indicator of mistrust between a police officer and community member on both sides. The Police Officer who interviewed for this research (Interviewee #1, 2017) for instance, tried to articulate the rationale for police militarization thusly: The profession requires the protection and preservation of the community and herself (the officer). Wearing her uniform, she continued, places a target on her because of the nature of the job and now because of the media's negative spotlight on police officers. While she feels more protected in her uniform with both lethal and defusing weapons, her work persona generates mistrust between her as a police officer and the community around her. Furthermore, she explained that officers must be able to control situations and adapt to the increasingly easy access to dangerous weapons, by arming themselves more strongly than possible community threats. With the stronger weapons than that of the possible suspect, officers are able to feel more prepared to approach and control different situations, indicating a sense of confidence and trust in their capabilities to do their work.

Additionally, the location of the stop at one's hometown or more community familiarity led to less trust for only the community members who were stopped as a pedestrian. While the community's characteristics did not have a large effect on the drivers, the traffic stop that Interviewee #1 conducted during my ride along revealed some tension with the local police in her own community, as a bystander intervened to support the community member whom she stopped.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As outlined in the literature review, scholars have relied on the assumption that community-police relationships are fractured; these conclusions about the unequal power dynamic were based on a legal framework and on small case studies. This study attempted to either sustain or complicate this assumption and prioritize the voices of the community members. In addition, suggestions for future research and evidence-based actions to promote community safety were made.

Empirical and Theoretical Implications

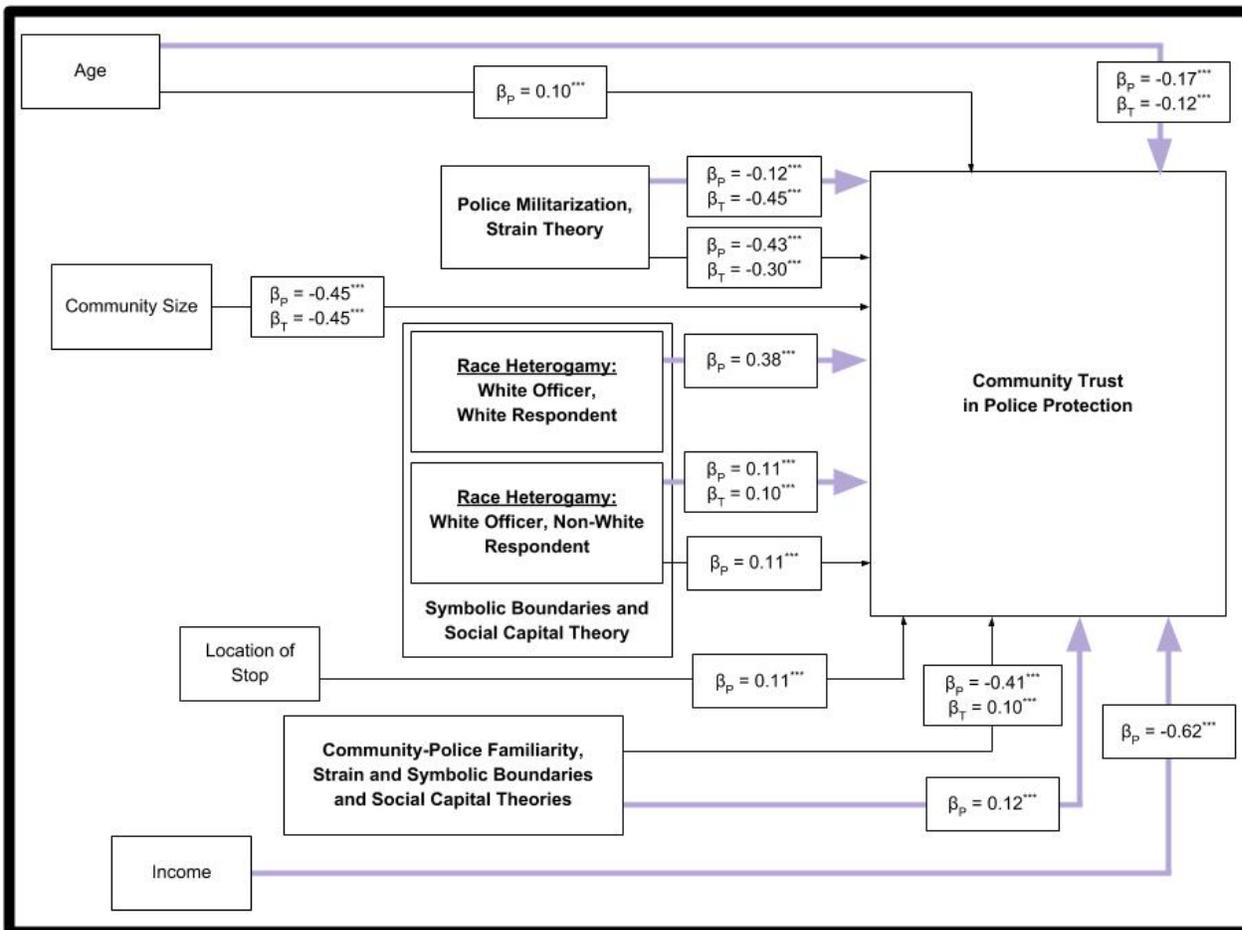
Theories of Strain, Social Boundaries, and Social Capital were tested as possible frameworks for illustrating the dynamics of community-police trust. These theoretical and empirical implications are presented in Figure 1. Several observations are discussed below.

The first hypothesis, about the police officers' failure to fulfill their job under Sir Peel's prevention and cooperative model due to militarization (framed under Strained Theory), was sustained across the two types of police stops as well as across gender identities of community members. When the police stopped a community member, either as a pedestrian or driver, for instance, there was mistrust, if the officer used either excessive

force or a weapon during the stop. As per Strain Theory, the mistrust can stem from the contradictions between community expectations of policing and the realities of achieving the expected goals through unconventional means, or against Peel's model. That is, police officers attempt to earn cooperation from the community through militarization. For example, while the police officer who was interviewed for this study (Interviewee #1 2017) tried to enforce a law related to drug possession, she had to escalate the stop because the community member, who was a man in his 60's, had gotten out of his car. She pulled out a stun gun and demanded that he stay in his car. She searched the suspected car and questioned the community member, only to discover that he possessed no weapons. Later, we learned that when the community member got out of the car, he only wanted to explain why he had the drugs in his possession. The police officer (Interviewee #1) inevitably confiscated the drugs and gave the man a warning. Granted, police officers are trained to be defensive and escalate the situation in their favor to remain safe. This traffic stop, nevertheless, could have been more efficient and in alignment with Peel's model, if she had exhibited trust and allowed the community member to explain himself while in the car, instead of escalating the situation. Besides, the failed attempt to fulfill the ideal local policing model resulted in the lack of cooperation on either side. In the final analyses, these militarized encounters look like the "adoption of aggressive, 'zero tolerance' tactics", or "an increase in violent crime and resistance" (Stoughton 2016).

Second, the expectation, theoretically framed under Strain, Social Boundaries, and Social Capital Theories, about community familiarity and its import for trust was only partially sustained (Figure 1). Responses about trust in the police exhibited gendered patterns when considering the community member's knowledge and relationship with the police prior to the stop. While a male community member who was stopped on the street trusted an unacquainted local officer less (than an acquainted one), a female pedestrian was more likely to mistrust the police officer if they were acquainted (refer to Table 3 and Figure 1). The personal experience of a female community activist illustrated the latter, as she articulated an already established mistrust in the local police (Interviewee #3, 2018). In the past, she has witnessed officers harassing her brother and her community's youth with interrogation about possible gang membership. Similarly, when she had directly interacted with the police, officers would often profile her based on their assumptions about her community, her family, and her past actions. These police profiling tactics are associated with patriarchy, a system that forms assumptions and stories about her community while stripping the dignity away from the women, cis- and transgender, who are impacted (2018; Ritchie 2017). The local police, consequently, are inaccessible to her and other community members because of previous interactions that resulted in more violence than safety, when officers tried to enforce the law.

Figure 1
Empirical and Theoretical Model of Community Trust in Police Protection:
Gendered Impacts of Police Militarization, Community-Police Familiarity, Race Heterogamy, Net of
Age, Income, and Community Size, and Stop Location^{1,2,3,4}
 United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey



¹ Narrower lines refer to the independent variable's effect on Community Trust for female community members, and the thicker lines refer for male community members.

² β_p refers to the Beta effect for Pedestrian Stops, where as β_t refers the Beta effect for Traffic Stops.

³ Refer to Table 4 for index and variable coding.

⁴ While all β values were statistically significant, the sample size is so large that all beta effects, no matter the numerical value, were significant. Therefore, any beta effects under 0.050 will be counted as insignificant.

Third, trust in the police among both pedestrians and drivers partially supported the second hypothesis; using Social Boundaries and Social Capital, it was predicted that the racial identity differences between the community and police would garner more mistrust, than trust, during a stop. For example, when a White police officer stopped a White male pedestrian, the pedestrian was likely to trust the officer during their interaction. Unlike the police assumptions made about Black and Brown bodies and gang membership (per Interviewees #2 and #3, 2017-2018), the local police did not

associate White men with the label, “transient”, because of their racial social capital. The relatively high levels of trust here could suggest that policing operate to benefit the White male community. Interestingly, there was little trust between a White officer and non-White community member. The existing trust here might even be forced because of a person’s fear during a stop, as reported by Interviewee #3 (Detention Coordinator and Research Organizer 2018). Despite the infrequent or nonexistent interactions with local gangs, youth in her community, she reported, are often charged with gang membership because they neither fully know their rights nor have proper representation, leaving them vulnerable in the criminal justice system. With the little power that young people of color have in the broader community, they are subjected to more abuse and harm because the local police structure has assigned their age, race, and, for some, gender identity with little to no social capital, or benefits.

Applied Implications

These findings can inform both community members and the local police on how to better promote community safety, particularly to improve the level of community trust that was apparent in this research. For instance, based on the experiences of pedestrians whom the police have stopped, officers need to acknowledge that low levels of community trust are not unfounded. Encounters prior to a formal police interaction, which happened more frequently for community members when they lived in a small community size, resulted in more mistrust of the police. In other words, unlike the comments shared by the Police Officer (Interviewee #1), the media is not the sole factor to blame for the growing community mistrust. Community safety and trust in the local police are also a result of the direct interactions between the community and the police. To improve policing, the police academy and departments need to prioritize, fund, and mandate programming that educates their force on mental health and trauma sensitivity, promotes de-escalation skills, fosters community engagement, and reveals possible unconscious biases among officers. While psychologists and other scientists are currently studying the latter heavily for future police trainings, local police need to begin addressing the possible existing bias in their department by reflecting on previous cases and analyzing archived reports (Natarajan 2014). Comments and summaries made could be an indicator of current ideologies operating in the police force. These programs and suggestions, that offer law enforcement alternatives to the use of militarization, can garner stronger, more trusting community-police relationships.

At the same time, it is also important to acknowledge that reform policies alone are insufficient to repair the existing mistrust. All three interviewees who work with their communities (Interviewees #2, #3, #4), for instance, are committed to dismantling current policing altogether, as it is not built to be accessible for their community members. Reconstructing community safety has to start with the community defining a collective understanding of safety (Interviewee #2). It also requires deconstructing the rhetoric of mistrust that is socially conditioned among community members and police officers (Interviewee #4). These strategies can result in community cohesiveness, said Interviewee #2. Forming strong relations with the people around you can allow for intra-

community mediation or conflict resolution and a network of support during emergencies that is probably more accessible and efficient than the current local police. Specifically for women of color, community strengthening can manifest into building sisterhood by “throwing glitter instead of shade,” where their actions and words uplift each other (Interviewee #3). Safety also calls for community education, as, according to Interviewee #3 and journalistic writings, there is individual agency in recognizing and understanding power structures and their historical legacies of slavery and colonialism (Interviewee #3 2018; Brown 2017). Financial and other types of resources also play a big role in the construction of community safety, as taxpayer’s dollars are currently funding the police departments that have high rates of arrest (Interviewee #4 2018; Brown 2017). To promote the dismantling of current militarized policing practices, city or state governments should reallocate money, currently funding emergency responders like the local police, towards subsidizing emergency community kits, like medical supplies and bottled water, or implementing formal emergency plans in neighborhoods. In the long run, strengthening communities with low-income housing, resources for physical and mental healthcare, and community youth programs, can indirectly lead to healthier community-police relationships.

Suggestions for Future Research

Like most studies, this research was not free of limitations. While valuable insights into the roles of police militarization and community relationships in shaping community trust in the local police were gained, other critical factors and their impact on community trust remain unknown. This study, for instance, captured only 14 to 28 percent of variability in community trust when a police officer stopped a driver. While the research model was better able to explain pedestrian-police interactions (37 to 49 percent of variability was captured), findings from both pedestrian and traffics stop leave much about community trust unexplained and allow room for future research.

Among the limitations was the limited operationalization of central concepts in the study. For example, only three indicators were available to define community familiarity, creating ambiguity in the explanations. Defining community familiarity more precisely with more indicators would allow for more realistic portrayals of power of familiar community relations for the success of policing. For example, familiarity could include the number of stops prior to the survey or previous police interactions through family members or neighbors. Likewise, another limitation was the narrow understanding of race heterogamy and gender identities. Since both quantitative and qualitative demographics data relied on the community member’s report, the race and gender identities of the people involved may be incomplete; it is likely to be based on appearance and the parameters of the survey rather than self-identification. The likelihood of the under-estimated effects of race and gender identities on trust in police because of imprecise these identities measurements are real. Expanding the gender and racial identities would also amplify the voices of people that are often not prioritized. Lastly, future research is needed to assess the impacts of media on community trust. As illustrated in the qualitative interviews, the news and social media are seen as the

biggest contributors to the current community-police climate (Interviewee #1). On the other hand, Interviewee #2 relied on the news and the Internet to understand the lived experiences of policing victims and to develop activist agendas to end mass incarceration and police militarization (2017). In the final analyses, the goal is to enable the police and the communities they serve to recapture and sustain the Peel's principles of policing with an emphasis on crime prevention through the willing cooperation of the public and a minimal use of physical force.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table A.1. Background Characteristics

United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

Concepts	Indicators	Values and Responses	Statistics			
			Female	Male		
Background Characteristics	Community	1. Under 100,000 / Not in a place	72.2%	72.2%		
	Size: What is the population size of your community?	2. 100,000-499,999	15.5	15.3		
		3. 500,000-999,999	4.4	4.1		
		4. 1 million or more	7.9	8.4		
		AGE	Mean \bar{x} (s)	46.3 (18.7)	44.7 (17.9)	
		Min-Max	16-90	16-90		
	INCOME	1. Less than \$20,000 or NA	40.3%	36.7%		
2. \$20,000-\$49,000		24.7	23.6			
3. \$50,000 or more		35.1	39.8			
			Pedestrian	Traffic	Pedestrian	Traffic
	V82/207 ¹ . Did this stop occur in the same city or town where you live?	0. No 1. Yes	30.4% 69.6	48.4% 51.6	24.1% 75.9	50.3% 49.7
		(n)	(123136463)		(118267679)	

¹V82/207 are recoded into Dummy Intervals.

Table A.2. Race Heterogamy
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

Concepts	Values and Responses	Statistics			
		Pedestrian		Traffic	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
Race	0. Other	97.0%	93.8%	95.5%	95.7%
Heterogamy 1, 2, 3	1. Non-White Officer, Non-White Respondent (n)	3.0 (465780)	6.2 (958299)	4.5 (11610080)	4.3 (1452682)
	0. Other	89.7%	90.0%	89.3%	88.3%
	1. Non-White Officer, White Respondent (n)	10.3 (465780)	10.0 (958299)	10.7 (11610080)	11.7 (1452682)
	0. Other	23.1%	33.7%	29.4%	30.8%
	1. White Officer, White Respondent (n)	76.9 (465780)	66.3 (958299)	70.6 (1452682)	69.2 (1452682)
	0. Other	90.3%	82.5%	85.7%	85.1%
	1. White Officer, Non-White Respondent (n)	9.7 (465780)	17.5 (958299)	14.3 (1452682)	14.9 (1452682)

¹ ped_RaceHetero_NWOffNWResp_Final, if the officer and pedestrian were non-White = 1, if else = 0;
 traffic_RaceHetero_NWOffNWResp_Final, when the officer and driver were non-White = 1, if else = 0.
² ped_RaceHetero_NWOffWResp_Final, if the officer was non-White and pedestrian was White = 1, if else = 0;
 traffic_RaceHetero_NWOffWResp_Final, if the officer was non-White and driver was White = 1, if else = 0.
³ ped_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was White = 1, if else = 0;
 traffic_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was White = 1, if else = 0.
⁴ ped_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was non-White = 1, if else = 0;
 traffic_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was non-White = 1, if else = 0.

Appendix B (Consent Form and Interview Protocol)

Letter of Consent

Dear _____:

I am a Sociology Senior working on my Research Capstone Paper under the direction of Professor Marilyn Fernandez in the Department of Sociology at Santa Clara University. I am conducting my research Community Trust in the Their Local Police Force.

You were selected for this interview because of your knowledge of and experience with forming and understanding community and police relations.

I am requesting your participation, which will involve responding to questions about the current climate of community and police relations and will last about 20 minutes. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose to not participate or to withdraw from the interview at any time. The results of the research study may be presented at SCU's Annual Anthropology/Sociology Undergraduate Research Conference and published (in a Sociology department publication). Pseudonyms will be used in lieu of your name and the name of your organization in the written paper. You will also not be asked (nor recorded) questions about your specific characteristics, such as age, race, sex, religion.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact me at ____ or Dr. Fernandez at mfernandez@scu.edu.

Sincerely,

Pamela Low

By signing below, you are giving consent to participate in the above study.

Signature:

Printed Name:

Date:

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Committee, through Office of Research Compliance and Integrity at (408) 554-5591.

Interview Schedule

Supplemental Qualitative Interviews for Research Capstone Paper Sociology 195, Winter 2018

Interview Date and Time: _____

Respondent ID#:

1. What is the TYPE Agency/Organization/Association/Institution (**NO NAME**, please) where you work with this issue?
2. What is your position in this organization?
3. How long have you been in this position and in this organization?
4. Based on what you know of community-police relations, how common would officers go out of their way to form relationships with the community?
5. Is there community mistrust in the police? If so, what does that look like in everyday interactions? Can you give me some examples?
6. In your opinion, what are some reasons that contribute to the current climate of community-police relations both in your community and nationally? (PROBE: Could you expand a bit more?).
7. [If concepts not mentioned] PROBE:
 - a. How about police militarization?
 - b. How about community-police relationship challenges? In what ways do either party try to interact with the other?
 - c. How about the racial/ethnic differences or similarity between the citizen and the local police officer?
 - d. How about the gender identity of community members?
8. What questions did I not ask that you think would help shape my understandings of community-police relations?

Thank you very much for your time. If you wish to see a copy of my final paper, I would be glad to share it with you at the end of March 2018. If you have any further questions or comments for me, I can be contacted at plow@scu.edu. Or if you wish to speak to my faculty advisor, Dr. Marilyn Fernandez, she can be reached at mfernandez@scu.edu.

Appendix C. Table 2. Bivariate Analyses

Table C.1. Correlation (r) Matrix for Pedestrian Stops^{1, 2, 3}
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

	A	B	C	D	E	AGE	F	G	H
Index of Community Trust in Police Protection (A)	1.0	-0.09***	-0.41***	0.37**	-0.18***	0.11***	0.56***	0.08***	-0.31***
Index of Police Militarization (B)	-0.48***	1.0	0.05***	0.06***	-0.14***	-0.02	0.02	-0.09***	0.03
Index of Community-Police Familiarity (C)	-0.08***	0.10***	1.0	0.12***	-0.08***	0.03***	0.07***	-0.12***	-0.10***
White Officer, White Respondent (D)	0.27***	0.03***	0.16***	1.0	-0.65***	0.13***	0.16***	-0.08***	-0.07***
White Officer, Non-White Respondent (E)	0.03	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.60***	1.0	-0.10***	-0.18***	0.02	0.11***
Age	0.00	0.01	-0.02	-0.03	-0.13***	1.0	-0.03	-0.09***	0.01
Income (F)	-0.07***	-0.02	0.06***	-0.17***	-0.12***	-0.10***	1.0	-0.06***	-0.26***
Community Size (G)	-0.27***	0.00	-0.11***	-0.44***	0.24***	-0.06***	-0.05***	1.0	0.12***
Stop in town/city where you live? (H)	-0.01	-0.10***	-0.24***	-0.14***	0.04	-0.05***	-0.01	0.18***	1.0

*** p <= .001; ** p <= .01; * p <= .05

¹ Index of Community Trust in Police Protection Pedestrian = DummyPedestrian_V66 + DummyPedestrian_V118 + DummyPedestrian_V162_withV118 + DummyPedestrian_V100 + DummyPedestrian_V84 + DummyPedestrian_V164_withV95; for male pedestrians, r = 0.057*** to 0.666***; for female pedestrians, r = 0.088*** to 0.681*** (*** p <= .001);

Index of Police Militarization Pedestrian = NEWDummyPedestrian_V138 + DummyPedestrian_V140Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V146Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V142Recoded + NEWDummyPedestrian_V148 + DummyPedestrian_V154_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V156_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V150_withV110 + NEWDummyPedestrian_V158; for female pedestrians, r = -0.440*** to 0.873***; for male pedestrians, r = -0.180*** to 0.461*** (*** p <= 0.001);

Index of Community-Police Familiarity = Dummy_V2 + Dummy_V3 + Dummy_V5 + Dummy_V7; for female participants, r = 0.064*** to 0.144***; for male participants, r = 0.065*** to 0.149*** (*** p <= 0.001);

Ped_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was White = 1, if else = 0;

Ped_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was non-White = 1, if else = 0;

Traffic_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was White = 1, if else = 0;

Traffic_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was non-White = 1, if else = 0

Community Size: 1 = Under 100,000 / Not in a place; 2 = 100,000-499,999; 3 = 500,000-999,999; 4 = 1 million or more;

Age: For female participants, Mean = 46.3, Range from 16 to 74; for male participants, Mean = 44.7, Range from 16 to 74;

Income: 1 = Less than \$20,000 or NA; 2 = \$20,000-\$49,000; 3 = \$50,000 or more.

² While all β values were statistically significant, the sample size is so large that all beta effects, no matter the numerical value, were significant. Therefore, any beta effects under 0.050 will be counted as insignificant.

³ Relationships from female pedestrians are below the diagonal, and relationships from the male pedestrians are above.

Table C.2. Correlation (r) Matrix for Traffic Stops^{1, 2, 3}
United States Department of Justice, 2011 – Police-Public Contact Survey

	A	B	C	D	E	AGE	F	G	H
Index of Community Mistrust of Police Protection (A)	1.0	-0.47***	-0.03	0.01	0.02	-0.08***	-0.05***	-0.26***	-0.01
Index of Police Militarization (B)	-0.31***	1.0	0.04	0.03	0.01	-0.06***	-0.04	0.07***	0.04
Index of Community-Police Familiarity (C)	-0.10***	0.04	1.0	0.04***	-0.04***	0.03	0.07***	-0.12***	-0.04
White Officer, White Respondent (D)	0.02	0.03	-0.01	1.0	-0.63***	-0.04***	0.07***	-0.13***	-0.05***
White Officer, Non-White Respondent (E)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.0	-0.07***	-0.06***	0.07***	0.06***
Age	-0.13***	-0.04	-0.02	-0.03	0.00	1.0	-0.03	-0.09***	-0.04
Income (F)	-0.01	-0.04	0.06***	0.04	0.00	-0.10***	1.0	-0.06***	-0.13***
Community Size (G)	-0.15***	0.03	-0.11***	-0.13***	0.00	-0.06***	-0.05***	1.0	0.10***
Stop in town/city where you live? (H)	-0.08***	-0.03	-0.05***	-0.02	0.00	-0.04	-0.08***	0.07***	1.0

*** p <= .001; ** p <= .01; * p <= .05

¹ Index of Community Trust in Police Protection Pedestrian = DummyPedestrian_V66 + DummyPedestrian_V118 + DummyPedestrian_V162_withV118 + DummyPedestrian_V100 + DummyPedestrian_V84 + DummyPedestrian_V164_withV95; for male pedestrians, r = 0.057*** to 0.666***; for female pedestrians, r = 0.088*** to 0.681*** (*** p <= .001);

Index of Police Militarization Pedestrian = NEWDummyPedestrian_V138 + DummyPedestrian_V140Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V146Recoded + DummyPedestrian_V142Recoded + NEWDummyPedestrian_V148 + DummyPedestrian_V154_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V156_withV116 + DummyPedestrian_V150_withV110 + NEWDummyPedestrian_V158; for female pedestrians, r = -0.440*** to 0.873***; for male pedestrians, r = -0.180*** to 0.461*** (*** p <= 0.001);

Index of Community-Police Familiarity = Dummy_V2 + Dummy_V3 + Dummy_V5 + Dummy_V7; for female participants, r = 0.064*** to 0.144***; for male participants, r = 0.065*** to 0.149*** (*** p <= 0.001);

Ped_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was White = 1, if else = 0;

Ped_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and pedestrian was non-White = 1, if else = 0;

Traffic_RaceHetero_WOffWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was White = 1, if else = 0;

Traffic_RaceHetero_WOffNWResp_Final, if the officer was White and driver was non-White = 1, if else = 0

Community Size: 1 = Under 100,000 / Not in a place; 2 = 100,000-499,999; 3 = 500,000-999,999; 4 = 1 million or more;

Age: For female participants, Mean = 46.3, Range from 16 to 74; for male participants, Mean = 44.7, Range from 16 to 74;

Income: 1 = Less than \$20,000 or NA; 2 = \$20,000-\$49,000; 3 = \$50,000 or more.

² While all β values were statistically significant, the sample size is so large that all beta effects, no matter the numerical value, were significant. Therefore, any beta effects under 0.050 will be counted as insignificant.

³ Relationships from female drivers are below the diagonal, and relationships from the male drivers are above.

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