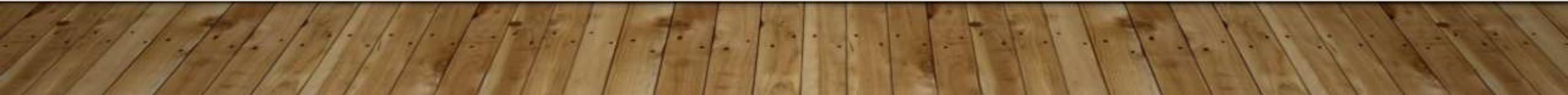


# POLICE CULTURE AND TACTICS

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PAUL BRENT FOUSHEE



# DEFINING MOMENTS

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George Floyd May 25<sup>th</sup> 2020

And before that

Michael Brown August 9<sup>th</sup> 2014

# AMERICAN POLICING

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- Police in the United States are tasked with overseeing a largely armed citizenry (Dr. Joe Kuhns).
- In the U.S., when considering civilian gun ownership, there are approximately 120 weapons for every 100 residents.
- Of the 60,105 officers who were assaulted in 2020, 18,568 (30.9%) sustained injuries.
- 44,421 officers were assaulted with personal weapons (e.g., hands, fists, or feet); 25.8% of these officers were injured.
- 2,744 officers were assaulted with firearms; 6.1% of these officers were injured.

# CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL

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- **Firearm injuries are a serious public health problem.** In 2019, there were 39,707 firearm-related deaths in the United States – that's about 109 people dying from a firearm-related injury each day.
- 23,941 suicides
- 14,414 homicides
  
- Remember this does not count non fatal shootings. (Year to date there have been 3220 people shot and wounded in Chicago alone)

# IN CHARLOTTE JAN-JUNE 2021

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- The Communications Division has answered 457,726 emergency calls to 911, and another 1,264 texts to 911.
- The Patrol Divisions have responded to 178,438 calls for service from the community and have initiated an additional 82,101 proactive calls.
- 1,530 of the 6,750 arrests CMPD officers have made have involved violent crime charges, and officers have seized more than 1,481 illegal firearms.

# POLICE ARE NOW FACED WITH A NEW REALITY

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- George Floyd
- Citizen Protests
- Increasing Municipal Oversight
- Increasing Public Exposure
- COVID
- Employment Issues in Some Cities
- Increasing Homicide Rates

# POLICY CHANGES SINCE GEORGE FLOYDS DEATH

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- At least 32 of the nation's 65 largest police departments have banned or strengthened restrictions on the use of neck restraints since the death of George Floyd
- States are also moving to require officers to intercede in force situations beyond that which is reasonable under the circumstances when they are able to do so.
- Increasing emphasis on de-escalation techniques.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/national/police-use-of-force-chokehold-carotid-ban/>

For further on reform legislation go to

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/state-policing-reforms-george-floyds-murder>

# GEORGE FLOYD JUSTICE IN POLICING ACT

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- The legislation has passed the House of Representatives twice, and includes a series of important reforms that Democrats and Republicans agree upon, including: providing mental health training and assistance for officers; collecting use of force data; providing de-escalation training; certifying officers and training courses at the federal level; mandating body-worn cameras; creating a data base of bad apples; banning chokeholds and no-knock warrants; and creating a federal anti-lynching bill.
- The legislation also aims to repeal qualified immunity, which is the main sticking point.
- <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/116th-congress/house-report/434/1?overview=closed>

# NYPD PARTIAL USE OF FORCE POLICY

- Members of the service SHALL NOT:

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- a. Use a chokehold
- b. Use any level of force to punish, retaliate or coerce a subject to make statements
- c. Use any level of force on handcuffed or otherwise restrained subjects unless necessary to prevent injury, escape or to overcome active physical resistance or assault
- d. Connect or tie rear-cuffed hands to cuffed or restrained ankles or legs
- e. Transport a subject facedown
- f. Use force to prevent a subject from swallowing alleged controlled substance or other substance, once a subject has placed suspected controlled substance in his or her mouth, or forcibly attempt to remove substance from subject's mouth or other body cavity.
- **NOTE Any violations of the above force prohibitions may be reviewed on a case-by-case basis by the Use of Force Review Board to determine whether, under the circumstance, the actions were reasonable and justified. The review may find that, under exigent or exceptional circumstances, the use of the prohibited action may have been justified and within guidelines.**

# THE HEART OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT

## QUALIFIED IMMUNITY

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- Qualified Immunity is a defense that law enforcement and other government officials can raise in response to lawsuits seeking monetary damages for alleged civil rights violations. Unless the plaintiff can show an officer violated a “clearly established” right—meaning a court already declared similar behavior in a previous case to be unconstitutional—the officer can’t be held liable.
- The George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2021, introduced by in February 2021, would eliminate qualified immunity for law enforcement officers.

# 2020 KILLED BY POLICE WASHINGTON POST

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- 1021 people killed
- Race
  - White 459 (45%)
  - Black 244 (24%)
  - Hispanic 171 (17%)

Deadly Weapon (gun 652, knife 175)

Toy Weapon 30 (12 White, 5 Black, 4 Hispanic)

Unarmed 60 (White 26, Black 18, Hispanic 10, Other/Unknown 6)

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>

# 2021 KILLED BY POLICE WASHINGTON POST AS OF OCTOBER 17TH, 2021

---

- 711 people killed
- Race
  - White 194 (45%)
  - Black 111 (24%)
  - Hispanic 63 (17%)

Deadly Weapon (gun 433, knife 102)

Toy Weapon 27 (White 10, 2Black, Hispanic 2 Other/unknown 10)

Unarmed 20 (White 7, Black 4, Hispanic 2, Other/Unknown 7)

# PROTESTS

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- It was estimated that between May 26 and August 22, 93% of individual protests were "peaceful and nondestructive".
- The Washington Post estimated that by the end of June, 96.3% of 7,305 demonstrations involved no injuries and no property damage.
- Nevertheless, arson, vandalism, and looting between May 26 and June 8 were tabulated to have caused \$1–2 billion in insured damages nationally—the highest recorded damage from civil disorder in U.S. history, surpassing the record set during the 1992 Los Angeles riots.

- 
- At least 200 cities in the U.S. had imposed curfews by early June 2020,
  - More than 30 states and Washington, D.C. activated over 96,000 National Guard and military service members.
  - The deployment, when combined with preexisting deployments related to the COVID 19 Pandemic and other natural disasters, constituted the largest military operation other than war in U.S. history.
  - By the end of June, at least 14,000 people had been arrested and, by November 2020, 25 people had died in relation to the unrest.

# MINNEAPOLIS

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# SEATTLE

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# CHARLOTTE FLAG REMOVAL



# CHARLOTTE SIT IN

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## PRESIDENT SUPREME

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Vermin Supreme ran a campaign for president in the Libertarian Party's 2020 primaries. At the 2020 Libertarian National Convention he came in third place, receiving 206 delegate votes.



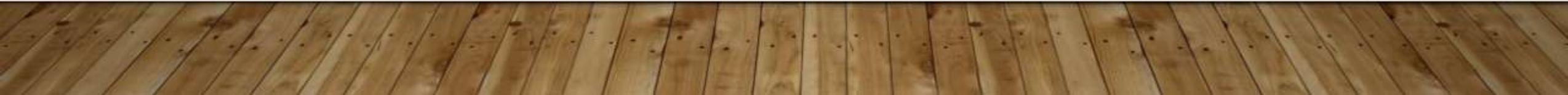
# ARE WE REALLY DEFUNDING THE POLICE POLICE BUDGETS

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- A Bloomberg analyses based on reporting from the Associated Press found that of the 50 largest police agencies in the country, only four had cut their budgets for 2021 by more than 10%, and that many cities actually increased their police budgets for this year. Many of the cuts came amid larger, citywide budget reductions due to the pandemic
- [.https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2021-city-budget-police-funding/](https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2021-city-budget-police-funding/)

# COVID

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# COVID

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- Far more law enforcement officers in the U.S. have died from Covid-19 than from any other work-related cause in 2020 and 2021. Even so, police unions are fighting vaccine mandates.
- No national statistics show the vaccination rate for America's entire population of first responders but individual police and fire departments across the country report figures far below the [national rate of 74% of adults who have had at least one dose.](#)

## WHY

# POLICE ARGUMENTS AGAINST COVID VACCINATION ARE THE SAME AS THE PUBLICS

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- See it as a privacy issue or a question of liberty
- Officers have voiced unease about the novelty of the shots
- The speed with which they were developed
- There is a confidence that they can avoid the virus with proper protective gear.
- The vast majority of police are men, who are less likely than women to be immunized.
- Many officers also reject immunization because they think previous covid-19 infections have given them immunity.
- You also cannot overlook the impact of solidarity peer pressure.

# OFFICER DEATHS 2020 THRU OCTOBER 2021

[HTTPS://WWW.ODMP.ORG/SEARCH/YEAR?YEAR=2021](https://www.odmp.org/search/year?year=2021)

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## 2020 DEATHS

- 370 total deaths (129 non COVID deaths)
- 45 Gunfire
- 19 Automobile Accident
- 7 Heart Attack
- 5 Vehicle Pursuit
- 13 Vehicle Assault
- 8 Struck by Vehicle
- 14 9/11 Related Illness
- 241 COVID 19

## 2021 DEATHS TO DATE

- 386 total deaths (133 non COVID deaths)
- 51 Gunfire
- 19 Automobile Accident
- 15 Heart Attack
- 5 Vehicle Pursuit
- 2 Vehicle Assault
- 12 Struck by Vehicle
- 1 9/11 Related Illness
- 250 COVID 19

# FEDERAL WORKERS AND COVID

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- President Biden signed an executive order requiring most federal employees and federal contractors to get the COVID-19 vaccine, removing the option to instead undergo regular testing.
- Federal employees and contractors will have about 75 days to get fully vaccinated from the time the executive order is signed, officials said. The vaccine requirement will include exemptions for individuals with disabilities and for those who refuse the vaccination on religious grounds.

# INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE (IACP)

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- Police leaders in the U.S. may require employees to be vaccinated without violating any federal statutes. However, employers are required to consider religious accommodation requests under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII) and medical accommodation requests under the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).
- This aligns with the ways in which departments may similarly mandate tetanus; hepatitis; measles, mumps, and rubella (MMR); and/or flu immunizations, or issue medical requirements for health and fitness.

# NPR

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- Police officers have consistently resisted the vaccine at higher rates than the general public. Combined with rising levels of crime — violent crime was up about 5% overall in 2020, with murders up nearly 30% — police unions have begun to raise concerns that tough enforcement of the mandates could result in staffing shortages.

- 
- Los Angeles Sheriff Alex Villaneuva, who oversees the largest sheriff's department in the country, has said he will not enforce the county's vaccine requirements on his staff.
  - Mike Solan, president of Seattle's rank and file police union, described the city's Covid-19 mandate as a "political betrayal", and said this week that up to 350 of his officers could be out of a job.
  - And in Massachusetts, the state police union is suing the governor over vaccine requirements.

- 
- The head of the Chicago's largest Police Union Mr. John Catanzara, has compared the mandate to "Nazi Germany" and has suggested the vaccine requirements are an illegal violation of privacy.
  - According to Mr Catanzara, as many as 50% of Chicago's 13,000 officers would take unpaid leave rather than report their vaccine status - threatening to bring a public safety crisis to America's third-largest city.

# WHERE DO WE GO FOR A HONEST UNBIASED VIEW OF POLICE CULTURE

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- There is no such thing as an unbiased or independent view of police culture. People who are wholly unbiased are perfectly uninterested and are highly unlikely to write on the topic.
- We all bring presumption to police research.
- The only way to have a truly independent view of police is to know absolutely nothing.

# PEW RESEARCH BEHIND THE BADGE

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- The wide-ranging survey, one of the largest ever conducted with a nationally representative sample of police, draws on the attitudes and experiences of nearly 8,000 policemen and women from departments with at least 100 officers.
- <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2017/01/11/behind-the-badge/>

# PRESENT DAY POLICE VIEWS ON SAFETY

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- The vast majority of police (84%) say they worry about their safety at least some of the time, and roughly the same share (86%) say they don't think the public understands the risks and challenges they face on the job.
- Roughly four-in-ten say that they nearly always (13%) or often (29%) have serious concerns about their physical safety when they are at work. Another 42% say they sometimes have these concerns. Only 16% say they hardly ever or never worry about their safety.

# PRESENT DAY POLICE VIEWS ON PHYSICAL FORCE

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- A third of all officers say they have struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting arrest in the past month.
- 53% of officers with less than 5 years say they have done this compared to 30% of officers who have been on longer than 5 years (35% of men vs. 22% of women).
- Some 27% say they have discharged their service firearm while on duty at some point in their career, not including anytime they used their weapon in training exercises (**Important to put this in context that that this includes officers with up to 30 years of service**).

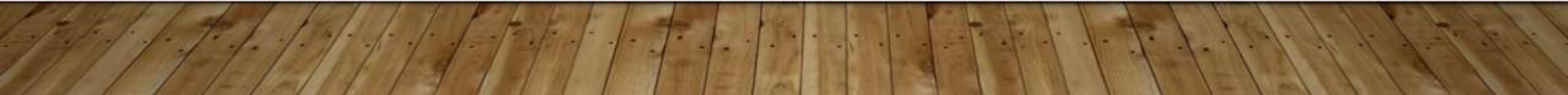
# POLICE VIEWS ON POLICING AND RACE

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- When the subject shifts to overall views on racial progress, large differences again emerge between the public and the police and also between blacks and whites within each group.
- For example, when police and the public are asked if the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites, fully eight-in-ten police officers – including 92% of white officers but only 29% of black officers – say the necessary changes have been made.

# CULTURE AND SUB CULTURE

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# POLICE CULTURE

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- **There is not one police culture!**
  - Patrol (Shift differences)
  - Investigations
  - Urban Departments
  - Rural Departments
  - Sherriff Departments
  - State Law Enforcement
  - Federal Enforcement

# MARIER AND MOULE JR. STUDY

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- 12,376 sworn officers from 98 agencies participated in the survey between August 2013 and January 2014.
- The focus of the survey was social isolationism, solidarity, cynicism toward the public and physically coercive attitudes.

# RESULTS

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- Officers perceiving hostile public attitudes were significantly and substantially more likely to report
  - (1) greater social isolation from the public
  - (2) greater police solidarity,
  - (3) increased cynicism toward the public, and
  - (4) more physically coercive attitudes.
- Elements of the traditional police culture appear to be a function of officers' sense of animosity from the public.
- Officers who perceive hostility from the public withdraw from the public into fraternal solidarity. Furthermore, these officers become much more distrustful of the public, and are more likely to justify the use of coercive tactics in the course of police work.

- 
- There are a number of sources which influence police culture. Components of police culture (e.g., isolation, cynicism, coercion) emerge in response to the strains experienced in police work, which include bureaucratic demands, danger, and public antipathy.
  - Isolation and solidarity are the distinguishing characteristics of police culture

# EFFECTS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE LINE OFFICERS, CONTINUED

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- Shift work can tend to isolate officers from the public, friends and family.
- Working while others are off and being off while others are working lessens the opportunities for leisure activities and engagements (Weekends and Holidays).
- Vacation days are difficult to get approved due to mandatory staffing needs for line officers.
- Boredom, alternating with the need for sudden alertness and mobilized energy.
- Changing organizational demands

# STRESS AND CULTURE

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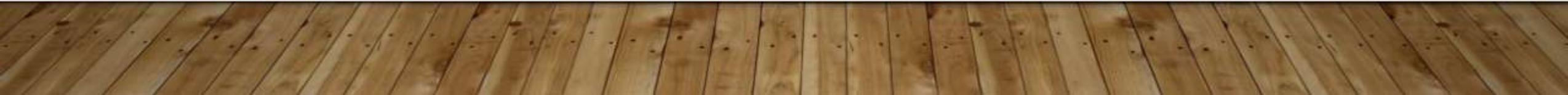
- Suppressing emotions is often a precursor to forms of stress, and the task of policing generally inhibits free emotion, as does the police culture itself.
- The tides are changing but police culture still values the “tough cop” and with that is the expectation to withstand most any amount of pressure.

# WHAT ARE THESE STRESSORS

- Depends on times and circumstances. Studies vary. I have listed three sources in the cite page (Volanti, O'Toole and Collins).
- Volanti study (1995)
  - killing someone while on duty
  - witnessing a fellow officer killed
  - being physically attacked
  - seeing abused and battered children.
- O'Toole study (2014)
  - physical threats
  - lack of support
  - organizational pressure
- Collins (2003)
  - physical threats
  - lack of support
  - organizational pressure

# CRIME

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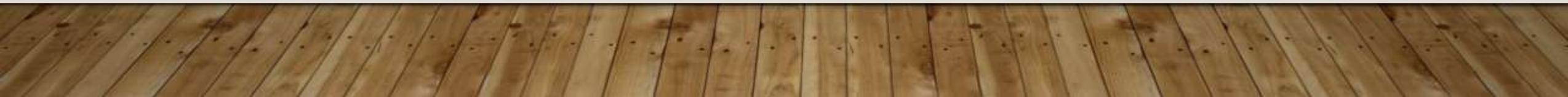


# LETS TALK MORE ABOUT CRIME RATES

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- Several forms of property crime, including robberies, residential burglaries and larceny declined in 2020 and continued to go down in the first quarter of 2021, according to a report from the [National Commission on Covid-19 and Criminal Justice](https://covid19.counciloncj.org/2021/05/21/impact-report-covid-19-and-crime-4/) (NCCCJ), continuing a multi-year downward trend.
- <https://covid19.counciloncj.org/2021/05/21/impact-report-covid-19-and-crime-4/>

**BUT**



# VIOLENT CRIME RATES

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- According to the FBI's preliminary 2020 findings,
  - violent crime rose by 3% across the country last year
  - murders rose by 25% between 2019 and 2020 (the largest jump recorded in the US in a one-year period since the FBI began releasing annual figures in the 1960s).

<https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/>

# IN CHARLOTTE FOR 2021

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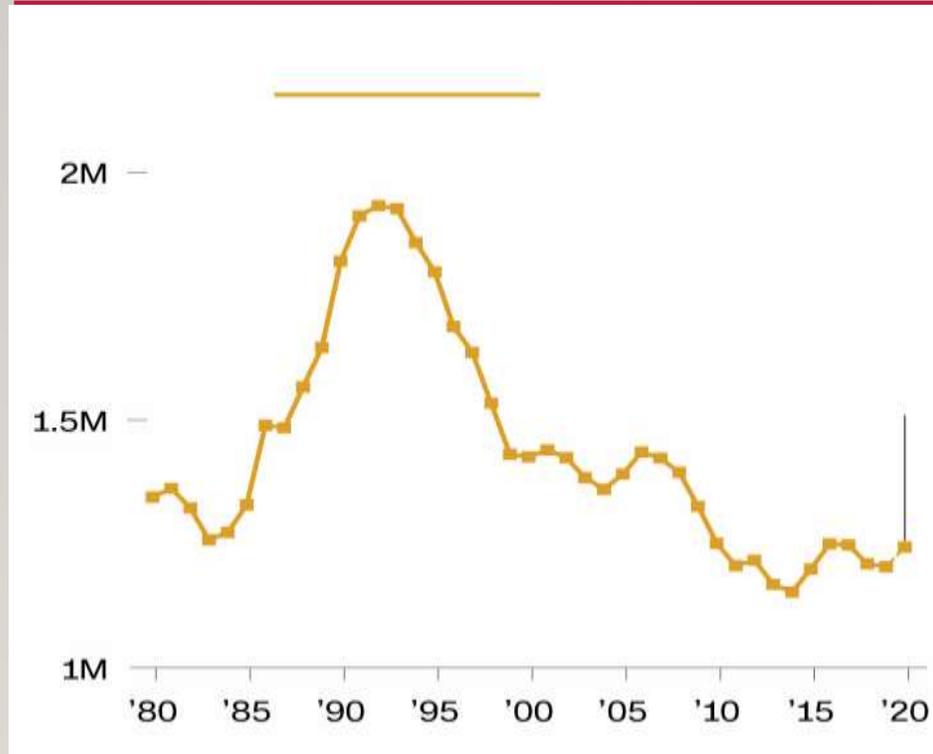
- Overall, crime in the city is down 6 percent this year compared to the first six months of 2020.
- Homicides down 2%

# WHY IS VIOLENT CRIME UP

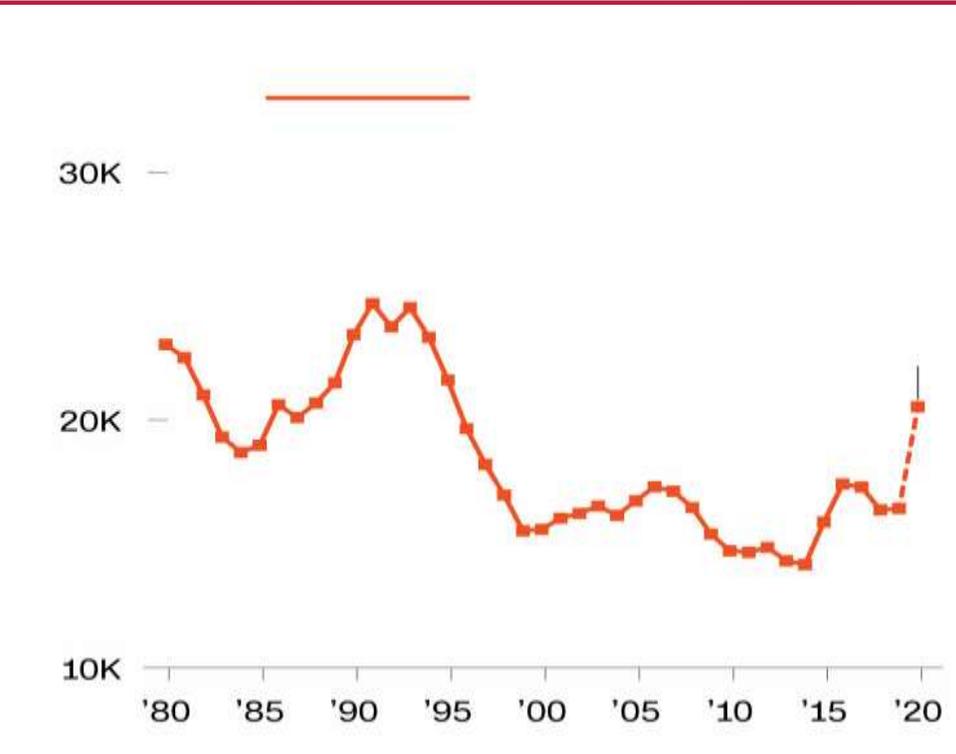
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- Despite the intense media coverage of the idea, only a handful of cities actually cut police budgets substantially. Some of these cities — such as Minneapolis, Portland, and Seattle — experienced an explosion in shootings.
- but the rise in homicide has been broad-based and also affected cities that didn't change police funding levels, including Detroit, Phoenix and Omaha. A reasonable argument can be made that the movement to defund the police created greater discontent among officers, but reductions in police funding don't seem to explain the violence.
- [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/we-dont-know-why-violent-crime-is-up-but-we-know-theres-more-than-one-cause/2021/07/09/467dd25c-df9a-11eb-ae31-6b7c5c34f0d6\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/we-dont-know-why-violent-crime-is-up-but-we-know-theres-more-than-one-cause/2021/07/09/467dd25c-df9a-11eb-ae31-6b7c5c34f0d6_story.html)

# NUMBER OF VIOLENT CRIMES IN US.

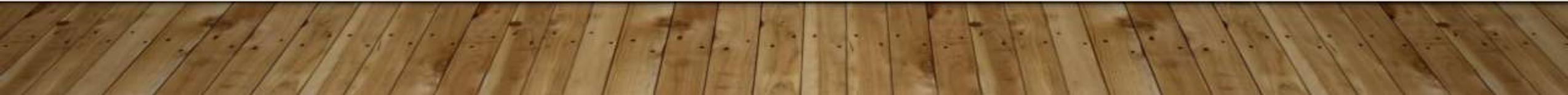


# NUMBER OF MURDERS IN US



# EMPLOYMENT ISSUES

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- According to federal data, last year, as the overall U.S. economy shed 6% of workers, local police departments lost just under 1% of after a decade of steady expansion, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That's about 4,000 people out of nearly half a million employees in municipal police departments and sheriff's offices nationwide. State and federal law enforcement departments actually saw a slight increase in the number of employees.

- 
- According to the New York Times a survey of about 200 police departments indicates that retirements were up by 45 percent and resignations by 18 percent in the period between April 2020 and April 2021 when compared to the preceding 12 months.
  - The percentage of officers who left tended to be larger for departments in big or medium-size cities, according to the Police Executive Research Forum

- 
- In New York, 2,600 officers retired in 2020, according to police statistics, after 1,509 retirements the year before.
  - In Portland, Ore., 69 officers resigned and 75 retired from April 2020 to April 2021, versus 27 and 14 the previous year.
  - In Seattle, resignations increased to 123 from 34 and retirements to 96 from 43.
  - We have lost about one-third of our staff to resignation and retirement,” said Chief David Zack of the Asheville Police Department in North Carolina — more than 80 officers out of a full complement of 238. “Certainly with the way that police have been portrayed and vilified in some cases, they have decided that it is not the life for them.”

# CENSUS BUREAU'S ANNUAL SURVEY OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND PAYROLL (ASPEP)

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- In the early 1990s, roughly 500,000 sworn officers worked in the U.S., equivalent to 213 per 100,000 people in the population.
- Federal funding from the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) office helped; established by the 1994 crime bill, it increased the number of sworn officers by 150,000 over seven years.
- By the turn of the millennium, the number of officers per 100,000 people reached just under 240—a 12 percent increase over 1993.

# CENSUS BUREAU'S ANNUAL SURVEY OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND PAYROLL (ASPEP)

---

- For the next few years, this figure remained steady, nearing its per-capita high point again in 2008, before the Great Recession walloped state and local tax revenue.
- Police departments felt the pinch: a 2011 report from the COPS office found that more than 85 percent of police agencies reported cuts to their budgets. Between 2008 and 2012, the number of officers declined by nearly 20,000; from 2008 to 2018, per-capita rates fell 8 percent.

- 
- Police chiefs attribute today's smaller pool of new applicants to a changing society. Departments are getting fewer new members from traditional sources, such as family ties and the military. The tight labor market has also made hiring more difficult. At the same time, policing has become a more technologically complex profession, one that often requires highly educated applicants.

# TRAINING

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- Why isn't training standardized across the country?
- Why do police in the United States spend so much time focusing on force and so much less time by comparison on de-escalation, mental health and greater use of non lethal or injurious ways of dealing with citizens?

# WHY ISN'T TRAINING STANDARDIZED ACROSS THE COUNTRY?

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- The number of police forces in the United States far surpasses those in other advanced democracies. The United States has about eighteen thousand law enforcement agencies, including local, state, and federal police forces.
- France, for example, has a national force with jurisdiction over cities and another national force that focuses on rural areas,
- England and Wales, have regional forces that enjoy some autonomy but must comply with central government standards, including on training and investigating misconduct.
- Sweden, has a single national force organized and overseen by the federal government.

- 
- Many experts argue that standardizing training, oversight, and disciplinary procedures through a central authority, such as a state's attorney general, could help to address issues in U.S. policing.
  - Recruits in the United States spend significantly less time in police academies than those in most European countries. Basic U.S. training programs take twenty-one weeks on average, whereas similar European programs can last more than three years.
  - With hundreds of police academies, the United States lacks national standards for what recruits should learn.
  - U.S. academies tend to emphasize technical skills rather than communication and restraint.
  - Academies on average spent the most time—seventy-one hours—on firearm skills, compared with twenty-one hours on de-escalation training (which teaches how to use conversation and other tactics to calm a situation without using force) and crisis-intervention strategies.

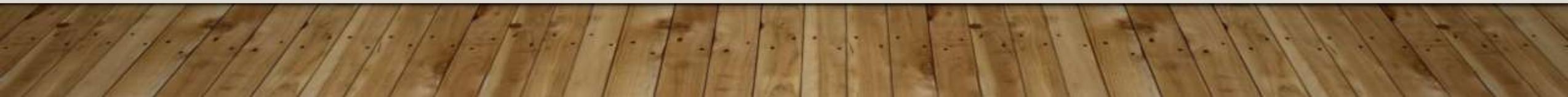
# 2019 POLICE OFFICERS ASSAULTED

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- **Overview**

- In 2019, the FBI collected assault data from 9,457 law enforcement agencies that employed 475,848 officers. These officers provided service to more than 219.8 million people, or 67.0 percent of the nation's population. (See [Table 80.](#))
- Law enforcement agencies reported that 56,034 officers were assaulted while performing their duties in 2019. (See [Table 80.](#))
- The rate of officer assaults in 2019 was 11.8 per 100 sworn officers. (See [Table 80.](#))

- **Injuries**

- Of the 56,034 officers who were assaulted, 17,188 (30.7 percent) sustained injuries. (Based on [Table 80.](#))
  - 24.9 percent of the officers who were attacked with personal weapons (e.g., hands, fists, or feet) suffered injuries. (See [Table 85.](#))
  - 8.8 percent of the officers who were assaulted with knives or other cutting instruments were injured. (See [Table 85.](#))
  - 5.6 percent of officers who were attacked with firearms were injured. (See [Table 85.](#))
  - 15.9 percent of officers who wer
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# 2020 POLICE OFFICERS ASSAULTED

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- Of the 60,105 officers who were assaulted in 2020, 18,568 (30.9%) sustained injuries.
- 44,421 officers were assaulted with personal weapons (e.g., hands, fists, or feet); 25.8% of these officers were injured.
- 2,744 officers were assaulted with firearms; 6.1% of these officers were injured.
- 1,180 officers were assaulted with knives or other cutting instruments; 9.7% of these officers were injured.
- The remaining 11,760 officers were assaulted with other types of dangerous weapons; 16.8% of these officers were injured.

# 2020 POLICE OFFICERS ASSAULTED

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- Of all officers who were assaulted in 2020, agencies reported officers were involved in these circumstances at the scenes of the assaults:
- Responding to disturbance calls such as family quarrels or bar fights (29.6%)
- Attempting other arrests (16.1%)
- Handling, transporting, or maintaining custody of prisoners (12.6%)
- Investigating suspicious persons or circumstances (8.8%)
- Traffic pursuits or stops (8.4%)
- Civil disorder, such as mass disobedience or riots (4.1%)
- Handling persons with mental illness (3.9%)
- Burglaries in progress or pursuing burglary suspects (1.3%)
- Ambush situations (0.8%)
- Robberies in progress or pursuing robbery suspects (0.8%)
- All other types of circumstances (13.6%)

# FAIR PLAY

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- Citizens often lack a knowledge of likely police reactions in response to their conduct.
- There is an assumption among many that if they do not possess the same weapons or match the police physically that they cannot be regarded as a menace or a viable threat to the officer.
- **WRONG!** This view fails to take in account the unpredictability with which a situation can be realistically regarded as deadly to the officer.

# POLICE LEGITIMACY

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- Legitimacy develops from and is maintained by the fair exercise of authority on the part of the police when they deal with the public—that is, through the provision of procedural justice” (Tyler and Fagan 2008). Public trust and the felt obligation to obey the police occurs best if the police are legitimized in the eyes of the public.
- British lecturer, Justice advised in 2014 that police legitimacy has four dimensions:
  - Lawfulness (Do they act legally)
  - Procedural fairness (Do they follow policies and directives)
  - Distributive fairness (Are all members of the community treated equally)
  - Effectiveness (What result do you want from policing and are you getting it;
    - Public trust
    - Compliance with law
    - Less nuisance and public disorder activities

# PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

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- Procedural justice – Being treated fairly by police when acting under the authority of the law. This is at the core of police legitimacy. It is not about *whether* but rather *how* authority is exercised. The community perception of a police department which practices procedural justice leads to:
  - Greater compliance with the law
  - Providing information to the police
  - Working with the police on community problems
  - Accepting police directions and decisions in police-citizen encounters
  - Improved perceptions by arrestees (Schuck)

Baltimore Police Body Camera Video. Did they plant drugs?

# CITE PAGE

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- [file:///Violanti J,Aron F. Police stressors/ Variations in perception among police personnel. Journal of Criminal Justice. 1995%3B23/287–294.](file:///Violanti%20J,%20Aron%20F.%20Police%20stressors/Variations%20in%20perception%20among%20police%20personnel.%20Journal%20of%20Criminal%20Justice.%201995%3B23%2F287-294.)
- [O'Toole SK,Vitello CJ, Palmer S. Stress and law enforcement. 2014](O'Toole%20SK,%20Vitello%20CJ,%20Palmer%20S.%20Stress%20and%20law%20enforcement.%202014)
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