

Texas Southern University

Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University

Dissertations (2016-Present)

Dissertations

8-2022

Police Militarization And Overuse of Force: An Analysis of the Efficacy of Paramilitary Units And Society

Ronald R. Burnett

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Burnett, Ronald R., "Police Militarization And Overuse of Force: An Analysis of the Efficacy of Paramilitary Units And Society" (2022). *Dissertations (2016-Present)*. 5.

<https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/dissertations/5>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Dissertations at Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations (2016-Present) by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. For more information, please contact haiying.li@tsu.edu.

**POLICE MILITARIZATION AND OVERUSE OF FORCE: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE EFFICACY OF PARAMILITARY UNITS AND SOCIETY**

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School
of Texas Southern University

By

Ronald R. Burnett, B.A., MPA.

Texas Southern University

2022

Approved By

Dr. Howard Henderson
Chairperson, Dissertation Committee

Dr. Gregory H. Maddox
Dean, The Graduate School

Approved By

Dr. Howard Henderson

Chairperson, Dissertation Committee

05/04/2022

Date

Dr. Ihekwoaba Onwudiwe

Committee Member

05/04/2022

Date

Dr. David Baker

Committee Member

05/04/2022

Date

Dr. Glenn Johnson

Committee Member

05/04/2022

Date

© Copyright by Ronald R. Burnett 2022

All Rights Reserved

**POLICE MILITARIZATION AND OVERUSE OF FORCE: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE EFFICACY OF PARAMILITARY UNITS AND SOCIETY**

By

Ronald R. Burnett, Ph.D.

Texas Southern University, 2022

Professor Howard Henderson, Advisor

The role of the police is to maintain social order and safety through the enforcement of the law. They investigate, prevent, and detect criminal activity. However, the problem with police protection today is the overuse of force which often comes through the term militarism regarding agency tenets and dogma. Also, social media has focused on police brutality, exacerbating race riots and retaliatory police killings. Because of this, police reform has become a significant concern in the United States and abroad. The methodological approach for this dissertation is a quantitative analysis; the data used is secondary, and the statistical procedure is chi-square (cross-tabulation) and multiple linear regression. This dissertation's expected findings are to answer whether there is a statistically significant difference in police brutality by race and geographic areas; is there a relationship between DHS 1033 Program and violent crimes, property crimes, and drug crimes; how accurately can a DHS 1033 Program index be predicted from a linear combination of crime rates.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
VITA	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	35
3. DESIGN OF THE STUDY	69
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	78
5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	86
REFERENCES	98

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Race and Causes of Death by Police.....	81
2. Race vs Geographic Jurisdiction.....	81
3. SWAT Acquisition Value vs. Violent Crimes and Property Crimes	82
4. Multiple Linear Regression Test for SWAT Acquisition	84

VITA

1997	B.A., Texas Southern University Houston, Texas
2003	MPA., Texas Southern University Houston, Texas
Major Field	Administration of Justice

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to the Most High God of Israel from whom I draw my strength. Without him, none of this would have been possible. I also dedicate this work to my wife Donna and our children. Thank you all for putting up with me during some of the most stressful moments of my life. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this work to the many victims of police overuse of force. To the many unarmed victims whose police encounters were not captured on camera and broadcast on television, you are not forgotten.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to members of the committee for their support: Dr. Howard Henderson (chair), Dr. Ihekwoaba Onwudiwe, Dr. David Baker, and Dr. Glenn Johnson. Thank you for your words of advice and encouragement during this process.

Completing this program would not have been possible without my cohort's help, support, and motivation: Dr. Lashondra Jones, Dr. Chanta Howard, Dr. Jermaine Johnson, Ms. Jeslyn Huynh, and Ms. Demeka Simmons. Thank you for the team spirit you all help cultivate early on in this process.

To my work colleagues: Dr. Carla Garrett, Dr. Gwendolyn Berry, Dr. Bennie Richards, Dr. DeRhonda McWaine, Dr. Emily Peebles, and Dr. Cammy Shay, thank you all for your kind words of encouragement and inspiration throughout this process. They meant so much. I also would like to thank Dr. Edward Lawson, Jr. Your professional courtesy and help allowed me to complete this research. They were truly monumental, and I am incredibly grateful. Lastly, thank you to Dr. Eugene Barrington, who encouraged those of us who took his master's level public administration courses at Texas Southern University to pursue a doctorate. Your words were instrumental in my choice to do so.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, police overuse of force and police militarization have strongly impacted American society, especially the minority communities. Recently, social media has focused on police brutality, leading to race riots and retaliatory police killings. Police reform has become a significant concern, not only in the United States but also abroad. This dissertation examines: (1) a substantial difference in police brutality by race and geographic areas; (2) the relationship between the DHS 1033 Program and violent, property, and drug crimes; how accurately a DHS 1033 Program can be predicted from a linear combination of crime rates within five geographic jurisdictions: Texas (Houston), Louisiana (New Orleans), Georgia (Atlanta), Maryland, (Baltimore), and District of Columbia (Washington). The quantitative data from the Uniform Crime Report, Special Weapon Tactics (SWAT), and the U.S. Police Shooting database are used to help determine the outcome of this examination.

Police Overuse of Force

For decades, studies have shown that racial minorities, principally Black, are disproportionately among persons killed by police using deadly force. Racism continues to be among the most contested and highly controversial issues surrounding police use of force or shooting incidents. Many studies examining race and police use of deadly force tend to concentrate on the shooting victim's race rather than the officer. Robin (1964) considered the tendency for higher violent criminal conduct and diminished cooperation with law enforcement officers within primarily minority communities as a reason for

police to use lethal force. Beginning with studies from the 1960s and through the 1980s, minorities were disproportionately targeted by police officers (Fyfe, 1982a; Geller, 1982; Geller & Karales, 1981; Goldkamp, 1982; Jacobs & Britt, 1979; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Milton et al., 1982; Robin, 1963, 1964; Sherman, 1982; Takagi, 1982). More recently, and from a different perspective, Jacobs and O'Brien (1998) considered the shooting incident's environment. The researchers found that police shootings are more likely to happen in larger cities with higher racial inequality. However, in some cases, researchers concluded that police shootings were racially motivated.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) explicitly declared, “statistics on homicide and other assaultive crimes in the U.S. consistently show that Blacks have rates between four to ten times higher than Whites. There is no reason to agree that whatever the learned responses and social conditions contributing to criminality, persons visibly identified and socially labeled as Black in the U.S. appear to possess them in considerably higher proportions than do persons labeled white.”

Bayley and Mendelsohn's studies have shown that racial minorities, principally black Americans, number disproportionately among persons killed by the police through deadly force (1969, p. 109). In their study, the police play a role in the minority's lives in large proportion to their role in the dominant white majority's lives. The definition of their roles is even more present today as past studies on the effects of racial biases and stereotypes on policing have found long-standing racial problems among white police officers who patrol impoverished black communities (Skolnick 1966). Some of these officers harbor racial feelings, which lead to biases and stereotypes that compromise their position's duties and responsibilities (Graef 1989; Reiner 1991). Despite the tremendous

effort to recruit black police officers to offset these standing racial biases and stereotypes (Skogan and Frydl 2004), the "white, masculine, heterosexual" prototype of law enforcement officials continue to occupy the majority of police departments around the country (Myers et al. 2004).

Data from 1975 regarding all civilians fired at by Chicago police revealed bullets struck 17 percent (236) of White civilians, 75 percent (1,074) of Black civilians, and 9 percent (125) of Hispanic civilians (Shichor, O'Brien & Decker, 1981). White officers shot civilians in approximately 70 percent of all the incidents resulting in civilian victimization. Black officers shot civilians in about 2 to 5 percent, and Hispanic officers shot civilians in only 9 percent of all such incidents. Considering both the officers' race and the race of the civilians shot, White officers shot Black civilians almost twice as many times compared to Black officers. Regardless of the justifiability of police shootings, such incidents sometimes have societal consequences far beyond the death of the shooting victims. Gilbert Pompa (1986), Director of the U.S Justice Department's Community Relations Service, called police shootings "...the most volatile and potentially divisive force in the nation." Police-involved shootings have played critical roles in triggering several of America's destructive urban riots, Miami 1980 being the most recent. Even a single well-publicized shooting can foster hostility between police and the community, which can take years to undo. As a result, social costs can go beyond the individual and family suffering following officer-involved shootings and their victims (Geller & Karales, 1973; p. 1814).

In 1976, Goldkamp's literature survey on deadly police force found that minority overrepresentation among shooting victims is a result of differential police practices:

"Police have one trigger finger for whites and another for blacks." This perspective attributes Black disproportion among shooting victims to variables internal to police organization (e.g., officers' or administrators' racism allows police officers to shoot Blacks in situations in which they would refrain from shooting Whites (p.169). First, the "quasi-labeling view" argues that minorities are shot more often by police not because of their differential involvement in criminal activity but because of differential policing of minority groups because of a belief in their greater criminal involvement. Perceptions among police that racial minorities are more criminally active leads to more frequent contacts and interactions, including strong interactions, which leads to more frequent shootings of minorities relative to Whites (p. 172). Moreover, a disproportionate number of minority suspects are shot and killed by police because a disproportionate number are involved in criminal activity. This position "imputes an essentially active role to racial minorities in bringing about high crime rates resulting in high death rates where confrontations with police occur" (p. 173). Goldkamp (1976) further writes that the essence of this position is that "police kill more minorities because more minorities are involved in violence—and that neither prejudice nor discrimination figures in" (p. 177).

The most widely used explanation of the differences in police shooting rates for Black males and other races is that officers act with prejudicial attitudes. This explanation is based on the widely accepted relationship between attitudes and behaviors. Ajzen and Fishbein (1977, 1980) argued that attitudes and subjective norms independently influence intentions, which, in turn, influence behavior. In other words, a person's intentions and response are a function of two essential determinants, one reflecting personal influence (attitudes) and the other toward behavior. These determinants are "the person's beliefs

that the behavior leads to certain outcomes.” In contrast, subject norms are “the person’s belief that specific individuals or groups think whether he should or should not perform the behavior and his motivation to comply with the specific referents” (p. 8).

Shootings involving Black suspects differed in number, circumstances, and under some conditions, shootings involving Blacks differed in outcomes of the shooting review process from shootings involving Hispanic and Whites. Mayor (1980) conducted a study that used the data from 1968 to 1971. He found that 57 percent of suspects shot at by Los Angeles police officers were Black. From 1974 to 1978, 55 percent of the suspects shot at, 53 percent of that hit, and 50 percent of suspects shot fatally were Black. In 1979, 45 percent of the suspects shot at, 50 percent of that were hit, and 62 percent shot fatally were Black. A more significant proportion of Blacks than Hispanics or Whites shot at by the Los Angeles Police Department were ultimately determined to have been unarmed (p. 102).

Fyfe (1982) reported strong associations between fatal police shootings and public homicide and arrest rates over the fifty states. First, minority overrepresentation among shooting victims results from differential police practices: "police have one trigger finger for whites, and another for Blacks." Therefore, this perspective attributes Black disproportion among shooting victims to variables internal to the police organization. In other words, police administrators encourage or allow racism by officers to be manifested by shooting Blacks in situations they would typically refrain from shooting Whites. Also, the disproportion of Black victims shot by police is because of variables external to police organizations. In other words, Blacks shot disproportionately by police is a consequence of proper police responses to the relatively significant involvement of

Blacks in violent crime and other activities likely to precipitate shootings (p. 709)

During 1969-to 1974, 85.7 percent of Blacks were shot by police, while only 14.3 percent of victims were White. Memphis police were three times more likely to have killed Blacks than Whites, and Black Memphians were approximately ten times as likely as Whites to have been shot at in such circumstances. Furthermore, Black citizens were 18 times more likely to have been wounded and more than five times as likely to have been killed in these situations than their White counterparts.

Research on racial bias includes findings that Americans view Blacks as more dangerous than Whites. This bias provides a likely explanation for the disproportionate number of ethnic and racial minorities shot by police. Minorities are proportionately more likely to be shot by the police than are Whites (Gellers, 1982; Brown & Langan, 2001; Smith, 2004). Minorities are also more likely to be shot because police officers hold biased attitudes, which leads them to perceive minorities as more threatening (Sorenson et al., 1993; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998). Bias in policing shooting behavior was based on aggregate counts of deaths by police gunfire at various jurisdictional levels and incident-level information drawn from police reports about instances in which officers fired their guns. Numerous studies concluded that police decisions to shoot were influenced by race (Sherman & Langworthy, 1979; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Sorenson et al., 1993; Liska & Yu, 1992).

Most quantitative research on police behavior has found only weak relationships between officers' attitudes and their behavior (D. A. Smith & Klein, 1983; Mayers, Heeren, & Hingson, 1989; Snipes & Mastrofski, 1990; Stith, 1990; Worden, 1989). Other empirical studies that reported differences of police contact with Black males and their

White counterparts had been held up as scientific evidence that discrimination exists because of racist attitudes of police officers.

In 1984, Pagano conducted a South Florida study about deadly force encounters concerning police shootings. In his research, the number of shots fired by officers and suspects was significantly different. Pagano found officers fired more shots because they were trained to "double-tap" when shooting their guns, meaning they fired two consecutive rounds when discharging a firearm instead of only firing one shot at a time. If following this procedure, officers have a higher number of shots fired per incident. Also, officers often fired their weapons before the suspects could use the deadly force (FitzGerald & Bromley, p. 32).

Deadly force incidents can occur at any time and at any place (Geller, 1985). One consistent finding in the present study is that most incidents involving the use of deadly force by police are felony-related calls. Another outcome of interest is lighting conditions at the scene of a fatal force incident. Most of the incidents took place in low to dark lighting conditions.

Sorenson et al. (1993) found that African Americans are disproportionately involved in police-related shootings. White police officers' racial imbalance leads them to patrol areas with a high concentration of Black residents. This has generated substantial research that examines the disproportionate effects of racial attitudes, police harassment, racial profiling, discrimination in arrests, and some cases, deadly force against black males, which are all collectively observed as over-policing. According to Skolnick (1994), these systemic racial discrimination patterns are a part of the police culture. The researcher indicates that police officers stereotyped young black males as "symbolic

assailants," or individuals with a high propensity to commit crimes (p. 51-63) Jerome Skolnick (1996) was the first to argue that the "culture of policing" and its variation shape officers' norms and values exiting the police academy. Police officers accept behaviors seen as unlawful by the public as a necessary norm. After leaving the police academy, their attention is directed toward the symbolic assailant. The problem herein lies when the police culture's social norms frame Black and male as the most dangerous offenders. The perpetual stereotyping of Black males increasingly makes them targets of systemic practices by White police officers.

Jacobs & O'Brien (1998) analyzed 170 cities and found that the police's shootings should be most significant in stratified jurisdictions with more minorities. He argued that racial inequality explains police shootings. His empirical study about Blacks' police shootings shows they are more likely to be shot by police in larger cities with higher Black murder rates and more broken families. However, police shootings should be reduced in the cities with Black mayors because the officers on the streets should realize that violence against African Americans will be more closely investigated and perhaps more severely sanctioned than in the cities with White mayors (p. 843). Weitzer and Tuch (2002) conducted a national-level study on police officers' racial profiling opinions. The researchers found that African Americans who disapprove of racial profiling believe that the practice is widespread, feel they are treated less fairly by the police and have a lower opinion of police officers. Social class also affects the views of the acceptance and prevalence of racial profiling among the black community. However, their finding showed that "the effects of perceived personal experience on attitudes toward the police were not more pronounced for Blacks than Whites, indicating this to be a kind of

unpleasant personal experience whatever one's race" (p.449) They found that unpleasant personal contact with the police of all races and ethnic minorities tends to lessen police officers' opinion. Surveys also demonstrate African Americans are more likely than Whites to believe the police treat minorities differently from Whites. Even those who believe that minorities are treated differently may explain or justify this disparity by invoking the notion of "rational discrimination" (MacDonald, 2003, p. 119).

Based on the scholar's best indicator of the population at risk, Whites are slightly more likely to be shot by police than Blacks. African Americans believe that the police treat minorities differently than Whites. Even those who think that minorities are mistreated may explain or justify this disparity by invoking the notion of "rational discrimination" (MacDonald, 2003, p. 119).

E. Ashby Plant and B. Michelle Peruche (2005) found that officers of all races and genders were more likely to accidentally shoot unarmed Black male suspects than White male suspects. Batton and Wilson (2006) used multivariate econometric and time series analysis techniques to examine historical trends in the felonious killing by law enforcement officers from 1947 to 1998. The researchers also focused on economic deprivation, deterrence, and social disorganization theories to explain trends in police murder rates. Their study's findings indicated that police murder rates in the United States were characterized by distinct historical periods from 1947 to 1971 and 1972 to 1998, in which the structural correlations of police murder vary. Economic deprivation and deterrence theories were relevant for understanding trends in police murder, although the latter's effects are historically specific.

Recent research showed a significant bias in killing unarmed black Americans. The probability of being {black, unarmed, and shot by police} is about 3.39 times the probability of being {white, unarmed, and shot by police} on average, according to the U.S. Police Shooting Database (USPSD). The results of multi-level modeling also show significant heterogeneity across the nation in the extent of racial profiling in police shootings. Some geographical locations offer relative risk ratios of 20 to 1 or more. Furthermore, police shootings analysis is most likely to emerge in larger metropolitan police departments in larger metropolitan with low median incomes and a sizable portion of black residents, especially when there is high financial inequality in that county. The research reviewed overwhelmingly indicated that the police disproportionately shot blacks and minorities. If the findings of this study suggest that White police officers in the 21st - century harbor racial feelings toward black males leading to the fatal shootings of unarmed black men, then biased judgments based on race are central to the continued deaths of unarmed black males.

Police Militarization

The militarization of police agencies in the U.S. can be charted back to the 1960s during the Johnson administration when riots took hold of American cities due to civil unrest, social upheaval, and tumult. It was then that President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. This bill paved the way for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and allowed local law enforcement agencies to purchase military-type resources to suppress the riots. The money facilitated the development of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units and other heavily armored police forces developed in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and other

cities to counteract the so-called Black insurgency. This was followed by President Richard M. Nixon's declaration of the War on Drugs, which President Ronald Reagan later drummed up. Both the Nixon and Reagan administrations echoed a rhetorical war metaphor. Still, Reagan issued the equivalent of a papal bull that allowed for sanctioning a military-style approach to battle the drug issue faced by America. Also, the war against drugs was a racial overtone – the urban riots of the 1960s and drug usage were often associated with Blacks. This was seen later as punishment differentials between drugs such as crack and cocaine more heavily punished racial minorities than Whites. American prisons and jails incarcerate more people of color than Whites for drugs (Schultz, 2014). According to Balko, SWAT teams violently smash into private homes more than 100 times daily to enforce laws against consensual crimes. In many cities, law enforcement agencies have given up the traditional blue uniforms for battle dress uniforms modeled after soldier attire (2013).

Moreover, civil forfeitures have also been a tool used to enrich the coffers of cash-strapped police agencies. The War on Drugs helped proliferate police seizures of property owned by convicted and suspected drug dealers. Police agencies could direct the public's attention to the notion they were restricting players in the drug trade from capitalizing off ill-gotten financial gains by 'redistributing' drug profits to buy much 'needed' military equipment from the Pentagon (Schultz, 2014). Although the tactics mentioned above are used as a tool in the War on Drugs, the Defense Logistics Agency or 1033 Program permits the Secretary of Defense to transfer military-grade weaponry, computer equipment, telecommunication and photography equipment, etc., to civilian law enforcement agencies. Specifically, police departments across the country now sport

armored personnel carriers designed for use on a battlefield. Some have helicopters, tanks, Humvees, and military-grade weapons. Most of the equipment comes from the military itself. Today, many SWAT teams are trained by current and former personnel from special forces units like the Navy SEALs – 'Sea, Air, and Land'- and Army Rangers. The use of paramilitary police units, in many instances, has become normalized. According to Balko (2013), aggressive, SWAT-style tactics are now used to raid neighborhood poker games, doctors' offices, bars and restaurants, and head shops – even though targets of these raids pose little threat to anyone. This force was once reserved as the last option to defuse a dangerous situation. It is increasingly used as the first option to apprehend people who are not dangerous at all. Lastly, the War on Terror followed on the War on Drugs' heels. The events of 9-11 and their reaction led to the collapse of the distinction between criminal policing, intelligence gathering, and national security protection. Laws such as the Patriot Act effectively turned the police into agents in the war against terror, again providing a war metaphor to support aggressive policing and creating the Department of Homeland Security, new resources, and funds to fight that fight with military weapons. Schultz (2014) asserts that even in its earliest inception, law enforcement has been shaped in a military-style structure, a mentality predicated on fighting a war in U.S. streets, shrouded in a manifested cycle of racism and racial profiling.

There is symbolic imagery of police and the power those symbols wield. Paul & Birzer (2004) argue that the police's symbolic insignias reflect the institution's perceptions of worth and value regarding the public. They also contend that these police symbols cultivate a perception of power inequalities between the police and the public,

not by accident. It is intended to serve as a mechanism of social control. Moreover, the authors point out that one-way social control is reinforced through police uniforms' militarization via military battle dress uniforms (BDUs). These uniforms are being worn more frequently today by law enforcement units and are often indiscernible from full-on-military uniforms. Specifically, these BDUs are black and sometimes camouflaged. Likewise, this attire is usually worn with black gloves and a black military-style combat helmet.

Under the color of militarized police uniforms, symbolic violence is a cultural action used to inspire fear and subservience (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Bourdieu goes further to say that symbolic violence has the power to set up relationships that manifest themselves in the form of seduced coercion. This is exemplified in the way that police uniforms command respect. Paul and Birzer (2004) also state that symbolic violence is always misrecognized and misconstrued as virtuous, integrity, something to revere, and respect. However, there is an explanation of why or how this phenomenon is manifested.

According to Powers (1995), the legitimacy people grant to those in uniform has been seared into their psychology and socialized into relationships of command. Therefore, it is clear that police uniforms command respect while simultaneously wielding their power to seduce the public into subservience over police violations. Moreover, Powers asserted that [non-traditional] black [and camouflage] law enforcement uniforms tap into associations between the color black and authority, invincibility, and the power to violate laws. The modern militarized police uniform (with its emphasis on camouflage and/or black colors) is a force of symbolic violence used

primarily to distance community inquiry into police action (Paul & Birzer, 2004). The removal of traditional police uniforms is a symbolic act used to distance outsiders (e.g., the community) from the practice of policing." This might be construed as a way for police to operate with less accountability to the public. Researchers refer to this as symbolic violence regarding police uniforms' militarization. They suggest that the symbols of police uniforms permeate Americans' psyche and cultivate subservient relationships between police and communities. Also, police function as legitimate control agents while using violent police uniforms' symbols sectioned. This is the order of things until public scrutiny enters the arena and the police's use of force is questioned. Most importantly, through militarized police uniforms and police actions, symbolic police violence is used to structure social relations between police and communities. The militarization of police uniforms: (1) maintains an internal legitimacy within the department by enhancing their role as enforcers of public violence, and (2) serves to construct a hierarchy between the police and the public symbolically.

Moving to the Violence of Silence, Paul and Birzer advance the increased removal of police banners and decals on cars and uniforms which displayed the slogans: "to Protect and Serve" and "Serve, Protect, and Defend," which have all been deemed as symbolic violence fostered in silence (2004). In this case, the act of silence (removing police logos) further attacks community inquiries of police action. Stated differently, police service logos stripping away is a cue to observers to remain silent and distant—these techniques silence and distance community members from observing police actions. If police operations are shrouded in silence and low visibility, then observation is less likely, and the community remains silent. This, too, is a form of symbolic violence

through police militarization. These examples illustrate how police militarization has been introduced into the police profession and the civilian community.

The War on Drugs' initiation in the early 1980s was the green light needed for legislators to codify into law the insertion of military presence into domestic law enforcement (Parenti, 2000; Reiman, 2004). Congress passed the Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Act (MCLEA) in 1981, encouraging the spread of military equipment, training, and technology with civilian enforcement agencies. In 1986, President Ronald Regan was officially designating drug trafficking as a national security threat, which catapulted military weaponry by civilian law enforcement agencies. A year later, Congress set a toll-free number to encourage civilian agencies to secure military assistance. The War on Drugs campaign was also used to legitimize police militarization. Pointing the finger at bad guys who wanted to enslave America's youth through the use of narcotics was the perfect impetus of that time.

Furthermore, in 1989, President George H. W. Bush created six regional task forces in the Department of Defense to liaise between the police and the military. A few years later, Congress ordered the Pentagon to make military surplus hardware available to state and local police to enforce drug laws. In 1994, the Department of Defense and the Department of Justice signed an agreement enabling the military to transfer wartime technology to local police departments for peacetime use in American neighborhoods against American citizens (Paul & Birzer, 2004).

Undoubtedly, both the Reagan and Bush administrations saw the War on Drugs as a perfect impetus to call for police agencies' militarization throughout the United States. However, George W. Bush and his administration ushered in the War on Terror, which

would supplant the War on Drugs as the new impetus for increased militarism and militarization of American police agencies. Paul & Birzer (2004) note that after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, military equipment began to flow more frequently to law enforcement agencies. Furthermore, when declarations of war are made, this demonstrates a profound earnestness to confront and defeat the targeted foe. A declaration of war suggests an imminently threatening national crisis or open conflict requiring the use of extraordinary power and authority and the mobilization of massive resources to curb the threat and defeat the enemy, Merlot & Benekos, 2000).

These events have enabled the proliferation of military equipment (camouflage and 'ninja styled' uniforms, flash-bang grenades, assault rifles, and armored personnel carriers) that make symbolic war (Paul & Birzer, 2004). The effort to continue militarizing police in the United States has only ramped up since the War on Drugs campaign, especially the War on Terror initiative. The Obama administration took a particularly aggressive stance towards admonishing the dangers of domestic terror threats. In fact, "The U.S. government has emphasized combating 'homegrown terrorists,' and expanded its focus from curtailing the terrorist groups' activities abroad to monitoring the activities of U.S. citizens" (Hall & Coyne, 2012).

Furthermore, would-be domestic terrorists are viewed with the same disdain as their foreign counterparts by the U.S. government. Former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder said homegrown threats "keeps me up at night... You didn't worry about this event two years ago – about individuals, about Americans, to the extent that we now do...and that is of great concern...The threat has changed from worrying both foreigners

and people in the United States, American citizens" (Epstein, 2010). Holder went on to say a perceived American-born terrorist that would necessarily be on the same list as Bin Laden regarding the people on the terrorist list that worried him the most.

Hall and Coyne (2012) explain the War on Drugs and War on Terror have roots in national crisis regarding past riots in the 1960s. They have provided an excuse for bureaucratic expansion and pressure groups to realize their agenda of police militarization via a mass shift in public opinion, disregarding the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibits military forces from acting as domestic law enforcement.

The War on Drugs was a political boon for the Regan and Bush administrations. According to Gonzalez et al. (1986), proponents of military involvement in the drug war called for greater use of the National Guard and Coast Guard in drug-interdiction activities. They also noted that those forces are well trained and not subject to the Posse Comitatus Act's restrictions so long as they remain under state authority" (p. 385). This was simply a way for pro-military involvement block to legally circumvent the Posse Comitatus Act to advance their agenda of using individual states' military forces and the Coast Guard to enforce U.S. borders and domestic laws. After the 1982 Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Officials Act (MCLEO) was passed, the DoD "...provided surveillance and support in the form of aircraft and naval vessels. Less than a year later, more than 3,000 aircraft provided police forces with nearly 10,000 hours of surveillance" (Gonzalez et al., 1986, p. 383-384). As a result, many states put the National Guard troops to use to combat the selling and use of illicit drugs (Hall & Coyne, 2012).

In 1985, 19 states employed the National Guard in more than 199 separate missions related to drug – enforcement operations. In 1990, Congress opened its purse again, granting funds earmarked for National Guard troops engaged in drug operations. This provided an excellent impetus for police and military forces in the U.S. to expand their operations, increase personnel, and expand their discretionary budgets. With the passing of the MCLEO Act, police agencies became financially dependent on federal funds earmarked for anti-drug operations (Hall & Coyne, 2012). One such initiative, Community Oriented Policing Services, distributed over \$10 billion to over 12,000 agencies within a decade (Eisler & Johnson, 2005). Because so much funding was being provided, along with the possibility of more in the future by Congress earmarked for the War on Drugs, pressure groups pushed for the "...expansion of drug laws and additional drug – interdiction activities" (Hall & Coyne, 2012). This is critical because of the likely budget shortfalls that could strap and financially starve agencies. A relaxation of drug laws means smaller police and correctional officer unions' budgets. In 1980, more than 41,000 individuals were incarcerated for drug-related offenses. Today, that number is increased dramatically to almost half a million, representing half of all persons in jail or prison – an astounding 1,1000 percent increase in the number of persons incarcerated on drug-related charges (Maurer & King, 2007).

In 2008, the Police's National Fraternal Order had ideas on keeping funds flowing to their agencies. They lobbied Congress to increase penalties for offenses involving particular types of narcotics; create a public database for persons convicted of drug offenses, and establish increased penalties and mandatory sentences for drug traffickers. It also lobbied for harsher penalties against individuals who threaten violence against law

enforcement officers (Pasco, 2008). The idea was to see these policies passed through Congress to expand the police's resources and enforce more stringent laws (Hall & Coyne, 2012). However, local law enforcement, the Coast Guard, and National Guard troops were not the only entities benefiting from the windfall of cash pouring from Congress's purse under the notion of fighting the War on Drugs. "Private prisons worked to expand and perpetuate the war on drugs. These firms' income depends on the number of incarcerated individuals. The increased penalties for drug crimes have made private prisons a particularly lucrative business. To provide some context, consider the revenue for the two largest private prison businesses totals nearly \$3 billion annually (Corrections Corporation of America, 2010). In 1990, private prisons housed an average of 7,771 offenders; however, by the end of 2009, inmate numbers jumped to 129,336. That was an increase of 1,664 percent. The second-largest private prison in America, the GEO Group, is very open about its mission regarding its profitability. "Our growth depends on our ability to secure contracts to develop and manage new correctional detention and mental health facilities...*Changes concerning the decriminalization of drugs and controlled substances could affect the number of persons arrested, convicted, sentenced, and incorporated, thereby potentially reducing demand for correctional facilities to house them*" (American Civil Liberties Union, 2011, p. 25). One should note that reductions in crime rates could correlate to and cause declines in arrests, convictions, and sentences that would send offenders to prison. This must be averted at all costs for businesses in the prison industrial complex. The number of inmates must continue to flow for them to remain profitable. One way to achieve this is "...to lobby governments to pass more

stringent laws that ensure an ongoing stream of criminals to incarcerate" (Hall & Coyne, 2012).

While the drug war was still raging, a new threat in the form of terrorism emerged in the early 1990s. The World Trade Center bombing of 1993 and the 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City led America to focus on a new era in domestic and foreign policy, which allowed for more convergence between military and local law enforcement. As aforementioned, these events led Congress to pass the MCLEO Act in the late 1990s to address the new dynamics of confronting future terrorist attacks that might involve biological and chemical weapons. The MCLEO Act allows the Secretary of Defense, via the DoD, to provide law enforcement assistance in situations that might include mass destruction weapons. According to Hall & Coyne (2012), the lines between military and local law enforcement blurred even further when Congress passed legislation creating the 1033 Program, which allows the DoD to move military-grade surplus to state and local law enforcement. Agencies that engage in counterterrorism operations and counterdrug operations are first listed.

Program 1033 expanded the MCLEO Act to allow state and local agencies to quickly access material "...such as body armor, aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, riot gear, watercraft, and surveillance equipment (Hall & Coyne, 2012). Since the 9/11 attacks, more military-grade equipment has flowed hundreds of millions of dollars to state and local law enforcement each year (Ruppert, 2011).

Moreover, to share intelligence, training, and other knowledge from other agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to expand its Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTFs). Formerly based in New York, more than 100 task forces can be found around

the country, allowing for the free flow of information from federal, state, and local agencies via the JTTFs. Seventy-one forces were added after the attacks on September 11, 2001; however, there is over 4,000 personnel from over 600 local and 50 separate federal agencies (U.S. Federal Bureau, as cited in Hall & Coyne, 2012).

During the post-9/11 society in the U.S, many scholars and observers have highlighted the increased flow of military-grade equipment to state and local law enforcement agencies. The DoD and DHS maintain the need for the free flow of surplus military equipment to domestic agencies under the color of fighting the War on Terror. However, Forbes Magazine put out an article in 2011 critical of this practice asserting that officials are conflating the War on Drugs with the War on Terror to bolster the argument for the unfettered operation of Program 1033. Since 9/11, millions of battlefield-grade equipment meant for foreign operations have been delivered to state and local agencies to be used on U.S. streets against U.S. citizens. In 2006 alone, the Worcester, Massachusetts Telegram & Gazette reported a Pentagon spokesman revealed the DoD had distributed \$15.4 million in vehicles, \$8.9 million in aircraft, \$6.7 million in boats, \$1 million in weapons, and another \$110.6 million in other items to local police agencies (Kain, 2011). "The War on Drugs, the civil liberties of ordinary Americans, and people across the globe are trampled on in the process. It is important to discern police are not soldiers and are not exposed to the type of training military personnel receive," according to Kain (2011).

Police departments are not military agencies and may not possess military organizations' discipline and oversight. The difference can be found in the fact local Sheriffs are elected and are sometimes more preoccupied with being viewed as 'tough on

crime' than upholding the law. This presents a potentially volatile situation in parts of the country when one considers this is not warring police fighting in America's streets. However, they often work in dense urban areas where heavy firepower can put innocent lives at risk. Meanwhile, the more militarized police become, the more criminals and gangs will respond in kind. The War on Drugs has its own arms race to contend with (Kain, 2011).

Although the call to protect Americans from possible future terror attacks continues to be a focal point in the DoD and DHS, some criminal justice scholars posit a clear and present danger of undermining democratic policing in the U.S. with the rise of urban police militarization. According to David H. Bayley (2001), democratic policing is predicated on four principal forms: (1) police must give top operational priority to servicing the needs of individual citizens and private groups; (2) they must be accountable to the law rather than the government; (3) they should protect human rights, especially those that are required for the sort of unfettered political activity that is the hallmark of democracy; (4) they should be transparent in their activities. By undermining these norms, the paramilitary law enforcement juggernaut subverts democratic policing in the United States.

Police militarization is predicated on the use of force, and some entities favor this use of force. An early 1980s report revealed the United States Civil Rights Commissioner reviewed police use of force and released the following: "police officers possess awesome powers. They perform their duties under hazardous conditions and with the vigilant public eye. Police officers are permitted only a margin of error in judgment under conditions that impose high degrees of physical and mental stress. Their general

responsibility to preserve peace and enforce the law carries with it the power to arrest and to use force – even deadly force" (Alpert & Smith, 1994, p. 1). While the commission offered ways to scrutinize police, it did not provide a precise meaning of the term "excessive force." It also failed to include factors that could negatively or positively affect law enforcement officers' decision-making while using force or excessive force. These are the types of findings that continue to give license to the increased use of militarized police. When examining the functions police routinely perform, it is much simpler to realize how militarized police agencies have become so prevalent in American law enforcement (e.g., crime fighters, maintaining social order, distributors of force, and problem solvers) (Klahm & Tillyer, 2010, p. 214). In practice, sometimes use of force is unavoidable since police officers must protect themselves and their citizens (Wittie, 2007, p. 17). However, militarized force often exceeds simple pressure and bleeds over excessive force, especially when deployed for everyday police operations such as low-risk narcotics and misdemeanor arrest warrants.

Over the years, researchers have measured how often militarized police force is used and determined the efficacy (if at all) of militarizing the police. In 2015, Cooper researched and found that the War on Drugs policy appeared to increase police brutality targeting Black communities, even though they made little progress in reducing street-level drug crimes. He suggested that jurisdictions abandon the War on Drugs, observe the Fourth Amendment and Posse Comitatus Act, and oppose Stop and Frisk policies. Another research conducted by a professor at Princeton University also showed that militarizing police is ineffective in deterring crime and protecting police. Still, there is evidence that it may harm the police's reputation. He asserted that most militarized law

enforcement units are deployed to communities of color, and there is no evidence of police militarization decreasing crime or increasing police safety (Mummolo, 2018).

Statement of Problem

The role of the police is to maintain social order and safety through the enforcement of the law. They investigate, prevent, and detect criminal activity. However, the problem with police protection today is the overuse of force which often comes through the term militarism regarding agency tenets and dogma. Also, social media has focused on police brutality, leading to race riots and retaliatory police killings. Because of this, police reform has become a significant concern in the United States and abroad.

Purpose of the Study

The militarization of local police agencies is a growing concern among citizens and scholars alike. According to Delehanty et al. (2017), the receipt of military equipment increases multiple dimensions of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA) militarization (material, cultural, organizational, and operational), and such increases lead to more violent behavior. In other words, the more LEAs receive military-grade equipment, the more inclined they are to police aggressively and violently. In addition, police brutality has led to race riots and retaliatory police killings. The purpose of this study is threefold which examines: (1) whether there is a substantial difference in police overuse of force by race and geographic jurisdictions; (2) whether there is an association between race and causes of death by police ; (3) how accurately a DHS 1033 Program can be predicted from a linear combination of crime rates within five geographic jurisdictions: Texas (Houston), Louisiana, (New Orleans), Maryland (Baltimore), and Georgia (Atlanta), District of Columbia (Washington).

Research Questions

1. Is there an association between race and causes of death by police?
2. Is there a relationship between race, geographic jurisdiction, and police overuse of force?
3. Is the DHS 1033 Program predictive of crime?

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 - There is no association between race and causes of death by police.

Hypothesis 2 – There is no statistically significant relationship between police overuse of force by race and geographic jurisdiction.

Hypothesis 3 – The DHS 1033 Program is not predictive of crime.

Concept/Theoretical Framework

Social Conflict Theory

According to Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016), the more complex and differentiated the society, the more people within the society have different and conflicting values and interests (p. 255). The root of any social conflict can be traced to the political-economic vision created by philosopher Karl Marx. Being interested in the degree of inequalities in societies, Marx focused more on power. He argued that the social construction of crime in every society would reflect the nature of the society's economic and social structure. In other words, different economic systems generate different class structures, power relations, and various systems of inequality; therefore, different methods for managing the consequences of unequal relationships, of which crime control is one, are manifested (Lynch & Michalowski, p. 23).

Members of the society, who have high status, power, privilege, and prestige, often use power as a key to dominate and control the members of the lower classes. This form of power is prevalent in any society. Higher classes always abuse their power over lower classes to protect and increase the value of basic needs and desires. This causes many significant conflicts and struggles that most societies are still facing. Willem Bonger, Ralf Dahrendorf, and George Vold employed a Marxist perspective to identify the crime-producing social and economic forces in capitalist societies (1969). Howard Zinn also argued that the American criminal justice system was far from just. He criticized unjust laws and a judicial tyranny that created cruel punishments that treated people of color as less than human (2003). Specifically, racial and ethnic minorities are the target of racist police officers. The shooting of Michael Brown and Eric Garner and other shooting cases have illustrated the conflict between law enforcement officers and minorities and created both public outrage and political movements such as Black Lives Matter (Siegel, 2015, p. 235).

Macrolevel Threat Theory

Macrolevel Threat theory argues that when minorities pose an increasing threat to the status quo, police activity increases and is directed more at minorities (Liska, 1992). Research on this theory has commonly tested these hypotheses: an increase in the relative proportion of African Americans in a city will increase police officers' numbers and the number of arrests. A positive association between minorities and police activity or strength is typically viewed with support for this type of conflict criminology.

Trait Theory or "Criminal Man"

Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), the Italian School of Positivist Criminology founder, rejected the established Classical School or the Rational Choice Theory, which held that crime was a characteristic trait of human nature. Instead, his anthropological criminology theory stated criminality was inherited, and someone "born criminal" could be identified by physical defects and traits (Lombroso, 1876). By observing Italian prisoners' physical characteristics and comparing them to Italian soldiers, Lombroso concluded that criminals were physically different. In other words, the male with five or more physical anomalies such as asymmetry of the face or head, large monkey-like ears, large lips, twisted nose, excessive cheekbones, long arms, and excessive skin wrinkles is marked as a born criminal. Recent research has proved Lombroso was wrong in assuming that certain criminals have distinctive facial features; however, some law enforcement officers continue using the same or similarly flawed approach as Lombroso did regarding the criminalization of people of color without a burden of proof. This is evident when looking at the ratio of police shootings involving Black people as opposed to their White counterparts, which this study highlights.

Thomas Kuhn – Paradigm Shifts or Evolutionary Explosions

The above ordinary foundation of criminological theories is a linear building block notion of how knowledge builds on itself. However, Thomas Kuhn, the well-known physicist, philosopher, and historian of science, released *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). He transformed the foundation of the philosophy of science by creating a "paradigm shift." He argued that science advances in terms of revolutions, paradigmatic revolutions. The path of science through revolutions is not necessarily toward truth but merely away from previous errors. There can be no new scientific

advancement without debate and the challenge of prevailing theories. This is how new theories come to the fore and influence future implications and policies (Kuhn, 1962).

The following paragraphs will illustrate the above statement.

Theory of Norm and Theory of Law

Turks' 1969 Theory of Norm resistance explains the conflict between law enforcement officers and minority citizens in society due to dissimilarities in their cultural norms and characteristics. Black's (1976) Theory of Law also guides racial profiling examinations. He argued that law is a quantifiable variable, and it is possible to explain the quantity and style of law in all situations. Applying Black's theory to racial profiling, one may expect higher social stratification levels to result in higher levels of the quantity of law referred to those citizens. Therefore, citizens with more considerable disparities, such as Black citizens, would likely experience higher police intervention rates than their White counterparts.

Threat Theory

Liska et al. (1982) find that, with the constant crime rate, fear of crime is associated with African-Americans' population percentage in metropolitan areas. Departments are more likely to use deadly force in the towns with higher rates of minorities because the threat posed by a sizeable racial underclass may lead to harsh law enforcement measures. According to the Threat Theory, law enforcement is more coercive in big cities that have recently experienced growth in Black residents. As the African-American population increases, concerns about the prevalence of crime increase. Thus, Threat Theory explains why police commit so many shootings in metropolitan areas with growing percentages of Black residents. Bernard and Ritti (1990) argued that

social science activities must involve an explicit theory to be considered scientific research. They also stated that while purely descriptive analysis may be interesting and useful, it is not scientific research.

According to Bernard and Ritti (1990), a scientific theory is a "set of concepts bound together by explicit relationships and causal priorities" (p. 5). To date, the information generated regarding racial profiling should not be considered scientific research; none of the studies previously reviewed explicitly stated relationships between temporally ordered concepts. Instead, the underlying theory guiding racial profiling research is implicit. It is implied that officers make decisions by citizens' race, but the potential reasons for this hypothesized relationship are unclear. This implicit theory is based on what Bernard and Engel (2001) described as the prescriptive ideal in criminal justice research.

Danger-Perception Theory

Danger-Perception Theory is another necessary explanation for police killings. According to this theory, the police use of deadly force is contingent on police officers' belief they are in danger, whether there is real danger present or not. Thus, it is expected those police officers are more likely to use deadly force during periods when (or in places where) they encounter higher levels of violence or view their jobs as being particularly hazardous. As the frequency of dangerous criminal incidents increases, police killings increase proportionally. Specifically, as social violence increases, so will the level of police shootings of civilians (McDonald et al., 2001, p. 159).

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is the theory that recognizes that racism is ingrained in America's social fabric and system. Racists do not need to note that institutional racism is pervasive in the dominant culture. CRT's analytical lens also examines existing power structures and identifies them based on white privilege and white supremacy (Word Press, 2009).

Although previous studies reviewed the aggregate rates of police shootings, no study to date has been able to explain the causes of this critical issue empirically since much of the research is meant to inform police administrators and influence their policies. Most importantly, CRT is a theoretical and interpretive mode that examines racism across dominant cultures. In adopting this approach, CRT researchers seek to understand how victims of systemic racism are affected and how they represent themselves to counter prejudice (Literacy Theories and Schools of Criticism). This study uses the CRT to organize criminal justice theory and research to develop a theoretical framework for racial profiling and police shootings.

Operational Definitions

This study uses the following terms or definitions:

Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Agencies (MCLEA): In the Congressional testimony report, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (G.A.O.) discussed using the military to assist Federal drug law enforcement agencies. The amendments removed restrictions and ambiguities and facilitated cooperation between military and civilian officials. As required, the Department of Defense (D.O.D.) established policies and procedures that speculated the civilian law enforcement agencies' operations to the maximum extent practicable, consistent with the needs for national

security, military preparedness, and the limitation of direct military involvement in civilian law enforcement activities. Several factors that continue to restrict military assistance are (1) incompatibility between military systems; (2) a requirement that D.O.D. obtains reimbursement under certain circumstances; (3) the disclosure of classified information regarding the use of sophisticated military systems in criminal court proceedings. G.A.O. anticipates that military assistance will increase as defense and law enforcement agencies explore possibilities for a coordinated attack on drug smuggling (Office, U.G., 1983).

Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement (MCLEO): Assistance by Department of Defense personnel is subject to subsection; and the Secretary of Defense, upon request from the head of an agency with jurisdiction to enforce. Law that relates to the arrival or departure of merchandise (Tariff Act of 1930, section 41, U.S.C. 1401) may assign the Department of Defense's personnel to operate, maintain, and assist in operating equipment made available under section 372 concerning any criminal violation of any such provision of law (Office, 1983).

Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) or Police Paramilitary Unit (P.P.U.): According to the National Tactical Officers Association, a SWAT team is a special law enforcement team in which members are selected, recruited, trained, equipped, and specifically assigned to resolve critical incidents that are considered as a threat to public safety. Furthermore, SWAT teams' primary characteristics are focused on tactical solutions instead of other functions, such as investigation. A researcher on police militarization notes that P.P.U.s can be distinguished from traditional police by (1) P.P.U.s are equipped with militaristic equipment and technology (e.g., H&K MP5

submachine guns, semi-automatic shotgun, M16 assault rifles, and sniper rifles); (2) P.P.U.s have an array of 'less-than-lethal' weapons and technology that they use when conducting 'dynamic entries' (e.g., flash-bang, grenades, tear gas, bean bag guns, battering rams, hydraulic door-jamb spreaders, and armored personnel carriers) (James, 2015).

Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs): the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Joint Terrorism Task Forces are the nation's front line on terrorism: highly trained, locally based, passionately committed investigators, analysts, linguists, SWAT experts, and other specialists from both U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Their mission is to chase leads, gather evidence, and make arrests. These special task forces also provide security for special events, conduct training, collect intelligence and respond to threats' incidents at a moment's notice. There are more than 175 task forces in cities nationwide. The first JTTF was established in New York City in 1980. Today, in addition to F.B.I. personnel, the JTTFs include members from the Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. military, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and the Transportation Security Administration (F.B.I., 2016).

Battle Dress Uniforms (B.D.U.s): take the increasing adoption of battle-dress uniforms (B.D.U.s) for patrol officers. These militaristic, often black jumpsuits make them less approachable and possibly more aggressive in their interactions with the citizens they are supposed to protect. A small project at Johns Hopkins University seemed to bear this out. People were shown pictures of police officers in their traditional uniforms and B.D.U.s. The survey indicated that Respondents would much rather have a police officer show up in traditional dress blues. Summarizing its finding, Bickel writes,

"the more militaristic look of the B.D.U.s, much like what is seen in news stories of our military in war zones, gives rise to the notion of our police being an occupying force in some inner-city neighborhoods, instead of trusted community protectors (Harwood, 2017).

Law Enforcement Agencies (L.E.A.s): the National Defense Authorization Act authorizes the Secretary of Defense to transfer excess Department of Defense (D.O.D.) personal property to federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies (L.E.A.) with particular emphasis given to counter-drug and counter-terrorism (Team, 2018).

Department of Defense (D.O.D.): The Department of Defense, consisting of about 1.7 million men and women on active duty, is responsible for providing the military forces needed to deter war and protect its security. These forces' significant elements include the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Some 518,000 – including nearly 67,000 on ships at sea – serve outside the United States. In case of emergency, they are backed by the 1,000,00 members of the reserve components—about 1.1 million civilian employees in the Defense Department (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2019).

Department of Homeland Security (D.H.S.): includes custom and border, immigration enforcement, emergency response to natural and human-made disasters, antiterrorism work, and cybersecurity to improve the security of the United States (D.H.S., 2019).

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters starting with chapter 1, Introduction. Chapter 2 delivers a critical analysis of the empirical literature. Chapter 3 details the methodological custom and allows for explicit details of all parts of this study's design

and procedures. Chapter 4 exhibits findings stemming from statistical data analysis in keeping with the study's research questions and hypotheses. Furthermore, the study results are revealed in this chapter and focus on the limitations. Lastly, chapter 5 concludes where the recommendations and policy implications become essential.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Background

The Development of Policing in the U.S.

Delving into the history of policing, slave patrols and night watches, which later became modern police departments, were all designed to control the behaviors of negro enslaved people. Tracking enslaved people was essential to protecting investments and securing future profits for plantation masters. This was more evident than in the southern regions of what later became known as the United States of America. In 1704, Carolina's colony developed the nation's first slave patrol to help wealthy landowners recover, punish enslaved people, and maintain the economic order (Kappeler, 2014). The American Revolution is another component of early policing that gave the founders of the United States an up-close and personal view of what can happen when a police state takes hold of a society. For instance, British troops that occupied Boston clashed with civilians who objected to the crown's force being there. The king's army's unwanted presence led to what is memorialized as the Boston Massacre and the U.S. Constitution's Third Amendment, no quartering of military troops without the owner's expressed consent (Fortenberry, 2018).

Therefore, police had to be predicated on the liberties and rights found in the U.S. Constitution at the inception of organized, professional police agencies in American society. Creating domestic police forces meant having civilians interact with civilians rather than military forces. Consider this statement from today's U.S. Department of

Justice; police officials are responsible for various roles, including protecting constitutional rights. Constitutional policing can be described as 'legal policing.' This means policing must be conducted following the U.S. Constitution's parameters and state constitution. Many court decisions have defined in greater detail what the text of the Constitution means in terms of the everyday practices of policing.

Furthermore, Fortenberry's (2018) aforementioned statement defines the essence of what constitutional policing is and the form of protection that every domestic agency should employ. Fast forward some years, and the tenets of Sir Robert Peel, the British founder of modern policing in early policing in the metropolitan areas of the U.S., became quite apparent. Robert Peel believed that the police and the public are the police. He also thought that the police's ability to perform their duties depends upon public approval of police existence, actions, behaviors, and the police's power to secure and maintain public respect (Durham Constabulary, 1829). In 1845, New York City was the first city to develop the first modern police agency. This was ahead of the American Civil War and the fallout that ensued in its wake, known as Reconstruction in the not-so-organized South, regarding organized law enforcement. Because no formidable or civilian police forces could keep the peace and enforce the Constitution effectively, Union troops were brought into the Confederate South to help advance Reconstruction's agenda. Because no formidable or civilian police forces could keep the peace and enforce the Constitution effectively, Union troops were brought into the Confederate South to help advance Reconstruction's agenda. There were the Pinkertons, who were created as private police to bust unions. In the South, police departments emerged to maintain order against the formerly enslaved people. In the North, they grew to check immigrants and

unions. This led to reformers, such as August Vollmer, professionalizing the police in the early 20th century in the military model's image model complete with hierarchy, command structures, and uniforms (Schultz, 2014).

It is profoundly important to understand that the history of policing in the United States is intricately intertwined with race, class, and military. Federal troops occupied the South to enforce civil rights and oversee the region's Reconstruction (Schultz, 2014). This was a formidable movement considering the bitter losses of life, liberty, and property many faced in the South. Moreover, the economic impact was devastating to those who profited from the one thing the Civil War destroyed, free labor in the form of slavery. The Union's defeat over the Confederacy was, for a brief while, the great equalizer in the South. For the first time in American history, formerly enslaved people could participate in society as free men. The land was acquired, education was sought with federal land grants for colleges and universities, businesses were erected, and political offices were held. Indeed, Reconstruction was a time of enlightenment for Negroes in the South, a type of golden age.

However, hardened confederate loyalists were beside themselves and found it difficult to coexist with free Negro men and women sharing society as equals. During the 1876 presidential election, Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Tilden were disputed election results. To end the political attrition, an agreement was brokered that would see Tilden and the Democrats concede the United States presidency to Hayes and the Republicans if federal troops withdrew from the South. (Schultz, 2014). This left Negroes in the South without legal or physical protection from the military. Once federal troops withdrew from the South, all the progress made by formerly enslaved people was

halted and stripped away by Confederate loyalists. Businesses were destroyed, the land was stolen, lynching took place, and their political offices were snatched from formerly enslaved people. All of this was enforced by terror squads, such as the Ku Klux Klan, bent on restoring White Supremacy's order to the country's southern region. In the 1890s, Ida B Wells documented lynchings across the United States, publishing statistics and details of several dozen killings in pamphlets such as *Southern Horror: Lynch Law in All Its Phases and The Red Record*. According to the Equal Justice Initiative, more than 4,000 African Americans were lynched across 20 states between 1877 and 1950 (Gregory, 2019). Reconstruction ended with the passage of the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878, which made it illegal for the U.S. Army's federal troops to enforce domestic laws in the United States. However, this did not apply to National Guard troops. Throughout history, they have been used to keep the peace, as in 12,000 soldiers breaking up the Pullman strike in 1894 and guard units executing federal integration laws in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 (Schultz, 2014).

Police Killings

In the United States, every year, hundreds of people suffer what is bureaucratically termed "death by legal intervention—police. These annual numbers translate into a daily average of one or two people who die at the American police's hands. As many killings have begun under similar circumstances, researchers have been concerned about whether police disproportionately use deadly force against people of color and whether such killings reflect racial bias. Fagan & Campbell (2020) analyzed data on 3933 killings to examine this intersection of race and reasonableness in police killings. First, they described police killings' objective circumstances and interactions and

mapped the event characteristics. Second, they assessed whether lethal force's inherently vague constitutional regulation raises a disproportionate rate of ethnic minority deaths. They then assessed the prospects for remediation of racialized police killings by testing the effects of an existing evidence-based training curriculum designed to reduce police use of deadly force towards persons experiencing mental illness and found that, across several circumstances of police killings and their objective reasonableness, Black suspects were more than twice to be killed by police even when there were no other apparent circumstances during the encounter that would make the use of deadly force reasonable. Police killings of Latino civilians were higher than whites and other racial or ethnic groups in some but not all circumstances. The researchers also found no evidence that enhanced police training focused on a mental health crisis could reduce the incidence of fatal police shootings of persons with racial and ethnic disparities in police killings. Their findings suggested that the standards in constitutional case law failed to anticipate the circumstances of fatal police shootings and were therefore seemingly irrelevant in preventing racial disparities in police fatal police shootings. Considering this constitutional landscape, Fagan & Campbell (2020) argued that enhanced police training's ineffectiveness in reducing overall shootings and racial disparity within these shootings might reflect the absence of race-specific components in their curricula. They suggested that adding training components may remediate both the incidence of police shootings and their apparent racial and ethnic disparity.

Schwartz and Jahn (2020) used inverse-variance-weighted multilevel models to examine the race-stratified rates of fatal police violence for all Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and racial inequities in these rates. They analyzed the most recent, reliable

data from Fatal Encounters, a citizen science initiative that aggregates and verifies media reports. Their main results excluded deaths that could be considered accidents (e.g., vehicular collisions). Still, sensitivity analyses demonstrated that doing so may minimize the rate of fatal police violence in some MSAs by 60 percent. Black-White and Latino-White inequities were slightly underestimated nationally by excluding reportedly 'accidental' deaths, but MSA-specific injustices were sometimes severely under- or over-estimated.

Gray and Parker's (2020) study empirically examined recent race-specific police shootings and offers a theoretical test of racial threat arguments. Their analysis included all threats from an economic, political, and racial composition, which examined Black citizens' police shootings statewide spanning from 2014–to 2016. For comparison, police shootings of Whites were also analyzed. Significant findings for racial composition were reported across both races, while political predictors were substantial in the Black-specific model when controlling other structural features. The results also highlight the need to disaggregate police shootings by race.

In 2019, according to Streeter's study, African Americans were nearly three times as likely to be killed by police as whites. He used machine learning techniques and a data set of police killings containing over 120 descriptors to assess whether and how the shooting circumstances predict a decedent race. He found that decedent characteristics, criminal activity, threat levels, police actions, and the lethal interaction settings interaction are not predictive of race, indicating that the police – given contact – are killing blacks and whites under broadly similar circumstances. The findings suggested that the racial disparity in the lethal force rate is most likely driven by higher rates of

police contact among African Americans than racial differences in the circumstances of the interaction and officer bias in applying lethal force.

Cesario et al. (2019) provided benchmark two-years of fatal shooting data on sixteen crime rate estimates. He found no systematic evidence of anti-Black disparities in fatal and unarmed citizens' fatal shootings when adjusting for the crime. Multiverse analyses showed a significant anti-Black disparity of 144 possible tests at the highest rates. In reality, not much research has been done to investigate the impact of race on police behavior. Menifield et al.'s (2019) study examined why white police officers are more likely to use lethal force on minority suspects. He constructed a data set of all confirmed uses of deadly force by police officers from 2014 to 2015. He found that although police disproportionately killed minority suspects, white officers are not likely to use lethal force against minorities as nonwhite officers.

Mesic et al. (2018) evaluated the relationship between structural racism and Black-White disparities statewide in police shootings of unarmed. Using Poisson regression, the researchers assessed the effect of structural racism from January 1, 2013, through June 30, 2017. They created a state racism index with five dimensions: residential segregation, incarceration rates, educational attainment, economic indicators, and employment status. After controlling for numerous state-level factors, the state racism index showed a significant predictor of the Black-White disparity in police shooting rates (incidence rate ratio: 1.24; 95% confidence interval, 1.02-1.50). In the state racism index, the disparity ratio of police shooting rates of people not known to be armed increased by 24 percent for every 1:0 point. These findings suggested that structural

racism was an essential predictor of the Black-White disparity in police shootings of unarmed victims across states.

Ozkan et al. (2018) used Fatal Encounters, Deadspin, and the Washington Post unofficial dataset to compare the incidences and details surrounding officer-involved killings in Dallas. The researchers stated that reporting on the incidence of officer-involved killings mainly was consistent across data sources, and incident details varied across data sources, especially concerning investigation outcomes.

The controversy surrounding recent high-profile police shootings has prompted inquiries into the possible existence of bias in officers' use-of-force decisions. Using a balanced mix of the shoot and don't shoot cases from a large municipal police department in the Southwestern United States, Worrall et al. (2018) analyzed the effect of suspect race on officers' decisions to shoot while accounting for other theoretically relevant factors. The findings suggested that Black suspects were not disproportionately the target of police shootings, and nearly one-third were as likely to be shot as others. This finding challenged the current bias narrative and is consistent with the other race-related findings in recently published research.

Porter et al. (2018) explored perceptions of African-Americans' killings by police officers. The researchers showed how the victim, officer, surrounding environment, and political cues shape such perceptions. Their study employed a conjoint survey experiment wherein subjects were exposed to descriptions of hypothetical police killings. Focusing on subjects who scored high on the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS), the researchers identified what made such subjects view shootings as more justified. They also replicated and extended these effects in a second study in which subjects read fictitious newspaper

articles. They found that exposing high SRS subjects to Black Lives Matter primes could decrease their belief in justifiable shootings. Edwards et al. (2018) used novel data on police-involved fatalities and Bayesian models to estimate mortality risk for Black, Latino, and White men in all U.S. counties by Census division and metropolitan area type. The researchers found that police killed, on average, 2.8 men per day and were responsible for about 8 percent of all homicides with adult male victims between 2012 to 2018. Black men's mortality risk was between 1.9 and 2.4 deaths per 100 000 per year, the Latino risk was between 0.8 and 1.2, and the White risk was between 0.6 and 0.7. They concluded that police homicide risk was higher than suggested by official data. Black and Latino men were at higher risk for death than were White men, and these disparities varied markedly across the place.

In response to police-involved homicides of people of color, Nicholson-Crotty et al. (2017) found that the concept of the critical mass led to the expectation that an increase in black officers would reduce the number of black citizens killed in encounters with police, but only once the proportion of black officers was sufficiently large. They tested this expectation in analyses of recently compiled data on police-involved homicides in 2014 and 2015 in large U.S. cities. Nix et al. (2017) analyzed 990 fatal police shootings using data collected by The Washington Post in 2015. After first providing a fundamental descriptive analysis of these shootings, the researchers then examined the data for evidence of implicit bias by using multivariate regression models that predicted two indicators of threat perception failure: whether the civilian was not attacking the officer(s) or attacking other civilians just before being fatally shot, and whether the civilian was unarmed when fatally shot. The results indicated civilians from

"other" minority groups were significantly more likely to have not been attacking the officer(s) or other civilians. Black civilians were more than twice to have been as unarmed.

Shane et al. (2017) used data from the 2003 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics survey to examine the impact of departmental professionalism. Available data from the *Washington Post* were used to model the period from January 2, 2015, to December 29, 2016 ($n = 1948$). Although the data were limited, the patterns were not consistent with the national rhetoric that the police were killing Black people because of their race and that officer-involved shooting fatalities were increasing; fatalities were generally stable across both years, and the evidence showed those who were attacking were more likely to be killed. The data helped establish state-level base rates for fatal police shootings, which has yet to be done. Results from ordinary least squares regression analyses showed that only departmental commitment to education was related to the police-citizen violence indicators.

The police officers' killings of civilians have become a matter of intense public concern in the United States. High-profile Black deaths have caused outrage and sparked the Black Lives Matter movement, calling for dramatic changes in how police agencies operate. Jennings and Rubado (2017) leveraged an extensive data set of gun deaths by police officers to examine whether specific policies were associated with lower or higher rates of officer-involved gun deaths. The findings showed that one approach, the requirement that officers file a report when they pointed their guns at people but did not fire, was associated with significantly lower gun death rates.

Racial bias and officer-involved killings are controversial political issues. Aymer's (2016) case study addressed the killings of unarmed Black men by the police, arguing that such killings were motivated by factors including how race, racism, and gender contributed to the "othering" of their humanity. Also, ideas from Critical Race Theory, criminality and racial profiling, critical consciousness, relational theory, and narrative therapy would provide a foundation for understanding the racialized experiences of Black men in America, where multiple forms of injustices existed and where police killings were viewed as lawful.

Legewie and Fagan (2016) also argued that a diverse police force proportionally represented the population mitigated group threats and reduced the number of officer-involved killings. The researchers showed that group threat was driven mainly by the threat of black crime. Black-on-white homicides increased officer-involved killings of African Americans, but black-on-black homicides and measures for political and economic threats did not. However, a diverse police force reduced the influence of group threats lowering the number and rate of African Americans' officer-involved killings. The findings represented one of the first analyses of a highly relevant contemporary issue based on a recent and high-quality dataset from January 2013 to June 2016.

Law enforcement officers' firearm violence has become an increasingly prominent topic among policymakers, social media, and the academic field. This prominence is driven by recent growth in the number of officers killed or injured by gunfire. A Bierie et al. (2016) study used the National Incident-Based Reporting System to compare all incidents in which police officers were the victim of firearm violence with a random sample of police encounters without this form of aggression. A variety of offender,

situational factors identified in prior literature on resisting arrest, and new constructs were compared between the two groups within a multivariate logistic regression framework. The data showed several vital patterns regarding risk to officers, some of which reverse or refine earlier work produced from studies of less severe forms of resistance.

Chaney and Robertson's (2015) study examined whether the police officers involved in these murders were indicted. Content analysis of the data revealed the murder of unarmed Blacks supports White Supremacy by advancing the racist legacy of citizen slave patrols that were initiated during slavery, assumed that Blacks were dangerous, sub-human, and inherently criminal, and resulted in little personal accountability for Black murder among members of law enforcement. In general, officers were not indicted for Blacks' murder, which suggested that Blacks' lives had no value. Ultimately, the death of unarmed Black people significantly undermined the confidence members of this group had in police and increased the likelihood they would regard law enforcement as a threat to their individual, family, and communal safety.

Ross (2015) used a geographically-resolved, multilevel Bayesian model to analyze the U.S. Police-Shooting Database (USPSD). He investigated the extent of racial bias in American civilians' shootings by police officers. The country-specific relative risk outcomes of being shot by police were estimated as a function of the interaction: 1) whether suspects/civilians were armed or unarmed, and 2) the race/ethnicity of the suspects/civilians. The results provided a significant bias in the killing of unarmed black Americans. On average, the probability of being unarmed black, and shot by police is about 3.49 times the probability of being unarmed, white, and shot by police. The results

also showed significant heterogeneity across counties regarding racial bias in police shootings. Finally, police shooting data analysis suggested that racial discrimination in police shootings was most likely to emerge in police departments, sizeable metropolitan counties with low median incomes, and a sizable portion of black residents. There was no relationship between county-level racial bias in police shootings and crime rates, meaning that the racial discrimination observed in police shootings was not explainable as a response to local-level crime rates.

James et al. (2014) found that the study participants perceived unarmed black suspects as a more significant threat than other racial suspect groups. Despite having biases, participants initially delayed their decisions to shoot Blacks before proceeding compared to whites and Hispanics. This behavioral counter-bias attributed to the national attention aligned with the police killings. Because their research only included non-police participants, results are not generalizable to sworn police officers.

According to the Atlanta Journal-Constitution (2010), nearly half of the 184 unarmed Georgians were shot in the back and killed by police.

Adler (2012) studied dozens of similar police homicides in New Orleans during the early twentieth century. He found that New Orleans policemen who felt themselves in danger employed deadly force in the "performance of their duty." All the victims were shot; most were African-Americans who were shot while assaulting a police officer. Also, many were unarmed. The police homicide rate in early twentieth-century New Orleans was more than triple the figure for major American cities and nearly five times the United States rate during the century's closing decades. The victims of police homicide tended to be young, poor, male, and African-American. Most were in their

twenties, and 80 percent held unskilled positions or were unemployed. Men made up 97 percent and comprised 61 percent of police homicide victims (p.495-531).

Race and ethnicity have been strong determinants of involved officer shootings; race was significant in multivariate analyses because of such covariates as gender, education, age, rank, and previous history of shootings. Miller et al. (2012) found that white officers mistakenly shoot unarmed black suspects more than white suspects. Their findings pinpointed that cultural stereotype was considered the determinant of shooter bias. White officers who perceived black male suspects as interpersonal threats were more likely to shoot mistakenly. Similarly, Garner et al. (2004) found that White officers were more likely to engage in shootings than Hispanic officers.

In the literature on police killings, most research focuses on the frequency of events, department policies, and the persons involved. Correll et al.'s (2007) study of racial bias found that officers working in a significant minority area were more likely to show racial preferences and shootings against unarmed Black suspects.

Police Militarization

Various scholars have researched and studied the impact police militarization has on U.S. citizens. According to Lawson Jr. (2019), there was growing interest regarding whether there was a relationship between suspects killed by police and police militarization. Although there has been little analysis to confirm such a connection between the two variables, Lawson investigated the likelihood of police militarization leading to an increase in suspects' death at the hands of police by examining data records of surplus military equipment in possession of law enforcement agencies to measure

militarization. Furthermore, he used a quarterly database on suspect deaths to analyze a link between police killing of suspects and militarization.

The expansion of police militarization in the U.S. raises questions about how much policing affects society and minority communities. Insler et al. (2019) estimated the impact of one particular aspect of police militarization, the Department of Defense's Excess Property Program 1033, on civic engagement—which the researchers captured primarily by examining charitable giving among households via an instrumental variable approach. The instrument stemmed from plausibly exogenous variation in federal defense spending, which affected military culture and capabilities awareness. It thus encouraged the adoption of military equipment and tactics by local police departments. Estimates showed that the 1033 Program had a fragmenting effect on society: As the transfer of surplus military equipment to local law enforcement increased, black households reduced their total charitable donations more than others.

Masera's (2019) study relied on institutional features, which exogenously determined the distribution of military equipment to U.S. police departments, to show how police militarization increased police killings. Each year police militarization resulted in 64 additional killings by the police, 12,400 police officer assaults, and 2,600 police officer injuries.

Despite the rise in the use of militarized weapons by police departments across the nation, no study has examined the leaders responsible for designing, funding, and implementing police militarization in the United States. Therefore, Moule et al. (2019) collected and analyzed opinion data from Congress representatives, law enforcement executives, and local police officers regarding police militarization. Results suggested

that while most practitioners and policymakers favored police militarization, Congress and law enforcement differed in support of critical issues such as oversight of military procurement programs, use of surplus military weapons and vehicles, and overall support for the militarization of policing in the United States.

Moule Jr. et al. (2019) examined public perceptions of police militarization, specifically whether individuals believe the police were too militarized and supported practices associated with militarization. They were drawing on concepts found in the legal socialization literature, legitimacy, and legal cynicism; Moule Jr. et al. study tested hypotheses regarding whether these constructs influence militarization perceptions. Using a regression model with a sample of 702 American adults, the researchers analyzed the relationships between legitimacy, cynicism, and perceptions of police militarization and found that higher levels of legitimacy reduced beliefs that police were too militarized while also increasing support for practices associated with militarization. Cynicism grew ideas that the police were too militarized but did not affect militarization support. Perceptions of militarization were thus influenced by legal socialization.

Recent police killings and the "militarization" of police have drawn considerable public attention, but there is little analysis of their relationship. Lawson (2019) investigated the possibility that such militarization led to an increase in suspect deaths using data on police receipt of surplus military equipment to measure militarization and a newly created database on suspect deaths in all fifty states quarterly from the fourth quarter of 2014 through the fourth quarter of 2016. The data consisted of more than eleven thousand agency-quarter observations. Lawson found a positive and significant

association between militarization and the number of suspects killed, controlling for several other possible explanations.

After many police violence incidents, police militarization and the use of violence by police became the subjects of contentious debate among the public, policymakers, and scholars. Lawson Jr. (2019) examined the causes and effects of police militarization in the United States and argued that militarization responded to a perceived threat from minority racial groups. Still, the relationship between racial demographics and militarization was curvilinear. Militarized police began to see themselves as soldiers fighting on the front line of war rather than public servants, which caused goal divergence between the public and police. Although the public expected police only to use deadly force in extreme circumstances, militarized police used lethal force against civilians more quickly, resulting in more civilian deaths. Lawson Jr. suggested that police departments respond to more frequent civilian casualties by implementing policy solutions, such as body-worn cameras, that theoretically allow for easier monitoring of police behavior and overcome the principal-agent problem.

In 2014, the protests in Ferguson, Missouri, and the subsequent law enforcement respondents had adopted the military styles, equipment, and tactics within law enforcement. Burkhardt and Baker (2019) used national data on law enforcement agencies and 1033 program transfers to analyze MRAP distribution patterns. The results showed that MRAPs were disproportionately acquired by agencies with warrior tendencies and relied on asset forfeiture to generate revenue. This militarization pattern was consistent with a governance model that views citizens as both opportunities and threats.

Images of police officers in armored vehicles and carrying military-grade weapons have become part of the public consciousness following the events in Ferguson, Missouri, and several other high-profile police-citizen encounters. Although many researchers have investigated how and why U.S. citizens perceive the police differently, almost no empirical work has asked how citizens perceive the police's militarization. A Lockwood et al. (2018) study analyzed data from a survey of 1005 US citizens to identify characteristics related to support for using military weapons and vehicles by local police departments. The results indicated that demographic factors (e.g., race/ethnicity of shooters, race/ethnicity of suspects, police behaviors, etc.) and perceptions of crime were significantly related to citizen support for the police's militarization.

There is a growing divide regarding the efficacy of militarized policing. Proponents (primarily those in the law enforcement community) insisted on aggressive policing, stating it "...protects officers and deters crime." However, Mummolo (2018) asserted police administrators provided no definitive proof that militarizing police was beneficial to officers themselves or the community regarding community safety or violent crime reduction. On the contrary, an ever-increasing presence of heavily armed law enforcement agents in the streets of America has stoked widespread concern among those who oppose their resident SWAT teams are more often dispatched to communities of color than anywhere else, undermining trust between police and the communities they operate in. Mummolo also referenced James Baldwin's comment regarding police being an occupying force in Black communities. When looking at the damage civil rights-violating policies like "stop and frisk" and the "War on Drugs" has caused, it might be difficult to deny that police have indeed become an occupying, in some cases, community

force. Both policies have served to maintain race and class-based social hierarchies. Other studies have also found that police militarization was another way the state exercised social control over racial minorities. This matter advances the notion that law enforcement's militarization failed to enhance police safety or reduce crime but might harm police reputation. Mummolo conducted a study with three methods: (1) used a rare geocoded census of SWAT team deployments from Maryland to show that militarized police units are more often deployed in communities with large shares of African American residents, even after controlling for local crime rates; (2) used nationwide panel data on regional police militarization to demonstrate that militarized policing fails to enhance officer safety or reduce local crime; and (3) used survey experiments which include a large oversample of African American respondents to show that seeing militarized police in news reports may diminish police reputation in the mass public. The results suggested that the often-cited trade-off between public safety and civil liberties was a false choice.

The police's use of advanced military technology has raised important questions regarding the war on crime as handheld cameras and social media, the visibility of officer-involved shootings, and excessive force increase dramatically. While aggrieved citizens decry, limited data and a lack of nationally homogenous accountability procedures prohibit analysis of these concerns. Utilizing the data on department acquisitions of military gear from 1996-to 2017, Eusterbrock (2018) used demographic and economic factors on police militarization and found that rural areas were much more likely to acquire military-grade weapons and vehicles. Additionally, county political affiliation and minority population might also predict these outcomes. His study was

among the most rigorous efforts to identify an increasingly militarized police force's causal relationships and contributed to the growing debate on law enforcement methods in the 21st century.

Recent police killings have highlighted the increased militarization of police forces in the United States. Haynes and McQuoid (2018) utilized a new dataset that covered all military equipment transfers between the Defense Logistics Agency and local police forces from 1990 to 2014 to consider the effect of increased militarization on crime. These transactions were conducted under the Department of Defense's 1033 Program.

They constituted a significant transfer of capital resources to local police departments, with nearly two billion dollars transferred in surplus military equipment. To deal with identification concerns, the researchers instrumented for participation in the 1033 program using state-level exposure to the military through Congress's federal military spending. They found that increased capital transfers to states embodied in military equipment reduced total violent crime and violent crime subcategories. The effect was significant for overtly militaristic equipment such as assault rifles and less militaristic transfers such as communication equipment, implying that enhanced capabilities and power projection are essential drivers of violent crime reduction. In addition, they found no evidence of a labor input response through additional hiring of sworn police officers, indicating that the program resulted in a more capital-intensive police force. Furthermore, they found that increased police militarization results in lower incarceration rates even after controlling for reduced crime rates, suggesting a broader law and order impact beyond just enhanced capabilities. The results made clear that

increased police militarization in the United States has significantly reduced violent crime observed over the last twenty-five years.

Koslicki and Willits (2018) study used 2013 LEMAS community policing data to examine military equipment variation. Results showed that departments engaging in particular community policing activities were significantly less likely to acquire available military equipment, firearms, and military vehicles. These findings suggested that these policing strategies were not necessarily coherent and potentially supported the argument that community policing efforts could buffer militarization.

The use of military equipment has improved police efforts at social control. However, recent protests and riots across the country have piqued public concern about racial disparities and military types of equipment. Using the Department of Defense's 1033 Program data, Ramey and Staidly (2018) analyzed the DHS 1033 Program's validity of rational choice arguments and minority threat explanations of police participation. Their results revealed that higher violent crime rates and lower drug arrest rates increased law enforcement participation in the 1033 Program. However, taking part in the 1033 initiative was also a minority threat. The functional form of minority threat varied across models predicting 1033 participation and the value of materiel acquired by successful departments. Specifically, a curvilinear relationship existed between the Black population's relative size and involvement in the 1033 Program. An exponential relationship between the Black population's relative and Hispanic people and the value of property departments received annually from the 1033 Program.

As scenes of police armed with military-grade weaponry, complete with militarized uniforms, become more prevalent in America's streets during civil and social

unrest, researchers have questioned whether such militarization of police agencies benefits or harms the community and police relations. "Using data on purchases provided by the Defense Logistics Agency, Carriere and Encinosa analyzed military assets' effects on assaults on police officers. Fixed results negative binomial regressions on state-month level data show that stockpiling of military-grade equipment (guns, armor, and clothing) exhibits a statistically significant decrease in assaults, with guns showing no significant relation to assaults" (Carriere & Encinosa, 2017). However, the researchers surmised that such militarization purchases contribute to increased assaults. There may be unaccounted consequences for police agencies acquiring military-grade equipment (Carriere & Encinosa, 2017).

Phillips and Jarvis (2017) study focused on the training associated with patrol rifles in American police agencies. Patrol rifles were the most commonly employed by tactical units but were often carried by police officers in patrol cars. Data were gathered from a broad sample of police agencies across the country. Police officers attending the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Academy in the spring and summer of 2015 completed a pen and paper survey with questions about police agency training and policies regarding the use of patrol rifles. In total, 370 usable surveys were conducted. Results showed that over 95 percent of American police agencies allow street-level officers to deploy with patrol rifles. Although internal sources primarily provided the training, officers were trained for various situations where rifles were necessary and appropriate.

Delehanty et al. (2017) theorized that receiving military equipment increased multiple LEA militarization dimensions (e.g., material, cultural, organizational, and

operational) and that such increases led to more violent behavior. This was primarily attributed to the U.S. Department of Defense's 1033 Program, which made accessible excess military equipment such as weapons and vehicles to LEAs. The researchers used the variation in the amount of transferred equipment to assess the relationship between military equipment transfers and police violence.

According to Phillips' study (2017), regarding the use of SWAT for potentially severe or violent encounters, approximately 80 percent of respondents indicated that the teams concerning narcotics search warrants, felony arrest warrants, hostage situations, barricaded suspects, and building searches. The result showed that only a small percentage of SWAT teams would be used less for felony arrests and building searches, more for high-risk narcotics warrants, and hostage and barricaded suspect situations. These results also suggested that police agencies would not shy away from using the teams for incidents they saw as potentially dangerous. The following model reflected the report's comments by the policy above leaders. The result appeared that most of the leaders who participated in the survey possessed an aggressive attitude toward using PPU's, such as SWAT teams, when violent situations occur.

Phillips (2017) 's respondents answered similarly when asked about potentially nonserious incidents, such as those involving low-risk narcotics warrants and misdemeanor arrest warrants. Some participants indicated that their agencies would use SWAT less often in these cases. Interestingly, 70 percent of the leaders answered that deployment practices would not change for protests or civil unrest, and 5 percent responded that SWAT would be used more for civil disorder and protests. Thus, even after the media coverage and public outcry regarding the use of SWAT in civil

complaints, a vast majority of respondents said no change would occur regarding how the teams are used for these events. The above graphic shows a very aggressive attitude towards using PPU's, such as SWAT teams, to deploy against nonserious incidents.

"Appearances can matter, and when SWAT officers dress in battle or camouflage uniforms or use armored vehicles, they demonstrate a military mindset" (Phillips, 2017).

Besides, Phillips's study (2017) asked respondents about their views regarding the relationship between various aspects of policing and agencies' militarization.

Approximately 60 percent agreed or strongly agreed that a police department becomes more militarized when possessing an armored vehicle, while 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. The perspectives differed regarding SWAT deployment for routine patrol or no-knock search warrants, military training for the teams, military-style uniforms, or weapons for patrol officers. The two trends are noteworthy. First, over 90 percent of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that these factors made a police department more militarized. Simultaneously, few officers had no opinion (e.g., 'not sure') on these questions. Second, there was a relatively split in their views regarding the link between these different factors and police militarization.

Fox et al. (2017) examined the distinct types of individuals who support or oppose PM and the normative, instrumental, and demographic factors distinguished within- and between groups of PM supporters and opposers. The researchers used a national sample of 702 American adults. A series of Latent Class Analyses were conducted using data on normative and instrumental characteristics of individuals who supported and opposed PM. Results indicated three unique sub-types of PM supporters and two unique sub-types of opposers, and each contained a distinct combination of normative and instrumental

concerns and beliefs. Normative orientations distinguished between overall PM supporters and opposers. Within-group variations appeared to be a function of additional characteristics.

In 2017, Koslicki explained the growth of police militarization and determined whether Byrne grants significantly affected SWAT teams' development and normalization. Drawing from data from 1986-to 1998, a time series analysis was used to assess whether federal funding greatly influenced SWAT team growth and their mobilization for narcotics grants. The findings suggested that, when federal funding was at its peak, there was a significant decrease in SWAT team creation and mobilization for narcotics warrants during the 1990s.

Like other researchers concerned about police militarization, the phenomenon has become an essential public policy issue. Radil et al. (2017) explored the geographies and histories of one of the most critical programs, called 1033, which supplied police with military equipment under the rationale of prosecuting the War on Drugs. The researchers showed that the police and the military's legal blurring at the national scale, resulting in the county scale. They also investigated why police become militarized: SWAT-style paramilitary teams' presence, found little support for that claim. A more geographic inquiry was needed to understand the trajectories, causes, and consequences of police militarization. Using data on purchases provided by the Defense Logistics Agency, Carriere & Encinosa (2017) analyzed the effects of military assets and assaults on police officers. Fixed results adverse binomial regressions on state-month data showed that stockpiling of militarization equipment (guns, armor, and clothing) exhibited a statistically significant decrease in assaults, with guns showing no significant relation to

assaults. However, operational militarization purchases (surveillance, sonar, and radar) led to an increase in assaults, suggesting that there might be unforeseen consequences of increased militarization due to a change of structure and information gathering.

Unlike other researchers who have criticized the excessive militarization of law enforcement, Bove and Gavrilova (2017) investigated whether surplus military-grade equipment acquired by local police departments from the Pentagon affected crime rates. They used variations in U.S. military expenditure and counties' odds of receiving a positive amount of military aid to identify militarized policing's the causal effect on crime. They found that military aid reduced street-level crime, the program was cost-effective, and there was evidence in favor of a deterrence mechanism. Phillips et al. (2016) examined paramilitary police units' short-term application deterrent effect. The Buffalo police conducted 39 police paramilitary unit raids for two days in 2012. It was hypothesized that if paramilitary police units were used, there would be a reduction in service calls, Part 1 crimes, and drug arrests. The paramilitary police effect was estimated by drawing a comparable sample of control units via propensity score modeling. A fixed-effects negative binomial panel model was estimated 35 weeks before and after the intervention. Calls for service and drug arrests increased dramatically while only slight evidence of a deterrent effect for Part 1 crimes. The null findings suggest that, at best, police paramilitary unit raids have a short-term deterrent effect on crime.

Many researchers have questioned the efficacy of police militarization. In 1990, the DoD transferred \$1 million worth of military-grade equipment to LEAs; in 2013, that number climbed to \$450 million. "The controlled property includes armored vehicles and troop carriers, high-caliber firearms, and grenade launchers. Although such items can

improve officer safety — officers who approach a crime scene in an armored carrier are marginally safer than those using other modes of transportation — it is clear that the costs outweigh the benefits. During a significant decline in violent crime, the number of violent Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) raids has skyrocketed" (Burrus, 2016). Today, over 600 Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles have LEAs, hundreds of grenade launchers, and thousands of high-powered military rifles. Some police agencies that have received the equipment mentioned above serve small communities like Bloomington, Georgia, which has less than 3,000 residents. Researchers find no efficacy in this.

Masera (2016) studied the causal effect on criminal activity and police behavior regarding police militarization. Estimates showed that military equipment reduced violent crime and was responsible for 60 percent of the rapid drop observed since 2007. The displacement of violent crime caused more than one-third of the effect on neighboring areas. Because police departments did not consider this externality when making militarization decisions, they overmilitarized. Masera also showed that police militarization increased police killings and that the recent increase was due to program 1033. Because of militarization, the police have killed 2200 people. In the same year, Bieler reviewed the state of police militarization in the USA to explore the claim that the police were becoming more like the military, or "militarized," to identify gaps in the research on this topic. Bieler suggested that empirical assessments of how militarization affected the use of force and legitimacy will be valuable for informing the militarization debate.

Ongoing police killings increased public awareness of policing processes. In 2016, Baumgart conceptualized, operationalized, and described police militarization across the United States. He transformed publicly available data, the Law Enforcement and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) dataset, into a panel of over 4,000 police departments over eighteen years. The researcher then constructed an index based on each of three dimensions of militarization: (1) increased stock of military equipment, (2) increased usage of paramilitary tactics, and (3) increased focus on military-style policing. He explained each sub-dimension indicator and described their unique trend across time. Using this Absolute LEMAS Militarization Index (ALMI) and a summary analysis of each indicator, he described militarization between 1990 and 2007 using hierarchical linear modeling. Among key findings were three trends. First, despite statistical controls, he provided nationally representative evidence of an increasing trend in police militarization across most departments. He also found that larger departments were more militarized and militarized faster than smaller departments. Finally, he discovered that diverse departments (either proportionately more women or more black officers) militarized slowly over the period.

In 2015, Cooper researched the ties between the war on drugs policing strategies and police violence inflicted on Black youth and adults in the United States. By reviewing the historical connections between race, ethnicity, and policing in the United States, the way the War on Drugs eroded specific legal protections designed initially to curtail police powers, and the implications of these erosions for police brutality targeting Black communities, Cooper found that policing and racism have been mutually constitutive in the United States. Erosions to the Fourth Amendment of the U.S.

Constitution and the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 set the foundation for two War on Drugs policing strategies: stop and frisk and SWAT teams. These strategies have created specific conditions conducive to police brutality targeting Black communities. In other words, the War on Drugs policing strategies appeared to increase police brutality targeting Black communities, even as they made little progress in reducing street-level drug activity.

Police militarization is considered a critical contemporary issue in criminal justice; however, only a little research exists. Ajilore (2015) found that conditional on the crime rate, the presence of a large African American population was negatively related to police acquisition of mine-resistant ambush-protected (MRAP) vehicles. Conversely, greater residential segregation was positively correlated to MRAP procurement. This result highlighted growing segregation in suburbs and urban centers in the United States. Wyrick's (2013) statistical findings also showed that, while militarization played a significant role in public confidence in the police, positive public attitudes and fear played a much more substantial role. Paul and Birzer (2008) examined the American police force's militarization as it pertained to the American community's disruption and brutalization. Their study presented that the police's militarization exploited citizens by nurturing violence, mistrust, and fear, thus enabling police institutions' control of social life. Beginning with a brief history of the law enforcement's militarization, then detailed the social significance and consequences of military actions in law enforcement, the researchers concluded that demilitarized law enforcement made it more congruent with democratic principles.

Many police agencies have acquired military equipment and implemented military-style tactics in recent years. It is claimed that police militarization is necessary because the world is a more dangerous place than it used to be, and the police must stay ahead of the criminals. It is also claimed that the equipment is a windfall for police agencies because it can be acquired free or at a low cost from the military. However, police militarization can harm police-community relations and increase a department's liability if done improperly. Faaborg (2015) asserted that police administrators should exercise discretion and consider whether acquiring and using military equipment and tactics is suitable for their agency. The researcher also asserted that developing military equipment and tactics could lead the agency and its officers to act aggressively toward its citizens. Likewise, it could teach citizens to behave more aggressively towards officers. Increased militarization increased the risk for officers, suspects, and uninvolved citizens if additional training was insufficient to accompany the powerful equipment and tactics. While military equipment and tactics have a place in specific police incidents, their overuse or misuse could seriously affect the community. He suggested that police administrators thoroughly consider all the circumstances before implementing this in their community.

Police militarization is a complex subject. The efforts to implement militarization reform could negatively impact law enforcement's ability to respond to terrorism and armed criminals. However, unfettered militarization of domestic policing could result in abuse of authority and public confidence loss. Hanley (2015) proposed a nuanced definition of police militarization based on existing literature. The researchers then examined the relationship between violence and police militarization. After running a

statistical analysis of crime data, he found an inverse relationship between these variables. Social identity theory was also used to explain why isolated acts of violence against police officers lead to profound social divisions between the police and the public. This socially constructed reality of violence, reinforced by the media and training, had a powerful effect on police attitudes and behavior. Hanley concluded that police militarization had been influenced by violence, and appropriate levels of militarized capabilities were needed to protect both the police and the public.

Needs for Study

Scholars should continue to expand the field of police overuse of force and conduct more critical research from diverse angles. It is time to think outside the box when solving for eliminating police brutality. One way this is being done is by implementing a new psychological hands-off approach to policing in some situations (Abrams, 2020). This entails a practice rooted in psychology that advances procedurally just policing. It "... aims to increase the public's trust in police by drawing on psychological research on justice and fairness. It involves teaching officers strategies such as explaining to citizens why they've been stopped and how it will benefit public safety" (Abrams, 2020).

Nevertheless, scholars are well aware that the current policing model of force elicits compliance and contributes to a lower crime rate; however, it does not foster public trust in law enforcement. Furthermore, police agencies in different parts of the country are exploring a hands-off policy. The Las Vegas Police Department applied this approach to policing during foot chases, and the use of force dropped 23%. In Seattle, the police department saw a 40% decrease in the use of force (Abrams, 2020). There needs to

be expansive future research in this area as early results appear promising and effective in reducing the use of force, which lessens the opportunity for police brutality.

Moreover, this study examined SWAT data regarding state purchases of military-grade weapons from the DHS; however, a more detailed look at how much law enforcement agencies spend on military equipment in counties and municipalities must be explored. Is there any efficacy in such spending, and does it deter crime, or do more police shootings take place due to the availability of such weaponry? Some counties consist of multiple law enforcement agencies in one geographic location. The sheriff's department may purchase military-grade weapons, city police department, numerous constable precincts, metropolitan transit police, university, college, and school district police agencies. The key is to obtain data from each agency to explore whether there is any viable data to examine police shootings and overuse of force.

Also, there needs to be more research conducted regarding bridling the overuse of militarized police units. Studies exploring implementing more training that builds connections with communities of color via non-enforcement interactions are needed (Stoughton, 2014, as cited in Lawson, 2019). Furthermore, more research is needed on "...a new emphasis on principles referred to as Guardian Policing—as opposed to Warrior Policing—(that) seeks to instill values-based more on public service through crime prevention and control than on fighting crime" (Stoughton, 2016 as cited in Lawson, 2019). SWAT teams and heavily armed federal agents are supposed to be deployed in situations that present "extraordinary emergency" situations. However, more and more units are being used to serve search warrants for non-violent offenses such as bitcoin mining impropriety. Armored Bearcat G3 vehicles, drones, and police clad in full

military garb and armed with military rifles kicked in the doors and windows, shouting threats to apprehend bitcoin miners and confiscate evidence of criminal activity. Searches like these could and should be carried out by uniformed police officers. Therefore, more studies need to be conducted to examine why this is happening and what must be done to curb the overuse of force.

Militarism among police officers and the agencies to whom they belong must also be explored and examined (Lawson, 2019). Profound and penetrating questions must be asked and answered. Is there a perpetual relationship between cultural norms and physical violence among agencies and law enforcement officers with a history of overusing force? Is structural and cultural violence present in agencies that employ officers with a pattern of overuse of force? Is this phenomenon obfuscated by an allegiance to a culture that perpetuates emotional, physical, psychological, and cultural violence?

It is best to conduct a mixed-methods approach to explore these questions correctly. First, it is essential to conduct qualitative research via interviews with rookie police officers to understand the type of training they receive and their level of understanding of policies and procedures. Further, it is imperative to understand the culture of the agency the officers are employed by and whether there is any dogma or indoctrination that might prove problematic for non-biased and objective policing to be the highest priority. Second, there should be survey questions given to veteran officers to examine attitudes towards department policy and procedures, appropriate use of force, and officer accountability/liability. Third, interviews should be conducted with members of SWAT and other militarized tactical units to explore why they chose to be a part of

militarized units, the prevailing attitudes regarding the access and use of military-style uniforms, insignias, and military grade weaponry, vehicles, and other tactical materials. Lastly, researchers must interview law enforcement leadership to examine their attitudes regarding the culture of their agencies, proper use of force, overuse of force, accountability/liability, and expectations of fair, unbiased, and objective policing.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This chapter will explain the methodology used to answer the research questions. It starts by explaining the nature of the study and then describes and justifies the research design used to examine the relationships between variables.

This dissertation focuses on three main questions, which are:

Research Question 1 - Is there an association between race and the number of a police shootings?

Research Question 2 - Is there a relationship between race, geographic jurisdictions with large populations of minorities, and police overuse of force?

Research Question 3 - Is the DHS Program predictive of property and violent crimes in geographic jurisdictions with large populations of minorities?

By focusing on these questions, this research will determine whether the DHS 1033 Program, which most law enforcement agencies use to deter crime, is a useful program that helps to reduce the crime rate in metropolitan areas. Thus, this dissertation will contribute to the literature on academia and the police task force by linking them together and showing their significance.

Data Collection

The quantitative method is a systematic investigation of phenomena by gathering quantifiable data and performing statistical, mathematical, or computational techniques (Devlin, 2018, p. 224). Quantitative research examines the relationship among variables.

In turn, these variables can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This dissertation describes and justifies the quantitative method, study size, participants, research procedure, and data analysis method. Specifically, the quantitative method collects information from existing and potential subjects using sampling methods, which can be depicted in numerical form. After carefully understanding these numbers, predict a criminological policy's future and make changes accordingly.

Quantitative research is data-oriented. There are two methods to conduct: (1) primary and (2) secondary quantitative research methods. This dissertation uses secondary quantitative research methods, which involve using existing or secondary data from government resources. This existing data, which is summarized and collated, is highly reliable and in-depth, increasing the validity and overall effectiveness of the research (Bachman & Schutt, 2013, p. 306).

Sampling

Quantitative historical-comparative researchers often select entire populations of cases to obtain the appropriate measures. In this section, when geographic jurisdictions like cities and states are sampled for comparative purposes, it is assumed that they are independent of each other in terms of the variables examined. Each city can be treated as a separate case for identifying possible chains of causes and effects. However, this criminological assumption may be misplaced; cities may develop as they do because of how other cities are growing. As a result, comparing the particular histories of different cities may overlook police culture's influence and crime rates. These common national influences may cause the same pattern of changes to emerge in other cities; looking

within these cities' history for the explanatory consequences would lead to spurious conclusions. The possibility of such complex interrelations should always be considered when evaluating the plausibility of a causal argument based on a comparison between two independent cases (Bachman & Schutt, 2013).

Police killings

The effect of police brutality has led local and state police agencies to start collecting information about people killed during interactions with police officers. Some police departments have voluntarily implemented data collection strategies, while the courts or legislative statutes mandated other cities and state agencies to comply with such effects (Ramirez, Farrel & McDevitt, 2000). The analysis for this study will examine the police brutality for five years between January 1, 2013, and December 31, 2017. The data used for this statistical procedure includes information from the U.S Police-Shooting Database (USPSD) to deepen our understanding of race, geographic areas, and police department factors related to that distribution.

Sample Characteristics: According to U.S Police Shooting Database, there were 8,435 deaths across the nation between January 1, 2013, and December 31, 2017. The sample was 35 percent unspecified race, 29 percent White, 20 percent Black, 12 percent Hispanic, and 4 percent other. To examine the police brutality in shooting incidents that involved people of color, the general population's racial distribution was acquired from the U.S. Census Bureau. The United States' total population is 323,127,513, with a White population of 137,652,321 (42.6 percent), a Black or African American population of 40,714,006 (12 percent), a Hispanic or Latino population of 126,342,858 (39.1 percent), and other races having a combined total population of 1,8141,826 (5.7 percent).

Police militarization (DHS 1033 Program/SWAT)

To determine a relationship exists between the DHS 1033 Program and violent crimes, property crimes, and drug crimes within five states: Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, Washington, D. C., and Maryland; the SWAT data and Uniform Crime Report are used to examine how police agencies' purchases of militarized weapons and materials to deter crimes in these particular states; and how often minorities are affected by Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT). The analysis will consider the DHS 1033 Program data from 2013 – 2017 to understand what factors are related to distribution. In short, the purpose is to discern whether militarized police deter crime; whether the DHS 1033 Program is a serious and legitimate factor in police agencies becoming more militarized; and what type of efficacy is there, if any, at all.

Dependent Variables

Concerning police shooting deaths and police militarization, regarding the African American population, three dependent variables are categorized.

The number of police shooting minorities – Is there an association between race and the number of police shootings? The research will address questions such as why police officers generally shoot more people of color than white? Why do some officers exhibit more racial disproportionality while others exhibit less? Have there been changes in racial disproportionality over time?

SWAT funding and SWAT weapons – Is there a relationship between race and the number of police shootings? Per an FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, some police agencies present an aggressive and liberal attitude regarding deploying PPU's such as SWAT teams to predominantly African American communities, even against non-serious

incidents. Furthermore, “appearances can matter, and when SWAT officers dress in battle or camouflage uniforms or use armored vehicles, they demonstrate a military mindset (Phillips, 2017). The research question will address: Urban cities with large minority populations that purchase military-grade equipment via the 1033 Program associated with higher disproportionality in violent, property, and drug crimes?

Independent variables

Race, Geographic Locations, and Seriousness of Crime – Is there a relationship between race, geographic location, or cities with large populations of minorities and police shooting deaths? Are the DHS 1033 Program predictive of property and violent crimes in cities with large populations of minorities? A measure of the racial composition of people killed during interactions with police officers is included in the analysis to understand the ratio of police shootings of minorities compared to Whites.

Geographic jurisdictions - For this study, data were obtained from five states: Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, Washington, D. C., and Maryland. These geographic locations were chosen because attention is often directed to states within the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast regions of the U.S. However, more African Americans live in the south than any more than any part of the country. Therefore, this study focuses on southern states from the Mason Dixon line to the Deep South region of the U.S. The states were chosen because large populations of African Americans live in these states.

Regarding police shootings, research will also address questions such as: Do some police departments have high rates of police shooting people of color as opposed to other law enforcement agencies? If so, what explains these differences? Its proximity to the southern states associated with higher disproportionality in racial shootings?

In the case of police militarization, research would address questions such as does the DHS 1033 Program deter and reduce violent, property, and drug crimes in high-crime locations? How accurate can a DHS 1033 Program be predicted as the best tool to prevent crime from a combination of violent, property, and drug crime rates?

Data Analysis

Crosstabulation

To examine a significant difference in police brutality by race and geographic areas, multilayer crosstabulation is used to analyze the data. Multilayered crosstabulation allows for a more detailed data analysis by controlling for a third variable. The Chi-Square test of statistical significance is used to determine the likelihood that the variables are unrelated at the population level. It tests the null hypothesis of no relation (Bohmstedt et al., 1994). The alternative assumption is that the variables are related to the population. The Chi-Square test compares the observed cell frequency with the expected cell frequency. For this study, Cramer's V is an appropriate measure of association for nominal data arranged in more significant than 2 x 2 tables. Cramer's V measures the association of the relationship's strength between two variables. It ranges in value from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates the complete absence of a relationship, and 1 indicates a perfect relationship.

In this study, confidence intervals provide a range of values for the estimated population parameter rather than a single value or point estimate (Paternoster et al., 1997). The estimated confidence interval also provides a range of values in which the actual population value falls. A confidence interval is determined using sample data and a chosen confidence level. The most commonly used confidence levels are 95% and 99%,

and the typical significance levels are 0.005 and 0.001. This procedure gives an estimated range of values likely to include the statistic of interest and is calculated from a particular data set. A confidence interval has an upper and lower limit, with the difference between these limits being referred to as the width of a confidence interval. When using confidence intervals, high confidence and narrow width are expected. The data's conclusion is not as noteworthy if the confidence interval is overly broad. Because confidence intervals provide a range of plausible values for the population, they may be more informative than other significant testing types. For the current analysis, confidence intervals are computed around point estimates that are subsequently compared to census data, including information on the sample's racial composition. Expected census data falls within the confidence interval if racial profiling is not occurring.

Multiple Linear Regression

Multiple linear regression analysis becomes a more complex and delicate tool with multiple independent variables. How a multiple regression analysis is carried out in this study depends on whether the independent variables can be divided into sets. By dividing the predictors into sets, this study can answer questions like Does the SWAT weapons and funding help in the prediction of deterring and reducing violent crime, property crime, and drug crimes over and above other variables and vice versa?

The specific analytical step in conducting multiple regression analyses also depends on whether the sets are ordered or unordered. This is specifically done to examine whether a DHS 1033 Program deters and reduces violent crimes, property crimes, and drug crimes in five geographical jurisdictions: Texas (Houston), Louisiana (New Orleans), Maryland (Baltimore), Georgia (Atlanta), District of Columbia

(Washington) and how accurate a DHS 1033 Program can be predicted as the best tool to deter crimes, this study has scored on multiple independent variables ($X_1 = \text{race}$, $X_2 = \text{geographic jurisdictions}$, and $X_3 = \text{seriousness of crime rates}$) and a dependent variable ($Y = \text{PPEs}$). A predicted dependent variable score (\hat{Y}) is formed by a linear combination of the multiple independent variables. With three predictors, the linear combination of the regression equation is:

$$\hat{Y} = B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + B_3X_3 + B_0.$$

B_1 through B_3 are partial slopes for the three independent variables X_1 through X_3 , and B_0 is an additive constant. The values for B_0 through B_3 are calculated so that the actual dependent variable scores (Y) and the predicted dependent variable scores (\hat{Y}) are as similar as possible for the sample data. This study focuses on applications in which both the independent and dependent variables are quantitative.

Summary

Chapter 3 describes the quantitative methodology utilized to address interesting research questions. Specifically, this chapter details the research aim, research questions, research design and strategy, sampling, data collection, and data analysis techniques. This chapter also describes the analytic sample (e.g., race/ethnicity, geographic jurisdictions, police killings, LEAs purchase of military equipment and use outcomes, etc.). This is followed by a brief outline of the United States Police-Shooting Database, Uniform Crime Report, and DHS 1033 Program database.

This chapter carefully outlined the methodological steps to address this analysis's research questions and hypotheses. The sample detailed the analytic sample understudy's source and size to describe how subjects were identified and why questions were

included in the evaluation. Overall, Chapter 3 thoroughly illustrates demographical information of the total sample characteristics and data on each variable of interest. The dependent variable highlighted race and geographic jurisdictions' outcome measures for the crosstabulation. For the multiple linear regression, because the data are collected using non-experimental methods (e.g., a study in which participants are measured on various variables), the variables in the regression analysis are more typically called the predictors (race, geographic jurisdictions, and seriousness of crime) and the criterion (SWAT funding and weapons). Conclusively, the data analysis portion detailed the statistical approaches employed to address the research questions and hypotheses.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reviews the results of the following research questions: (1) Is there an association between race and causes of death by police? (2) Is there a relationship between race, geographic jurisdiction, and police brutality? (3) Is the DHS 1033 Program predictive of crime? The U.S. Census Bureau provides population, race, and gender data for the geographic jurisdictions included in this study. The U.S. Police Shooting Database reveals numbers, percentages, and positive relationships between police shootings by race, geographic jurisdiction, and causes of death by law enforcement. SWAT data is also presented to examine the correlation of the U.S. Homeland Security's 1033 Program and police violence among law enforcement agencies and predict whether a program's continuation will affect no change in crime, decrease, or increase crime in the communities in which SWAT units are deployed.

Data Analysis

Confidence Intervals

The purpose of confidence intervals is to give us a range of values for our estimated population parameter rather than a single value or a point estimate (Bachman & Paternoster, 2016). The estimated confidence interval gives us a range of values within which we believe the actual population value falls with varying degrees of confidence. A confidence interval is determined using sample data and a chosen confidence level. The most commonly used confidence levels are 95% and 99%, just as typical significance levels are 0.005 and 0.001.

This procedure gives an estimated range of values likely to include the statistic of interest and is calculated from a set of data. A confidence interval has an upper and lower limit, with the difference between these limits referred to as the width of a confidence interval. The researcher usually wants high confidence and a narrow width when using confidence intervals. If the confidence interval is overly wide, the conclusion drawn from the data is not as noteworthy. Because confidence intervals provide a range of plausible values for the population, they may be more informative than other types of significance testing.

For the current analysis, confidence intervals are computed around point estimates that are subsequently compared to census data, which includes information on the racial composition of the sample ($N = 8,435$). We would expect the census data to fall within the obtained confidence interval if racial profiling is not occurring.

Results for Crosstabulation

The first question of this study examines whether there is an association between race and causes of death by police. For this study, a multilayer crosstabulation is used to analyze the data. The crosstabulation allows for a more detailed data analysis by controlling for a third variable. The Chi-Square test of statistical significance is used to determine the likelihood that the variables are unrelated at the population level (Bohrnstedt & Knoke, 1994)—that is, it tests the null hypothesis of no relation. The alternative assumption is the variables are related to the population. The Chi-Square test compares the observed cell frequency with the expected cell frequency. For this study, Cramer's V is an appropriate measure of association for nominal data arranged in more significant than 2×2 tables. Cramer's V is a measure of association of the strength of the

relationship between two variables. It ranges in value from zero to one, where zero indicates the complete absence of a relationship and one indicates a perfect relationship.

Race vs. Causes of Death (Shootings)

For the first research question of this study, a one-sample chi-square test was conducted to assess whether Black males are less, equal, or more likely to be shot and killed by police officers. The results of the test were significant, which means we can conclude there is a relationship between the categorical variables since the p-value is less than the significance level, χ^2 (126, N = 8,435) = 215.77, $p < 0.01$, Cramer's V = 0.053. Using a 99% confidence interval, Blacks represent 13.4% of the population, but the proportion of Blacks who were shot and killed represents 67.5% (or 5,693 cases). It is imperative to note an important limitation of this study.

There was no control for the likelihood of Blacks coming in contact with police; therefore, this limitation should be addressed in future studies. Nevertheless, these findings indicate Blacks are more likely to be shot and killed by police officers than expected if race were not a factor. However, after looking at the "other" minority category, the pattern of racial profiling reemerges. The chi-square of 215.77 falls in the critical region; therefore, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that a relationship is likely between race and the proportion of police shootings. It should be noted that chi-square is adversely affected by sample size since the more significant the sample size, the differences between the samples tend to be smaller proportionately than the expected value. (See Table 1)

Table 1*Race and Causes of Death by Police*

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	215.77	126	<.001
Likelihood Ratio	181.13	126	<.001
Cramer's V	0.053		<.001
N of Valid Cases	8,435		

Race vs Geographic Jurisdictions

The second question of this study examined whether there is a relationship between race, geographic jurisdiction, and police brutality. Therefore, another one-sample chi-square test was conducted to assess whether Black males are less, equal, or more likely to be shot and killed by police officers in certain geographic locations. The results of the test were significant, χ^2 (450, N = 8,435) = 3,877.22, $p < 0.01$, Cramer's V = 0.226. Using a 99% confidence interval, the proportion of Blacks who were shot and killed in states where the minority population is dominant ranges from 20.1% to 70.0% (See Table 2)

Table 2*Race vs Geographic Jurisdiction*

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,887.22	450	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2,813.94	450	.000
Cramer's V	.562		.000
N of Valid Cases	8,435		

This finding indicates that Blacks are more likely to be shot and killed by police officers in states where the minority population is dominant than expected. In other words, racial bias in police shootings is most common among police working in larger

metropolitan areas with low median incomes and a sizable portion of Black residents, especially when there is high financial inequality in that geographic jurisdiction.

Multiple Regression Analysis

Table 3

SWAT Acquisition Value vs Violent Crimes and Property Crimes within Southern States of the U.S.

State	SWAT Acquisition Value	Property Crime	Violent Crime
Alabama	\$79,512,415.79	88,856	15,957
Arkansas	\$36,960,674.84	63,568	11,679
Florida	\$294,547,325	294,805	45,902
Georgia	\$68,671,646.96	106,240	13,293
Kentucky	\$49,066,535.03	37,664	3,454
Louisiana	\$23,469,768.06	88,558	15,566
Maryland	\$9,653,630.02	12,684	14,110
Mississippi	\$5,148,006.28	27,265	24,703
North Carolina	\$1,717,495.77	321,068	0
Oklahoma	\$39,472,021.02	96,463	16,064
South Carolina	\$49,566,215.69	65,052	9,346
Tennessee	\$137,996,278	149,626	33,437
Texas	\$124,795,975	556,981	95,220
Virginia	\$45,664,687.19	7,208	9,474
West Virginia	\$8,346,180.71	8,948	16,596
District of Columbia	\$21,438,626.31	29,993	160

Since 1997, the entire purpose of the DHS 1033 Program has been to deter violent and property crimes by giving preference to law enforcement agencies with anti-drug and anti-terrorism units. The DHS 1033 Program transfers military-grade weapons and materials to law enforcement agencies around the country. Table 3 illustrates how SWAT acquisition values have been used in southern states of the U.S. to deter violent and property crimes.

This study's third and final research question examined whether the DHS 1033 Program was predictive of crime. Therefore, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to predict the SWAT 1033 Program level. The predictors were violent and property crimes, while the criterion variable was the SWAT acquisition value. The linear combination of violent and property crimes was significantly related to the SWAT 1033 acquisition value, $F(2,14) = 3.93$, $p = 0.04 < 0.05$. The sample multiple correlation coefficient was 0.60, indicating that approximately 36% of the variance of the SWAT 1033 acquisition value in the sample can be accounted for by the linear combination of violent and property crimes. (See table 3)

Multiple R, the correlation coefficient, determines how strong the linear relationship is between the SWAT 1033 Program and violent/property crimes. In this study, a value of 0.60 means a perfect positive relationship.

R squared (R^2), the coefficient of determination, determines how many points fall on the regression line. In this study, $R^2 = 0.36$ means 36% of the variation of y-values around the mean are explained by the x-values. In other words, 36% of the values fit the model.

Adjusted $R^2 = 0.27$ adjusts for the number of terms in a model. This study has more than one x variable, so the value of adjusted R^2 was used.

The standard error of the regression, an estimate of the standard deviation of the error, is μ . This common regression error is the precision with which the regression coefficient is measured.

The linear regression equation is as follows:

$$Y = 22047712.36 + 1428.33X_1 + 85.92X_2$$

The sign of a regression coefficient indicates a positive or negative correlation between each independent variable (violent / property crimes) and the dependent variable (SWAT 1033 acquisition value). In this study, a positive coefficient indicates that as the value of the violent / property crimes increases, the mean of the SWAT acquisition value also tends to increase. (See Table 4)

Table 4. Multiple Linier Regression on SWAT Acquisition and Crimes

Predictor	β	SE	CI 95% lower	CI 95% upper	t	df	p
Violent Crime	1,428.37	1,094.36	-918.84	3,775.51	1.31	16	0.21
Property Crime	85.92	173.34	-285.86	457.70	0.50	16	0.62

Note. N = 17.

*p > .005.

Dependent Variable: SWAT Acquisition

Predictors: Violent and Property Crimes

Conclusion

Via quantitative analysis, all findings are included in this chapter. Regarding the first research question, a one-sample chi-square test was conducted to assess whether Black males are less, equal, or more likely to be shot and killed by police officers. The test results were significant, meaning we can conclude there is a relationship between race and police shootings showing Blacks are more likely than any other group to be shot by police.

For the second research question, another one-sample chi-square test was performed to assess whether Black males are less, equal, or more likely to be shot and killed by police officers in specific geographic locations. The results of this test were significant, once again indicating Blacks are more likely to be shot and killed by police officers in states where the minority population is dominant than would be expected, proportionately speaking.

Lastly, the third research question examined whether the DHS 1033 Program was predictive of crime. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to predict the SWAT 1033 Program level. The predictors were violent and property crimes, while the criterion variable was the SWAT acquisition value. In this study, a positive coefficient indicated as the value of the violent / property crimes increases, the mean of the SWAT acquisition value also tends to increase. The more crime increases, the more militarization in terms of weapons and material increases among law enforcement agencies in the study.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research examined the relationship between the overuse of force and police militarization via access to military-grade equipment from the DHS 1033 Program. Based on quantitative analysis of SWAT and police shooting data, it can be determined that militarized weapons from the DHS 1033 Program and a significant difference in race and geographic location regarding police shootings are substantial factors in police overuse of force. The findings show when police have access to military-grade equipment, overuse of force is prevalent, and SWAT units are more often deployed to non-White communities for less serious offenses than hostage or terroristic situations. Chapter 5 identifies the limitations of this study, advances policy implications, recommendations for averting police brutality, the overuse of militarized policing, and weapons from the DHS 1033 Program. The historical framework of policing and its evolution, along with the development and implementation of the DHS 1033 Program, are the cornerstone of the recommendations for eradicating police brutality, the overuse of deadly force, and militarized police intimidation of civilians. Limitations and future research will be identified in the following section. The chapter concludes with a hypothesis that there is a need for law enforcement officers to be adequately equipped and trained to respond to crime with an ethical approach when resolving criminal issues.

Limitations

The study's primary limitation is the lack of transparency between governmental agencies regarding annual reports and insufficient documentation in law enforcement data sets (UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS limitations). Also, there is a lack of cooperation between law enforcement agencies at local and state levels for sharing data. Over the past decades, many unreported cases have been missing from law enforcement databases uncovered by the data collected for this study and previous studies. Other limitations are time and resources. Because there is such a large volume of information, it is difficult to limit the amount of necessary information for this study, such as geographic regions, multiple jurisdictions, operational differences between agencies, different penal codes between states and federal levels, and discerning between valid databases and resources. While Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) represents *reported* crimes, many crimes are not reported to the police. When crimes are reported to the police, they may not be recorded. Only local and state crimes are reported. This excludes federal crimes or crimes at institutions (e.g., jails and prisons); moreover, definitions of crimes vary among states, and sometimes the data have been subject to political manipulation (source? If not, then remove). Center & Smith (1972) asserted, "The misreporting of crime statistics by police is a serious problem in collecting crime statistics." Also, Riedel and Regoeczi (2004) advanced the past few decades have been fraught with an increase of missing data as "clearance rates for homicides have declined." This has led to even more unknown offenders. To improve the UCR, the data collection process must be more specific. Each law enforcement agency classifies reported crimes based on the laws of its respective state and jurisdiction. Furthermore, when reporting crimes, agencies reclassify

them to align with UCR terminology. The FBI reported Part I crimes, such as murder, aggravated assault, rape, robbery, burglary, arson, motor vehicle theft, larceny-theft, and arrests for all crimes. However, it is important to recognize Part II crimes such as DUI, fraud, prostitution, and simple assaults are not reported by the FBI. Only arrests are reported. Therefore, statistics reported of violent and property crimes are published if they are the eight Part I crimes.

Moreover, a hierarchical system of coding is utilized in UCR reporting. This means that even if there is more than one offense committed, the highest one occurring in an incident is the one reported by the FBI. Because of the hierarchical system the UCR employs, the true number of crimes might be underreported due to counting incidents instead of occurrences. Furthermore, there are other problems with UCR data in regards to errors when inputting data as well as missing data (Lynch & Jarvis, 2008; Maltz, 1999), police agencies coerced to alter data, aggregate numbers used to obfuscate other elements such as the circumstance of the crime concerning whether a family member or stranger perpetrates the crime and the part of day and location in which the crime is committed. Despite these shortcomings, the UCR data is still widely used in the United States. Nevertheless, a deep analysis of crime data in local areas must be conducted after examining UCR data to comprehend the context and type of crimes committed (Santos, Lima & Ribeiro, 2014).

The UCR only reviews crimes reported to law enforcement, another explicit limitation. Evidence shows that crimes, including murder, are underreported (Riedel & Regoeczi 2004). Half of all violent crimes that occur go unawares to law enforcement; moreover, less than 30% of rape crimes are brought to the attention of police. Also, law

enforcement data are vulnerable to manipulation through political and social coercion. It is not purported to be an extensive problem, but it does occur. Sometimes, incomplete reporting or the lack thereof by police agencies can take place since UCR reporting is voluntary. Therefore, when the FBI receives incomplete data from local law enforcement agencies, it employs specific protocols ascribing data to resolve the matter. Still, the UCR data is widely used nationally.

Policy Implications

For Social Conflict Theory

Social Conflict Theory is rooted in the principle that domination and power are the forces that achieve social order, not consensus and compliance. This is quite evident in how law enforcement police African American communities as opposed to how they police predominately White communities. When the police arrive on the scene in areas with large populations of African Americans, there is a notion among some members of that community that the opposition or adversaries have entered the community. This is often reinforced by police who assume the attitude and role of being called to the scene strictly to enforce the law (Lynch & Michalowski, 2010, p. 23).

On the contrary, when the police arrive on the scene in predominately White communities, the attitude is often quite different among the population. The attitude among White citizens is usually not adversarial or oppositional. It is often the notion that help has arrived and problems will be solved. Likewise, the police tend to show up to provide service to White communities first while enforcing the law second. The differential treatment by police and biased attitudes held by both Black and White

communities regarding law enforcement is driven by race and social class dynamics (Bonger, 1969).

This was clearly illustrated during the middle to end of the last Obama administration when police killings of African Americans around the country seemed to become commonplace; it was happening so often. The deaths of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, Philando Castile in St. Anthony, MN, Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, LA, Tamir Rice in Cleveland, OH, Freddie Gray in Baltimore, MD, Terence Crutcher, Tulsa, OK, and probably the most egregious killing was that of George Floyd, in Minneapolis, MN captivated many people across the country since they were all unarmed but killed by police. This sparked outrage among the African American community, many non-Blacks across the country, and the world because many (not all) police officers responsible for these killings were either not billed by grand juries or found not guilty at trial.

However, when peaceful protests were organized, agitators in crowds around the country incited violence during otherwise peaceful protests (Chenoweth & Pressman, 2020).

Police agencies responded in kind with paramilitary units in full military garb, complete with military-grade weaponry, including armored vehicles, ironically to put down protests against police overuse of force. However, for those who have more economic, social, and political power to influence laws and exert power over the underclasses of society, police tend to enforce the law to maintain social order by exercising power given to them by those who influence laws (Lynch & Michalowski, 2010, p. 23).

In 2014, Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy was charged by the federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) with illegally allowing his cattle to graze on federal land for over 20 years. Cliven owed \$1,000,000 in grazing fees but refused to pay or cease

grazing his cattle. Armed federal agents arrived and confiscated some of his cattle. One of his sons reportedly kicked a police dog and was tased and taken into custody. Mr. Bundy later posted on his Bundy Ranch website they had his cattle and one of his boys. The Range war would begin tomorrow. Supporters and armed local militia showed up to support the Bundy's against what they perceived as tyranny by the federal government of the United States. Even with all of this, federal agents decided not to engage but instead pulled back, claiming it was out of safety for the agents on the scene and residents. Nevertheless, Cliven Bundy would later be apprehended and hauled into federal court, but the differential treatment by law enforcement had been noted (Prokop, 2015).

On January 6, 2021, Americans and the world watched in disbelief and horror as a mob of over 2,000 supporters of former President Donald Trump stormed the U.S. capitol in hopes of overturning the presidential election results of November 2020. These people were allowed to protest and riot freely at the capitol as police looked on. They broke through the doors and entered the capitol building, searching out members of Congress who opposed President Trump. Many of the rioters threatened bodily harm to members of Congress if found. Ultimately, five capital police officers and four protestors died. Some African American onlookers believed that had this been a massive Black Lives Matter protest at the capitol, police would have moved in swiftly with a much heavier and deadlier hand against protestors (History.com Editors, 2021).

All the aforementioned events point to inherent problems Social Conflict Theory presents in this country. To realize more fair and equal treatment under the law, this theory must be stamped out and supplanted by the tenants and guarantees in the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, solidifying equal rights and civil liberties for all,

including African Americans. Furthermore, this needs to be ingrained in training academies across the nation among law enforcement. The notion of achieving social order by power, force, and coercion must be abandoned, giving way to consensus, cooperation, and compliance among citizenries. This would help adversarial bridge gaps between police and communities of color.

For Danger Perception Theory

Danger Perception Theory hinges on a police officer's perception of a threat or danger. If an officer believes he or she might be in danger, he or she is more likely to use deadly force. However, the perception of danger to one person might differ from the next. This is problematic because police use of deadly force is contingent on an officer's belief that he or she is in danger, whether the danger is real and present. This can sometimes present an event of misuse or overuse of force. Police killings of unarmed suspects can be born out of Danger Perception Theory if an officer sees he or she is outsized or in an economically depressed Black neighborhood considered dangerous. Law enforcement agencies across the country must regularly address this phenomenon and conduct regular training and examinations of police killings where misuse or overuse of force has been confirmed. Parts of the debriefing of officers in such killings should be studied in police agencies and their academies to see what alternative steps were available in cases where overuse of force is confirmed (McDonald et al., 2001, p. 159).

For Threat Theory

Threat Theory, which has roots in positivist Cesare Lombroso, suggests some people are born with physical and psychological traits predisposing them to a proclivity for criminal behavior, "The Born Criminal" (Lombroso, 1876). However, when actors of

the criminal system adopt the attitude and ethos of threat theory, it can often minimize the chance that true justice will be served in courtrooms across the country. Applying such a theory by assuming, Blacks are naturally aggressive and prone to violence, it not only diminishes them to the level of animals but also dehumanizes them. This allows them to be “otherized” in the eyes of the courts and its actors (Liska et al, 1982).

Furthermore, adherence to threat theory becomes even more problematic when law enforcement officials choose to police in the spirit of this theory. This was displayed in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on September 16, 2016, when Terence Crutcher was unarmed, standing in the middle of a street with his hands in the air, walking towards his SUV. Four police officers were on the scene. Three officers had guns drawn on Crutcher, giving him commands. One police officer circling above in a helicopter could be heard saying, “That looks like a bad dude too, could be on something.” Inexplicably, officer Betty Jo Shelby suddenly fired her side-arm, striking and killing Crutcher, who appeared to be larger than average build and Black. He was 40 years old. Shelby was acquitted of first-degree manslaughter. She later began speaking about and teaching other police officers how to survive the aftermath of a shooting. In 2019, she reportedly worked for the National Rifle Association (NRA), teaching shooting courses (Blau, 2017).

The racial biases and stereotypes are enormously apparent; however, the actors of the criminal justice system have failed to recognize a pattern of deadly force carried out by unethical law enforcement officers against unarmed Black males. The American systemic nature of the criminal justice system operates with little accountability when the victims are Black. Thus, law enforcement officers are often allowed to operate with impunity. The flurry of disproportionate fatal shootings in recent years prompts the Black

male subculture to question whether they have been treated fairly within the criminal justice system. It is time for the American criminal justice system to own its responsibility of ethically upholding the law (Mummolo, 2018).

To accomplish this, some critical steps must be taken. Law enforcement agencies must commit to interagency collaboration. This is important because it helps pool resources, prepare for emergencies, and build trust between agencies. However, interagency collaboration in law enforcement can be challenging. Different agencies have different cultures and ways of doing things. However, they also have different perspectives and areas of expertise, and collaboration can be very beneficial if done effectively.

Recommendations for Accountability

Accountability is most important because it benefits law enforcement agencies by helping foster community confidence in the police's ability to do the job objectively. In this vein, more vital bridges of trust between police and communities are a mark that must be achieved. To do this, other vital elements of police accountability must endeavor, which must be orchestrated by the U.S. Department of Justice for uniformity across federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. This allows for key elements to achieve more effective, fair, and objective policing across all communities. A uniform system of internal checks and balances must ensure police officers execute their duties with integrity. This promotes a healthy work culture. This means employing law enforcement officers who put the needs of the agency and public first instead of their interests (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007).

By achieving this, officers can perform their duties more effectively while fostering trust between them and their commanders regarding ethical decision-making. Undertaking such an endeavor promotes trust between police and the communities they serve, thus encouraging high standards and expectations from community stakeholders. Indeed, it is unreasonable to expect perfection among police since they are not infallible. However, when they break the rules or make mistakes, people in the communities they serve should feel confident situations will be dealt with in a practical, fair, and timely manner. This will show commitment to an unbiased and objective agency – a culture built on fairness to law enforcement officers and the communities they serve. For instance, the Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin was recently convicted for the murder of George Floyd. Still, criminologist and director of Texas Southern University's Center for Justice Research Dr. Howard Henderson believe Chauvin should have never been on the streets since he killed Mr. Floyd. In an interview with the Texas Observer, Henderson stated Chauvin had 17 prior complaints at the time of Floyd's murder. He advanced, "Listen, if you have anybody on the police force who's got 17 complaints, you must investigate those independently. I don't see how any normal police officer can have that many complaints and still be on the street" (Barajas, 2020).

Therefore, law enforcement agencies must be proactive in addressing and investigating complaints vigorously and not allowing officers to remain on duty without a process being adhered to that resolves such matters, one way or another. This helps make policing less difficult and fosters community trust that could lead people to cooperate more with the police. Again, the pillars upon which an endeavor rests are values, ethics, integrity, responsible policing, and transparency. When law enforcement agencies

enforce strict adherence to sound policies, procedures, and training from top to bottom among the rank and file, overuse of force should diminish, producing a win for police officers and the communities they serve. Moreover, there is an even more straightforward recommendation regarding SWAT deployments. Communities of color continue to experience SWAT deployments at a disproportionate rate. This does nothing to engender trust and cooperation between law enforcement and the minority communities. However, although they are needed when dangerous situations such as terrorism and active shooters arise, strictly reserving their use for such events might prove beneficial to bridging relationships between police and minority communities (Mummolo, 2018). Lastly, there needs to be a cultivated culture that encourages law enforcement officers to report misconduct and overuse of force to protect the relationship between agencies and the communities they serve, thus helping make policing less complicated and more effective.

Conclusion

Recently, much attention has been focused on police shooting minorities leading to a moral panic. The response has been jolting. There have been race riots and retaliatory cop killings. One of the first and most noted police overuse of force was the Rodney King police stop. This was a clear case of police brutality because he was continually beaten by multiple police officers while lying on the side of the road unarmed. Although this was a spotlight moment for law enforcement problems of overuse of force, this incident was the first caught on camera and broadcast for the world to see. However, no one knows exactly how many unknown cases have happened. More recently, there have been inexplicable cases of police killings that have not been adequately addressed by American society. Michael Brown (Ferguson, Mo – 2013), Laquan McDonald (Chicago,

IL – 2014), Walter Scott (North Charleston, NC – 2015), Philando Castile (Falcon Heights, MN – 2016), Jordan Edwards (Balch Springs, TX – 2017), Ronell Foster (Vallejo, CA – 2018), Ryan Twyman (Los Angeles, CA – 2019), George Floyd (Minneapolis, MN – 2020) are just a few examples of police killings due to overuse of force. The mounting deaths of Black males at the hands of police have raised issues about the role race plays in the way law enforcement police within the American criminal justice system, and race continues to be one of the most contested and highly controversial issues surrounding police shootings incidences. Many criminologies and criminal justice theories contribute to this phenomenon, creating far-reaching implications.

In conclusion, qualitative research is recommended to be paired with quantitative analysis for future research on this study for a more comprehensive understanding of the problems of militarized policing and the overuse of force among law enforcement officers. Relying on data showing police use, overuse of force, and misconduct among officers is highly recommended. This recommended endeavor would allow for identifying contradictions between qualitative and quantitative findings. Subjects of the study can share their points of view about police overuse of force. Also, this ensures the study results are rooted in the participants' experiences. More importantly, a mixed-methods study allows for the qualitative and quantitative stages of research to usher in change. However, this type of research can be more complex to plan and execute because it is time-consuming and labor-intensive. Therefore, future research without time constraints is ideal for this study of militarized policing and the overuse of force.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Abrams, Z. (2020). *What Works to Reduce Police Brutality*.
<https://www.apa.org/monitor/2020/10/Cover-Police-Brutality>. Retrieved
 November 17, 2021, from <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2020/10/cover-police-brutality>
- Ajilore, O. (2015). The militarization of local law enforcement: is race a factor. *Applied Economics Letters*, 22(13), 1089-1093.
- Aymer, S. R. (2016). "I can't breathe": A case study—Helping Black men cope with race-related trauma stemming from police killing and brutality. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 26(3-4), 367-376.
- Bachman, R. D., & Paternoster, R. (2016). *Statistics for criminology and criminal justice*. Sage Publications.
- Bachman, R., and Schutt, R. K. (2013). *The practice of research in criminology and criminal justice*. Sage.
- Balko, R. (2016). "Overkill: The Rise of Paramilitary Raids in America." Cato Institute White Paper.
- Barajas, M. (2020). *RESEARCHER HOWARD HENDERSON ON REIMAGINING POLICING IN THE U.S.* Texas Observer. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.texasobserver.org/howard-henderson-police-reform/>

- Batton, C., and Wilson, S. (2006). Police murders: An examination of historical trends in the killing of law enforcement officers in the United States, 1947 to 1998. *Homicide studies*, 10(2), 79-97.
- Baumgart, Z. (2016). From copper to steel: Police militarization at the end of the 20th century.
- Bernard, T., Snipes, J., and Gerould, A., (2016). Vold's theoretical criminology. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bierie, D. M., Detar, P. J., and Craun, S. W. (2016). Firearm violence directed at police. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(4), 501-524.
- Bieler, S. (2016). Police militarization in the USA: the state of the field. *Policing: an international journal of police strategies & management*.
- Blau, S. C. A. M. J. M. E. (2017). Terence Crutcher police shooting: Justice Department investigating. CNN. Retrieved June 26, 2022, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/20/us/oklahoma-tulsa-police-shooting/index.html>
- Bohrnstedt, G. W., & Knoke, D. (1994). Statistics for social science data analysis. *Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers*.
- Bonger, W. (1969). Criminality and economic conditions [1916]. *Bonger Criminality & Economic Conditions 1916*. Gibson, M., and Raffer, E., (2006). Criminal man. *The Duke University Press*.

- Bove, V., and Gavrilova, E. (2017). Police officer on the frontline or a soldier? the effect of police militarization on crime. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 9(3), 1-18
- Burkhardt, B. C., and Baker, K. (2019). Agency correlates of police militarization: The case of MRAPs. *Police quarterly*, 22(2), 161-191.
- Bu Burrus, T. (2016, March/April). Stopping Police Militarization: Reforming the 1033 Program. Retrieved December 30, 2020, from <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/articles/policy-priorities-white-paper-114th-congress-burrus.pdf>.
- Carriere, K. R., and Encinosa, W. (2017). The risks of operational militarization: increased conflict against militarized police. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 23(3).
- Center, L. J., and Smith, T. G. (1972). Crime-Statistics-Can They be Trusted. *Am. Crim. L. Rev.*, 11, 1045.
- Chaney, C., and Robertson, R. V. (2015). Armed and dangerous? An examination of fatal shootings of unarmed black people by police. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 8(4), 45-78.
- Chenoweth, E., & Pressman, J. (2020). *Black Lives Matter Protestors Were Overwhelmingly Peaceful Our Research Finds*. Harvard Radcliffe Institute. Retrieved June 26, 2020, from <https://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/news-and->

ideas/black-lives-matter-protesters-were-overwhelmingly-peaceful-our-research-finds.

- Chappell, A. T., and Lanza-Kaduce, L. (2010). Police academy socialization: Understanding the lessons learned in a paramilitary-bureaucratic organization. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, 39(2), 187-214.
- Cooper, H. L. (2015). War on drugs policing and police brutality. *Substance use & misuse*, 50(8-9), 1188-1194.
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., Wittenbrink, B., Sadler, M. S., & Keesee, T. (2007). Across the thin blue line: police officers and racial bias in the decision to shoot. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 92(6), 1006.
- Corva, D. (2009). Biopower and the Militarization of the Police Function Dominic Corva. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 8(2), 161-175.
- Creswell, J. W., and Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach*. Sage publications.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and class conflict in industrial society* (Vol. 15). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Delehanty, C., Mewhirter, J., Welch, R., and Wilks, J. (2017). Militarization and police violence: The case of the 1033 program. *Research & politics*, 4(2), 2053168017712885.
- Devlin, A. S. (2017). *The research experience: Planning, conducting, and reporting research*. SAGE Publications.

- Easton, M. (2012). Processes of Militarization in Policing|. *Cahiers Politiestudies*, 3(25), 263.
- Ed Edwards, F., Esposito, M. H., and Lee, H. (2018). Risk of police-involved death by race/ethnicity and place, United States, 2012–2018. *American journal of public health*, 108(9), 1241-1248.
- Eusterbrock, M. (2018). The Black Box of the Blue Lights: Investigating Police Militarization Through Participation in the 1033 Program.
- Faaborg, D. (2015). Police militarization: not for every community.
- Fagan, J., and Campbell, A. (2020). Race and Reasonableness in Police Killings. *Boston University Law Review*, 100.
- Fox B., Moule Jr, R. K., and Parry, M. M. (2018). Categorically complex: A latent class analysis of public perceptions of police militarization. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 58, 33-46.
- Fyfe, J. (1982). Blind Justice: Police shootings in Memphis. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. Vol. 73, No. 2. pp. 707-722.
- Gamal, F. (2016). The racial politics of protection: A critical race examination of police Militarization. *Calif. L. Rev.*, 104-979.
- Gray A. C., and Parker, K. F. (2020). Race and police killings: examining the links between racial threat and police shootings of Black Americans. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 1-26.

- Han Hanley, M. D. (2015). *Killing Barney Fife: law enforcements socially constructed perception of violence and its influence on police militarization*. Naval Postgraduate School Monterey United States.
- Hay Haynes, J. B., and McQuoid, A. F. (2018). The Thin Blue Line: Police Militarization and Violent Crime¹. *NEW YORK ECONOMIC REVIEW*, 26.
- History.com Editors. (2021, January 6). *U.S. Capitol Riot*. History. Retrieved June 26, 2022, from <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/january-6-capitol-riot>.
- Hutto, J. W., and Green, R. D. (2016). Social movements against racist police brutality and Department of Justice Intervention in Prince George's County, Maryland. *Journal of Urban Health*, 93(1), 89-121.
- Insler, M. A., McMurrey, B., and McQuoid, A. F. (2019). From broken windows to broken bonds: Militarized police and social fragmentation. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 163, 43-62.
- Jaccard, H. (2014). The wars come home: Police militarization in the United States of America. *Peace and Freedom*, 74(2), 6.
- Jacobs, D., & O'Brien, R.M. (1998). The determinants of deadly force: A structural analysis of police violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 837-862.
- Jennings, J. T., and Rubado, M. E. (2017). Preventing the use of deadly force: The relationship between police agency policies and rates of officer-involved gun deaths. *Public Administration Review*, 77(2), 217-226.

- Jones, A. (2018). Police stops are still marred by racial discrimination, new data shows. Retrieved October 26, 2020, from <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2018/10/12/policing/>
- Kents, S. L. (2010). Killings of police in US cities since 1980: An examination of environmental and political explanations. *Homicide studies, 14*(1), 3-23.
- Koslicki, W. (2017). SWAT mobilization trends: testing assumptions of police militarization. *Policing: an international journal of police strategies & management.*
- Koslicki, W. M., and Willits, D. (2018). The iron fist in the velvet glove? Testing the militarization/community policing paradox. *International journal of police science & management, 20*(2), 143-154.
- Kuhn, T. E. (1962). *Public Enterprise Economics & Transport Problems*. Univ of California Press.
- Lawson Jr. E. (2019). Causes and Consequences of Police Militarization.
- Lawson Jr, E. (2019). Trends: Police militarization and the use of lethal force. *Political Research Quarterly, 72*(1), 177-189.
- Legewie, J., and Fagan, J. (2016). Group threat, police officer diversity and the deadly use of police force. *Columbia Public Law Research Paper, (14-512)*.
- Liska, A. E. (Ed.). (1992). *Social threat and social control*. Sunny Press.

- Lockwood, B., Doyle, M. D., and Comiskey, J. G. (2018). Armed, but too dangerous? Factors associated with citizen support for the militarization of the police. *Criminal justice studies*, 31(2), 113-127.
- Lombroso, C., (1876). *The criminal man studied in relationship to anthropology, forensic medicine and prison doctrines*. Milan: Ulrico, Hoepli.
- Lozada, M. J., and Nix, J. (2019). Validity of details in databases logging police killings. *The Lancet*, 393(10179), 1412-1413.
- Lynch, J. P., and Jarvis, J. P. (2008). Missing data and imputation in the uniform crime reports and the effects on national estimates. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 24(1), 69-85.
- Lynch, M., and Michalowski, R., (2010). *Primer in Radical Criminology: Critical Perspectives on Crimes, Power & Identity*. (4th ed.). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- MacDonald, J., et al. (2001). The temporal relationship between police killings of civilians and criminal homicide: A redefined version of the danger-perception theory. *Crime and Delinquency*, 47(2), p. 155-172.
- Maltz, M. D. (1999). *Bridging gaps in police crime data: A discussion paper from the BJS Fellows Program*. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

- Masera, F. (2016). Bringing war home: Violent crime, police killings and the overmilitarization of the US police. *Police Killings and the Overmilitarization of the US Police (October 12, 2016)*.
- Masera, F. (2019). Police Safety, Killings by the Police and the Militarization of US Law Enforcement. *Killings by the Police and the Militarization of US Law Enforcement (February 27, 2019)*.
- McDonald, S., Oates, C. J., Young, C. W., and Hwang, K. (2006). Toward sustainable consumption: Researching voluntary simplifiers. *Psychology & Marketing, 23*(6), 515-534.
- Menifield, C. E., Shin, G., and Strother, L. (2019). Do white law enforcement officers target minority suspects? *Public Administration Review, 79*(1), 56-68.
- Mesic, A., Franklin, L., Cansever, A., Potter, F., Sharma, A., Knopov, A., and Siegel, M. (2018). The relationship between structural racism and black-white disparities in fatal police shootings at the state level. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 110*(2), 106-116.
- Moule Jr, R. K., Burruss, G. W., Parry, M. M., and Fox, B. (2019). Assessing the direct and indirect effects of legitimacy on public empowerment of police: A study of public support for police militarization in America. *Law & society review, 53*(1), 77-107.

- Moule Jr, R. K., Fox, B. H., and Parry, M. M. (2019). The long shadow of Ferguson: Legitimacy, legal cynicism, and public perceptions of police militarization. *Crime & Delinquency*, 65(2), 151-182.
- Mummolo, J. (2018, December 17). Militarization Fails to Enhance Police Safety or Reduce Crime but May Harm Police Reputation. Retrieved December 29, 2020, from <https://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economic-policy/militarization-fails-enhance-police-safety-or-reduce>.
- Nix, J., Campbell, B. A., Byers, E. H., and Alpert, G. P. (2017). A bird's eye view of civilians killed by police in 2015: Further evidence of implicit bias. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 16(1), 309-340.
- Ozkan, T., Worrall, J. L., and Zettler, H. (2018). Validating media-driven and crowdsourced police shooting data: a research note. *Journal of crime and justice*, 41(3), 334-345.
- Paternoster, R., Brame, R., Bachman, R., and Sherman, L. W. (1997). Do fair procedures matter? The effect of procedural justice on spouse assault. *Law and society review*, 163-204.
- Paul, Paul, J., and Birzer, M. (2008). The militarization of the American police force: A critical assessment. *Critical Issues in Justice and Politics*, 1(1), 15-29.
- Pereira, C. (2015). *The new political economy of policing: An exploration of the militarization of policing in the United States* (Doctoral dissertation).

- Phillips, S. W., and Jarvis, J. P. (2017). The police patrol rifle: Training standards in American law enforcement agencies. *International journal of police science & management*, 19(2), 72-80.
- Phillips, S. W., Wheeler, A., and Kim, D. Y. (2016). The effect of police paramilitary unit raids on crime at micro-places in Buffalo, New York. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 18(3), 206-219.
- Plant, E. A., & Peruche, B. M. (2005). The consequences of race for police officers' responses to criminal suspects. *Psychological Science*, 16(3), 180-183.
- Porter, E. V., Wood, T., and Cohen, C. (2018). The public's dilemma: race and political evaluations of police killings. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 1-28.
- Prokop, A. (2015). *The 2014 Controversy Over Nevada Rancher Cliven Bundy, Explained*. Vox. Retrieved June 26, 2022, from <https://www.vox.com/2014/8/14/18080508/nevada-rancher-cliven-bundy-explained>.
- Radil, S. M., Dezzani, R. J., and McAden, L. (2014). The Road to Ferguson: Geographies of US Police Militarization and the Role of the 1033 Program.
- Radil, S. M., Dezzani, R. J., and McAden, L. D. (2017). Geographies of US police militarization and the role of the 1033 program. *The Professional Geographer*, 69(2), 203-213.

- Ramey, D. M., and Steidley, T. (2018). Policing through subsidized firepower: An assessment of rational choice and minority threat explanations of police participation in the 1033 Program. *Criminology*, 56(4), 812-856.
- Riedel, M., and Regoeczi, W. C. (2004). Missing Data in Homicide Research. *Homicide Studies*.
https://www.academia.edu/31877720/Missing_Data_in_Homicide_Research
- Ross, C. T. (2015). A multi-level Bayesian analysis of racial bias in police shootings at the county-level in the United States, 2011–2014. *PloS one*, 10(11), e0141854.
- Ross, C. T., Winterhalder, B., and McElreath, R. (2020). Racial disparities in police use of deadly force against unarmed individuals persist after appropriately benchmarking shooting data on violent crime rates. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 1948550620916071.
- Santos, E. F., Lima, F., and Ribeiro, C. U. D. (2014). Semantic Uplift Criminal Data from Social Networks. *ICWI. IADIS*, 347-351.
- Scheb, J. M., Lyons, W., and Wagers, K. A. (2009). Race, gender, and age discrepancies in police motor vehicle stops in Knoxville, Tennessee: evidence of racially biased policing. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 10(1), 75-87.
- Schwartz, G. L., and Jahn, J. L. (2020). Mapping fatal police violence across US metropolitan areas: Overall rates and racial/ethnic inequities, 2013-2017. *PloS one*, 15(6), e0229686.

- Shane, J. M., Lawton, B., and Swenson, Z. (2017). The prevalence of fatal police shootings by US police, 2015–2016: Patterns and answers from a new data set. *Journal of criminal justice*, 52, 101-111.
- Siegel, L., (2015). *Criminology theories, patterns, and typologies*. 11th ed. CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Sorenson, J., Marquart, J., & Brock, D. (1993). Factors relating to killings of felons by police officers: a test of the community violence and conflict hypotheses. *Justice Quarterly*, 10(3), p. 417-440.
- Streeter, S. (2019). Lethal force in black and white: Assessing racial disparities in the circumstances of police killings. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(3), 1124-1132.
- Turner, F. W., and Fox, B. (2018). Testing the Level of Support for Police Militarization in a Sample of Police Officers, Police Executives, and Members of the US Congress. In *Police Militarization* (pp. 47-55). Springer, Cham.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2007). *Building Trust Between the Police And the Citizens They Serve*. U.S. Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Retrieved June 26, 2022, from <https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/all/b/BuildingTrust.pdf>
- Vold, G. B. (1958). *Theoretical criminology*. Oxford University Press.
- Wickes, G. C. (2015). *Demystifying "Militarization": A partial analysis of the impact of the US Department of Defense's " 1033" equipment transfer program on police officer safety outcomes* (Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University).

Wilson, J. M., and Heinonen, J. A. (2011). Advancing a police science: Implications from a national survey of police staffing. *Police Quarterly*, 14(3), 277-297.

Worrall, J. L., Bishopp, S. A., Zinser, S. C., Wheeler, A. P., and Phillips, S. W. (2018). Exploring bias in police shooting decisions with real shoot/don't shoot cases. *Crime & Delinquency*, 64(9), 1171-1192.

Wyrick, P. T. (2013). Police militarization: Attitudes towards the militarization of the American police.

Zinn, H. (2003). *Passionate Declarations Essays on War and Justice*.