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Police-Civilian Interaction trend analysis in Detroit and Atlanta (1980–2018)

Australia Powell

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Walden University
2020

Abstract

A Trend Analysis of Police-Civilian Interaction in Detroit and Atlanta (1980–2018)

by

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MA, Argosy University, 2010

BS, Michigan State University, 1988

A Dissertation Proposal Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

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Abstract

This study compared trends in arrests and fatalities between Black Americans and Caucasians in Atlanta and Detroit. A descriptive analysis was conducted on secondary data compiled by the Department of Justice (1980-2014) and the Mapping Police Violence Organization (2015-2018) to compare Police-Civilian Interaction between races and cities over the past four decades. Trend analysis was conducted on arrests records for Atlanta, Georgia and Detroit, Michigan for years 1980 to 2014, and for persons who were fatally shot by police from 2015 to 2018 in these cities. The number of arrests from 1980 to 2014 in Atlanta, Georgia was 26,532 and 28,850 for Detroit, Michigan. The number of fatalities of police shootings for Atlanta, Georgia was 12 and in Detroit, Michigan it was 7. The results of the study measured a significant racial difference in arrests in these two cities ($p=.000$). An ANOVA test was conducted and the trends in arrests show a decline in arrests for both races. A Chi-Square analysis further concluded that the frequency of fatalities from police shootings from 2014 to 2018 for Atlanta ($N=12$) and Detroit ($N=7$) respectively are small or nonsignificant and were unable to demonstrate significant change by race ($X^2=1.49$, $p=.244$) or city ($X^2=.735$, $p=.865$) over the past 4-year period. The social impact of this study lies in its usefulness in correcting public misperceptions and questioning policies and practices that are driven by the belief that environment is correlated with crime and criminal activity.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my nieces and nephew, Taylor, Morgan, Alison and Ethan. I finished this education goal with you guys in mind. I wanted to be an example and to show you by example, anything you put your mind to you can do. I feel education is very important and want the generation behind me to follow in my footsteps. I want you to be able to with confidence and admiration call on me for advice regarding education.

I am very grateful for my editor, Dr. L.D. Molina, ScD, MPH for all your help in completing my degree. You were the biggest encouragement and a God send. I can't thank you enough. Without your help I could not have done this.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Much attention has been drawn to a recent study published by the Journal on Crime & Delinquency in which it was reported that nearly half of individual males are arrested at least once for non-traffic-related crimes by the time they turn 23 years of age while young individual Black American males are significantly more likely to be arrested than other demographic groups (Brame et al, 2014). Degue et al (2016) found that before 2016, the victims of lethal force by law enforcement were majority Caucasian (52%) but when controlled by population size, Black American fatality rates were 2.8 times higher among Black Americans than Caucasians. Civilian-police interaction appears to be racially inequitable with individual Black males significantly more likely to be arrested or fatally shot by police than their Caucasian and female peers (Bell et al., 2014; Brame et al, 2014, Degue et al. 2016). Previous researchers have not applied an intersectional approach to examine the relationship between race, gender, and socio-demographics such as environment and income.

Data collected by the FBI and Department of Justice have showed that approximately one third of the victims of police killing are Black American, although they represent just 13% of the U.S. population (Snyder et al., 2017). Understanding disparities of a police officers' behaviors involve the race and gender of the individual. Policies are also shaped by the socioeconomic conditions of the neighborhood in which the crime occurs. Policing policies consider some questions, such as, Is the neighborhood

dilapidated or wealthy, and what is the predominant racial makeup of neighborhood
(Bell et al., 2014; Brame et al, 2014, Degue et al., 2016)?

In 2016, the U.S census estimated that the population of the City of Detroit was 672,795, with approximately 83% of residents identifying as Black American and densely populated by Black Americans (U.S. Census, 2017). Detroit has had a profound influence on music culture, giving rise to Motown and contributing to the development of other genres of music including jazz, hip-hop, rock, and punk (Woodford, 2001). By 1920, the city's influence on the booming auto industry, increased the population to become the fourth largest in the nation, surpassed only by New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia (Woodford, 2001).

Decades of demographic and economic decline have culminated in America's largest municipal bankruptcy. In 2017, the per capita income of Detroit was only \$15,562 and nearly half of the population lived under the poverty level. But successful resolution of bankruptcy and new municipal leadership lead to Detroit's recovery, resilience, and improved quality of life (Towbridge, 2009; City lab, 2017). Although the population size, employment, and the per capita income have increased in recent years, some residents feel that the city's recovery has been highly uneven, resulting in further racial and income inequality (Towbridge, 2009; City lab, 2017). By many accounts, the city of Detroit is a leading example of urban neglect.

The socioeconomic reality of the residents of the City of Atlanta, Georgia is exceedingly different than that of Detroit, Michigan. The city of Atlanta has historically been a central hub for professional, educated, and middle-class Black Americans

(Hobson, 2017). In 2015, Greater Atlanta had the greatest numerical gain in new Black American residents than any metropolitan area in the United States. Of its estimated 472,000 residents, approximately 60% are Black American (U.S. Census, 2016). Atlanta has consistently elected Black mayors and is the birthplace of hundreds of minority-based businesses, corporations, organizations, and historically-Black American colleges including Clark Atlanta University, Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse College, Morehouse School of Medicine, and Spellman College (Hobson, 2017). In 2015, the average household income in Atlanta was approximately \$50,000 for all residents and \$41,000 for Black American households (U.S. Census, 2016). By most measures, the economy of Atlanta has remained stable over the decades, reinforcing its image as the “Black Mecca” (Hobson, 2017).

A cursory view of arrests rates suggest that not only are arrest rates higher for Black Americans than Caucasian, but arrests may also be more common in lower income cities across the nation (Rembert, Watson and Hill, 2016; Rojek, Rosenfeld and Decker, 2012; Ross, 2015). In this study, I analyzed trends in the relationship between race, environment, and involvement with police over a 39-year period. Much attention has been drawn to individual Black males and negative police contact, reinforcing the belief that this phenomenon is racially rooted (Hamlich,2018). According to Hamlich (2018), individual Black males report their reactions to police contact ranging from positive (cooperative) to negative (non-cooperative). The later reaction often results in wrongful arrests, incarceration, or injury by law enforcement. Recent studies have shown that national arrests rates are approximately five times higher for Black Americans than for

Caucasians, although in recent years these wide disparities appear to be narrowing (Hamlich, 2018).

Black Americans are also more than twice as likely as their Caucasian counterparts to be killed by police. According to FBI supplemental reports, in 2017, the rate of being killed by law enforcement officers was 6.66 per 1 million and 2.9 per 1 million for Black American and Caucasian respectively (Snyder et al., 2017). It has been argued that judgment and stereotyping based on race, income, and environment leads to disparities and inequitable treatment by law enforcement (Ross, 2015). Political and ideological intervention organizations and movements like Black Lives Matter have been recently created to confront the continual systematic and intentional demise of Black American lives in a society often perceived as a post-racial by most Caucasians (Garza, 2014).

In this study, I examined comparative trends in the rates of arrests and the rates of deaths due to use of lethal force by law enforcement between racial groups (Black American and Caucasian) in Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia over a 39-year period. I chose Detroit and Atlanta because both cities are home to an Black American majority yet have quite dissimilar socioeconomic demographics (U.S. Census, 2016). The results may provide a clearer understanding of the role an environment may play in shaping patterns of civilian police interaction in the form of arrest and incarceration. The potential implications for social change as a result of the findings of the study I conducted could give possible rationale to adjust social perceptions. This study challenges preconceived perceptions of race and socioeconomics as drivers of

civilian-police interaction in the two cities of Atlanta and Detroit. The study may affect the use of race and class to understand interaction with law enforcement

Background

I addressed a gap in literature concerning comparing the trends in the relationship between the two socioeconomic environments of Atlanta and Detroit and race in correlation to police arrests and civilian fatalities resulting from police shootings. Nationally, individual Black American males experience a significantly higher rate of police contact than individual Caucasian males, which may in part be explained through the use of common laws that give police officers the power to stop, question, and frisk suspects (Lutz, 2016). In 1968, the United States Supreme Court approved the use of stop-and-frisks on random non-criminal individuals. Before then, a police officer could search only someone who had been arrested, unless a search warrant had been obtained, although this law protected only Caucasian individuals, as civil rights laws had not yet been passed (Lutz, 2016).

Stop and Frisk

In the early 1980s, if a police officer had reasonable suspicion of a possible crime, he or she had the authority to stop someone and ask questions. If reasonable suspicion of a possible crime escalated to probable cause, the individual could be arrested as a suspect (Gilbert and Ray, 2016). Policies, such as traffic stops, zero-tolerance policies, and stop and frisk were implemented with the intent to prevent or disrupt crime, but are also believed by some segments as methods used to regulate Black males (Gilbert and Ray, 2016).

The practice of stop and frisk is known as the *Terry Stop* in other areas of the country (Civil Rights Bureau, 2013). While described as a method to protect communities from dangerous criminal activity, felonies and contraband, stop and frisk was also used as a method to crack down on low-level crimes, including fare evasion, public drinking, public urination, graffiti, and windshield wiping. Between 2003 and 2013, over 100,000 stops were made every year with nearly a million individuals stopped and frisked by the end of the practice (Gilbert and Ray, 2016).

The program became the subject of a racial profiling controversy because the vast majority of those stopped were Black Americans. Opponents of stop and frisk policies believe it violates the Fourteenth Amendment, because they are not applied in a race-neutral manner. Blacks and Latinos accounted for 80% of citizens stopped yet made up less than half of the New York City population (Goel, Rao and Shroff, 2016). The phenomenon of disproportionate numbers of minority citizens stopped by law enforcement extends past New York City and across most parts of the country (Fagan, 2013; Corder, Williams and Zuniga, 2000).

Motor Stops

Many policing practices throughout the United States use racial profiling in their policing practices. Thus, Black motorists are subject to significantly more stops, frisking, and interrogation than White motorists. Statistics on racial profiling show overwhelming evidence that Black motorists have greater contact with police, are interrogated, frisked, and stopped than White motorists (Kamalu, 2016). The likelihood of being pulled over by police for failing to use a turn signal sooner or other minor infractions is more likely

to occur if the driver is Black or driving in a high income neighborhood (Gau and Brunson, 2010). Many official data sources confirm racial disparities in police stops of motorists (Department of Justice, 2018).

Excessive Force

Individual Black males have a disproportionately higher chance of being victims of excessive force by law enforcement. Degue et al. (2016) found that individual Black males are significantly more likely to be unarmed when fatally shot by law enforcement, while Gabrielson et al. (2014) reported that in some parts of the country, individual Black males are as much as 21 times more likely to be killed by a police officer than other racial groups (Degue, 2016; Gabrielson et al., 2014). The practice of giving police officers or law enforcement the legal authority to use deadly force during the line of duty is assumed to be a form of legal intervention. However, there is undisputable evidence that unarmed individual Black males are killed by law enforcement at a disproportionately higher rate (Degue et al., 2016; Gabrielson et al., 2015).

Use of force by police is sometimes reported by citizens who experience negative police contact, either directly or indirectly. Some individuals may develop perceptions that have been shaped by personal experience or by witnessing someone else involved in negative police contact. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports an average of 6.6 complaints reported by community residents regarding illegal or extreme use of force for every 100 police officers (National Institute of Justice, 2015). In recent years, many encounters between individual Black males and police have resulted in individual Black males killed by law enforcement. Widespread public awareness of individual Black males

being killed at the hands of law enforcement has motivated many to seek the root causes of the use of lethal force (Degue, 2016; Ray, 2016).

Many are seeking answers as to why police officers are acquitted after the killing of Black males during police contact. The Black Lives Matter movement is one of several that are seeking equality, justice and accountability from police in matters involving Blacks and police contact (Russell-Brown, K. K. 2017). Many are demanding new policing practices and investigation in the use of excessive force by police during police contact with individual Black males. The Black Lives Matter movement wants to emphasize that Black male lives are just as important as all other lives (Garza, 2014).

Education

Nearly half of stop and frisks have involved youth between 16 and 24 years of age (Fagan, 2013). Anderson (2014) conducted a study that found that increasing the minimum high school drop-out age to age 18 has a positive impact on adolescents 16 to 18 years of age. Increasing minimum education requirements resulted in a decline in juvenile criminal behavior and a 17% decrease in arrest rates (Anderson, 2014).

Improving high school completion rates and access to educational opportunities for juveniles could reduce criminal behavior and crime. International evidence suggests that educational attainment and policies designed to improve school quality significantly reduces crime rates (Hjalmarsson and Lochner, 2012) as evidenced by the fact that the general population has a higher educational attainment than those in the correctional population (Harlow, 2003). According to a report released by the Department of Justice, the vast majority (82%) of the general population age 18 and older are high school

graduates. By comparison, nearly half of those in the correctional system have not completed high school (Harlow, 2003).

This study may increase understanding of the trends of police arrests and civilian fatalities based on race in the two cities of Atlanta and Detroit to determine the relationship between race, environment, and civilian-police involvement. Greater understanding is needed to understand how racial and socioeconomic disparities impact arrests and fatalities as a result of negative police contact and shape patterns of civilian police interaction in the form of arrest and fatalities. This study provides insight that can influence ways in which law authority and communities can work together to create equitable policies and practices.

Problem Statement

The problem that I addressed in this dissertation was the perception of criminality based on race, specifically that individual Black Americans were perpetrators of crime and in particular individual Black American males as criminals in United States. The problem is that the public perception of Black Americans is greatly outpacing other races in arrest rates and criminal activity may not be accurate. This racialization of perceptions plays a role in courtrooms where Black males are more likely to be sentenced or receive a longer sentence than their White peers. Thus, racial disparities in civilian-officer contact, arrest, and unfair sentencing practices may be driven by racial biases both inside and outside the criminal justice system (Trainor, R. J. A. 2017)..

According to recent arrest data recorded by the Department of Justice (DOJ), arrest rates are decreasing; however, mortality of males during police contact has spiked.

The DOJ reported that in 2014, approximately two percent of the entire United States population experienced contact with the police, resulting in 8,730,655 arrests for various crimes (FBI.gov, 2015). Over a third (36%) of those police contacts were made with individuals under 25 years of age, and a third (31%) were with minorities.

Approximately one in three Black males individuals will have contact with law enforcement before reaching their thirtieth birthday (FBI.gov, 2015). Gabrielson et al. (2015) found that individual Black males between the ages of 15 and 29 years old were killed by police at a rate 21 times higher than individual White males during similar police-civilian contact. This statistic strongly suggests a need for awareness and movement toward systemic change. Understanding the racial and socioeconomic disparities in arrest trends is an essential part of initiating changes toward equity (Gabrielson et. al., 2015).

Individual Black male fatalities have occurred during negative police contact at an alarming rate. A procedural justice approach may trigger the implementation of polices for police officers and lessen police violence (Haas, Skogan and Fleitas, 2015).

Nonetheless, protests and marches are seen throughout the United States when fatalities of individual Black men occur during negative police contact has become all too familiar.

Changes in both real trends and perceptions may require politicians, police departments, communities, churches, and families to work together toward a solution to turn the tide of fatalities of individual Black males during negative police contact. This is the first study to comparatively examine trends associated with arrests and fatalities of

police shootings of two socioeconomically different cities, Atlanta and Detroit, based on race and environment or location.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which race ,Black American and Caucasian, and environment ,Atlanta and Detroit are associated with arrest rates and fatalities by police shootings. It was anticipated that the analysis can help to more clearly understand the impact of race and environment as determinants of police involvement, inclusive of arrests and police related fatalities. The overarching purpose of the study was to study trends of the relationship of race, environment and police involvement between two socioeconomically different cities. Socioeconomics is the combination of social and economic factors viewed in relationship to one another or looked at simultaneously (Inslar and McQuoid, 2016). The independent variables that I examined in this study were race and environment. I treated arrests and fatalities as the dependent variables. I examined the relationship between race, environment, arrests, and fatalities. I examined secondary data reporting arrests and fatalities using *t*-tests and ANOVA (F-statistics) to determine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

While past researchers have found racial inequities regardless of income and education (Krieger et al., 2015), this approach in examining equities or differences in trends is useful to activists, scholars, and policymakers with building community capacities for addressing racially equitable and fair police-civilian interaction and involvement.

Theoretical Framework

I used broken window theory and critical race theory to frame this proposed project and discussion of criminal justice policies and practices. Broken window theory posits that the prevalence of criminal activity is a consequence of poverty, while critical race theory (CRT) in the social sciences uses critical theory to examine society and culture as they relate to categorizations of race, law, and power.

Critical Race Theory

At the heart of critical race theory lies a call for a conception of equality by rectifying unjust loss and inequality (Barlow, 2016). In this study, I used critical race theory to guide and explore race inequities in police-civilian interaction, arrests and fatal shootings. Critical race theory challenges the liberal order in the United States and asserts that race is the axis upon which society is organized and that racism is deeply embedded in our institutions and reproduced at meso, macro, and microlevels (Anyon et al., 2018).

The race category is often treated in mainstream discourse which is intrinsically negative framework in which social power works to marginalize or exclude those who are different (Crenshaw, Delgado, Matsuda and Lawrence, 2018). A well-known rallying cry in response to individual Black male fatalities killed by police by a prominent movement headed by the Black Lives Matter organization is that individual Black male lives are just as important as all others lives (Garza, 2014). Therefore, looking at negative police contact through the lens of race may explain any disparities in outcomes of such contact.

In this study, I applied critical race and intersectional approach to illustrate or demonstrate how roles of gender, environment and race can be applied by social scientists, political governments, communities and activists to gain understanding of how police behaviors are more likely to result mortality for individual Black males. The history of the criminalization in the United States of individual Black males has led to increases in policing behaviors by police officers and legal authorities that has created inequitable mortality rates during negative police contact for this racial group (Gilbert and Ray, 2016).

Broken Windows Theory

While critical race theory was the primary theoretical framework to guide the study, the theory of broken windows I considered important in developing the research approach and the narrative. Broken windows theory originated from the incivilities thesis which suggested that disorder in an environment or neighborhood leads not only to criminal activity, but withdrawal from reporting crimes to legal authorities (Xu, Fiedler and Flaming, K. H. (2005). The broken windows theory has been used to justify policing strategies focusing on cracking down on minor offenses and disorders in order to prevent crime and the decline in communities (Kelling and Sousa, 2001). Studies have suggested that broken windows theory explains that problems in policing methods are a product of environmental disorder such as dilapidated buildings and other poor socioeconomic and environmental conditions (Kelling and Sousa, 2001; Skogan, 1990). This study was able to demonstrate the contributions of both critical race theory and broken windows theory play in determining negative police contact.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1 (RQ1): Is race (Black American versus Caucasian) associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014?

Null Hypothesis (H_01): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is *not* associated with arrest trends over the 35-year year period from 1980 to 2014.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_a1): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014?

Null Hypothesis (H_02): Geographic location Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is *not* associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_a2): Geographic location Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Research Question 3 (RQ3): Is race (Black American versus Caucasian) associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018?

Null Hypothesis (H_03): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is *not* associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_{a3}): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018.

Research Question 4: Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with the relative risk of being fatality wounded by police shootings over the 4-year period between 2015?

Null Hypothesis (H_{04}): Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is *not* associated with the risk of being of fatality wounded by police over the 4-year period from 2015 and 2018.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_{a4}): Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with the risk of being of fatality wounded by police over the 4-year period from 2015 and 2018.

Nature of the Study

A quantitative non-experimental method was used to describe similarities and differences in the trends of arrest and fatal deaths experienced by the populations of Detroit and Atlanta in their natural setting. The analysis was based on secondary data from arrest data collected and reported by the U.S. Bureau of Justice each year between 1980 and 2015, and population data collected and reported by the U.S. Census Bureau for the matching years. The second public database is managed by the Mapping Police Violence Organization since 2014 and reflects civilian fatalities caused by lethal force of law enforcement throughout the United States.

A trend analysis design was used to assess change over time for the two broad

racial groups, Black American and Caucasian in two urban regions, Detroit and Atlanta.

Covariates variables are characteristics of participants that may affect outcome in a study.

Covariates are always continuous and measured. Race (Black Americans and Caucasian)

and socioeconomic characteristics of the environments (Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta,

Georgia) are characteristics of the participants of the study. These variables are measured

not manipulated. Analysis measured between groups and within subject effects of police

arrests over 35-years (1980-2014) time points and fatal police shootings over 4-years

(2015-2018). I conducted the study using 35-years of Arrest data from the Department of

Justice treated year, race, and city as the independent variables and numbers of arrest as

the dependent variable. Data on fatal police shootings treated year, race, and city as the

independent variables and police induced fatalities as the dependent variable. The

objective was to examine if differences in police-civilian interaction can be accounted for

by race or environment over time.

The secondary analysis of existing data from publicly available datasets is a

popular method of enhancing the overall efficiency of research. This effort greatly

depends on governments, funding agencies, and registry systems that make the data

available to researchers who are not involved in collecting original data. Another benefit

includes the trustworthiness of data which is tested for both validity and reliability by

government sources (Cheng and Phillips, 2013). A trend analysis reflected the

relationship of race (Black Americans versus Caucasian) and City (Atlanta versus

Detroit) on arrest and fatalities. Rates of arrests and police related fatalities reported by

race and urban city from existing public data were analyzed. For purposes of this study,

an ANOVA (F-Statistic) was conducted and analyzed to determine trends in arrests reported by the Atlanta and Detroit Police Departments between 1980 and 2014. A chi-square tests was used to determine if deaths caused by police force between 2015 and 2018 were significantly different between races and cities over the 4-year period.

Operational Definitions

African American: also referred to as Black Americans or Afro-American is an ethnic group of Americans tracing their partial or total ancestry from Sub-Saharan African ancestry (Johnson, Hoeffel and Brewery, 2015).

Equality: refers to the concept of being treated equally when dealing with those in authority, such as the police, regardless of race, gender or other demographics (Paoline, Gau, and Terrill, 2016).

Excessive force : refers to excessive or abusive force by an authority or person in authority, such as a police officer which is beyond what is reasonable and necessary during the interaction with a civilian (Atherley and Hickman, 2014).

General deterrence: is referred to as a strategy by police to stop a crime before it occurs (Siegel, 2013).

Procedural justice: refers to the concept that those in authority, like police officers, are expected to administer law enforcement in a procedural manner to all those they encounter and protect their rights according to the rules or law and equity (Haas, Skogan and Fleitas, 2015).

Racial profiling: the realization that a police officer is conducting a traffic stop illegitimately based on the driver's race (Bell, Hopson, Craig, and Robinson, 2014).

Reliability : measures consistency, where the same technique applied to an instrument will produce the same results each time it is used (Franked, Walled and Hyun, 2014).

Socioeconomics: is the combination of social and economic factors viewed in relationship to one another or looked at simultaneously (Insler and McQuoid, 2016).

Traffic stop: refers to the act of legally making a traffic stop of a vehicle for a legitimate traffic ordination or law violation (Briggs & Crew, 2013).

Validity: refers to a measure that intends to report the intent of a question being answered honestly (Franked, Walled and Hyun, 2014).

Assumptions

The key assumption of this study was that all data reported from each the local police departments to the Department of Justice are honest and accurate. It is assumed that the data has been fact-checked by the City's Police Departments for accuracy. Also, it is conceivable that not all fatalities are reported and the correct or appropriate race of the deceased is reported. The study was conducted based on the assumption that the correct race of the deceased is reported correctly and that the data is an accurate account of all fatalities reported by the Department of Justice from local police departments in order to answer the questions and hypothesis.

Scope and Delimitations

The study was descriptive in nature and focused on the experience of arrests and fatalities resulting from police shootings of two broad racial populations (Blacks Americans and Caucasians) in two regional environments (Atlanta, Georgia and Detroit, Michigan). This research used a secondary analysis of data collected by these agencies, U.S. Bureau of Justice, U.S. Census and Mapping Police Violence Organization. The researcher was acutely aware and sensitive to the generalizations and social politics involved with using Race or Cities as predictors of police arrests or fatal police shootings reported to Department of Justice.

The delimitations chosen were to focus on two races, Black Americans and Caucasians, rather than all other racial demographics in the two cities of Atlanta and Detroit. Delimitations also chosen were to focus on two dependent variables: arrests and fatalities. Data collection was limited to those two races, although the data shows all races. Not every contact with police results with an arrest or fatality. The study focused on race, geographic location, arrests and fatalities. Other data was excluded from the study as it was not within the purpose of the study. This study was limited to the two cities of Atlanta and Detroit but carry the potential to be generalized to other cities and regions.

Limitations

A few limitations are typical when using and a secondary data set. They can include (a) official statistics may reflect the biases of those in power, limiting what you the researcher can find out; (b) the manner by which official statistics are measured may

change over time, making historical comparisons difficult. This has been known to be the case with crime statistics, as the definition of crime changes; (c) some data points might be missing and there is no way to verify if missing data is due to bias, which could skew results to produce a certain intended outcome; (d) some data are not properly reported or stored or are deliberately withheld from researchers and the public which could produce incorrect results; (e) errors from recording secondary data used for the study were addressed by carefully recording or excluding any unnecessary secondary data; and (f) if data points are missed while conducting research, the results will be inaccurate. Therefore, repeating this step several times reduces the chances of missing data.

Significance

The analysis of the study I conducted fills a gap in understanding trends on the influence of regional environment and race on police involvement in Atlanta, Georgia and Detroit, Michigan. There is a large body of research developed that contributes significantly to the understanding of police officers' decisions to arrest an individual and invoke the criminal justice system (Chappell, MacDonald, and Manz, 2006).

Nevertheless, policing strategies and philosophies challenge our understanding of and ability to predict officers' decision making processes. Departments across the United States have adopted changes in their missions, strategies, and tactics in policing. The interaction between race, communities and arrests is arguably debatable and is particularly important for policy making that ensure officers systematically engage in fair, moral, and legal types of behaviors. The results of the study I conducted provided a

deeper knowledge of the comparative relationship between race, environment and police involvement in Atlanta and Detroit. Policies and practices by police departments may be adopted to address the findings. This study focused specifically on patterns of arrests (numbers and rates) experienced between races under two different socioeconomic environmental conditions, as well as fatalities of negative police contact.

The potential implications for social change are apparent in the use of outcomes to adjust social perceptions. We assume that our physical reality is heavily influenced by our preconceptions, expectations, and socialization. The analysis of this study carries social implications because it challenges preconceived perceptions of race and socioeconomics as drivers of civilian-police interaction in the two cities of Atlanta and Detroit. The results and analysis of the study carries implications for the ways in which we use race and class to influence our perceptions about interaction with law enforcement.

Summary

In Chapter 1, I provided an overview of the research study. The introduction to the problem, background, purpose, research questions, and hypothesis statements are described. The problem of racial and social disparities in police arrests and illegal activity fall under the general assumption that broken or dilapidated environments are associated with arrests rates, policing policies and practices are discussed. The broken window theory has been used to explain and justify this phenomenon. This theory and (CRT) were used to frame this study. A trend analysis of pre-existing quantitative public data examined comparative trends in arrests recorded for Blacks Americans and

Caucasians by the police departments of Atlanta, Georgia and Detroit, Michigan and reported by the Department of Justice over a 35-year period (1980 to 2014). A database on fatal police shootings began to be compiled and made publicly available by the Mapping Police Violence Organization for a 4-year period between 2015 and 2018 were also analyzed and discussed.

Findings can be used to guide a discussion on the relationship between race, socioeconomics, environment, and police involvement in these two extremely different urban environments. Outcomes may also be used to support solutions for closing the racial and social divide in police involvement. Chapter 2 contains a review of the literature on the environment, race, and police involvement. Chapter 3 includes a description of the research methodology that I used for this study. Chapter 4 includes the results of ANOVA (F-Statistic) tests and analyzed the data to determine trends in arrests and also included the results of the tests conducted ANOVA and a chi-square tests was used to determine if deaths caused by police force between 2015 and 2018 were significantly different between races and cities over the 4-year period. Chapter 5 includes summary, conclusions and recommendations from the results of the study I conducted.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The problem that I addressed in this study was the overrepresentation of Black Americans, and in particular individual Black men, as criminals in United States. The perception that Black Americans are criminals and engage in criminal activity is not accurate. This racialization of perceptions play a role in courtrooms, where individual Black males are more likely to be sentenced or receive a longer sentence than their Caucasian peers (Clair and Winter, 2016). Racial disparities in civilian-officer contact, arrest, and unfair sentencing practices may be driven by racial biases both inside and outside the criminal justice system.

Racial bias in routine stops, arrests, and police shootings have been highlighted by both the media and activist groups over the past few years. This inequitable behavior has given rise to movements such as Black Lives Matter organization which demand that police officers and law enforcement be held accountable when suspected of abusing their authority (Lucas, 2015). While racial disparities in police arrests and shootings have been studied, there is a gap in the study of negative police contact in which racial inequality is studied within the context of differences in regional socioeconomics.

The purpose of the study was to examine the racial divide in arrests and fatal police shootings of civilians in two cities with substantially different socioeconomic compositions. In this study, I examined, compared and contrasted rates of arrests (1980-2014) and fatal police shootings (2015-2018) between races in the cities of Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia.

Search Strategy

In this chapter, the search strategy used to identify and synthesize literature relevant to the proposed research study is described. The dependent variables (arrests and fatal shootings) and independent variables (race and cities), “broken windows” and “critical race theory” are described. To conduct a review of the literature, a search was conducted on several databases including Google Scholar, Sage-Full, ProQuest Central, Thoreau Multi-Database Search and Database Trials. This search included peer reviewed papers and articles published after 2011. Key terms used to identify the sources included: *arrests, fatal police shootings, police stereotypes, police bias, regional differences in arrests, regional differences in violence, stop and frisk, police stops, broken windows theory, and critical race theory*. A total of 40 peer reviewed publications, articles, and government websites were identified as relevant and used for purposes of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Two main theories of broken windows theory and critical race theory were used to frame this research study. Stereotypes regarding race and poverty are reinforced through images communicated through movies, magazines, and various forms social media. Huber and Solórzano (2015) looked at the critical race theory through visual microaggressions over the last 40 years at the depiction of Black Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Muslims and other non-majority groups as bandits with criminal intent. Such depictions reinforce stereotypes, create discord, and promote dominant power structures. Visual depictions of criminal characterization associated with minority groups reinforce negative and inaccurate perceptions of these racial groups. Critical race

theory is used to explain culture and society pertaining to categorizations of law, race, and power.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory was introduced by Derrick Bell in the 1980's. This theoretical framework is used in the social sciences to examine society and culture as they relate to categorizations and intersection of race, law, and power (American Philosophy Association Newsletter, 1999). Researchers have applied this theory to their studies in their research premise. For example, in a qualitative study conducted, the researcher analyzed narratives provided by 36 interviews and reported that the respondents perceived law enforcement officers as agents of brutality (Chaney and Robertson, 2013).

Critical race theory can be explained using a visual approach. Visual racial microaggressions, which uses depictions or images of criminality with minority groups, such as Black Americans and Hispanics, are necessary to revealing and exposing racism for minority groups, which they encounter daily in their environments (Huber and Solórzano, 2015). Racial microaggressions are systemic daily racism which may be used to keep those racial margins in place. Racial bias can be in the form of verbal, nonverbal, subtle and unconscious forms. Assaults can be based on language, color, religion, class, and/or gender. Minority groups, like Black Americans and Hispanics, are commonly the victims of the phenomena of microaggressions.

Critical race theory can capture and give possible explanation as to why individual Black males are the target of police brutality. Police officers look at individual Black males as suspect and potential perpetrators and this racial bias plays into

aggressive actions toward Black males (Jefferies, Butcher and Hanley, 2011; Plant and Peruche, 2005). Race plays a role in police interaction with civilians and the level of aggressive behavior toward certain civilians, particularly individual Black males. Critical race theory can explain conceptually how race is integrated into institutions, such as judicial and police departments, giving understanding to the disparate treatment of marginalized societal groups like Black males to keep them subjugated (Fine and Cross, 2016). Because of the issue of race, the inequality of treatment towards individual Black males is integrated within institutions in our society, such as in policing practices by police officers and is reflected in negative interactions between police and individual Black males.

Broken Windows

Broken windows theory is an academic theory proposed by James Wilson and George Kelling in 1982. Broken windows was used as a metaphor for disorder within neighborhoods. Their theory links disorder and incivility within a community to subsequent occurrences of serious crime. Broken windows theory is based on the belief that run down or broken communities are a reflection of criminality. The generalization is that serious street crime flourishes where disorderly behavior is not checked and where a criminal believes their chances of being caught are reduced by terrorized and intimidated victims, who fail to report even minor crimes (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Broken windows theory was used to justify prejudicial policies and practices.

Use of stop-and-frisk is often associated with broken windows policing. Wilson

and Kelling (1982) stipulated that broken windows theory espouses that low-level crime and disorder creates an environment which encourages more serious crimes and that crime in general is a product of poverty. The key proponents of the theory include William Bratton, Commissioner of the New York City Police Department from 1994 to 1996 and Mayor Rudy Giuliani (Bratton and Kelling, 2015).

Both Giuliani and Bratton argued that stop-and-frisk has been wrongly conflated with broken windows policing by proponents who argued these policing policies were racially motivated and unconstitutional. (Bratton and Kelling, 2015). Giuliani and Bratton argued that stop-and-frisk is a short-term tactic for preventing a potential crime, whereas broken windows policing is a long-term tactic that requires the police to engage with communities. The theory of broken windows gave police officers instructions to proactively prevent and reduce crimes by utilizing stop and frisk policies. Proponents of stop-and-frisk stipulated that the broken window theory of policing reduces serious crimes, such as homicides and armed robbery (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). This gave cause to make stops in the belief that doing so would reduce crimes in neighborhoods. Stop and frisk differs from broken windows theory in that stop and frisk is based on reasonable suspicion that a crime is about to occur, has occurred or is occurring (Bratton and Kelling, 2015).

In the current crisis of mass incarceration, broken windows are often presented as the milder, more community-minded alternative to more aggressive forms of policing (ICA, 2016). The presentation of broken windows theory is used as a substitute to mass incarceration and only worsens the collective punishment of individuals and communities

already suffering from institutional and system racism. Policy makers and police departments have utilized the logic of broken windows theory to justify policing policies, such as stop-and-frisk, by locating disorder within certain communities and attach blame to citizens within that community or neighborhood.

It has been well established that the environment influences aggressive behavior by police and law enforcement. Environmental characteristics of inner-city communities and neighborhoods demand attention where violent or crime takes places in order to explore if there is a possible relationship between environment and criminal activity (Kuo and Sullivan, 2001). Kuo and Sullivan (2001) reported that naturalistic observation of aggressive behavior is profoundly influenced by a host of environmental features such as temperature, noise, overcrowding, green space, safe space, mental fatigue, etc. and can therefore impact levels of crime (Kuo and Sullivan, 2001).

Other Applicable Theories

Several other theories could have been applied to the topic of this study.

Frustration-Aggression

The theory of frustration- aggression has been found useful by theorists in examining how frustrating circumstances and situations can trigger aggression (Krahe, 2013). Traditional theorists such as Freud had a different view than the theory of frustration-aggression and proposed that external aggression was a self-destructive instinct directed outwardly (Worchel, 2013). Freud's belief that aggression was not a reaction to frustration was widely rejected by many psychologists. The more popular belief is that

aggressive behaviors are not exclusively negative but can be a positive response to some situations (Lefkowitz, Eron, and Walder, 2013).

Although the study was not be framed by the frustration-aggression theory, it was relevant when considering the perception of bias by police. Numerous researchers have used the frustration-aggression theory to examine human and animal reactions to stress full events. According to the frustration-aggression theory, a person makes intentional actions to restore disruptive justice actions against its beneficiaries or producers (Greenburg and Cohen, 2014). Negative biases and stereotypes increase the likelihood of frustrating situations experienced by individual Black males, and may lead to aggression on part of the civilian and/or law enforcement.

Racial Bias and Civilian-Police Contact

In this study, I focused on the racial and socioeconomic divide in reported civilian-police interaction. Police stops, searches, and arrests are determined by the individual police and may be influenced by race and socioeconomics. Research shows an overall negative response to police officers ranging from suspicion of police officers to contempt.

The National Police Misconduct Statistics and Reporting Project (NPMSRP) gathered quantitative data from 5,986 reports of police misconducts between April 2009 and June 2010 across the United States. My goal for the study was to examine the degree to which police are generally perceived as antipathetic by individual Black males. The researchers sought to examine (a) How individuals perceive their local police department, and (b) Implications of perceptions or individual Black men in America. The following

four themes emerged from the study: (a) law enforcement as agents of brutality (44%), (b) suspicion of law enforcement (22%), (c) respect for law enforcement (20%), and (d) contempt for law enforcement (14%). The study revealed that a substantial portion of the general public shared questionable feelings regarding police as guardians of communities and concluded that experiences of negative contact with police caused many civilians trauma and anticipation of negative police interactions (Chaney and Robertson, 2013).

Rojek and Decker (2012) focused on the relationship between race and police stops and found that officers were more likely to stop individual Black drivers than individual White drivers. This finding was supported by the research Goff et al. (2014) who suggested that the perception of Black Americans as less innocent than other races resulted in the dehumanization of Black American children (Goff, Jackson, DiLeone, Culotta and DiTomasso, 2014; Rojek and Decker, 2012). These two studies were able to prove racial bias toward civilians assumed to be guilty without just cause and before given their right of due process.

The ingrained perception of guilt by law enforcement can also increase stress for police officers, thus adding to the negative treatment and extreme behavioral reactions. Contact between police and individual Black males is often perceived as a justifiable detainment by society and the assumption that guilt rests on the individual Black civilian is a by-product of a perceived threat to individual White lives (Rembert, Wilson and Hill, 2016). Results of the study suggest that race plays a role in negative police contact.

Police officers are likely to make stops based on demographic variables such as race/ethnicity, gender, and age. Rojek and Decker (2012) studied the phenomenon between race and police stops and searches using Donald Black's theory of law and social control. The researchers were able to provide evidence that individual Black drivers were stopped and searched by both individual Black and White officers at a disproportionately higher rate (Rojek and Decker, 2012). The policing practice of stop and frisk was commonly practiced with the purpose of deterring crime.

The practice legality of stop and frisk was challenged because of the disproportionately high number of individual young males of color searched. In New York it was found that 80% of stops involved individual Blacks and Latinos although they made up less than half of the population (Selmi, 2016). In addition, it was determined that Fourth Amendment rights, which protect the civilian's autonomy and privacy, were consistently violated by stop and frisk practices (Meares, 2015). The practice of stop and frisk ultimately confirms the phenomenon of racial bias in policing.

Demographics impact a police officer's response toward drivers and are often predictors of arrests as an outcome of the police stop. Tillyer and Engel (2013) conducted research to determine if unconscious profiles based on demographic variables are correlated to responses by police officers. The researchers used the social conditioning theory model to explain police bias, which suggests that discretionary decisions based on racial considerations contribute to a pattern of racial disparities in arrest (Smith and Alpert, 2007).

Individuals often feel police are unlawfully stopping and arresting them and therefore they can become uncooperative, resulting in negative contact with police. According to a study by Tyler, Fagan and Geller (2014) the result of a stop is a correlated cooperation with police. Individual young Black males generally experience police encounters as negative contact because police officers perceive this particular demographic groups as being most likely to be guilty of criminal activity (Najdowski, 2011; Najodowski, 2015). Najdowski hypothesized that Caucasians do not share in the experience of stereotyping during an arrest. The characterization of individual Blacks as criminals affects their experience during police contact. This interaction produces a phenomenon known as stereotype threat (Najdowski, Bottoms and Goff, 2015). The theory of stereotype threat explains perceptions that they risk being prejudged and mistreated based on demographic stereotypes.

Because concepts of crime and race are inextricably linked, criminal stereotype can unconsciously influence how police officers interpret what they see and how they decide to respond to that interpretation (Najdowski, Bottoms and Goff, 2015). The stereotype of individual Blacks as criminals may lead to increased stress on the part of the civilian and the officer, resulting in aggression by either or both parties. There is a gap in sociological and criminological research on the correlation between stereotype threat and arrest outcomes. Further research could provide valuable insights into how these perceptions, feelings, and attitudes lead to inequitable experiences during police contact.

Youth and Police Contact

Data reports that young adults and adolescents also experience higher rates of involuntary contact with police (Langton and Durose, 2013). Approximately 1 in 5 (18%) Americans have been stopped in the street, traffic, and/or ticketed. Also, 1 in 4 young adults report being arrested and countless number report be questioned and stopped (Wiley, 2014). National estimates state that anywhere between 16 and 27 percent of young adults are arrested by police before 18 years of age (Brame, Turner, Patemoster and Bushway, 2014). Arrests rates are highest for Black American and Native American males under 29 years of age (Miller, Lawrence, Carlson, Hendrie, Randall, Rocket and Spicer, 2017).

Contact with police has been found to have a negative impact on young adults. It fuels negative behavior by young adults who feel unjustly and unfairly treated by police. The perception of procedural justice affects law-violating behavior because it shapes the norms that promote violent and delinquent behavior (Bradford, 2012; Jackson, Huq, Bradford, and Tyler, 2013). Slocum, Wiley and Esbensen (2015) conducted a study that examined how a young adult's intimate experiences with police shape perceptions and subsequent delinquent behavior. The study tested whether contact with police set in motion a process of developing negative orientations toward police officers and reinforcing norms that promote the use of violent and delinquent behaviors. The researcher relied upon longitudinal survey data over a 5-year period as oppose to cross-sectional research in order to assess the link between subsequent delinquent behavior and police contact over time.

Young adults from disadvantaged neighborhoods are more likely to experience negative interactions with police than their higher income peers (Busby, Lambert and Ialongo, 2013). Researchers for the National Research Council conducted a study to estimate the effect of federal and state policies on incarceration of poorly educated men under the age of 40 . Researchers discovered that this population also suffered additional deficits such as substance addictions, disabilities, mental illnesses, and lack of work preparation (Travis, Western and Redburn, 2014).

Educational disparities are closely related to race and the increased likelihood of incarceration. In 2010, it was estimated that on average, 15 percent of Black Americans without a college degree, and a third of those without a high school diploma could expect to be arrested in any single year, and that 1 in 5 Black men who never attended college, and half of high school drop outs will have served either in federal or state prison at some point in their lives (Gravis, Wester and Redburn, 2014). Many questions remain on how education can effectively be utilized to reverse the incarceration rate of young Black Americans in this country.

Academic failure has been found to be directly related to levels of aggression in young individuals. Young individual students who are already frustrated by academic problems may act out aggressively in negative situations (Sharma and Marimutha, 2014). A comparative analysis conducted by Sharma and Marimutha (2014) looked at the relationship between education and aggression. Differences in scores achieved on the Resilience Scale and Buss-Perry Aggression Scale and Anger Scales were measured. Data was collected from different global communities and consisted of a sample of 2,691

females and 2,785 males ranging from age 15 to 26 years of age. The case groups consisted of students or graduates of a college or industrial Training Institute. The comparison group consisted of young individuals who were non-students or graduates and were in the same region of Bangalore, Jammu, Indore, Kerala, Rajasthan, Sikkim and Delhi.

Based on the outcomes of the study, researchers suggested that academic performance may affect one's behavior such as aggressiveness. Researchers pointed to school as being a frustrating factor fueling aggression which could play out in unwanted stressful situations. However, the researchers failed to explain patterns of aggression among students who were high academic performers. Highly educated students who experience positive academic performance also may demonstrate aggressive behavior when education performance functions as stressful stimuli.

Ethnic Discrimination

Many previous researchers have examined the role of ethnicity in discrimination. According to studies conducted by Van Craen and Skogan (2015), U.S. Black Americans are quite different than Latinos and other ethnic groups in terms of attitudes toward police, perceptions of police behavior, and their victimization experiences (Van Craen and Skogan, 2015). When controlling for the level of education, income, and social capital, perceptions of police by Black Americans are still most negative compared to perceptions of police by other ethnic minority groups. The relationship between police enforcement, immigrants, and newcomer groups is also a topic of interest.

A study was conducted by Van Craen and Skogan (2015) to examine what factors influenced trust in police amongst minorities. Three areas related to trust, inclusive of (a) procedural justice, (b) social capital and (c) performance theory helped explain the levels of trust in police from its citizens. The researchers hypothesized that perceptions of discrimination and social capital didn't play an important role in the explanation of trust in the police. The researchers also assessed the similarities and differences in trust of police between minority groups. The researchers replicated a previous study on Moroccan and Turkish minority group members' trust in Belgian police (Van Craen, 2013). However, the researchers looked at newly arrived Polish immigrant trust in Belgian police. After regression analyses of the data gathered in the city of Antwerp (N=418), the researchers suggested that no correlation could be measured between trust in police and social capital among Polish immigrants (Van Craen and Skogan, 2015).

Social capital theory is the basic idea that a well-functioning social network and communities form a foundation for the rebirth of the norms of trust and reciprocity (Van Craen and Skogan, 2015). Such networks help give rise to not only trust between citizens but trust in its democratic authorities. Recent researchers in their studies have produced empirical indicators that such neighborhood social capital does certainly shape this attitude (Sun and Wu, 2011; Sun et al., 2012). Societies that form networks like neighborhood block clubs and voluntary associations, increase trust and cooperation between authorities and citizens, because it gives understanding to citizens on how institutions work. Social capital theory uses networks to bridge relationships by allowing citizens to familiarize themselves with police.

Performance theory emphasizes how important a citizens' performance expectation and outputs of an agency or institution. Performance theory relates the good and bad performance by a government institution or agency respectively relating to trust and distrust (Bouckaert et al., 2002; Brown and Coulter 1983; Lipset and Schneider, 1987). For example, citizens expect police officers to perform their duties without being abusive. Citizens expect certain outcomes and job performances from authorities.

Procedural justice deals with feelings about how fairly one is treated by political, legal and managerial practices and procedures dictated by authorities. Procedural justice shapes the image citizens have of the police (Van Craen and Skogan, 2015). One way that police manifest procedural and distributive unfairness or bias can be based on race (Tyler, 2005).

The study conducted by Van Craen and Skogan (2015) was based on results of 418 face-to-face interviews designed and collected by the Policy Research Centre on Equal Opportunities. This groups monitored Polish minority group member attitudes and integration into government institutions (Vancluysen and Hennau, 2011). The sample used included naturalized Belgians and those with Polish nationality. The data was collected from fieldwork which ran from October 7, 2010 to February 28, 2011.

The empirical analysis was used as a replica from Van Craen's (2013) study and used ordinary least squares regression analysis as the method for analysis. The dependent variable was the respondent's level of trust in Belgian Institutions inclusive of the Belgian police. Multifaceted discrimination model recorded how respondents personally felt discriminated against. The researchers discovered that discrimination experienced by

the new immigrant arrivals significantly correlated ($P < .05$) with negative feelings toward governmental institutions such as police.

It appears trust, particularly with police, is built through mutual relationship between police and community. Police outreach with the communities they serve may influence rebuilding trust in police. In contrast, distrust is fueled by negative police contact experiences which may lead to feelings of discrimination conducted among Europeans is extremely useful in clarifying the effects of discrimination on trust in authoritative organizations among racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States.

Environment

Over two decades ago, the Department of Justice compiled a study which examined if physical features of the environment were associated with crime prevention or crime related problems such as fear of crime, residents' concerns, and neighborhood viability. The researchers discussed assumptions surrounding previous research study regarding this phenomenon and major studies that link neighborhood and community features with crime, fear of crime, and other related outcomes.

The authors suggested that physical features such as housing design, block layout, land use, circulation patterns, resident-generated territorial features, and physical deterioration are emphasized and that these features, as well as host of socio-demographics, such as income, education, and job security, carry considerable policing policy, and practice implications leave numerous questions unanswered (DOJ, 1996). There are broad socioeconomic and environmental differences between the two cities under study (See Figure 2.1).

Education

More students complete high school in Atlanta, Georgia than in Detroit, Michigan. A five-year average comparison shows 10% more students complete high school in Atlanta than do in Detroit (Census.gov). Education rates are not equal between Detroit and Atlanta, where Detroit lags in getting students through completion of high school. The college graduate level for a bachelor's degree or higher for adults ages 18 to 24 shows a huge gap between the two cities. The college graduate level for a bachelor's degree for Atlanta residents is more than triple than that for Detroit residents (Census.gov).

Income

Detroit also lags drastically behind Atlanta in median income. The average income for Atlanta, Georgia was \$49,398.00 compared to \$26, 249 for Detroit, Michigan (Census.gov, 2017). Job security is also significantly lower in Detroit as evidenced by an unemployment rate nearly twice that of Atlanta. The poverty level for Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia is drastically different. The 5-year average poverty level for Detroit, Michigan for 2016 is 39.4% compared to 24% for Atlanta, Georgia (Census.gov, 2017). Far more Detroit residents are living in poverty than the residents in Atlanta. Not only are the residents of Detroit faced with a much greater poverty level, but also living in an environment with a very high number of abandon houses at approximately 30% of houses are abandoned compared to less than 18% in Atlanta Georgia (Census.gov, 2017). The gap in economic security is considerable and easily measurable.

Migration and the Black Exodus

Black American residents are leaving the city of Detroit, while cities that held more economic promise such as Atlanta, began experiencing an increase in the Black American population. In Detroit, Michigan the Black American population has decreased by 13% from 2010 to 2016; whereas, in Atlanta, Georgia the Black population has increased by 6% during same time period. Atlanta, Georgia continues to experience an increase in the Black American population moving into the city, while by contrast Detroit, Michigan continues to experience a population decline in record numbers (U.S. Census, 2016). The comparative demographic descriptions of both cities are listed below:

	Detroit	Atlanta
Median household income	\$26,249	\$49,398.00
High school completion	79.00%	89.50%
Occupied housing	256985	189343
Vacant housing	108874	42809
Unemployment (%)	7.8%	4.7%
Poverty level	39.4%	24%
Number of Companies	61868	64953
Population	713,777	420,003
Black Population (%)	79.7	53.2

U.S. Census Bureau, 2017

Figure 2.1

Summary

The major themes throughout the literatures illustrate that young Black males generally have a negative perception and feelings toward police. Common reactions to

negative police contact resulted in feelings of discrimination and social injustice. As a result, this demographic group may be more likely to respond with aggression caused by this frustration, resulting in negative police-civilian interaction including apprehension, arrest, imprisonment, and even death. Considering today's literature has not applied an intersection approach that examines and investigates the intersectional relationship of not only race and gender to understand police behaviors that lead to mortality, but other demographics like environment and median income for these two cities, Atlanta and Detroit, I conducted a study examining trends in racial disparities in arrests and fatal police shootings over time in two cities with different socioeconomic conditions. In this study I compared trends of arrests over a 35-year period from 1980 to 2014 based on race and location between Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia. Trend analyses was used to examine secondary data compiled by the Department of Justice. A t-test was used to measure significant racial differences in arrests in these two cities. Also, the study used a Chi-Square analysis to measure the frequency of fatalities in both Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia from secondary data from Mapping Police Violence Organization from 2015 to 2018.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In Chapter 3, the research method selected for this proposed study was discussed. The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which race, Black American and Caucasian, and environment, Atlanta and Detroit, are associated with arrest rates and fatalities by police shootings. This chapter includes a discussion on the research design, rationale, population, sampling, instruments, questions, hypothesis, sources of data, study variables and data analysis plan. The first section of this chapter includes a description of the study design and justification for the design. The second section of the chapter includes a discussion of the population and sample size estimation and data analysis plan used to answer the research questions and hypothesis statements. This study provided results in new knowledge on the impact of regional variation and racial disparities on civilian-police interaction. Since most current literature fails to investigate the intersectional relationship of not only race and gender to understand police behaviors that lead to arrest and mortality, research is needed to address this phenomenon.

Rationale and Research Design

I chose a research design by asking a series of questions. The Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching lists the considerations for research design to include (a) Question being asked (b) Data collected to answer the question, and (c) Type of results reported; therefore, because my proposed research reported data trends and seeks to confirm three specific hypotheses, the research design methods were highly structured and consistent with the recommended consideration lists. The data I analyzed

reflect trends based on frequency data. Using quantitative methodology was best suited for this research problem and allowed me to examine the relationship between the two variables, race and police involvement.

Methodology

Trend analyses was conducted on secondary data compiled by the Department of Justice from 1980 to 2014 and the Mapping Police Violence Organization from 2015 to 2018 to compare police-civilian Interaction between races and cities over the past 4 decades. The ANOVA then compares differences in the average occurrence of an event. The *F*-statistics and *p*-values were reported to indicate if differences were due to random variation or chance. While a *t*-test was used to measure racial differences in arrests in these two cities, Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia. A chi-square analysis was used to determine the frequency of fatalities for Atlanta and Detroit over the 4-year period from 2015 to 2018.

Data Collection

This study was based on two secondary data sets that were previously collected. Secondary data can be obtained through a number of sources including medical records, data files, public databases, and many other sources. Other examples of secondary data are large regional and national data sets that are publicly available. The Bureau of Justice Statistics was used as the primary database in this study to answer the first two questions and test the first two hypotheses. Data were collected by local law enforcement agencies, enforcement, managed and reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) which is the primary source for criminal justice statistics in the United States. The operations of

50,000 agencies, offices, courts, and institutions that together comprise the justice system. Characteristics and the consequences of approximately 21 million criminal victimizations were recorded.

The third and fourth research questions were answered and the hypotheses tested utilizing the database compiled by the Mapping Police Violence Organization for people who were fatally shot by the police as of January 1, 2015. Mapping Police Violence is a research collaborative collecting comprehensive data on police killings nationwide to quantify the impact of police violence in communities. The annually reported data is provided in an excel format and is available for public use and can be accessed through the website <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org>.

Population

The population for the BJS website includes 7.2 million adults across the United States who are subject to the care, custody, or control of federal, state, and local criminal justice authorities. The data were published annually on criminal offenders and case processing. Periodic data series include administration of law enforcement agencies and correctional facilities, state court case processing, felony convictions, characteristics of correctional populations, criminal justice expenditure and employment, civil case processing in state courts and special studies on other criminal justice topics. Arrest data and arrest related deaths were collected for municipalities in each of the fifty states in the United States over the past 35 years (Snyder et al., 2017).

Data collected and reported by nongovernment organizations such as the Washington Post and Mapping Police Violence data reflect those who were killed by

police fire by on duty law enforcement. These databases also include demographics such as age, race, gender, state, and city of fatality. The Mapping Police Violence Organization provides location data inclusive of address, and/or zip code which allows for city specific analysis. The Mapping Police Violence database tracks more than a dozen details about each killing including the race (Black American, Caucasian, Hispanic, Other, and Unknown) of the deceased, the circumstances of the shooting, and whether the person was armed. Only shootings in which a police or law enforcement officer killed a civilian were reported (Mapping Police Violence, 2018).

Study Setting

All data being analyzed for this study were collected previously by their respective municipalities. Data for this study were limited to the metropolitan cities of Atlanta, Georgia and Detroit, Michigan. Data representing arrests were reported by the metropolitan cities between 1980 and 2015, while fatal police shootings have also been reported by states and city levels by the Mapping Police Violence Organization from 2015 to 2018..

Sample Size

According to Faul et. al., (2013) a repeated measures ANOVA with a power of 0.80, an alpha level of 0.05, and a medium effect size ($f=.25$) requires a sample size of at least 34 observations (Faul et al., 2007). For purposes of this study, an ANOVA (F-statistic) were calculated to test if trends in arrests collected and reported by the Atlanta and Detroit by the Police Departments between 1980 and 2014 and police involved deaths between 2015 and 2018 are significantly different between races over time. A

total of 35 years of arrest records are assumed to be adequate to avoid Type I and Type II errors. The 4 years of arrest-related fatality rates suggest that the small sample yielded only a low effect size. The 4-year trends in civilian deaths included as an adjunct topic to frame the primary focus of comparative arrest trends while a secondary analysis on fatal shootings nationally also was conducted to frame the study.

Sampling Procedures

All arrest data reported to the Bureau of Justice between 1980 and 2014, and police related deaths recorded between 2015 and 2018 by the Mapping Police Violence Organization national database was used in this study in order to test and analyze the data in order to answer the research questions. Because the research questions were based on all arrest and fatal shooting data collected, reported and available, I did not employ any additional sampling procedures.

Research Design

The research method I utilized followed a quantitative study non-experimental design. When conducting the study I looked at trends of arrests (dependent variable) and fatalities (dependent variable) between two cities Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia (independent variable) and between races (independent variable). Race was categorized between Black American and Caucasian. Detroit and Atlanta were chosen because both cities are home to a Black American majority, yet have quite dissimilar socioeconomic demographics (U.S. Census, 2016). This covariate variable (two majority Black American cities and opposite socioeconomic demographics) was observed, rather than manipulated, but could affect the outcome of the study. Data were longitudinal and

collected over a period of 4 decades. Longitudinal analyses are considered a type of observational study and are used to study fluctuations in trends across a fixed period of time. Trends were tested using an ANOVA to test for trends over time.

For purposes of this study, variability in rates by year were examined between regions and between two broad racial groups. Longitudinal studies allow social scientists to distinguish short from long-term phenomena, such as poverty and allow the researcher to make social observations without manipulating the environment or data source (Lac, 2016). Longitudinal studies may have less power to detect causal relationships than experiments, repeated observation can have more power than cross-sectional (one period of time) observational studies to study the degree to which a common event may or not be shared by groups of individuals (Lac, 2016). While longitudinal studies can require a lot of time and expense, use of a secondary data set collected by the city police departments and the DOJ make this study time and cost efficient (Grady Cummings, and Holley, 2013).

Rationale

The rationale I chose for selecting research designs began by asking a series of questions. The Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching lists the considerations for research design to include (a) Question being asked (b) Data collected to answer the question, and (c) Type of results reported; therefore, because my proposed research reported data trends and seeks to confirm three specific hypotheses, the research design methods were highly structured and consistent with the recommended consideration lists. The data analyzed reflect trends based on frequency data. Quantitative methodology

therefore best applied to this research problem and to allow the examination of the relationship between the two variables of race and police involvement. Analyzing the data allowed me to examine cause and effect relationships and to make predictions.

Advantages

A possible advantage of studies using existing secondary data is speed and costs. Research questions that might otherwise require more time and money to investigate can sometimes be answered faster and less costly. The database of annual arrest records compiled by the DOJ over 35 years, and police initiated death figures over a 4-year period, provided valuable cohort data. Grady Cummings and Hulley (2013) suggested that use of repeated measurements with pre-existing cohort has been an excellent approach for exploring useful discoveries.

Disadvantages

Studies using existing data also have disadvantages. The selection of the study population, data collection, and quality of data are predetermined by someone other than the researcher. The existing data may have been collected from a population that is not ideal or the quality of the data may be poor, missing or inaccurate. The investigator has little or no control over what data or how that data has been collected. These factors contribute to the main disadvantages of using existing data (Grady Cummings, and Hulley, 2013).

Threats to Validity

There are several issues that can threaten the validity of data. First, data on arrests and arrest related deaths are not broken down by age, only by juvenile and adult.

Arrest data do not report arrests made on individuals with multiple offenses, and race definitions do not include reflect offender's Hispanic origin. This data dissemination tool presents arrest counts reported by local law enforcement agencies to the FBI's program. The reported arrest counts are those found on the FBI's automated data files. While local, state, and federal levels work to ensure the quality of information collected and reported, given the magnitude of the work, there may be inaccuracies in some of the reported data. The Bureau of Justice (BJS) is responsible for accurately transcribing the FBI data but is not responsible for the quality of the underlying information reported (Snyder et al., 2017).

The Police Shootings Database collected by the Mapping Police Violence Organization may also vulnerable to similar threat to validity. The FBI and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) both log fatal shootings by police, however it has been acknowledged that the data collected and reported by these two Federal organizations is incomplete. In order to maximize the validity and reliability and validity of the data, data collected by independent nongovernmental organizations such as the Mapping Police Violence Organization update their databases as new fatal shootings are reported and new facts emerge about individual cases. This assured that the databases remain as comprehensive as possible (Tate et al., 2015).

Time Series Analysis

A time series is a sequence of data points that are graphed in time order. A time series is commonly taken at successive, equally spaced time points, over a discrete period of time. The number of arrests by race as well as arrests in proportion to the population

were plotted over a 35 year period of time from 1980 to 2014, and police caused civilian fatalities from 2015 to 2018 using line charts. Graphics for the 35-year time series of arrests were plotted for both Atlanta and Detroit. A second time series of graphics were plotted for civilian deaths from 2015 to 2018 by race as consequence of police-civilian interaction over a 4-year time period. These plot graphics were used to provide pattern recognition and temporal measurements.

Time series analysis comprises methods for analyzing time series data in order to extract meaningful statistics and other characteristics of the data. It requires that data have a natural temporal ordering which can offer more meaning than cross-sectional (one time) studies, in which there is no natural ordering of the observations. Time series analysis is frequently used to describe changes in phenomena by geographical locations over a specific time period. Few studies have examined comparative trends in arrest and fatal police shootings by race and environmental location over the past 4 decades (Logan, 2014; Creswell, 2013; Velicer and Fava, 2003; Grady Cummings and Hulley, 2013).

Time-Trend Analysis

A time-trend analysis is described as an optimal approach to measure differences within and between groups over a specific time period. Time-trend data are collected multiple times over a specific time period to assess patterns of change under two or more different conditions. Few research studies have examined comparative trends in arrest and fatal police shootings by race and regional location. The research questions I analyzed were rather a relationship exists between trends in police arrests and police

induced fatal shootings, race, and location over nearly a 40-year time period. The working hypotheses I analyzed stipulated that there was a relationship between the arrest rates of men based on race and location. Time-trend designs are a form of longitudinal study and involve the analysis of data collected from a population over time to look for trends and changes. This type of analysis is exploratory and can be used to generate hypotheses, rather than demonstrating causality (Creswell, 2013; Velicer and Fava, 2003). The four principal reasons for conducting a time trend analysis were (a) Investigate differences between populations (b) Study group-specific effects, (c) Utilize group-level data, and (d) Conduct an inexpensive and time efficient analysis if preexisting data are readily available.

Data Analysis Plan

The two sources of recorded data were downloaded as excel files and transferred into an IBM SPSS (version 23) for analysis and to create charts, tables, and graphs. The results of time-series designs were interpreted with caution to consider differences in outcomes between different populations. The analysis and presentations of time-trend data included (a) Graphical plots displaying the observed data over time, (b) Statistical methods used to calculate average changes, and (c) Statistical methods to calculate differences between groups

By using a regular time series, I was able to clearly illustrate with the use of a line chart, arrests and fatality data. In the context of this study, the number of arrests cases were standardized based on number of residents according to racial identification. The direction, up or down of the line, visually demonstrate if the incidence of arrests and

deaths resulting from civilian-police contact has been decreasing or increasing over time. By using the time series plots I was able to provide a graphical view of the raw data. The year of the arrest or fatality was plotted on the x-axis, and the outcome data, numeric number, was plotted on the y-axis

In a time-trend analysis, comparisons were made between groups to help draw conclusions about the effect of an exposure on different populations. Observations were recorded for each group at equal time intervals (annually). Trends in factors, such as rates of arrests and fatalities, examined over time make it possible to predict future frequencies and rates of occurrence. Studies of time trends focus on (a) Patterns of change of the outcome variable (arrests) over time, (b) Comparing one geographical area or population to another, and (c) Making future projections and aid the planning of social programs and services that can contribute to decreasing inequality in civilian-police contact.

The first step in assessing a trend was to plot the observations of interest (arrests) and police related deaths, by year. The observations were also examined in tabular form. The statistical methods used to measure if proportional differences and change in trends are statistically significant include (a) Chi-square test for linear trend and (b) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA).

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The time series is a type of temporal statistical analysis which enables the examination of changes in behavior or outcome of interest over time. Common temporal analyses include a one-way ANOVA to measure assumptions or hypothesis. The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine whether there were any

statistically significant differences between the means of three or more independent (unrelated) groups. In this study, thirty-five years were treated as 35 separate categories.

The ANOVA is a general statistical approach used to compare data from three or more populations. Because of the flexibility and generality ANOVA offers, it was used to compare frequencies of outcomes between populations over distinct time periods.

Using ANOVA you can then compare differences in the average occurrence of an event.

The F- statistics and p-values is used to indicate if differences were due to random variation or chance. The statistics I recorded were placed in a table format.

Ethical Procedures

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) is a federal statistical agency and closely adheres to all data protection laws and ethical guidelines. The mission of the BJS is to collect, analyze, publish, and disseminate statistical information on crime, criminal offenders, victims of crime, and the operation of justice systems at all levels of government. The guidelines require BJS to adhere to strict confidentiality requirements regarding data collected at BJS and collect data to be used only for statistical purposes; commit to wide dissemination of BJS data for public benefit; and strive to maximize the utility, objectivity, and integrity of the information BJS disseminates and archives for public use. The BJS is responsible for protecting the integrity of data and statistics and shall protect against improper or illegal use or disclosure in accordance with 34 U.S.C. § 10132b (Snyder et al., 2017).

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) recognize BJS as one of thirteen principal federal statistical agencies that have statistical work as their principal mission.

For the purpose of this document, the words information and data are used synonymously. This document is intended to provide a general overview of the statutory, regulatory, and policy framework under which the employees and contractors of BJS operate. Nothing herein is intended to, or does, create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any matter civil or criminal. Statistical information provided to BJS that cannot be identifiable to a private person without the consent of the person furnishing such information, be admitted as evidence or be used for any purpose in any action, suit, or other judicial, legislative, or administrative proceedings. The BJS Data Quality Guidelines were established to ensure and maximize the utility, objectivity, and integrity of the information BJS disseminates (Snyder et al., 2017). Although analysis was based on publicly available secondary data sets, human research protections were in accordance with Walden's policies and procedures.

Summary

Guided by both critical race and broken windows theories comparing trends in arrests from 1980 to 2014, and fatalities from 2015 to 2014 between cities, Atlanta and Detroit, and race, Black American versus Caucasian, a t-test was used to examine trends. Also, a chi-square analysis was used to examine the frequency of fatalities between both cities over the 4-year period from 2015 to 2018. Secondary data for arrests were collected by local law enforcement agencies, enforcement, and management, and then reported by the (BJS), which is the primary source for criminal justice statistics in the United States. Also, secondary data for fatalities were collected from a database compiled by the Mapping Police Violence Organization for citizens in the United States

that were fatally shot by the police as of January 1, 2015. Mapping Police Violence Organization collaboratively collects comprehensive data on police killings in the United States to quantify the impact of police violence in communities throughout the United States. The annually reported data is provided in an excel format and is available for public use and can be accessed through the website <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org>.

I used a quantitative non-experimental design for this study. Data used for the study were longitudinal and collected over a period of four decades. Longitudinal analyses are considered a type of observational study and are used to study fluctuations in trends across a fixed time period. I used ANOVA to test for trends over time of arrests and fatalities. The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences between the means of three or more independent (unrelated) groups. In this study, thirty-five years were treated as 35 separate categories. The ANOVA then compares differences in the average occurrence of an event. The F- statistics and p-values were used to indicate if differences were due to random variation or chance.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

It is perceivable that some people may believe that police-civilian interaction between police officers is not equitable between demographic and geographic populations in the United States. The relationship between race, socioeconomics, and police-civilian interaction could be of concern to those who feel policing policies by law enforcement is not equitable. Researchers argue that the overrepresentation inequities in the criminal justice system can be explained by racial discrimination and other socioeconomic factors by which law enforcement and the judicial system have already prejudged (Drab kulich, Rodriguez-Whitney, 2018; Engel, 2014).

The purpose of this secondary data analysis was to measure racial and environmental variations in civilian interaction as expressed by both arrest and fatal shootings and to identify the degree of change (trends) over the span of nearly 4 decades. Four questions were examined in this study: 1. Is race (Black American versus Caucasian) associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014? 2. Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with arrest trends over the 35-years period from 1980 to 2014? 3. Is race (Black American versus Caucasian) associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018? 4. Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with the relative risk of being fatality wounded by police shootings over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018? The hypothesis to the study were: **H₁**: Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to

2014. H_2 : Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014. H_3 : Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018. H_4 : Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with the risk being fatality wounded by police over the 4-period from 2015 and 2018.

The research literature relating to the problem indicated police involvement is overwhelmingly higher among Black Americans when compared to Caucasians. The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which race (Black Americans and Caucasians) and environment (Atlanta and Detroit) are associated with arrest rates in the years 1980 to 2014 and fatalities by police shootings for the years 2014 to 2018. The research questions developed to address the question of the relationships between race and environment and arrests and risks. The hypothesis was that arrest trends was associated with race and environment and the risks of fatalities by police shootings was associated with race and environment.

Two publicly available databases from the Department of Justice for the years 1980 to 2014 and fatality data collected by the Mapping Police Violence Project for the years 2015 to 2018 were analyzed to determine racial and regional disparities in police-civilian interaction in the two Black American majority cities of Atlanta and Detroit over the past 4 decades. The data were all secondary data; therefore, the data was not manipulated or changed by any means to produce a specific outcome. The secondary data were not subject to any treatment. The retrieved data were recorded and this process was repeated several times by more than one individual to ensure its accuracy.

Data Collection

Data collection were recorded from years 1980 to 2014 for arrests in the city of Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia. Data also were recorded for police fatalities for both cities from years 2015 to 2018. Arrest data do not report arrests made on individuals with multiple offenses. This data dissemination tool presents arrests counts reported by local law enforcement agencies to the FBI's program. The reported arrest counts are those found on the FBI's automated data files. While local, state, and federal levels work to ensure the quality of information collected and reported, given the magnitude of the work, there may be inaccuracies in some of the reported data. The secondary data collected were categorized by race for both arrests and police fatalities. Race definitions do not include reflect offender's Hispanic origin. Socioeconomic information, like median household income and vacant homes pertaining to both cities, Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia, was collected from public records for both cities collected for U.S. Census Bureau 2017. According to Faul et al., (2013) a repeated measures ANOVA with a power of 0.80, an alpha level of 0.05, and a medium effect size ($f=.25$) requires a sample size of at least 34 observations (Faul et al., 2007). Police Shootings Database collected by the Mapping Police Violence Organization is also vulnerable to similar threat to validity. The FBI and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention both log fatal shootings by police; however, the data collected and reported by these two Federal organizations may be incomplete.

Results

The first question I explored was to determine if race is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period between 1980 and 2014. A comparison of the total number of arrests by race found that over 83.7% of all of the arrests made on Black Americans and less than 18% were made on Caucasians, placing Black Americans at 4.6 times more likely to be arrested than their Caucasian counterparts. Total arrests were reported at 46,489 and 8,893 for Blacks and Whites respectively (See Figure 4.1).

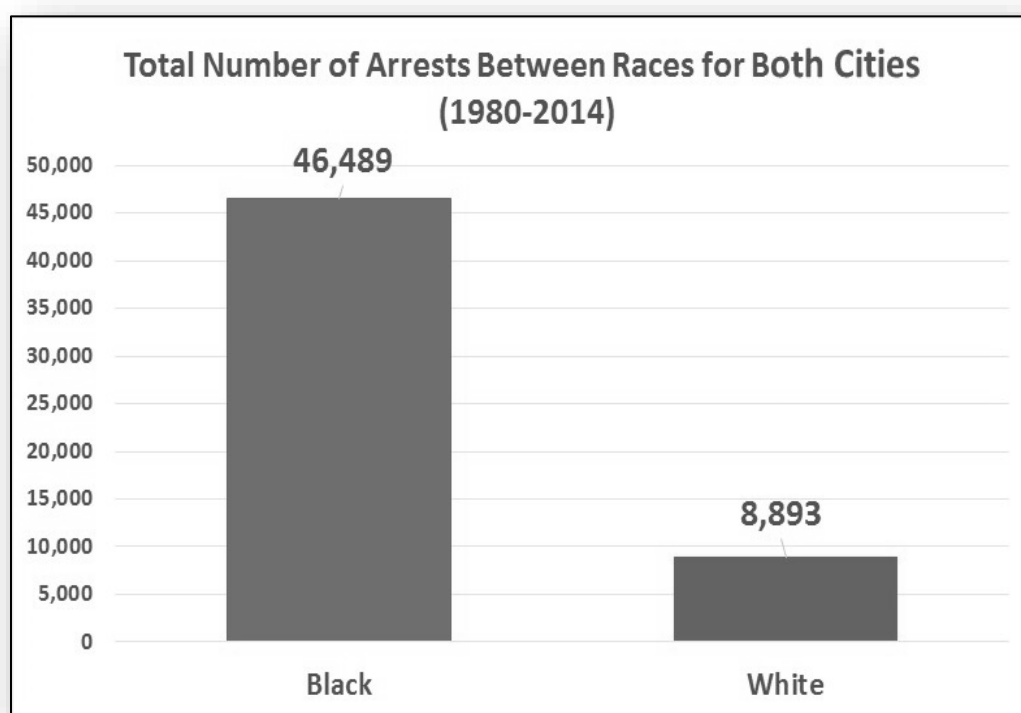


Figure 4.1. *Total Number of Arrests in Atlanta & Detroit (1980-2014: By Race*

A *t*-tests was conducted to estimate that the differences in the total number of arrests made between the Black American and Caucasian races were highly significant ($t=17.36$, $p=.000$; see Table 1).

Table 1

Total Arrests by Race (Black v White) in Atlanta v Detroit (1980-2014) N=55,382

Variable	Mean	Δ	t-test	P-Value
Race				
Black	46,489	37,597	17.36	.000
White	8,893			

The data were then analyzed by year to identify if the trends in arrests were similar or variant between the two major racial groups. The hypothesis statements were as follow:

Null Hypothesis (H₀1): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is not associated with arrest trends over the 35-year year period from 1980 to 2014.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_a1): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Results

As illustrated by Figure 4.2, Black American arrests in 1980 were greater than 80,000, whereas, Caucasian arrests were less than 40,000. The arrest trends for Black Americans appear to peak around the year 2000 after which time, the trends began to decrease for both races. The downward trends appear to be comparable between both races and seem to suggest that the larger gap between races noted between 1985 and 2005 have been closing.

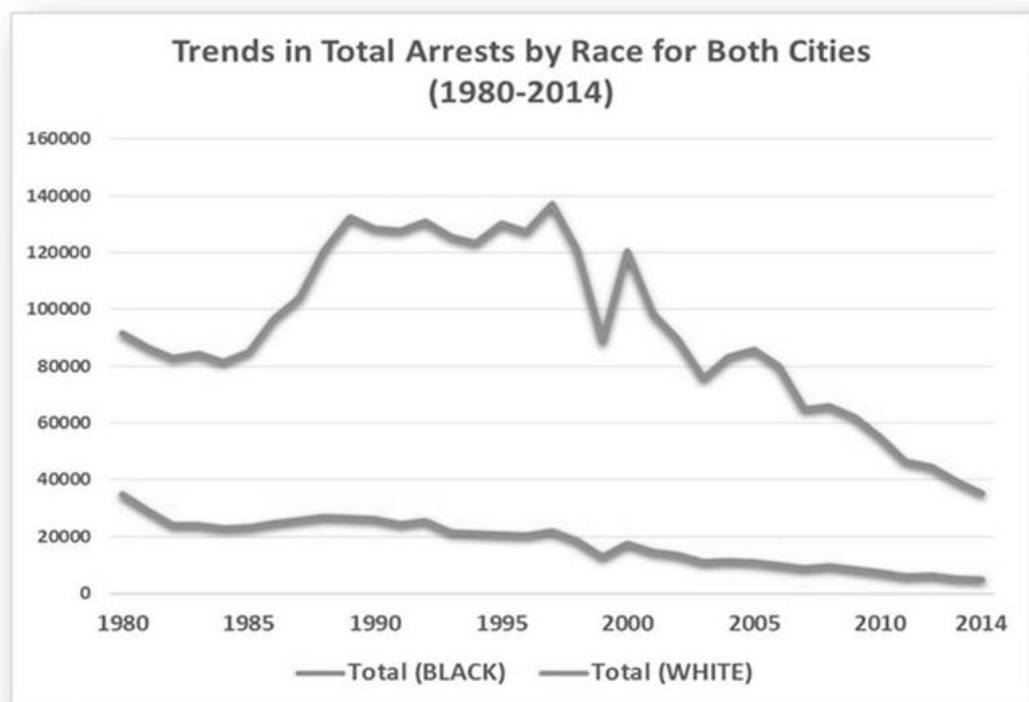


Figure 4.2. Trends in Number of Arrests in Atlanta and Detroit by Race (1980-2014)

An ANOVA was conducted to measure if the trends in arrests between 1980 and 2014 were similar or different between races. The analysis of the outcomes suggest that arrest trends not only lacked statistical significance; but indicated that declining trends in arrest were quite similar between the two racial groups over the 35-year time period ($F=.556, P=.974$) See table 2. The results of the ANOVA test require that the null hypothesis of no difference to be rejected. Alternative Hypothesis (H_a1): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014. Therefore, although crime is often perceived to be a problem affecting on the Black American population, evidence suggests that the decline in arrest trends have

been comparable and equitable between both races over the 35-year period between 1980 and 2014.

Table 2

Thirty-Five Year Trends in Arrest by Race (1980-2014)

Variable	Total	<i>df</i>	F-test	P-Value
Race				
Black	46,489	34	.556	.974
White	8,893			

Research Question 2 (RQ2): Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014?

The total number of arrests reported by cities of Atlanta and Detroit between 1980 and 2014 were 26,532 and 28,850 respectively (See Figure 3).

The hypothesis statements were as follows:

Null Hypothesis (H_0): Geographic location Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is *not* associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_a): Geographic location Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

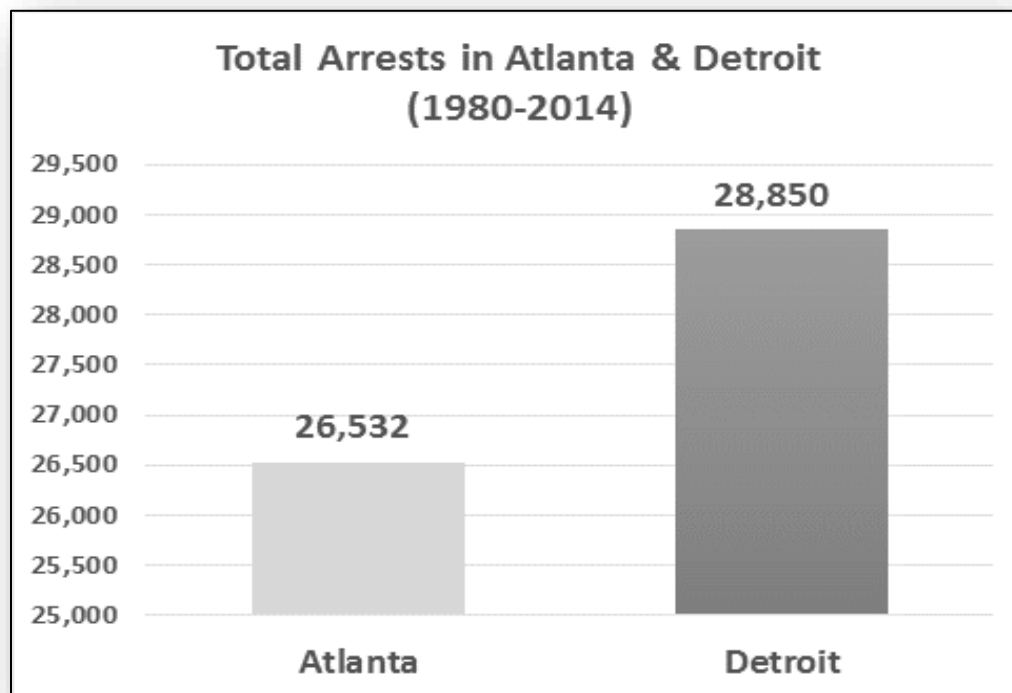


Figure 4.3. Total Arrests in the Cities of Atlanta and Detroit from 1980 to 2014

Results

The cumulative numbers of arrests were compared using a t-test to determine if differences between both cities were statistically significant. Although there were 2,317 more arrests reported in Detroit than Atlanta over this 35-year period, the differences were not statistically significant ($t=.601, p=.549$). This suggests that the number of arrests were comparable between the two cities although the socioeconomic conditions between the two geographic locations are extremely different (See Table 3).

Table 3

T-test Comparison of Total Arrests by City (Atlanta v Detroit) 1980-2014: N=55,382

Variable	Mean	Δ	t-test	P-Value
City				
Atlanta	26,532	-2,317	.601	.549 NS
Detroit	28,850			

As illustrated by Figure 4, the arrest trends appear to have been steadily decreasing for both Atlanta and Detroit since 2005. In 1980 arrests in Detroit were over 35,000 and in Atlanta they were just over 25,000. Arrests appeared to peak in Detroit around the year 1989 when the arrests rates in Atlanta were lower. The arrests rates in Atlanta peaked around the year 1992. There appeared to be more variation in Detroit when compared to Atlanta. The downward trend also appeared more notable for the City of Detroit. Trends in decline of arrests seem to suggest that the gap in arrests between the two cities was consistent not wide (See Figure 4).

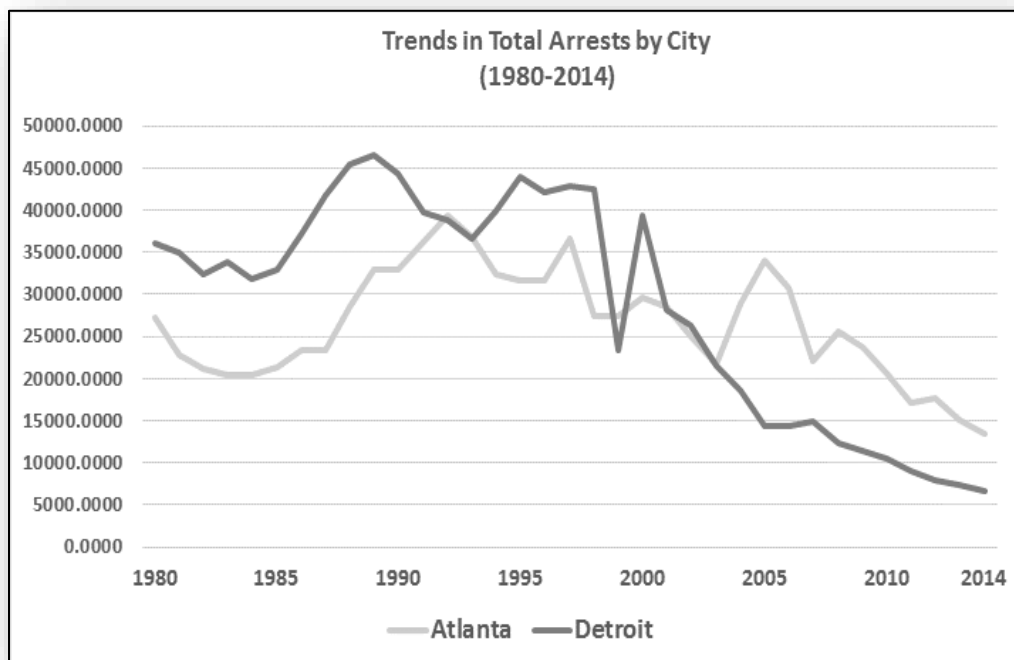


Figure 4.4 Trends in Number of Arrests in the Cities of Atlanta and Detroit from 1980 to 2014

An ANOVA test was conducted to measure if differences in arrest trends between the cities were significant over this 35-year period. The test outcomes suggested that the trend in arrests were not statistically significant between the cities ($F=.601$, $P=.549$) over the 35-year time period. The results of the tests require us to accept the null of no difference and suggest that the declining trends in arrests were comparable in two cities considered to be quite different socioeconomically (See Table 4). Null Hypothesis (H_0): Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is *not* associated with arrest trends over the 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

Table 4

Thirty-Five Year Trends in Arrest by Race and City (1980-2014): Analysis of Variance

Variable	Total	<i>df</i>	F	P-Value
City				
Atlanta	26,532	138	.601	.549
Detroit	28,850			

Research Question 3 (RQ3): Is race (Black American versus Caucasian) associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018?

Null Hypothesis (H_03): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is *not* associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_{a3}): Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018.

A visual illustration of reported fatalities in the two cities between 2015 and 2018 of the three racial categories, Black Americans, Caucasians and other/unknown are depicted (Table 6). The other/unknown category includes Asians, Latinos, and anyone for whom race was not easily defined. As illustrated in the graph, while the total number of reported fatalities as a result of police shootings was low in the cities of Atlanta and Detroit over the 4-year period, it was noted that the proportion of Black Americans fatally shot by police was over 6 times higher than Caucasians during the same time period. In 2015 there were 4 Black Americans fatalities, compared to 0 for Caucasians. The gap in fatalities by race appeared to close in 2016, and widen again after 2016 when 4 Black Americans were fatally wounded, compared to 1 for Caucasian (See Figure 4.5).

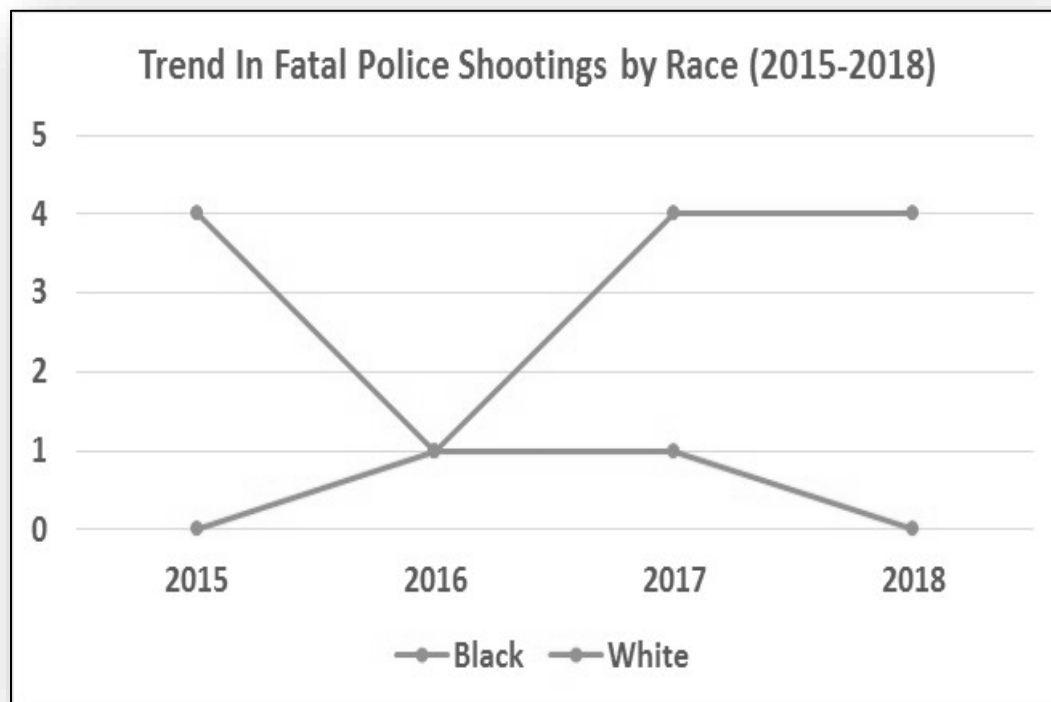


Figure 4.5 *Trend in Fatal Police Shootings by Race (2015-2018)*

Results

A Chi Square test was conducted to measure the proportional differences in the race of victims fatally shot by law enforcement between 2015 and 2018. Between 2015 and 2018, a total of 19 individuals were recorded as having been fatally wounded in the cities of Atlanta and Detroit. The race of individuals killed by police gunfire was recorded as Black American (68.4%), followed by Caucasian (10.5%), Other/Unknown (21.1%). The other/unknown category includes Asians, Latinos, and anyone for whom race was not easily defined. The risk of Black Americans being fatally shot by police was 6.5 times greater relative to Caucasian-Non-Hispanics (See Table 5). I conducted the hypothesis

test to assess if the sample is extreme enough to reject the null hypothesis. The p-values then measured how extreme the sample is from the data. I tested to see if the p-value was less than the level of significance, if so, then the null hypothesis was rejected. The results of the study conducted determined that the null hypothesis be rejected. Race (Black American versus Caucasian) is associated with the relative risk of being fatally wounded by police over the 4-year period between 2015 and 2018.

Table 5

Results of Chi-square test and Descriptive Statistics for Race of Victims of Fatal Shootings by Police (2015-2018)

	Black	White	Other	df	χ^2	P-Value
2015	4	0	0	9	1.149	.244
2016	1	1	1			
2017	4	1	1			
2018	4	0	2			

Research Question 4: Is geographic location (Atlanta versus Detroit) associated with the relative risk of being fatality wounded by police shootings over the 4-year period between 2015?

Null Hypothesis (H_0): Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is *not* associated with the risk of being of fatality wounded by police over the 4-year period from 2015 and 2018.

Alternative Hypothesis (H_{a4}): Geographic location (Atlanta and Detroit) is associated with the risk of being of fatality wounded by police over the 4-year period from 2015 and 2018

The total number of individuals being fatally shot by law enforcement between 2015 and 2018 was reported as $N=12$ for the City of Atlanta and $N=7$ in the City of Detroit. In 2015, the number of reported fatal police shootings in Atlanta and Detroit was 3 and 1 respectively. A graphic illustration of trends in reported fatal police shootings in Atlanta was 2 in 2016 and rose to 4 in 2018. The reported number of police shooting fatalities in Atlanta and Detroit was 3 for each city. In 2018, the number of reported fatal police shootings in Atlanta was 4 and 2 fatal police shootings in Detroit. (See Figure 4.6.)

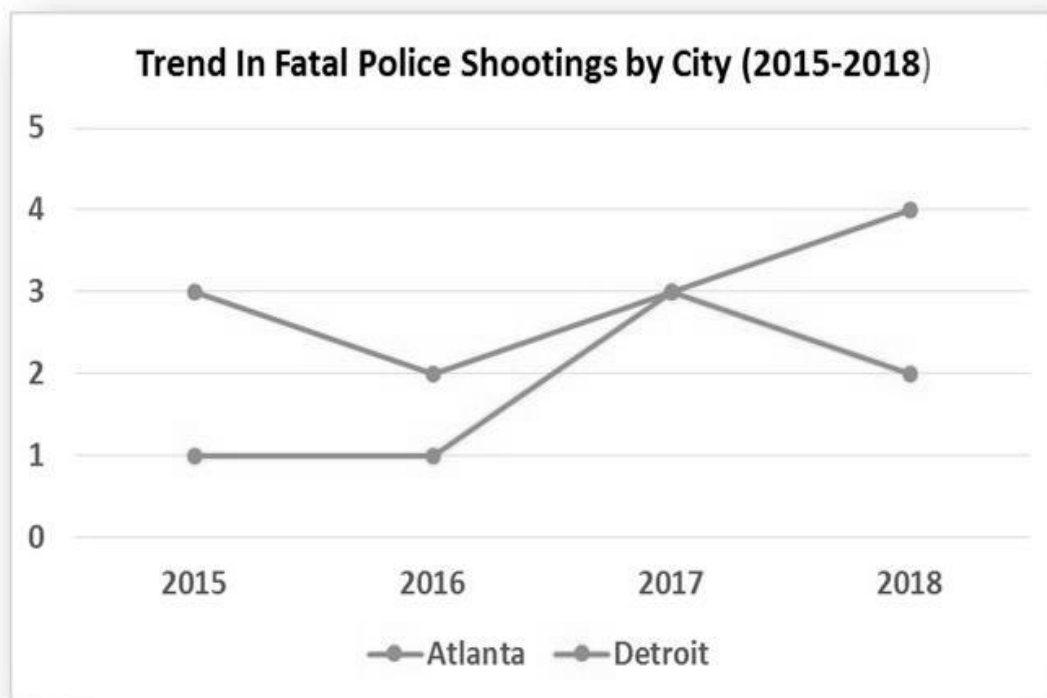


Figure 4.6. *Trend in Fatal Police Shootings by City (2015-2018)*

Results

A Chi-Square test estimated that trends in fatalities were not significantly different between the two cities over this discrete time period. The number of deaths caused by police use of deadly force appeared to be about equal in both cities despite differences in their socioeconomic structure (see table 6). Therefore, the null hypothesis is not rejected.

Table 6

Results of Chi-square test and descriptive Statistics for fatal shootings by City (2015-2018)

	Atlanta	Detroit	df	χ^2	P-Value
2015	3	1	3	.735	.865 (NS)
2016	2	1			
2017	3	3			
2018	4	2			

Summary

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, and arrest data on 28 offenses estimates that an estimated 10 million arrests are made in the United States ever year. Of the 3,298.5 arrests per 100,000 inhabitants made each year, nearly half involve drug violations, followed by assaults, and larceny-theft. Recent data also reveals that 69.6 percent of all persons arrested in 2017 were White, while 26.9 percent were Black, and the remaining 3.6 percent were of other races (DOJ, 2018).

Data compiled by the Washington Post on people fatally shot by police between 2005 and 2019, it is noted that fatal police shootings nation-wide have shown that the majority of those fatally filled by police 2015 and 2018, the majority of victims was disproportionately Caucasian. The most recently reported year however demonstrates that the percent of those reported as Black American and Caucasian appear to be decreasing, while the fatality rate for those reported as “other” seems to be increasing. (Figure 4.7). As the visual illustration shows, in 2015 it is reported that Other is the

lowest for fatal police shooting, followed by Black American and Caucasian being the highest. Caucasian remained the highest reported number of fatal police shootings for all 4 years. Beginning in 2016, it was reported that Black Americans had the lowest fatal police shootings for the following time period. As it is clearly illustrated, an increase in reported fatal police shootings since 2015 for those identified as not being Black American or Caucasian. The analysis of the study I conducted, may give consideration as to why the numbers of those fatally shot by police have increased only for those whose race is other than Black American or Caucasian.

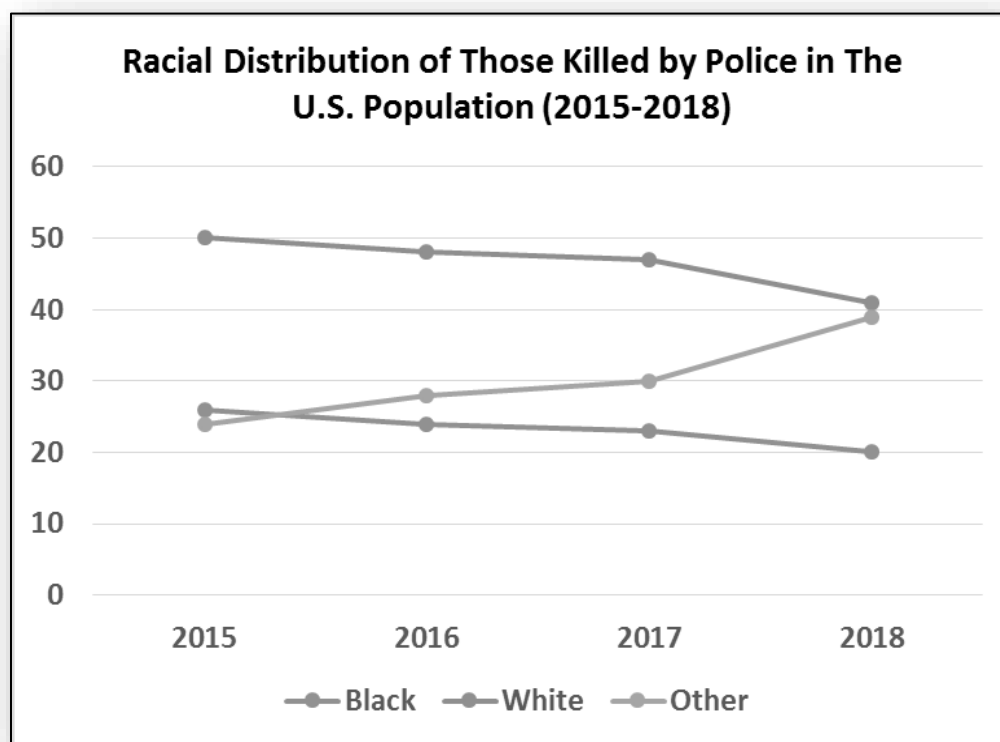


Figure 4.7. *Individuals killed by deadly Police Force in US Population (2015-2018): By Race*

National Arrests Statistics reported by the U.S. Department of Justice and National Statistics on Deaths from deadly Police Force reported by the Washington Post, estimate that significantly more Caucasians are arrested and are victims of deadly police force than are their Black American peers. The use of ratios or proportions of these figures to population size are used to conflate the perception that Black Americans are overwhelmingly more likely to be involved with civilian- police interaction (See Figure 4.8.). The reported number of arrests and deadly force nationally are depicted in the columns on the left and those arrests and deadly force regionally are on the column on the right.

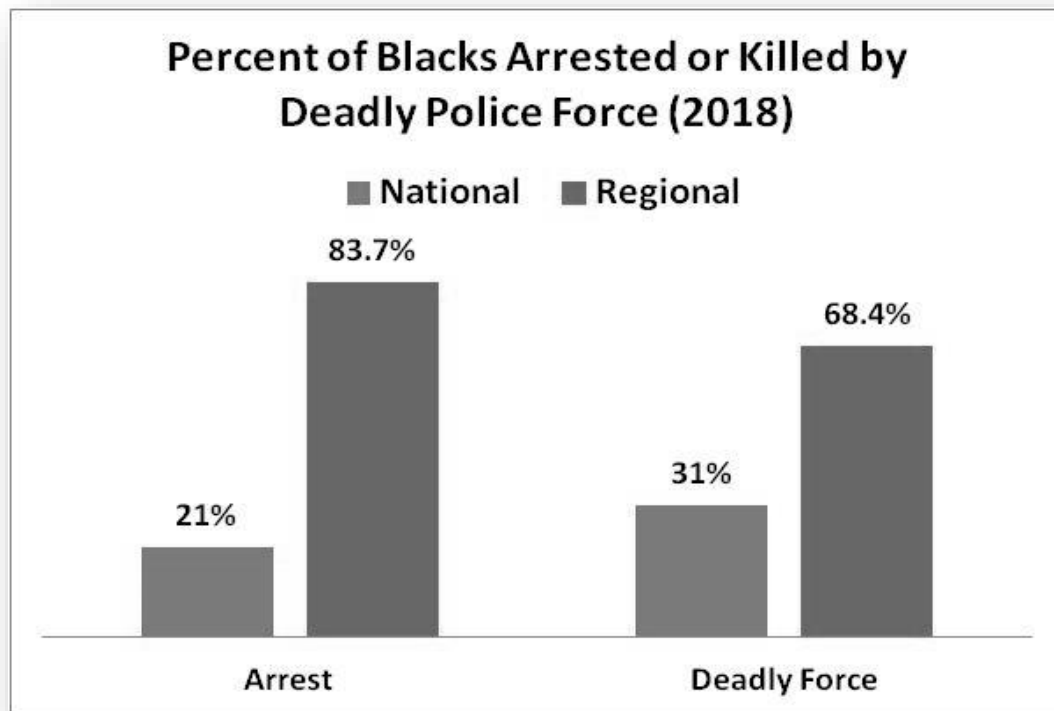


Figure 4.8: *Arrest and Victims of Deadly Police Force: Black Americans (2018)*

Arrest data was collected for the cities of Atlanta and Detroit for a 35-year period to identify if there was significant differences in the total number of arrests between races in these two cities. The analysis of the data indicated that the differences in arrests by race were significant, however differences by cities, were not significant. It was further noted that arrests between the two cities were not significantly different. Trends appeared to be declining for both races and both cities, suggesting no differences in declining trends in arrests between the groups of races and regional location. It was also noted that the number of fatalities reported to the Mapping Police Violence organization was small for both cities. A chi-square analysis was unable to detect any significant changes in the frequencies of fatalities between the cities or races. National figures suggest that the Caucasian population is more likely to experience both arrest and police fatalities outside of the two cities under study.

The analysis of key findings suggest that between 1980 and 2014, Black Americans were 4.6 times more likely to be arrested than Caucasians in the two cities studied. The total number of arrests between 1980 and 2014 were similar in both cities (Atlanta and Detroit). Declining trends in arrests were similar for both races despite perceptions regarding race and crime. Declining trends in arrests were similar for both cities despite differences in the economic realities of both cities. While regional statistics suggest that Black Americans are significantly more likely than other races to be arrested or killed by deadly police force, however analysis of national data challenge the assumption that Caucasians are less civilian-police involved than other races.

The trends in arrests between Black Americans and Caucasians in Detroit, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia, regardless of location or environment have been on the decline since 1980. The results show race or environment has no impact regarding police fatalities. Looking at critical race theory and broken windows theory relative to trends of criminal activity or criminality within these two cities since 1980 should give pause to the notion that race and environment are factors or contributors. When looking backwards over time from 1980 to 2014, these theories do not hold true and policing practices going forward should incorporate the analysis from this study and any forthcoming related studies. The analysis and findings of this study and similar future studies may give greater pause on the perception that race and environment plays a role in arrests and police fatalities. The perception that one's environment or race is correlated to arrests or fatalities by police is worth noting and rethinking.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Summary and Interpretations

The purpose of this quantitative secondary data analysis was to compare trends in arrest and fatal police shootings between races (Black American and Caucasian) and two cities with different socioeconomic environments (Atlanta v Detroit) to clearly understand the trends of how race and environment are associated with arrests and police related fatalities. This analysis illustrates the impact of race and environments as determinants of police involvement, inclusive of arrests and police related fatalities. The overarching purpose of the study was to use trends to examine changes in the relationship between race, socioeconomic, and police involvement over a near 4 decade period. I analyzed the measurement between groups and within subject effects of police arrests over the 35 years period from 1980 to 2014 and fatal police shootings over the 4 year period from 2015 to 2018. The objective was to examine if differences in police-civilian interaction can be accounted for by race or environment over time.

The Key Findings of the study were: (a) Between 1980 and 2014, Black Americans were significantly more likely to be arrested than Caucasians in Detroit and Atlanta. (b) The total number of arrests between 1980 and 2014 were similar in both Atlanta and Detroit. (c) Declining trends in arrests were similar for both races in spite of perceptions regarding race and crime. (d) Declining trends in arrests were similar for both cities in spite of differences in the economic realities of both cities, and (e) While regional statistics suggest that Black Americans are significantly more likely than other

racers to be arrested or killed by deadly police force. National data challenge the assumption that Caucasians are less involved with criminal activity than other races.

Previous studies show that Black males are significantly more likely to be arrested or fatally shot by police (Bell et al., 2014; Brame et al, 2014, Degue et al. 2016). However, the results from this research extend knowledge from previous findings. While Blacks were found to be arrested at significantly higher rates, the data also demonstrated that a dramatic decline in arrests rates is equal for both Black and White races. Although the number of arrests are higher overall for African-Americans, the declining trends in arrests rates between the races was comparable and the gap has been closing. We can therefore conclude that race is not associated with arrest trends over a 35-year period from 1980 to 2014.

As previously cited in Chapter 2, According to FBI reports, Black Americans are more likely to be killed by police than Caucasians. According to the analysis of FBI supplemental reports, in 2017, the rate of being killed by law enforcement officers was 6.66 per 1 million and 2.9 per 1 million for Black Americans and Caucasians respectively (Snyder et al., 2017). Persons of color and those from poorer communities often feel judged and targeted by police based on these perceptions. It has been argued that judgment and stereotyping based on race, income, and environment, leads to disparities and inequitable treatment by law enforcement (Ross, 2015). The results of this study found that the Mapping Police Violence organization reported that only 12 persons in Atlanta and 7 persons in Detroit were killed by deadly police force between 2015 and 2018. While these numbers are small, differences did confirm that those identified as

White were half as likely to be fatally wounded by police. Risk of fatalities did not appear to be significantly different by city or socioeconomic environment.

According to the Pew Research Organization (2019), Blacks outnumbered Whites in the prison systems for so long; however, the Black prison population has steadily declined and the gap has narrowed over the past decade according to new data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that by the end of 2017 the gap between Black and White was only 39,400, whereas, 10 years earlier the gap was 93,100. This decline was 20% for Blacks compared to 13% for Whites. Previous studies accurately captured facts in given time periods in history but failed to explain the phenomenon that arrest rate trends for Blacks has declined and that this gap has been closed and is now comparable to Whites. Previous studies are more likely to offer information regarding one point in time, rather than trends spanning across a wider time period.

Critical race theory challenges the liberal order in the United States and asserts that race is the axis upon which society is organized and that racism is deeply embedded in our institutions and reproduced at macro, mezzo, and micro levels. Society is conceptualized as being organized along racial lines and structurally designed to promote and impose privileged norms of behavior and inequality on racial groups (Anyone et al., 2018). Previous studies report that Blacks typically have higher arrest rates, suggesting that race may bias the experience of arrest. Findings however challenge this theory as untrue when arrest trends over a 35-year period from 1980 to 2014 are examined. This theory is true when looking at raw numbers, however, when analyzing the trend in

arrests rates decline in arrest rates between races, the rates are comparable and doesn't support the application of critical race theory.

Analyzing the history of arrest rates between races in the United States supports and explains critical race theory. However, looking forward at the trend of arrest rates, the gap is closing between the Black and White races; therefore the theory may be more applicable in terms of prison sentencing than actual arrest. While this theory may be appropriate to frame an understanding of why arrest rates are higher for Blacks, it does not explain the comparable trends of arrest rates associated with race found in this study. The phenomenon may therefore be focused on actual imprisonment rather than actual criminal activity, which are completely different events.

The broken windows theory can be used to explain that problems in policing methods are perceived to be a product of environmental disorder such as dilapidated buildings and other poor socioeconomic and environmental conditions (Kelling and Sousa, 2001; Skogan, 1990). After analyzing the theory, the results of this study do not support the explanation that environmental or geographic location is associated with arrest rates. Although Detroit and Atlanta have predominately Black American majority populations, the socioeconomic conditions are quite opposite, where the average income and infrastructure of Detroit is much poorer than that of Atlanta.

A cursory view of arrests rates suggests that not only are arrest rates higher for Black Americans than Caucasians, but arrests may also be more common in lower income cities across the nation (Rembert, Watson and Hill, 2016; Rojek, Rosenfeld, and Decker, 2012; Ross, 2015). However, the analyzed data suggests that geographic

location with different socioeconomic conditions was not associated with neither significant differences in cumulative number of arrests, nor arrest trends over a 35-year period from 1980–2014. Stop and frisk policies were implemented in some poor communities and this might explain higher rates of arrest in poor socioeconomic environments, which was explained by broken windows theory. But the arrest trends for environments with different socioeconomic conditions were found to be comparable; therefore, broken windows theory did not appear to be applicable in this analysis.

Atlanta had more persons who were fatally wounded by police than Detroit. Broken windows theory suggests poorer communities have greater arrests and criminality; however, after conducting analysis of the results, environment was not associated with the risk of being fatally wounded by police. Again, broken windows theory did not appear to explain the trends of the risk of being fatally wounded based on environment or geographic location.

Limitations

A few limitations are typical of using a secondary data set. They can include: (a) Official statistics may reflect the biases of those in power, limiting what the researcher can find out (b) The manner in which official statistics are measured may change over time, making historical comparisons difficult. This has been known to be the case with crime statistics, as the definition of crime changes (c) Some data points might be missing and there is no way to verify if missing data is due to bias which could skew results to produce a certain intended outcome. Obtaining all data for police fatalities was of great concern. (d) Some data are not properly reported or stored or are deliberately

withheld from researchers and the public which could produce incorrect results. The study relied on data collected, especially with police fatalities was assumed to be true and accurate, including the race of the deceased. (e) Data sets that are not large enough (fatalities) to make results strong, can also be subject to a great threat to validity. (f) Errors from recording secondary data used for the study was addressed by carefully recording secondary data and not overlooked or excluded.

Recommendations

The current study contributes to the body of knowledge on civilian-police interaction in the context of race and class. Critical race theory and broken windows theory were used to frame the study; however, these theories did not explain the comparable trends found in trends in arrest and being fatally wounded by police. The limitations of the study relating to the small number of persons fatally wounded by police affected the ability to generalize findings pertaining to police fatalities. Based on these findings, a number of recommendations are considered for further study.

First, further consideration might be given to replicating the study using the same study design in more than two cities to identify if comparable trends are found throughout the country, or if the finding are unique to the cities studied. Second, further research might be given to studying police stops versus arrests, versus imprisonment. Further research could look for the trends of these questions. These recommendations for further research would help confirm or dispute critical race theory and broken windows theory as applicable in describing changing trends.

This study had great impact for social change. Broken windows theory implies

poorer neighborhoods have higher criminality. This thinking was used to establish policing practices of stop and frisk. The data used for this study reflected comparable arrest rates between socioeconomic environments. Stakeholders who plan policing strategies, who justify heavier policing in poorer neighborhoods should reconsider this strategy. The social impact this study should have on stereotypes associated with poorer neighborhoods having more arrests due to this perception of criminality should cause individuals, family, organizations and society rethink this logic.

While previous studies show Black Americans have higher arrest rates, the data in this analysis clearly demonstrate the gap between races is closing and therefore, perceptions of race and criminality is less supported. The study has implications for the two utilized theories, critical race theory and broken windows relative arrest rates based on race and geographic environment. Previous studies have reported that Black Americans and poorer environments have higher rates of civilian-police interaction. However, trends based on race and socioeconomic may challenge the contemporary application of these two theories. I recommend that that police officers be offered classes and training about assumptions regarding the relationship between race, poverty, and criminality. Such training should target racial and class biases and stereotypes harbored by police officers.

According to Huber and Solórzano (2015), Black Americans and low-income individuals have been stereotyped to be more criminally inclined and psychically dangerous, which may play a role in behaviors often exhibited by police officers. Visual racial microaggressions are necessary to revealing and exposing racism for people of

color, which they encounter daily in their environments (Huber and Solórzano, 2015).

Racial and class microaggressions are systemic and are used to maintain and keep these perceptions in place within society (Jefferies, Butcher and Hanley, 2011; Plant and Peruche, 2005). Race and class play a role between police interaction with civilians and the level of aggressive behavior toward certain civilians, particularly poor and/or Black males.

Implications

The positive social change and implication from this study is that policing practices rooted and grounded in the stop and frisk polices should be reconsidered. The results of this study provides valuable evidence that race and environment is not correlated to arrests. Policing in this country should be fair and equal, regardless of race and environment. The policing practices in poor environments should be equal to those of more affluent environments. The predominate or majority race in a community should not require any different standard in policing based off race. White communities should not be policed any differently than Black communities. Police departments should consider training for all police officers to address microaggressions and to make the way in which police respond to civilians or make assumptions about criminality are not influenced by race and class. Policing agencies, law enforcement, politicians and society need to adapt more equable arrest policies which are fair to all races within our society and not unequal to Blacks. The judicial system should imprison individuals in a fairer manner and be more reflective of what national arrest records report.

Conclusion

Critical race theory and broken windows theory are two accepted theories grounded in the belief that race and class are associated with criminality. This study challenges the many studies that suggest that arrest rates are higher for Blacks and low-income individuals. This study clearly shows that trends for arrest between Blacks and Whites, low income and middle income are in fact, comparable. A clear understanding of the interaction between race, class, and criminality are critically important for shaping policies that are systemically equitable, fair, moral, and legal. The findings of this study can therefore not only challenge the utility of dated theoretical frameworks and published research, but can be utilized to guide to create 21st century discussions on the relationship between race, socioeconomics, criminality, and police involvement across the nation. The study is not a generalization of the entire United States population, but two different socioeconomic major Black environments and limited to two races, Black and White.

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