

**Envisioning Possibilities for the Future of Local Policing: Suggestions On Law
Enforcement Policy By Two Vulnerable Groups**

A DISSERTATION

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By

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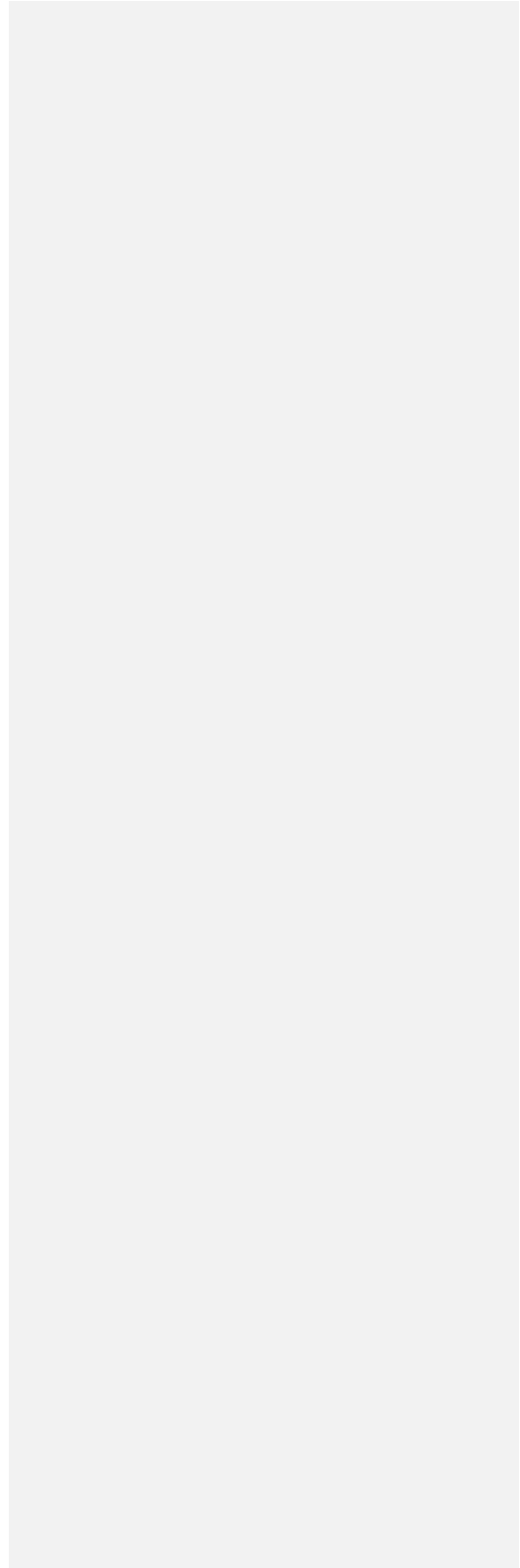
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, Melvin M. Bialeck, who taught me never to ignore the responsibility of service and the constant pursuit of justice.

This dissertation is also dedicated to the brave, non-conforming, women who are carving out their own paths. I know it's not easy.

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I will always remember and appreciate your support.

Positionality

The writer of this dissertation is a non-disabled, white-passing, Latina, cisgendered woman of Cuban, Native-Caribbean, and Eastern European descent, near-poor economic background, and reformed Jewish faith.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

While there is much research in the social science fields regarding perceptions of police involvement, lacking is research that focuses on what participants in impoverished Black and Undocumented Central and Mexican American communities would like to see moving forward. While groups like impoverished Black Americans and Undocumented Central and Mexican Americans have unique relationships with law enforcement, social science and the social work field, in particular, know little about the visions of future policing held by individuals within these communities.

This study examined desired outcomes for the future of law enforcement from subsets of two of the most vulnerable and underserved communities in the United States: low-income Black adults and Mexican/Central-American adults living without documentation, in two locations. The identified locations are: the Bronx, New York, a location where public transportation is a major source of transportation and some local and state policies are progressive, and Homestead, Florida, a location where driving is a major source of transportation, and state and local policies are conservative. This study explored possible answers to the following questions: what are suggestions for the future of policing across low-income Black and Undocumented Mexican and Central-American communities; and, how do such suggestions relate to participants' perceived political efficacy, transportation options, and demographics? Sub-questions explore relationships between participant suggestions for the future policing, characteristics of the location of the participant that include transportation options, general demographics of the participant, and perceived political efficacy. Transportation options are included as a unique qualifier to be considered along with the other more typical variables.

Transportation differences in the locations of Homestead, FL and the Bronx, NY are specified by “driving” and “non-driving.” This dichotomy as well as the general political environment of the two study sites are explored to assist in answering the research questions about suggestions for the future of policing where driving is viewed as a necessity for the immigrant groups and people of color.

Furthermore, the perceived political efficacy of the participants in this study is likely affected by systemic decisions that have historically ignored their voices. To explore this factor, the study incorporated a brief measure of political efficacy, defined as the American National Election Studies (ANES) Political Efficacy Short Scale, the newest translation from German to English of the Political Efficacy Short Scale (Groskurth et al., 2021) as well as a Spanish version translated by Mauricio Espinoza from University of Cincinnati. This element of the study allowed the researcher to further explore relationships between efficacy scores, location, demographics, and survey responses to questions about the future of policing.

The type of mixed-methods research carried out in this study was concurrent, triangulation design in a transformative framework. Quantitative data was collected, followed by interview questions, within the same phase of research. Qualitative data then was utilized to enhance understanding of quantitative findings (Creswell & Clark, 2011). This research was guided also by a theoretical framework, in this case, advocacy and empowerment- driven research theory

Transformative studies are inherently rooted in purpose, in an aim to further social justice (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Utilizing this triangulated concurrent design process (2011, p. 70), this author utilized qualitative mode to exemplify quantitative data by cross-referencing interview responses and political efficacy assessment, driving/non-driving location, and demographics.

Qualitative data gave readers participant-articulated reasoning for multiple choice answers: (1) Policing should stay the same; (2) Policing should change; (3) Policing should end. If the participant answers (2) “Policing should change”, the participant was asked, “How/In what ways?” The interview data was then coded for dominant themes. All data were gathered through purposive interviewing, demographic collection, and scaled assessment. This study aimed to have a sample of 60 adults, interviewed in person, within the two locations, at least 15 in each category, as chi-squared probability testing and multiple regression tests were utilized.

Two subsidized housing agencies provided locations for this study--one in the South Bronx and one in Homestead, Florida. Both locations are heavily populated by Black Americans who have met the low-income requirements. Undocumented participants were not addressed directly in regards to their documentation status. Interviews were held in two partnering community agencies that support undocumented families- one in the South Bronx, and one in Homestead, Florida. The study was publicized throughout both communities and incentivized with a \$10 gift card upon completion of the interviews. All participants were over 18 and were briefed as to the purpose of the voluntary study and asked for consent to continue.

An important purpose of this research is to bring into the political arena the voices of two groups who are affected greatly by the institutional decisions of law enforcement: low-income Black and Mexican and Central-American Undocumented adults. The study utilizes data from a small subset of participants from these two communities, within locations that both do and do not require driving to complete everyday tasks, and that have opposed political leanings. The two ethnographic groups participating in this study hold opinions on the future of policing that are often left out of academic and political research-- the author of this study believes these opinions deserve a place in social work literature.

Social workers take on many roles, one of the most essential is to advocate for the voiceless and support efforts of self-determination for individuals and communities. Client populations in the field of social work vary, depending on our specialties, our expertise, our locations, but our dedication to advocacy for impoverished, marginalized, and immigrant groups, groups who are oppressed by established systems--often the systems within which we work--should not waver. According to the NASW *Code of Ethics*, Social Workers not only work “to challenge social injustice” but to promote clients’ self-determination (NASW, 2021). How to collect data from the most underserved communities in a way that empowers and involves the community is often left out of social work education, and yet it is vital to social change. Without studies that ask participants to inform change, amendments to current systems, especially systems of law enforcement, are often made in a prescriptive fashion by those who are less affected by systemic oppression; or, in some cases, changes are not made at all. The specific aims of this study are to begin to give a medium to voices often unheard, even in times fraught with community protest. This study hopes to catapult research that is forward-thinking in nature, that helps to inform amendments to current systems, and that serves as a reference marker to better understand how political leaders represent, or fail to represent, the voices of their most marginalized constituents.

STATA 17 was used to analyze data from the sample (StataCorp, 2021). Descriptive and bivariate analyses were conducted. Stata 17 was used to estimate ordinal logistic regression models and to calculate odds ratios (Long & Freese, 2014). Chi-square models were estimated to test the independence of recommendations for the future of policing and non-continuous variables such as documentation status, gender, cultural identity, location, parental status. Political efficacy scores did show a positive relationship to documentation status, but no other

demographic factors. Further, quantitative results showed that demographic factors and perceived political efficacy scores held no relationship with participants' recommendations for the future of local policing. Participants overwhelmingly asked for change in policing despite demographic differences. Interview results added detail and texture to quantitative results. Several themes emerged across groups. Themes are categorized as follows: equal commitment and accountability to all, more community-oriented policing and the reference to one model police officer, better background checks and hiring practices, mandatory training and mental health care for police officers, reallocation of funding for youth and community programs, and respect and compassion.

Further, several motifs in response were linked more specifically to participant groups. Here, there surfaced a focus on the Black historical experience with policing, characteristics of relationships with police specifically pertaining to the experience of being undocumented, an emphasis on child safety in schools and feedback particularly related to the location-specific experience of "driving black" or "driving undocumented".

CHAPTER TWO: THE STUDY PROBLEM

The social problem being addressed in this study is the lack of voice from vulnerable communities in the shaping of police policies.

The data uncovered in this chapter reveal that the two populations studied in this research are privy to police presence and interaction, and they are more likely to experience ‘crime’ within their own neighborhoods. They are, in effect, two of the groups who will be most affected by changes in law enforcement policy. Therefore, it is essential to investigate the most desired outcomes of the future of law enforcement as shared by members of these two populations- adults living in low-income Black communities and Mexican/Central American adults living without legal documentation. In order to better define the social problem, we focus on the history and current state of relationships with law enforcement, and we unearth a sense of lacking political efficacy in both communities. The role of transportation is addressed as well.

History of Social Problem: Underserved Black and Immigrant Relationships with Law Enforcement

Black and undocumented Mexican and Central American immigrants are two of the most vulnerable communities in the US. Many members of both marginalized communities live in areas of extreme poverty and high police activity, as high poverty levels often correlate to neighborhood crime rates and/or interaction with law enforcement. Black Americans are more vulnerable to arrest while for undocumented immigrants, any police interaction could mean deportation. Interaction with law enforcement can have a lasting effect on not only the individual involved in the encounter, but also the individual’s family, including children, and community members.

While the causes of crime have been highly debated throughout academic research, less arguable is the positive relationship that exists between poverty and crime in the US (Fajnzylber, 2002; Imran et al., 2018). Further, underserved minority groups living in poverty, such as urban Black communities and Mexican and Central American undocumented communities, have a greater chance of interaction with the criminal justice system (Lane et al., 2020, p. 262).

Law enforcement systems in the United States, in their origin, were organized to control minority populations, to monitor freed slaves and their descendants during segregation (Wacquant, 2009, p. 11). Today, still, families of victims of police brutality share the sentiment that current systems of law enforcement have not yet evolved from a force of control towards minority populations into a force of social support and protection.

Sociologist Loïc Wacquant documents the end of the 1960s as notable a shift in symbolic markers for crime, namely the in the rising criminalization of poverty; here, Wacquant cites concepts like zero tolerance “broken windows” theory reify markers of a “dishonored population” (p. 4. 2009). The following decades laid the path from Fordian-Keynesian policies to less-regulated Reaganomics and neoliberalism leanings shift led to sub-poverty wages and full-time workers with little-to-no mobility from poverty (p.43). Stronger limits on socio-economic mobility nurtured the notion of the second-class citizen, the person who does not give to society as much as they take. More white families received public welfare than Black or Latino families in the 1980s. However, because of neighborhood segregation of blacks and minorities, such as certain immigrant groups, the stigma of a second-class citizen could thrive at the intersection of race and class, where the poorest people of color were often marked as non-contributors or worse, criminals.

The sentiment that allows for second-class citizenship dually promotes the notion that certain groups must be monitored (Wacquant, 2009, p. 46). The 1980's War on Drugs further justified the need for surveillance and curfews in low-income, minority communities. Wacquant notes that Reagan's "War Against Drugs" policies worked to reframe and misframe understandings around poverty, moving blame from society's, the collective we, to the individual. Hence, in the early 1980s, there emerged a refocus on personal responsibility for poverty, a sentiment that ignored the socio-economic factors for criminality. Much like historical shifts in the populations that make up deserving and undeserving poor (Trattner, 2018), poor community members receiving public assistance became a "penitential sector", a morally deficient group, guilty of their need until proven innocent (Wacquant, 2009, p. 15). Lane et al. alert social workers to the phenomenon of over-policing under-policing paradox (2020, p. 260), a state of heightened surveillance yet less safety and support provided by policing systems in lower economic minority communities. In some communities, the phenomenon of self-policing or self-governance has arisen, after a history of increased surveillance, yet reliance on self and internal systems and codes of safety.

Current Status of Social Problem

Many Black and Undocumented Mexican and Central American people live in poverty in the US. Of the 44 million Blacks and African Americans living in the US, well over eight million live below the poverty line (Moslimani, et al., 2022). In South Florida, Black and Hispanic residents, living with and without documents, share a marked economic disadvantage. Black and Hispanic residents' median incomes are about half that of White (non-Hispanic) residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021). Moreover, the Bronx New York holds the highest concentrations of undocumented immigrants and low-income African Americans- the Bronx is

also home to the poorest district in the United States. According to 2019 New York City arrest data, the Bronx is the home of some of the several of the leading arrest hot spots throughout New York City and is overlapped with New York City's poorest neighborhoods (NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services, 2020). In 2015, the median annual income for foreign-born Mexican adults living in the Bronx was the lowest in New York City, at \$36,000 (Barbosa, 2018). Both groups, whose environments are often backdropped by police systems, hold very little say in the future of policing and have little-to-no outlet to voice their views to policymakers.

The Undocumented Mexican and Central-American Population

Two of the states with the highest populations of Central American and Mexican immigrants are New York and Florida (Pew Research Center, 2021). Central American and Mexican immigrants inhabit some of the poorest neighborhoods in each state. New York City and South Florida are no exception to the relationship between poverty and criminal stigma. In 2014, it was estimated 925,000 undocumented immigrants lived in the farming areas of South Florida (2021). Not only do undocumented immigrants in South Florida struggle for basic needs, but many feel they cannot call the police for support when they are the victims of crime or maltreatment for fear of arrest and deportation (Loiseau, 2016). According to the Migration Policy Institute (2019), Mexican and Central American-born immigrants make up at least 36% of New York State's estimated 835,000 residents living without documentation, 60% of whom are New York City residents. While many Undocumented New Yorkers share the sentiment of fear, New York City itself is a sanctuary city, and New York a sanctuary state. While state and local policy in support of New Yorkers living without documentation may assuage some of the population's hardships and fears, Federal laws prohibiting pathways to citizenship still create a

low economic ceiling for the many undocumented New Yorkers living in poverty with no way out other than hope in future generations (2019).

According to the Migration Policy Institute (2019), there were 3,527,000 Central Americans living in the US in 2017, and only a third of those had found pathways to legal stay in the US. Similarly, although migration from Mexico has steadily declined over the past decade, Mexican immigrants still make up at least half the US's undocumented population of over 11 million (Pew Research Center, 2021). While research focusing on US undocumented communities is only burgeoning, Central American and Mexican immigrants living in the US without pathways to legal residence often live in districts where poverty is rampant.

Federal and State Policies specifically Affecting Undocumented Americans. Following the attacks of September 11th, 2001, The Homeland Security Act (2002) was signed by President George W. Bush, which strengthened the federal government's reach in the investigation of immigrants and allowed for both arrests and the collection of personal information, in some cases without a warrant. This move functioned conjointly with the U.S. PATRIOT

Acts of 2001, which diminished the need for due process for undocumented immigrants. With these expansions of federal law came the creation of the Department of Homeland Security in 2002. In 2003, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) became one of the Department of Homeland Security's main tools tasked with investigation, enforcement and removal of immigrants who are a threat to US safety. Today, for undocumented immigrants, the mere experience of seeking life-preserving asylum, or working and raising a family in the US, have been demonized for political gain. Risking life and limb traveling to the United States to ask for the right to live here, or living and working in the US peacefully, willing to take any

pathway to citizenship if one were to arise, have somehow both come to justify a threat to US safety.

ICE Some police departments cooperate with ICE and some do not. The term cooperation here is critical. Cooperation, in this context, means the city or town has made an institutional decision to work with ICE, to call ICE directly after any interaction with someone who may be undocumented. According to Sade (2018), “Significantly, both federal and local officers enforcing immigration law have a diminished incentive to comply with the Fourth Amendment due to the Supreme Court’s 1984 decision in *INS v. Lopez-Mendoza* not to impose judicially the exclusionary rule in civil immigration proceedings”(p. 183). In this case, when two people were arrested illegally before INS knew of their legal status and then contested the bearing of their deportation orders, it was determined, “The mere fact of an illegal arrest has no bearing on a subsequent deportation hearing”(*Lopez-Mendoza v. INS*, 1984, p. 468).

Ultimately, if a town’s or city’s leadership aligns with the sentiment that undocumented status is an offense that deserves punishment, the district may decide to create policy that aids ICE in its pursuit to hunt down undocumented people. In places where the police department has made a decision to cooperate with ICE, a person can be pulled over, in many cases without probable cause. The officer can ask for documentation, and the officer can call ICE to detain the person who has by that point, by default, been caught driving without a license. We do not know the exact numbers of undocumented people pulled over in cars or stopped by police merely for looking like immigrants. But we do know anecdotally that it is happening all over the country, and we do know that unwarranted traffic stops lead to detainments in many cases (Lee, 2017, Nelson, 2018; Sawyer, 2017). Little data is available to the public detailing encounters between law enforcement and undocumented Miami residents. The decision for Miami-Dade police to

corporate with ICE (to help enforce immigration law) has made it increasingly common for law enforcement to stop and hold individuals under presumption alone that they may be undocumented.

Driving While Undocumented Undocumented drivers are at risk. Latinx drivers are disproportionately stopped in traffic stops over white drivers; if the stop leads to a deportation hearing, most are not convicted of any traffic violation (Smith et al., 2021).

While in New York undocumented drivers can legally obtain a license, in Florida, they cannot. Almost every state in the United States has experienced legal and institutional back-and-forth in recent years regarding the topic of driving rights. The issue may not be expressly advocated by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), but it surely surfaces in NASW publications as one of the many barriers practitioners must consider while working with immigrant groups. The inability for immigrants to drive legally, the daily fear of a racially-motivated traffic stop followed by deportation, the complex trauma of constant, pervasive fear, not only affects adults' mental health and safety, but their childrens' (Smith, 2018; Torrico, 2010).

Political Engagement in Undocumented Communities. Undocumented citizens cannot vote in US elections and for many, the risks involved with taking a vocal stance against a hurtful policy--detainment, deportation, family separation--outweigh the effects of the policy itself.

The Trump era undoubtedly brought forth anti-immigration policy and sentiment that left many immigrants in fear. There are, however, a multitude of examples of undocumented people mobilizing especially in areas where there are policies or organizations that help to protect undocumented families; from small groups protesting for cleaner air quality for their children in the South Bronx or pathways to citizenship in Connecticut, for example, to thousands of

undocumented CUNY students mobilized after CUNY stopped accepting in-state tuition (Smith, 2002). In the latter example, protesters, undocumented and allied, eventually won the right to access in-state tuition once more. This movement fed into a larger political movement for long-term undocumented people, many brought to the United States in infancy and early childhood, to obtain DACA status (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) which allows long-term undocumented people to work and apply to college as in-state students. DACA became policy in 2012, was stalled during the Trump era, and has since been reinstated by the Supreme Court (Alulema, 2019). Further, while undocumented adults cannot vote, it is possible some may believe their documented children will represent them politically.

The Underserved Black Community

Black men in particular are seven times more likely to be arrested than white men and in many ways, live life under surveillance, in a culture that perpetuates ‘Black Discipline’. (Allen & Metcalf, 2019). In New York, where the Bronx is located, Black residents have had a tumultuous history with law enforcement. A John Jay study that collected data from 2003-2018, shows that in 2018, although overall arrests were reduced in New York City, Black residents were still 5.8 times more likely than their white counterparts to experience police enforcement (2019). Years after the 2014 dispelling of the “Stop and Frisk” policy which several former police officers described as “hunting Black and Hispanic people” according to one *New York Times* article, there is a general lack of police presence when Black citizens ask for help and an abundance of over-policing for petty crimes (Goldstein & Southall, 2019). In one example, in the initial weeks of police involvement in COVID-19 distancing rules, 35 out of 40 arrests made were of Black citizens in one of Brooklyn’s poorest neighborhoods, four were of Hispanic citizens, and only one was of a white citizen (Southall, 2020). Data collected by the ACLU and

published in 2018 show that Blacks and “Black Hispanics” in Miami-Dade County are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system. Most arrests are made in the poorest neighborhoods-- many of such arrests are for drug-related “nuance crimes” which are carried out towards Black residents more than any other group (it is important to note that this research categorizes Hispanic as “White Hispanic” or “Black Hispanic”) (Peterson & Omori, 2018, p. 15).

Driving while Black. “Driving while Black” is a concept that has arisen in past years, after several highly publicized videos, exposing traffic stops of Black drivers as a context for police brutality and murder (Sandra Bland 2015, Philando Castille 2016, Kenneth Jones 2020, Rayshard Brooks 2020). The term is meant to symbolize the offense for which Black Americans are pulled over in their vehicles disproportionately to other Americans. New evidence suggests that not only is there a rising trend of documented shootings at traffic stops, (Holt, 2021) but Black men are being killed disproportionately at traffic stops (Lowry, 2015). Darius Stewart, Michael Brown, Willie McCoy are just a few names ripped from the headlines of highly publicized killings of unarmed Black men at traffic stops.

In Florida, Black drivers are often pulled over for not wearing seatbelts, an often-disputed accusation, at a rate double that of white-presenting drivers-- a rate not representative of other research on seatbelt preferences across race, suggesting that stops may be racially motivated (ACLU, 2016). Seatbelt stops are inherently subjective cases in which the officer’s word is almost always trusted. While seatbelts may function as an uncertain justification for some traffic stops, even when the case for the traffic stop is clearly provable through video evidence, the danger for Black drivers persists, as police violence is more readily documented, and many Black drivers and passengers report fearing for their lives.

Political Engagement in the Black Community. Historically, mobility within post-slave communities has been driven by social engagement, from the organization of the Underground Railroad, a sequence of escape routes from the enslaved US South to the North, to the 1960s Civil Rights movement which sought to promote voting rights and end certain legal segregation techniques, to the modern Black Lives Matter movement which aims to end systemic racism in law enforcement. While over time, social activism within the Black community for the Black community has prompted vast social movements, today it is unclear which sectors of the Black community are present at protests or are vocal in expressing their needs to policymakers; it is also unclear whether the oppressive environments in which some of the poorest Black Americans live have experienced much social change as a result (Simmons, 2013). Additionally, although tremendous voting efforts by Black voters have swayed some pivotal presidential and senatorial elections in the past decade, many biased policies, in law enforcement for example, remain untouched, and voter suppression policies targeted at Black citizens remain rampant. According to the Brennan Center for Justice, in 2021 alone, 19 states enacted 33 laws making it harder for Black citizens to vote (Waldman et al., 2021). While current suppression laws vary from state to state, virtually all directly affect the most disenfranchised Americans, including previously incarcerated people who are disproportionately Black and Brown.

Potential Health Effects of Traffic Stops Over Policing in Both Communities

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is generally caused by exposure to a traumatic event or series of events. For many, this event is witnessing a death, experiencing an injury, neglect, or an act or series of acts of physical or sexual abuse. For others, PTSD symptoms may arise after a traumatic event is experienced by a parent or a close family member. Police interaction while driving may not only affect the adult's mental health, but the health of the

children in witness. In the unique cases of detainment or brutality towards a primary family member at a traffic stop, the child left behind may experience complex trauma. Moreover, the child experiences not only the removal of the parent against his/her will, but the subsequent abandonment, self-blame, and fear for what the parent is experiencing in detention. Even when an undocumented parent is not arrested, harmed, or deported, the fear of police brutality or deportation-losing the parent indefinitely- can be debilitating for family members and children. In some cases, such prolonged stressors increase the risk of substance use disorder (Kanamori et al., 2020). Similarly, the experience of watching an adult undergo frequent police stops, mental or physical harm, bodily injury, arrest, or even death may have traumatic effects in Black communities, notably for Black children who witness the stops.

PTSD's immediate symptomatology can impede on a child's daily functioning (Dye, 2018). The child may be startled, nervous, or upset when he hears or sees a reminder of the incident; they may not be able to control their memories and fearful thoughts; and he may experience flashbacks or numbness. The child may also experience nightmares, insomnia, trouble concentrating, and cognitive impairments. The child may develop comorbid depression and anxiety disorder. Further, childhood trauma can cause life-long effects. Research suggests that early childhood trauma can affect the developing brain hence impeding on brain functioning into adulthood. Ultimately, trauma may restructure parts of the brain that control cognitive and physical abilities (2018). "Empirical evidence suggests that childhood trauma is associated with physical, mental, and emotional symptoms that can persist into adulthood" (2018, p. 381). Children who experience trauma are also more likely to develop substance use disorders in adulthood (Enoch, 2011).

Role of Social Work in Defining the Problem, Devising Solutions, and Implementing Programs

Social workers and social welfare advocates should be aware of racial profiling and immigrant-specific driving restrictions and how such restrictions gravely affect the livelihood and health of every member of an immigrant or Black family. There is also an inherent duty in the field to work toward social justice and to preserve the dignity and worth of all people, two of the core principles of social welfare (NASW, 2021).

Social workers advocate for the voiceless and support efforts of self-determination for individuals and communities. According to the NASW Code of Ethics, social workers not only work “to challenge social injustice” but to promote clients’ self-determination (NASW, 2021); hence, as advocates, we must engage in research that cultivates agency and assists policymakers in better understanding the needs and desires of the people most affected by such policy. Through research, we also have a unique opportunity to better understand factors that may lead to clients’ and communities’ needs. In the case of urban Black and Undocumented communities such as those in the Bronx and Homestead, communities for whom police presence is an abundant facet of lived experience, community members have a right to a law enforcement team that acts as civil servants for the protection and betterment of the community.

When exploring or advocating for the needs of a community, we must also ask: is communication with and by key players and community leaders alone sufficient in capturing the community perspective? As workers and researchers in our field, we must question whether local leadership aligns with a community’s voice as it is imperative that urban-based local leadership is able to represent the needs of and to advocate for the desired outcomes of the communities they serve. In situations where public servants and programs do not meet the needs

of a community, it is the duty of social scientists, advocates, and social workers specifically to work to better connect communities to the policy informed by the communities' needs and lived experiences.

Conclusion

Both low-income Black Americans and Mexican/Central Americans living without documentation have unique and often fraught relationships with policing institutions. This chapter establishes the relational context of the groups affected greatly by systemic decisions within police departments and law enforcement policy. As political efficacy may be stifled by systemic oppression, the voices of the Black adults living below the poverty line and Mexican/Central-American adults living without documentation--their desires for the future of policing-- may live in the minds or in the social-familial conversations held behind closed doors, rather than at the forefront of policy development. This study hopes to reveal those voices and explore participants' current sense of political efficacy, as it relates to one of the issues that affect them most.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The call for data on the topic of perceptions of police is not new. In the 1970s for example, researchers such as Frank Furstenberg Jr. and Charles F. Wellford called for citizen surveys in hopes of giving police officers the information, they needed to be more attuned to the needs of the communities they serve, especially poorer, Black communities (1973). While the societal shift to end police brutality and to better connect community and law enforcement is not a phenomenon linked only to recent times, it is one that has been forced to the surface of cultural issues by increased public access to police encounters, by way of technology. Research has followed this cue and has devoted effort to explore community feedback, often with purpose to inform future policy. I, too, seek to produce research that may inform future policy. I look to peer-reviewed research on perceptions of policing, both current and future-oriented, to find gaps for future study.

In an effort to survey research literature most pertinent to my line of inquiry, I collected peer-reviewed literature that utilizes feedback from lay people as tools to assess some aspect of law enforcement's relationship to the community. I focused on research that utilized the voices of the Black, Latino, or general population. I also collected research primarily carried out in the United States within the past 20 years. In searching with a variety of similar search terms on several different search platforms, relevant research collected utilized a qualitative focus and in almost every case collected data on current perceptions of policing across groups, seemingly in an effort by researchers to establish the nuance of today's grievances and support of law enforcement, rather than focusing research on participant's ideas for change. The themes that arose in relevant literature were as followed: research focusing on race and class-focused perspectives, youth-focused perspectives, domestic violence survivor feedback, existing social

work research dealing with law enforcement, and one sole article focusing more specifically on the future of policing, the most parallel with research presented in this article.

Methodology

Multiple searches were conducted in JSTOR, ProQuest, Yeshiva University Search. Search Terms utilized were "suggestions for law enforcement/ police", "police department" "future" "future of law enforcement/policing" "opinions on the future of law enforcement/policing, and perceptions of law enforcement/policing." Varying permutations of these terms were searched consistently across databases producing 15,252 relevant articles. Inclusion criteria consisted of peer-reviewed, empirical research published in English, by US-based researchers, that focused on US populations, or in one case a population of US and Canadian students, that incorporated relevant search terms, and utilized any type of research analysis of participant feedback. The 26 remaining articles were further reviewed. In the process of reviewing literature, I noticed that several British Criminology Journal articles which may have been relevant to this study had been omitted due to location of the research project. Hence, I searched parallel terms within the British Criminology Journal and, by default, the Oxford Database. Within this search, four articles were chosen for this review. Hence, altogether, 30 articles were further reviewed. Exclusion criteria then eliminated articles that were not truly focused on a US or hybrid population, and were not focused on the analysis of feedback from at least one marginalized population (Blacks, impoverished, immigrant, Latino, etc.) and/or did not cross-analyze participant feedback in any way. Research that was not published within 20 years of this search was also omitted. Upon further review, nine more articles were excluded, and 17 unique articles remained. One further article fitting both the inclusion and exclusion criteria of this search was found after a scan of research reference pages for relevant work. The total

number of articles chosen for this review, and hence fitting the parameters of inclusion and exclusion criteria above, is 18. This search is depicted in Appendix A.

Race and Class-Focused Perspectives

The bulk of articles, eight in all, that met the guidelines for review focused on how racial differences may affect perceptions of police. Some delved deeper, analyzing differences between racial and gender groups as well as cultural and class groups, while others added a level of inquiry by studying the factors that may drive perceptions within groups.

A 2000 study utilized interview (169 participants) and census data to show that the intersection of race and class may shape the experiences that lead to how people view the police (Weitzer, 2000). Participants were asked comparative and open-ended questions. “Responses to the open-ended questions were essential for understanding the logic and nuances informing subjects' answers on this item” (2000, p 134). Using multivariate analysis, this research suggests that both Black and white residents in middle-class neighborhoods experience less police violence than the residents of poor Black neighborhoods. Racial differences within the class context are shown in perceptions of police brutality outside one’s own neighborhood. In a more robust study spanning over two years, Weitzer et al (2008) conducted 4636 interviews using a random-digit-dial computer-assisted telephone interview platform. In this article, the dependent variable was coded through answers to the simple questions regarding participants’ perceptions of police misconduct (2008): what is the problem and how big is the problem? Participants’ responses included, “stopping too many people on the streets without good reason,” “being too tough on people they stop,” and “being verbally or physically abusive to people” (p. 12). Participants were given three choices for response, “big problem”, “some problem” or “no problem at all” (p.12). Participants who responded to all target themes had the highest internal

consistency. Authors created an index to include participants who responded to only two issues. Participant feedback was analyzed across demographics such as age, gender, education level, marital status, number of children and, of course, race (however, tools used to capture demographics left the Latinx community highly underrepresented). Overall, Blacks are more likely to report the experience of police misconduct than whites, but within both racial groups, perceived neighborhood disorder correlated with higher perceptions of police misconduct (Weitzer et al., 2008).

Further, another relevant study shows laymen may believe that arrests are generally more substantiated if the arrested person is white, and that calls to police in general are also more justified when made by whites and males rather than Blacks and women (Pica et al., 2020). In part one of this study, 137 participants were asked to read an incident summary where two individuals were asked to leave a local coffee establishment; the police were called, and the individuals were arrested- the individuals varied between white and Black as well as male and female. In a second leg of the study, 316 participants were asked to view the same scene, this time with variation in the race and gender of the person calling the police. In both studies, participants were invited to participate from a pool of undergraduate students attending a university in Ontario. The white population composed the majority of participants, with a much smaller proportion of people who identified as Asian and very small proportions of people who identified as Indigenous or Latino/a. The Black population was only 7.3 % in the first study and 11.7% in the second. Surely, there were limitations to this study, as the population of “laymen” studied was representative of a specific demographic cohort of predominantly white undergraduate students. However, even within the utilization of this limited sample, results are

valuable as they may reveal trends in thinking in white college-educated communities, which often vote more regularly and hold more socio-economic capital in the United States.

Furthermore, relevant literature suggests that the lawfulness of a police encounter is less of a factor informing future police perceptions than the police conduct during the encounter itself (Meares et al., 2015). A 2015 study drawn from a sample of 136 participants, 18-and-older, who were randomly chosen from a data set in 15 major US cities and asked to view different types of police encounters, suggests that police policy should better reflect people's feedback rather than standard lawfulness (2015). "Constitutional law, as it is currently composed, does not emphasize the importance of quality of police treatment and does not discuss impact upon dignity, identity, or status" (2015, p. 336). While these data move in the direction of linking feedback to policy, they still do not provide clear public recommendations for the future of policing. One focus group study, however, did include direct questions about bettering Black community members' relationships with police (Brooks et al., 2016). Among other findings, researchers gather from participants a desire for police to endure more rigorous multicultural training in order to see black men beyond "a threat" and for police to undergo more extensive character background assessments at hiring (2016).

Recent research over the last 20 years looks into the ways in which different ethnicities view police, what factors may fuel those perceptions, and possibilities for better police-civilian relationships, albeit often deduced by data rather than spoken directly to study participants. Some look into cultural intersections beyond race alone (Salvatore et al., 2013; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Wu, 2014). Researchers Schuck and Rosenbaum, for example, explore, among several hypotheses, whether it is more telling to look at attitudes towards police in a two-dimensional model--a global model and a neighborhood model-- and if personal experience with police is a

greater factor for attitudes towards police within different groups (2005). For both Latinos and Blacks, neighborhood and global perceptions were more closely connected than for whites. In general, positive experiences with police officers were a greater factor when experienced within one's own neighborhood.

A comprehensive telephone interview study conducted on 4904 households in Seattle in 2002 and early 2003 focused on not only race, but ethnicity (further distinguished by US-born and foreign-born categories), income, visibility of police in the neighborhood, and fear of crime, to evaluate perceptions of police (Wu, 2014). Interestingly, results still show a racial hierarchy in perception of police harassment and racial profiling. Research acknowledged the marginalization that encompasses the African-American experience in relation to law enforcement and in general (p.153). Also noteworthy is that younger people may trust the police less in general. Moreover, police visibility in neighborhoods can correlate with more positive perceptions of police, but neighborhood disorder, and even more so, codes of violence seem to correlate with an increase in negative police perception. While this research adds dimensions to previous lines of research on perceptions of policing, with the inclusion of "ethnicities", and even finds that foreign-born immigrants may have higher perceptions of police (2014), there is no delineation of documented and undocumented citizens; instead, there is a lumping together of Latino/Hispanic and Asian ethnicities which leaves out the vast differences in countries of origin and often related cultural capital.

Youth-Focused Perspectives

Youth perception of law enforcement was a major focus of researchers. Altogether, six articles, fitting the criteria of this search, looked at young populations more closely. One extensive study surveyed 630 households in high crime neighborhoods of Philadelphia, and

found that among other factors, such as higher levels of education, “perceiving higher procedural injustice or higher social disorder or being more fearful of crime”, and younger age led to more dissatisfaction with the police (Haberman et al., 2016). Several other research articles focused on a demographic intersection that involved youth and young adults. One 2010 study by Gau and Brunson focused on how aggressive police policies, such as Stop and Frisk, may affect young Black males’ perception of “procedural justice and police legitimacy” (2010, p. 262). Surveys and interviews of 45 male adolescents aged 13-19 (mean age 16) in St. Louis Missouri were pulled from data that had been collected as part of a broader 2005 study. Gau and Brunson’s findings showed that participants, many of whom had experienced police intervention in the past, felt their neighborhoods were “besieged” by law enforcement, and they expressed feelings of injustice around experiences of being stopped while engaging in nothing illegal (2010, p. 266). A similar study turns a focus to Afro-Caribbean youth’s perceptions of involuntary police encounters (Solis et al., 2009). Utilizing a “LatCrit” (Latino Critical Race Theory) perspective, Solis et al. find that youth interviewed for the study found meaningful intersections dealing with immigration status, culture, and language- all factors of their perceived treatment by police and the outcome of those interactions (Solis et al., p. 48, 2009). The authors went on to generalize the urgency of acknowledging youth experiences, pointing out a message that is resounding in most literature found in this review; minority groups feel repressed and unjustly surveilled. Authors note that the voices of young people must be credited as more than voices of “potential criminals” and they go on to suggest that law enforcement agencies should consider taking more active steps towards a model that supports citizens with common “daily” challenges (p. 50).

The 2020 study further emphasizes the role that early interactions with police can play in attitudes towards police through adulthood (Harris & Jones, 2020). Focusing on children

participating in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing (FFCW) longitudinal study throughout 20 US cities (2020), and factoring in perceived lack of safety of neighborhood, crime victimhood, parents' interactions with police, and youth delinquency, researchers suggest similar findings to aforementioned data. They not only suggest that direct police stops affect future attitudes towards police, but add the effects of vicarious police activity on youth. Further, while negative interactions, direct and vicarious, often propagate negative perceptions of police, the nature of personal experience with law enforcement is powerful in that it may also sway a person's opinion of police in a positive direction (2020, p. 7). Other research supports the effects that negative interactions with police have on youth (Weitzer, 2008). And persistent in youth studies found for this review, Black-presenting males are more likely to witness and experience police misconduct than other cohorts (Gau & Brunson, 2002; Weitzer, 2008).

The concepts of over and under policing are prevalent in research (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Research on perceptions of policing shows that youth's perceptions of police are lowered by interactions perceived as unjustified and aggressive, such as stop and frisk (Gau & Brunson, 2002; Weitzer, 2008). Here, a general sentiment persists; the police are absent when citizens really need them. It is, however, unclear within the research presented, if research participants from high crime communities do call the police to no avail, or if they choose not to, and if so, are there more specific barriers beyond general lack of trust, that stand in the way of calling. Additionally, data focusing on youth that are included in this review fail to document in detail the police behaviors preferred by youth, more specifically minority youth from high crime communities.

Future-Oriented Research

The voices of domestic violence survivors resounded in the limited research exploring future-oriented perceptions of police interaction (Corcoran, 2001; Johnson, 2007). While intimate partner violence occurs throughout socioeconomic strata, authors have noted its prevalence in vulnerable communities, including undocumented communities (Bent-Goodley, 2013; Carlin & Philips, 2009). In the most recent of two studies that surfaces in this search, a random sample of 50 women who had made domestic violence calls to the police (of whom about half were African-American), the factors that correlated with women's willingness to call the police again were trust in the police officers' interest in the callers' situation as perceived by the caller. Additionally, the author notes the significance of how the survivors of domestic violence view the quality of work provided by police officers at the scene (Johnson, 2007, p. 507). The author also calls for more interdisciplinary response to domestic violence calls to the police (p. 508). This research gives insight as to what institutional changes might be made to better serve people in domestic violence situations.

Future-oriented research using participant feedback as data proved sparse throughout databases. The effort to include research based in citizen opinion on the future of policing and focused on the broad categories of abolishment, reformation, or status quo of the police force produced only one article. This article, which explored support for police militarization, is included in this review, as it is the sole article truly focused on suggestions for the future of policing. With a random national sample of 700 American adults and the utilization of structural equation modeling, researchers were able to assess public allowance towards a transition of policing style in which police wear uniforms more like the military's, behave more like civilians expect military officers to behave, and carry military equipment (Moule et al., 2019). While the

research did not explore more than one possible future of policing, it did stand out as future-oriented research.

Social Work Literature

To capture how the social work discipline has explored the intersection of law enforcement and social work; hence, a separate search was conducted in the Social Work Abstracts Database for various iterations of the search terms, “Social workers” and “police”. This search produced 67 articles. Inclusion criteria consisted of peer-reviewed literature published in English, focused on US populations over the past 20 years, in an effort to scan US-based, current literature, focused on analysis of participant feedback, using any research format. After articles were reviewed, 50 were eliminated and 17 fit into the inclusion parameters. Excluded were articles that upon further review, did not explore policing in the context of social work, did not focus on US populations. Selected material was further reduced by 15 articles. Ultimately, this secondary search produced two articles, which increased the overall collection of articles for this literature review to 20 peer-reviewed articles.

There is little existing peer-reviewed social work research dealing with the intersection of law enforcement and social work published within the last 20 years. In taking a look at the handful of research articles in the social work field, a thin line of research exists in the area of social worker-police collaboration focusing on response to intimate partner violence. Interventions for domestic violence was a main theme of collaborative work between police officers and social workers. One article exemplified this theme by the attitudes of 219 police officers towards collaborative domestic violence crisis teams consisting of social workers and trained volunteers (Corcoran et al., 2001). In case reviews, social service teams consoled children, assisted “victims” with next referrals, and even continued to work with families in next

steps after the date of the incident. In some cases, the service team was able to collect more vital information needed by law enforcement than the officers themselves. The majority of officers found the teams to be helpful in the field. Moreover, researchers added that of the officers surveyed (not all of whom had been able to utilize the social service team), “70 (32%) said the team could be available more hours, 42 (19%) said the team should handle calls other than domestic violence, and 47 (22%) said the team should provide continuing education to officers” (2001, p. 397).

A 2017 project also examines how the collaboration between law enforcement teams and social workers affects the policing of intimate partner violence (Ward-Lasher et al., 2017). While this work focuses too on the police officers’ perspectives rather than the survivors’ or social workers’, it does give insight into the effectiveness of the collaborative effort with social workers. This survey study accounted for differences in rank and number of IPV calls received to date by collecting data at the same Arizona police precinct four years apart. Ultimately the study showed that police feel the inclusion of social workers on teams allows for them “to focus on the perpetrator” while the social worker assesses the needs of the survivor (p. 215). Interdisciplinary training may magnify positive results of collaborative efforts, as risk assessment tools show that police officers may benefit from “education on risk factors for homicide, the importance of assessing risk, coercive control, and myths about DV” (p. 215) all current points of knowledge within the social work profession.

Conclusion

Prominent in literature is research that compares current perceptions of policing by different demographic groups. Indeed, much literature identified for this review utilized feedback on participants’ perception of policing, collected through a variety of interview

techniques as a dependent variable, and utilized demographic information (predominantly gender, age, race) and class (denoted by neighborhood of residence) as an independent variable. While several articles utilized previously collected quantitative data, all focused on a qualitative or mixed-methods approach. The research question most frequently asked in the most simplistic terms was, “Who thinks what about the current state of policing, or about a certain police issue?” A small proportion of reviewed research included the question, “Why?” By coding participant data and running various cross-tabulations, authors suggested relationships between demographic information and opinions shared. No article identified for this review on the topic of policing distinctly asked a population what they would like to see from their police department in the future and analyzed that data. No literature looked to the people affected most by police presence, people most vulnerable to police misconduct, to ask, “What do you think should come next?” While current literature informs my research methodology, thematically, it serves as a foundation for further research that looks clearly at the needs and wants of two communities extremely vulnerable to the effects of police presence in their communities and police intervention in general. No literature found in this author’s search clearly identifies an undocumented population of any kind, and no literature intends to call for a more accurate representation of the voices and hopes of the future by low-income Black and undocumented Mexican and Central Americans. There is no connection to how one’s locus of control in an underrepresented community may affect their position. And, within the exhaustive search executed for this review, there is no further connection by researchers to how accurately the desires of constituents are represented by their local government officials.

After an exhaustive review of literature, zero articles in the search criteria above were published in journals that explore the social work discipline specifically; hence, I was led to

inquire briefly, “How does Social Work research, specifically, explore the intersection of social work and law enforcement?” In order to explore how the Social Work discipline has researched the intersection of law enforcement and social work, a separate search was conducted in the Social Work Abstracts Database for various iterations of the search terms, “Social workers” and “police”. While there exists general literature published in social work journals, there is little existing peer-reviewed social work research dealing with the intersection of law enforcement and social work published within the last 20 years. After several filters parallel to primary searches, only two articles were found, both focusing on perspectives of police officers toward collaboration with social workers (Corcoran, 2001; Ward-Lasher et al., 2017).

While I sought to collect research that focused on communities’ desired outcomes for the future of law enforcement, most research focused on current perceptions of policing; hence, I instead uncovered a dearth in research focusing on the future of policing. While researchers frequently assert possible police-community collaborations and calls for further research, collected literature focused on current perceptions of police officers rather than ideas for improvement or any type of amendment from participants themselves. While the research collected is valuable in assessing the future of policing, those assessments are more likely translated and deduced by the articles’ authors rather than asked directly to participants.

Throughout this search for relevant literature, I look specifically for research that asks from its participants their suggestions for the future of local policing. Because so little research asks these questions about the future outright, I look to research that identifies and analyzes perceptions of policing, with intentions to inform policy around police tactics. Ultimately, there exists a clear dearth in future-oriented research regarding policing and utilizing data from two extremely vulnerable groups, low-income Blacks and undocumented Mexican and Central-

American residents. The dearth expands to research further relating perceptions of control with desires for future policing, as well as the accuracy of representations of those desires by local government officials. This dearth in recent literature has informed my research to include a mixed-methods approach that explores desired outcomes as perceived by low-income Blacks and undocumented Mexican and Central-American residents, as well as how participants' ideas and desires for the future of policing may relate to their own perceived political efficacy and the accuracy with which their desires and ideas are represented by current community leaders.

Figure 1

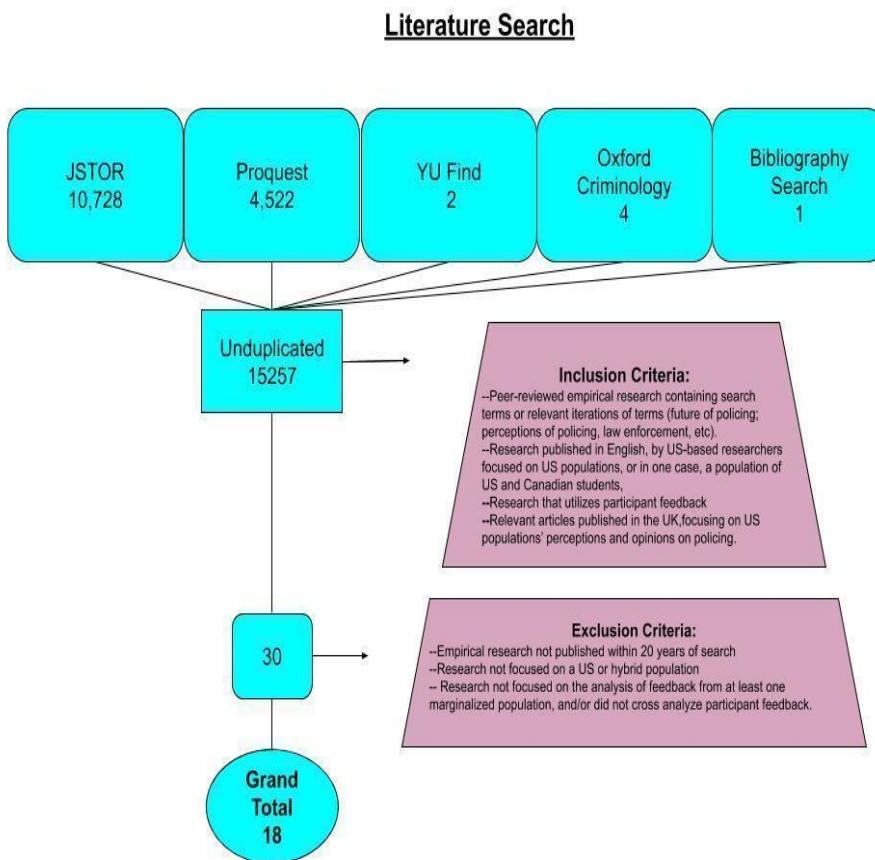
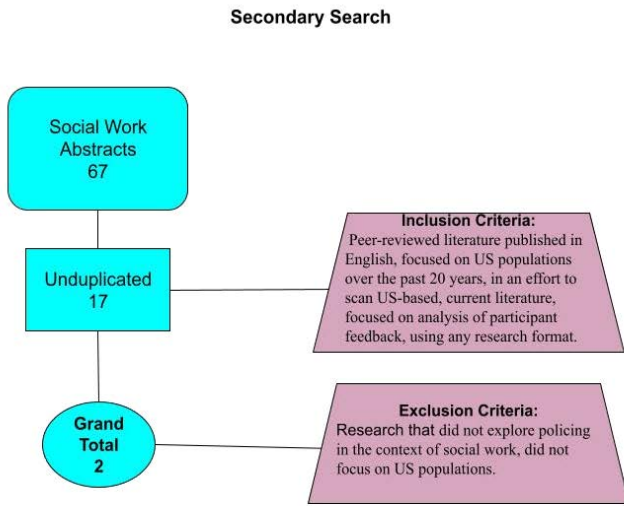


Figure 2



CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Three main theories guide this research: Empowerment/Advocacy, Political Efficacy, and Critical Race Theory. As well, a collection of sociological sub theories- Groups Position Theory, Social Exchange Theory, and Social Cognitive Theory- create the foundation for this research. Such theories maintain that participants' relationships with their peers as well as with social institutions in power help to create lenses through which participants look at their worlds and at the power they hold to change their worlds.

Empowerment/Advocacy Theory

Empowerment/Advocacy Theory is a primary guide for this study. It is the framework from which this research is carried out. Authors Stephen Rose and Bruce L. Black begin their 1985 work *Advocacy and Empowerment: Mental Health Care in the Community* by noting a key contradiction within the social work profession: Social work agencies are often funded by the same systems that oppress clients (1985, p. 41). As social workers, and social work researchers our work is not limited to direct practice within the confines of agency-driven bottom lines. Problem-solving interventions alone do not facilitate the exploration and understanding of how certain daily life patterns have come to be for the client. "Empowerment comes through essential dialogue in which the client is the expert, the teacher of his own experience, and further, the client is a process of dialogue through which the client is continuously supported to produce the range of possibility that she/he sees appropriate to his/her needs" (Rose & Black, 1985, p. 49). This process of dialogue, rooted in a client's history and a client's imagination of possible futures, as authors note, is markedly different from that by which clients are asked to choose between a prescribed 'list of services' (p. 49). Rose points out in his 1990 work on advocacy and empowerment through direct practice, that it is through exploration of a client's

experiences that a therapist may support social growth and empowerment. This process may at first seem uncommon to a client who has been to therapy in the past, because it is a unique process.

In a meta-analysis of 268 scholarly narratives of policy change that have taken place since 1945, authors note the insignificance of public opinion in the formation or change of public policy (Korstanje, 2016). The study presented in this paper is dedicated to empowerment through dialogue. Even though this study is a collection of data rather than an intervention, it is nonetheless grounded in the theory that support and advocacy are accomplished through exploration not only of the participant, but WITH the participant, guided by the participant. While much research has identified individuals' attitudes towards police, the research presented in this study is rooted in the second phase of Rose's and Black's process, the asking of the participant to use expertise of self and community to offer possibilities of future policing based on her/his knowledge of self and community.

Political Efficacy

One's belief in his own personal ability to affect change is affected by one's social environment; it is one molded by the systems in which the client lives. Political Efficacy is described by theorists and researchers Campbell, Gurin, and Mille as "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process" (Campbell et al. 1954). It is the sense that one's opinions and desires have value in the political arena and may bring about political change (Bolsh, 1974; Campbell et al., 1954). A concept born in the field of political science, political efficacy is tied to several tenants of social work, specifically the duties to uphold a client's right to self-determination and to advocate for systems that allow for our clients' voices to be heard, and, hence, must not be ignored in the field of social work.

Additionally, this research is guided by a cluster of sub-theories that support understanding of how people form their opinions on groups and institutions.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory holds great importance as it applies to this study and social work research in general. “Critical Theory perspectives are concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class, and gender” (Fay, 1987). Researchers of Social Welfare must acknowledge their own power, engage in dialogues, and use theory to interpret and illuminate social action (Creswell & Poth, 2018, Madison, 2011). Researchers must acknowledge that participants’ experiences, their identities, the treatment they receive, is affected by their racial presentation.

Relevant Sociological Theory

Cultural Orientation is essential in recognizing the idea that lack of understanding between groups, and in this case, between groups and an institution, is a significant factor of social unrest. Yet Cultural Orientation Theory alone is insufficient in providing a thorough framework for research, because, as the Cultural Orientation Paradigm suggests (Marsiglia & Kulis, 2009), parties may fail to recognize historical socio-economic oppressions that have likely led to some cultural perspectives. Authors Weitzer and Tuch of George Washington University use Groups Position Theory (A variant of conflict theory) to analyze the minority relationships with institutions (2005). In this work, Groups Position theory is a lens through which authors view the relationship, not between two ethnic groups, as is the convention, but between different groups and the institution of law enforcement. Authors argue that, especially in divided societies, dominant groups often view the police as allies (2005, p. 1011). Adults studied in metropolitan areas were more likely to believe Blacks and Hispanics were treated worse than

whites if they were Black or Hispanic. Similar disparities were perceived about police treatment in neighborhoods heavily populated by Blacks and Hispanics. Using Groups Positioning Theory guides authors to theorize that majority populations may hold stronger belief in status quo, while minority populations develop beliefs more dependent on real-life encounters, direct or vicarious. Such concepts direct the author of this research to better understand how outside perceptions of marginalized groups may affect their experience with law enforcement.

Social Exchange Theory (Cook et al., 2014) first proposed by George Casper Homans in 1958 asks researchers and practitioners to value the effects of experiences and relationships with organizations on the individual. In line with this theory, the author of this study must recognize that participant opinions on the future of policing are likely rooted in the interactions they and their community members have had with law enforcement, both recently and historically. Social Cognitive theory (Schunk & DiBenedetto, 2020), too, helps the author in painting a fuller picture of how experiences affect personal efficacy and belief in change. “A sense of personal efficacy is the foundation of human agency” (Benight & Bandura, 2004). These theories orient the researcher by acknowledging the connections between social experiences and both personal and interpersonal perceptions, thoughts, and opinions. It is in this hybrid theoretical basis that one may better understand the collective soil from which individual opinions on the future of policing have grown and the relationship between one’s ideas and the personal authority over those ideas. More generally, these theories drive inquiry into how we form trust and how we form our views on interpersonal interactions.

It is through the theoretical foundation of this collection of social-oriented theories, Groups Position Theory, Social Exchange Theory and Social Cognitive Theory, that the researcher may find connections between participants’ life experiences, social relationships,

attitudes towards institutions in power, and belief in their own personal power to make changes.

Furthermore, the theories that guide this project's research design and practice are

Advocacy/Empowerment Theory, Political Efficacy, and Critical Race Theory.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This transformative study will examine desired outcomes for the future of law enforcement from subsets of two of the most vulnerable and underserved communities in the United States: the low-income Black community and the undocumented Mexican and Central American community. Data from subsets of these two communities will be collected in two locations, one where driving is essential as transport, and one where it is not. Last, this study will also utilize a short political efficacy measure in order to explore possible relationships between demographic/location groups, participant responses to interviews, and participant belief in political influence.

The specific aims of this study are to give a medium to voices often unheard, even in times of social protest, and to examine how demographics of participants, location of participants, and perceived political efficacy may factor into these voices. Further, this study seeks to identify connections between feelings of political efficacy and suggestions for policy change in local policing.

Research Questions:

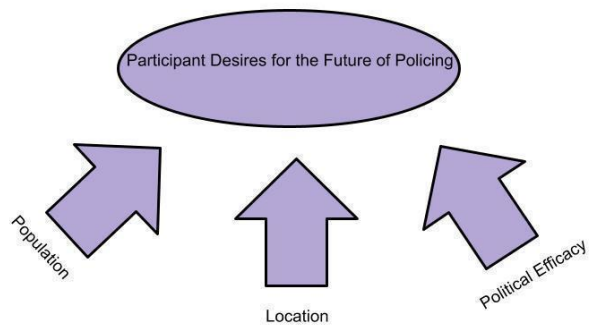
While much research focuses on perceptions of policing in urban and impoverished neighborhoods, very little approaches community members' suggestions for the future of policing. The research presented in this study will bring forth the following questions:

How do participant location and background affect attitudes towards the future of local policing?

How do participant suggestions for the future of policing relate to participants' perceived political efficacy?

Figure 3

Research Questions Visualized

**Sub-Questions:**

The following sub-questions, too, relate to the specific groups participating in this study, low-income Black community and the undocumented Mexican and Central American community members in conservative-led, driving-dependent Homestead, Florida and in more politically progressive, public transport- dependent Bronx, NY.

1. Is there a relationship between car dependency of location and participant suggestions for the future of local policing?
2. Is there a relationship between the political environment of location and participant responses?
3. Is there a relationship between participant demographics and participants' perceived political efficacy?

The following chart is relevant to the use of a quantitative scale:

Commented [SRL1]: This is typically in the methodology chapter

Figure 4

Independent Variables	Data Type	Dependent Variables	Data Type
Ethnographic Group (Low-Income Black or Undocumented Mexican/Central American) Documented Status, Ethnic Identification,	Categorical Nominal	Suggestions for future of local policing: Political Efficacy Assessment Result	Categorical Nominal; Ordinal and Categorical
Location-(Driving -dependent Homestead, FL vs non-dependent on driving Bronx, NY) ('conservative' political systems/leadership-Homestead, Fl vs supportive political systems/leadership-Bronx, NY)	Categorical Nominal	Suggestions for Future of Local Policing: Political Efficacy Assessment Result	Categorical Nominal; Ordinal and Categorical
Age, Gender, Parental Status.	Ordinal/ Discrete and Categorical Nominal	Suggestions for Future of Local Policing; Political Efficacy Assessment Result	Categorical Nominal; Ordinal and Categorical

The author has chosen to explore relationships in above quantitative data sets based on several key hypotheses:

H1. When location and other demographics are controlled, there is a relationship between participant ethnographic identification and participant suggestions for the future of local policing.

H2: When demographic variables are controlled, there is a relationship between location (car-dependent vs. not), Homestead, FL and the Bronx, NY and participant suggestions for the future of policing; suggestions may focus on interactions with traffic police.

H3. When demographic variables are controlled, there is a positive relationship between the political environment of location and participant suggestions for the future of policing.

H4. When demographic variables are controlled, the political environment of location negatively corresponds to participants' perceived political efficacy scores.

H5: When other demographic variables are controlled, a correlation exists between political efficacy score and suggestions for the future of policing, as participants with higher efficacy may offer more suggestions for change.

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study examined recommendations for the future of law enforcement from subsets of two of the most vulnerable and underserved communities in the United States, low-income Black and Central-American/Mexican immigrants living without documentation. Low-income is defined by 185% of the Federal poverty threshold for a 2-person household, \$32,227 (U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, 2022), and the Federal limit for citizens who receive certain Federal subsidies such as WIC. Black or Mexican/ Central-American identity is defined by participants through self-reporting. The study focused on two populations in two locations; Homestead, FL, a city that requires driving as transport, and the Bronx, NY, where public transportation is readily available. The data from these groups were compared. The study also incorporated a brief measure of participants' perceived political efficacy, using the American National Election Studies (ANES) Political Efficacy Short Scale, the newest translation from German to English of the Political Efficacy Short Scale (Groskurth et al., 2021) as well as a Spanish version translated by Mauricio Espinoza from University of Cincinnati. The study utilized this brief measure of the participants' perceived political efficacy in order to explore possible connections between interview responses and perceived efficacy. The concept of internal and external motivation is rooted in Rotter's internal and external Locus of Control theory, yet is targeted to assess political efficacy in individuals, exploring both internal ideas of the power one has over political change and the external relationship one has with the political environment (2021). Originally developed by German social scientists as an adaption of the 1952 political efficacy scale created by the American National Election Studies (ANES), this shorter measurement tool was chosen because it is concise, easily translatable to Spanish, and has been shown integrity in a variety of populations (2021).

The mixed-methods research presented here is a concurrent, triangulation design in a transformative framework. Participants were invited to fill out a 5-question demographic questionnaire, a 4-question perceived political efficacy survey (2021) (read aloud to participant upon request), and a brief 2-question interview, consisting of one main interview question, and followed by a second, open-ended explanation of the first question, which provided this study the richness of qualitative data.

Transformative Studies are inherently rooted in purpose, in an aim to further social and political justice (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). In this case, research is focused on citizen recommendations for future policy. Utilizing a concurrent triangulation design process (2011, p. 70), a qualitative perspective was included to better exemplify quantitative data by cross referencing interview responses with political efficacy assessments, location and other demographic data. Qualitative data is utilized to give readers the opportunity to read the participant-articulated visions for the future of local policing. The interview data was then coded using open, axial, and selective coding (Friese, 2019). The data was gathered by the use of purposive sampling (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011).

Data and Subjects

Table 1

Population Sample Chart

	Low-income Black Community Members	Undocumented Central American/Mexican Community Members
Residents of driving areas (or “drivers”)	18 (Homestead)	23 (Homestead)
Residents of non-driving areas (or “non-drivers”)	15 (Bronx)	16 (Bronx)

The target population of this study was to interview 60 adult participants with at least 15 in each descriptive category shown in Table 1, representing participants from low-income Black and the Mexican/Central-American community living without documentation. Participants were also recruited from two different locations, a driving-dependent and non-driving-dependent location, as such opinions on changes to policing systems may be affected by interactions with police officers while driving or as passengers in non-public vehicles.

While the study was presumed to focus on Undocumented populations from Central America and Mexico, five participants from Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela were included in the study as they reported to be undocumented and lived in the same communities as the other participants living without documentation. These participants likely

In order to group low income-Black community members, outreach for participation was conducted in low-income housing communities identified for this study in the Bronx, NY and Homestead, FL. In both locations, the majority of housing residents identified as Black or African American. Participants living in low-income housing in the Bronx and in Homestead who did not identify as Black or Black and another identity were omitted from the study. Those who were staying with a friend or family member, and reported working legally for a salary that exceeded the poverty threshold, were also removed from the data. In this case, one participant temporarily living in Bronx housing reported “on the books” jobs with a salary above the range. He reported he was staying temporarily with a family member and not a registered resident of the community, thus his data was not included in the study.

Lastly, in all locations, people under 18 were not eligible for the study.

Location 1: Bronx, New York (Non-Driving/ Progressive Political Leadership)

Participants representing Bronx's low-income Black community were recruited from the Mitchell Housing Development in the South Bronx. The Mitchell Housing Development is a building operated by the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA). NYCHA provides subsidized housing to documented New Yorkers who are within the low-income sector. According to the NYCHA 2020 Fact Sheet, NYCHA residents' average household income is \$25,602 (2020). Mitchell Housing shares a South Bronx neighborhood with one of NYC's most prominent undocumented Mexican Communities- Mott Haven. The interviewer was stationed outside the local church and community center- St Jerome, before and after Spanish mass, in order to recruit 15 participants from the Mott Haven undocumented community. This is also a main hub for local, Mexican-owned commerce and other meeting centers frequented by Mexican and Central American community members.

Location 2: Homestead, Florida (Driving/Conservative Political Leadership)

Participants representing Homestead's Black, low-income community were recruited through two Homestead subsidized housing complexes managed by the Homestead Gardens office of Miami-Dade County Public Housing and Community Development. According to the Homestead Public Housing Website on the US Low Income Housing website (n.d.), the average Homestead Public Housing resident pays \$700 in rent a month; in the Homestead Gardens Complex where 30% of income must go to paid rent, the average yearly income is then \$28,000. The participants representing the sample of Mexican and Central-American participants living without documentation were accessed through a community program based in Homestead, the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, and a Homestead location frequented by day-laborers.

Procedures

In order to carry out mixed-methods concurrent, triangulation research in a transformative framework, research that is oriented in social justice and the need for social change, the researcher must display nuanced cultural sensitivity and accessibility. In this effort, signage promoting the interview was placed throughout the targeted communities in the days prior to interviews. Each interviewee was given a \$10 target gift card for their time after completing the interview. The interviews took approximately 15 minutes. Interviews were conducted in Spanish for participants who chose Spanish as an interview language. According to Creswell and Poth (2018), research challenges include a lack of examples in current literature that utilizes mixed-method design. Even more critical of a challenge, the researcher must develop rapport and, ultimately, trust with the participants (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 99). All participants were given a document stating the purpose of the interview, a promise of confidentiality, and the right to stop the interview at any time. Participants only provided their initials to the document, and kept a copy of the document for themselves, before proceeding with the interview. The document was provided in English or Spanish depending on the request of the participant. To ensure participants' safety and comfort in the research process, participants were not asked to share their full names on any document.

Gaining trust in any community is an essential part of a process that includes participants in transformative research. Undocumented participants who are fearful of government entities and participants who have experienced police brutality may be particularly fearful of sharing information or viewpoints until they are trusting of the researchers' intentions. In this case, the interviewer visited areas where she had created and maintained a partnership with community leaders. Aside from the language provided on the research information sheet, the researcher

included spoken language to assuage fears of any connection to government entities or the police force on her part. The researcher visited research sites for several-hour periods and for multiple days so that participants could take the time they needed to develop trust in the process and so that she was onsite to answer questions about the research if they should arise.

Demographic Information

Data was grouped by driving and non-driving location as well as Black and Mexican/Central American Undocumented-- because of the inclusion criteria, all participants were known to be low-income.

All interested participants were asked for demographic information including, cultural/racial identity (Asian, African-American, Black-American, Central-American, Mexican, Other Latino, White or Other (write-in)), gender identity (male, female, other), parental status (Yes or No), Age (write-in), income (below or above \$32,227 annually with an option to write in weekly income, or unsure).

The study did not ask for participants' documentation status. However comfortable the rapport between researcher and participant, in a political environment such as that which undocumented Americans find themselves, a participant who is undocumented may feel threatened or differentiated by a direct question about documentation status. Instead, the researcher was able to assume documentation status (either that participant is undocumented or that the participant lives in a mixed-legal status household) by pulling participants from community programs that work specifically with undocumented families or locations that employ undocumented workers.

Interview

In addition to the collection of demographic information survey (see Appendix C), participants were asked one main interview question and one open-ended follow-up question in a face-to face interview format.

The main interview question asked was: “Do you think your local police department should be eliminated, stay the same, or change?” If respondents answered "eliminated," they were asked if they envision any type of replacement system, and that qualitative information was recorded. If respondents answered "same," they were asked for the reasons for the answer. If respondents answered "change," they were asked, “How would you like the department to change?” or “What changes would you like to see?” All qualitative answers were recorded and transcribed.

Political Efficacy Measure

Lastly, this study explored political efficacy as a potential factor in participant desires for the future of policing. Participants were asked four questions from the newest translation from German to English of the Political Efficacy Short Scale (Groskurth et al., 2021) as well as a Spanish version translated by Mauricio Espinoza from the University of Cincinnati. The Political Efficacy Short Scale and the translation may be found in Appendix E.

Participants were given the choice to fill out the brief political efficacy questionnaire at the interview table, or to have it administered to them.

Data Analysis

The qualitative research presented in this study is explanatory in nature, as it delves into participant suggestions to uncover potential themes, trends, and relationships. Although the parts of this study are independent from each other, they were administered concurrently and they

ultimately address the same general subject area and potentially contribute to overall findings. In that way, results are considered to be collected through a concurrent triangulation process (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). All interview responses were coded; (0) desires to eliminate policing, (1) desires no change to policing system, (2) desires change to policing system. As well, corresponding qualitative interview responses were categorized and coded. Political efficacy scores were tallied. And additional demographic information was coded. STATA Statistical Software was used to analyze data. Ordinal logistic regression was utilized for ordinal data. The exploratory statistical test, Chi Squared regression, was utilized to compare categorical data as well as to surface potential relationships and trends within the data. Further, Chi Square tests were used to explore trends in the potential relationship between political efficacy scores and participant demographics, location groups, and interview data. Data from interview questions were coded using open, axial and selective coding. Common themes were deduced from interview questions and further categorized. Data was compared within location groups and demographic groups.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS

The population for this study represented four groups; low-income Black/African-American adults living in subsidized housing in the Bronx, New York, low-income Black/African American adults living in Homestead, Fl, Mexican and Central-Americans living without documentation in the Bronx, NY, and Mexican and Central-Americans living without documentation in Homestead, Fl. The final sample size ($N = 72$) was made up of participants from two demographic groups in two locations, four distinct groups, who fit the inclusion criteria for this study. Population demographics are portrayed in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Participant Demographic Information

	Low-income Black Community Members	Undocumented Central American/Mexican Community Members
Residents of driving areas (or “drivers”)	n=15 (Homestead) N=18 Gender 1.6 Parent .77 Age 42.11	n=15 (Homestead) N=23 Gender 1.47 Parent .96 Age 47 (biggest range)
Residents of non- driving areas (or “non-drivers”)	n=15 (Bronx) N=15 Gender 1.46 Parent 1 Age 41.26	n=15 (Bronx) N=16 Gender 1.56 Parent .875 Age 42.13

Table 3*Participant Demographic Information Continued*

	Population Size	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	72	43.72	14.56	18	80
Gender	72	1.53	.50	1	2
Parent	72	.90	.30	0	1

Quantitative Results**Data Analysis**

STATA 17 was used to analyze data from the sample (StataCorp, 2021). Descriptive and bivariate analyses were conducted. Stata 17 was used to estimate ordinal logistic regression models and to calculate odds ratios (Long & Freese, 2014). Chi-square models were estimated to test the independence of recommendations for the future of policing and non-continuous variables such as documentation status, gender, cultural identity, location, parental status.

Additionally, multinomial logistic regression was used to further examine any differences comparing recommendations for the future of policing and perceived political efficacy scores, as well as age, when controlling for all other demographic variables. Basic Linear Regression was then used to analyze the possible effect of independent demographic variables on perceived political efficacy scores.

Lastly, Chi-square, multinomial logistic regression, and linear regression models were assessed and estimated to ensure no multicollinearity existed amongst predictors and proportional odds emerged from the models as assumed.

Research Question 1

The first question asked, “How do participant location and background affect recommendations towards the future of local policing?”

The hypotheses offered by the researcher were:

H1. When location and other demographics are controlled, there is a relationship between participant ethnographic identification and participant suggestions for the future of local policing.

H2: When demographic variables are controlled, there is a relationship between location (car-dependent vs. not), Homestead, FL and the Bronx, NY and participant suggestions for the future of policing; suggestions may focus on interactions with traffic police.

H3. When demographic variables are controlled, there is a positive relationship between location and participant suggestions for the future of policing.

Both Multinomial Linear Regression and Chi Square models were used to analyze quantitative data.

Chi Square models were used to analyze categorical variables (location, gender, documentation status, parental status, cultural identity). Each variable was run independently. Quantitative data showed no significant relationship between the above categorical dependent variables and participant recommendations towards the future of local policing (95 % CI, $p > .05$ for all categorical variables) (Table Group 4). Age (a continuous variable) was included in a Basic Linear Regression Model, as were all categorical variables, to test for a relationship with the dependent variable, Future of Policing, and, again, no significant relationship was found (95 % CI, $p > .05$ for all variables) (Table 6).

Research Question 2

The second question asked, “How do participant suggestions for the future of policing relate to participants’ perceived political efficacy?”

The hypotheses offered by the researcher were:

H4. When demographic variables are controlled, location negatively corresponds to participants’ perceived political efficacy scores.

H5: When other demographic variables are controlled, a correlation exists between political efficacy score and suggestions for the future of policing, as participants with higher efficacy may offer more suggestions for change.

Here, Multinomial Logistic Regression was used to analyze a potential statistical relationship between Suggestion for Future of Policing and Perceived Political Efficacy scores, when all other variables were controlled (Table 5). Results showed that a significant relationship could not be supported by quantitative data ($\beta = -.43, -.99$ to $.13$ 95% CI; $p > .05$).

Therefore, below Hypotheses (H1-5) are addressed in the Qualitative data results, but cannot be generalized by data analysis.

Sub-Questions

1. Is there a relationship between passenger car-dependency of location and participant suggestions for the future of local policing?

Analysis of this sub question is included in the results of Research Question 1 (Table 4). There was no significant relationship between location and participant’s outlook toward the future of policing. Still, participants overwhelmingly asked for change. Participants went on to specify types of changes they wanted to see, as portrayed in the qualitative results of the study.

2. Is there a relationship between the political environment of location and participant responses?

Also included in the results to Research Question 1, the differing political leadership and policy of the Bronx, New York (Democrat-led state and city, sanctuary city) and Homestead, FL (Republican-led state and city, known institutional cooperation with ICE) did not show to be a significant factor to quantitative data (Table 4).

3. Is there a relationship between participant demographics and participants' perceived political efficacy?

Linear Regression was used to determine if demographic factors showed a significant relationship to Perceived Political Efficacy scores. Gender, Documentation Status, Parental Status, Age, Cultural Identity (Black/African-American + any other identity OR Mexican, Any Central-American identity, or 'Other Latina/o) were run in the regression analysis. The only factor to show a significant correlation was Documentation Status (which because of exclusion criteria survey sample paralleled Cultural Identity) ($\beta = 1.74$, 95% CI, .26 to 3.22; $p < .05$) (Table 7). Here, a further calculation was made to explore possible effects of the relationship between documentation status and perceived political efficacy on opinions on future policing policy. Here, no significant relationship was found, as data on opinions for future policing showed little variance among all participant groups ((OR = .50, 95% CI .10 to 2.54; $p > .05$) (Table 8).

Interview Results

The majority of participants among all both Homestead groups as well as both Bronx groups asked for change. Several themes emerged across groups. Themes are categorized as follows: equal commitment and accountability to all, more community-oriented policing and the

reference to one model police officer, better background checks and hiring practices, mandatory training and mental health care for police officers, reallocation of funding for youth and community programs, and respect and compassion.

Several motifs in response were linked more specifically to participant groups. Here, there surfaced a focus on the Black historical experience with policing, characteristics of relationships with police specifically pertaining to the experience of being undocumented, an emphasis on child safety in schools and feedback particularly related to the location-specific experience of “driving black” or “driving undocumented”.

The first set of themes, “Universal Themes”, are noteworthy as they were present in interview responses among all groups with only nuanced differences among groups, discussed below. The second set of themes, “Group-Specific Themes”, are those that were presented uniquely within certain population groups.

Universal Themes

To Protect and Serve: The desire for Commitment and Accountability to Communities

Accountability and trust were two major threads of the change participants across all groups wished to see.

Participants across all four participant groups asked for systems that increased accountability for police officers, more oversight, less “hiding behind a badge”, and a breakdown of what one participant called, “the blue code”. One 54-year-old Homestead man, living in subsidized housing, remarked on his perceptions of policing, “Their code of silence is stronger than any gang. There is no accountability.”

Two Bronx women from Mexico, 29 and 50, reported stories of what they deemed unfair treatment of Mexican or Central American people- one account towards a male family member

on a subway platform and another account of a mother stopped by officers on the street. “Police can be very aggressive to Hispanic people, even if you are with your children.” One Bronx man, 39, responded “If there were less discrimination, it would solve everything.” He asked that discrimination be weeded out from deep within the department. He also expressed that ideally police officers should work not only to protect only from crime, but to support the community in general.

One 48-year-old Mexican man in the Bronx asked for more systems of reliability when asking for more people who care about the neighborhood. “They are just texting, they turn the other way, like they don’t give a damn.”

The words “racism”, “prejudice”, and “discrimination” were noted dozens of times in all groups, most notably in the two housing groups, Black-identifying participants.

Moreover, the majority of recipients in both Homestead and the Bronx, Black and Undocumented alike, shared a sentiment that in times of crisis, they could not count on the police for support. Twenty-six Participants, distributed amongst all four groups, asked outright for more protection, noting a police officer’s job is to protect. Others responded with similar sentiments, noting they want a police force that works for them as they imagine it works for the more affluent, more white presenting, or people living in the US with the privilege of citizenship.

Several Bronx residents living in housing noted the need for police officers who are willing to show up to help, to acknowledge and attend to the needs of individuals in the community.

One 53-year-old woman, living in Bronx housing, noted, “they are here to scare, not to act”.

Another 54-year-old Bronx woman from Mexico responded, “It is a question with double meaning- they need to protect us but also give us our freedom.”

In Homestead, there was also a clear sentiment of mistrust, the desire for accountability, and better assurance that police officers are committed to protecting and serving all communities. “We get into trouble, but not them,” said another 39-year-old Homestead man, from Haiti. Another 33-year-old Homestead man, in trying to make sense of the lack of support in his neighborhood, spoke about what he assumed were “side deals” in place within the police department. He spoke of police presence as a sign of trouble rather than support; “police make you think something bad is gonna happen.” One 41-year-old Black woman living in Homestead Housing stated that most of the time calling the police, “only makes more problems.” Homestead police are racist, we don’t have help” added another 39 year-old. One 50-year-old woman from the same community said, “When you need them, they take days.” A 67-year-old Homestead man from Guatemala also responded, “When there is an emergency, they don’t show up. They discriminate against us. Need to respond as rapidly with all communities.”

Participants across all groups called for equality, for systems of accountability to ensure that they, too, were served and protected in the same caring and timely manner they perceived more affluent communities to be served and protected.

Community Policing and That One Good Cop

A resounding response from the majority of participants from the four groups was the need for more police FROM the community, and more police who are willing to understand the community. There is a general call among all groups interviewed for police to create relationships with community members and especially the children in the community, to treat community members with the same protection and understanding as they do in more affluent communities, to see all community members as people “Healthy human conversation” is what one 29-year-old man living in Bronx housing asked for. “I’ve seen them hurt too many people.

They need healthy human connections. Take complaints seriously. Stop picking on people trying to survive, trying to save money.”

The sentiment of better community policing resonated within all four sample groups. Participants among all groups asked for more communication and conversation. Participants mentioned the need for a community liaison, someone whose job it is to be an ambassador to and for less affluent communities. Moreover, participants noted the need for existing police officers to take steps to learn to communicate and value the communities they are meant to serve. One 63-year-old Bronx woman from Guatemala noted the need for classes focused on building community relationships. One 32-year-old Homestead man from Guatemala said more generally, “I thank god for the police, but we need the police for ALL of the community.” One Homestead woman, 74, from Mexico asked for more training and more conversation with the public, more communication. She explained that, like in any profession, there are good and bad officers. The police force, in her opinion, needs to hire more officers with characteristics of the good officers, those who communicate with and protect the community. She went on to cite an abundance of crime in his community and to note that some communities are more protected by the police than others

Many participants referenced either a fictional example of a “good” police officer or a real-life example of one good police officer they once knew, someone trustworthy, someone who understood the community, someone who treated people with respect and compassion. Some participants spoke of only calling a specific police officer they trust, either currently or in the past. Exemplifying an officer from her past, one 41-year-old woman living in Bronx housing recalled a police officer who arrested her when she was younger. Instead of processing her, he gave her resources, and by her own accounts, helped change her life. She described him as

respectful, and recalled how he followed up with her. “More like him!” she exclaimed, “more care and more honesty”.

Better Background Checks and Hiring Practices

Here, participants asked for hiring practices that ensure officers’ community-oriented intentions, and participants offered suggestions for such practices.

At least 28 participants from all 4 groups asked for better hiring practices, including more training, more assessments, more standards, more “weeding out” of racism and prejudice, and an emphasis on hiring officers from the community. Others asked to hire “more honest cops” or, more generally, to “clean up the department”.

While most participants asked generally for more enhanced hiring standards, like a 63-year-old Bronx woman from Honduras who noted “in all other jobs there are regulations. It is important to have regulations, “several participants among all groups had more specific ideas for hiring changes. One 54-year-old man from the Homestead housing asked for better background checks and more screenings. “Look for a history of racial slurs,” he explained. Another 53-year-old Homestead man from Mexico asked for more education and better screening tools for racism, as did other participants.

Another 53-year-old woman living in Bronx Housing went as far as to ask that the community be more involved in hiring. Several other participants asked for psychological screenings and more enhanced background checks.

Others, like a 39-year-old Homestead woman living in housing, expressed worry that stagnant screening tools were insufficient. She noted that prospective officers can learn how to get around screenings, to answer test questions correctly. It is because of this, she thinks, that officers need ongoing, more dynamic assessments of their work and intention. One man from

Bronx housing, 29, asked for new officers to write a mission statement of sorts, to explain their intentions for becoming an officer.

All in all, participants viewed hiring practices as a shield against racism, as an opportunity to parse out those who wish to serve, protect, and understand community members versus those who wish to assert power over a community.

Extensive Mandatory Training and Mental Health Care

Several participants in each group asked for anti-violence training as well as training on community issues. Others more generally asked for more job training before officers are allowed to carry a gun. Several asked for increased mental health care as well.

“Don’t come in scared” said one 31-year-old Black-Hispanic male in the Bronx Housing Community. Another 33-year-old Bronx male, also living in housing, went as far as to say he doesn’t blame the police, and that they need more training and more opportunity to connect with the community. “If you put me in a jungle with a gun, I’m gonna shoot a lion.”

Some participants, like the 33-year-old man above, went as far as to show incredible empathy towards police officers as individuals, acknowledging the trauma and stress inherent in the job, and voicing the need to take steps to reduce police officers’ trauma. This response was seen across genders.

Among all sites, but most notably in the Bronx Subsidized housing community, was the call to support police officers’ mental health, as well as to provide them with ongoing education. One 29-year-old Bronx woman asked that police officers receive better education on US history of policing and more training to secure their mental health, noting “ I’ve seen them hurt too many people” She went on “ they need to Add humanity to deal with officers’ trauma! “Police

are traumatized too, they need help! There is a deep trauma in the community. They need help and we need help.”

Undocumented participants in both the Bronx and Homestead echoed this sentiment to an extent. One 63-year-old Homestead woman from Ecuador shared that she believes police get “too volatile and aggressive”, which she attributes to stress and the need for coping mechanisms, like time off; “the more they work, the more stressed they get. They need emotional help.” Another 37-year-old Homestead woman from Mexico asked for more training to deal with anger and more ongoing therapy for police officers.

Participants throughout all four groups viewed ongoing mandatory training and mental health care as both a deserved support and a basic obligation of police officers in their areas.

Reallocation of Funding for Youth and Community Programs

Twenty-one participants mentioned programming and enhanced protection for children. Several participants across all groups asked for preventative and enrichment programming for youth, whether it was programming to connect children with local police officers or general extracurricular programming for children and teens.

Several participants placed emphasis on enhanced police-youth relationships as a way to protect children from potential police abuse in the future, noting the benefits of interpersonal relationships, noting what can happen if a police officer does not take the time to know the children in the community as people. “My kid is not the best kid, but he shouldn’t be thrown against the wall, he is just a kid. He shouldn’t get adult punishment for being a kid,” said one 41-year-old woman living in Bronx Housing. Others emphasized the importance of giving YOUTH access to activities that will get them “off the streets”.

Additionally, participants asked for more community programming, some, in Bronx and Homestead Housing, asked for specified career readiness programming for adults. As one 53-year-old Bronx woman stated, “With all the money coming, people shouldn’t starve, they shouldn’t need to deal drugs.”

Here, participants demonstrated a call for a greater preventative funding effort to support and protect youth, to help youth build career skills to broaden opportunities, rather than funding solely allocated to punitive systems that may help to criminalize youth.

We Are People, Too: The Call for Respect and Compassion

Across all subgroups, at least 29 participants asked for respect, compassion, support and/or more officers they can trust. In Homestead Housing, one 21-year-old man reported a “dehumanizing lack of respect” towards his community. A 38-year-old woman in the same housing complex discussed her perception of local police “treating people like criminals when they need help most. She then recommended, “Train them not to treat us as a suspect first.” In Bronx Housing, the sentiment was similar. “Add humanity” said one 29-year-old Bronx woman. Another woman, 46, asked for respect and more “police who care”. She also mentioned the fear that having a son evoked, as she felt black boys are the least respected by police officers.

The call for more humanity was evident both the Bronx and Homestead Undocumented communities as well. “They pay attention to people doing their worst, but not everyday people who need support,” said one Bronx man from Mexico, 55. He went on to call for “more compassion for people when we ask for help with something.” Among the Homestead Undocumented population, a resounding word was, too, “compasión”. “More respect, compassion” was a call from a 54-year-old Homestead man from Mexico. “More compassion!”

exclaimed a woman, 37, also from Mexico. Another Homestead Mexican woman, 44, added that police should, “respect the community more”. Other participants asked for trust.

Some asked to simply be seen as human beings, too.

Group-Specific Changes

Mas Ayuda: A Focus on the Undocumented Experience

It is important to note that while the Bronx Undocumented participants did not overtly report feeling threatened by the police (NYC is a sanctuary city where the police force has made an institutional decision not to cooperate with ICE), most expressed a lack of trust in the police force as an entity that would serve and protect them. Only one 50-year-old Bronx man from Guatemala elected to keep the police force the same, and noted his gratitude for a police force that was less corrupt than his home country. Yet, almost all participants from undocumented communities reported a hesitation in calling the police, and a need for more policing and community relations in the area. While in the Bronx, most participants did not necessarily feel targeted by the police, they also expressed they were not fully supported by the police when it comes to protection from crime. Others expressed they did not want to test the limits of police allegiance to the sanctuary-specific protocol. One 26-year-old Bronx woman from Mexico said she had not had any direct problems, but she was not sure if she would call the police in an emergency. “Many of us are scared because we are here without papers.”

Homestead participants from undocumented communities echoed some of the above sentiments, with a heightened sensitivity to a history of cooperation with ICE in the area. Some mentioned a feeling of constant fear. Some said they have never had to call the police or were not sure they would call the police for an emergency concerning only adults. The lack of trust

that the police would equally protect people living without documentation rights was most powerful in these responses.

All in all, participants in the undocumented communities of Homestead, FL expressed more fear of police than other groups. They noted taking extra efforts to abide by the laws at all times, yet still expressed fear of police while driving and in everyday life. Two differences that may factor into these expressions of fear are 1. reliance on driving for transport and the vulnerability experienced while driving and 2. more political policies and institutional decisions that do not support immigrants (as compared to New York City's policies and institutional decision not to cooperate with ICE). Florida, for example, has denied access for undocumented residents to obtain driver's licenses, and local police forces have effectively cooperated with ICE in detaining undocumented residents.

Additionally, several participants emphasized the need for more police protection in schools, especially given a recent school shooting, preceded by decades of mass shootings. "We need more police in schools helping the kids. Protect our children more," said one 44-year-old Homestead man who was waiting for work at a day labor site. Another 50-year-old man, also from Mexico, pleaded for more protection for schools.

Stop Racist Cops: A Focus on the Black Experience

"The way they address people of color needs to change," said one Bronx woman, 41. Reports of racism from the police force, and the need to take measures to stop racists from having civil service positions were prominent in both Homestead and Bronx housing communities.

One 52-year-old Homestead woman simply asked for an end to racism against any group. Another participant referred to some officers as "racist liars". Some told stories of

interactions they felt were precipitated by racism. Altogether, 21 Black participants (as well as some participants from the undocumented groups) asked for an end to racist practices and racial profiling. Many Black residents explained how they were not seen as people, by white and sometimes Latino police officers. Some stressed the importance of interpersonal relationships with community members and maintained that community programming and better hiring practices would lead to more equitable policing.

“Of course we need police. The assumption that black people hate police is a total lie. We hate racism. I used to want to be a cop” added one 37- year-old Homestead woman.

Only one Homestead man, 66, asked that the police department stay the same, justifying his response with the belief that there is no possibility of change. “Like changing the bristles on a tree (motions to the tree) they will just grow back the same, always,” he said. “Here, you have to fight to eat. We are all the way at the bottom, and I wait for my day when god calls”.

Bronx-Focus: A System That Works for ALL

All Bronx participants, but two, asked for some type of change in policing when given the choices to keep policing the same, eliminate the police force altogether, or make changes to local policing.

A Global Perspective. The Bronx brought forth a unique texture to the qualitative results, as participants of the two groups studied share not only a South Bronx neighborhood with each other but with the local police precinct. It is because of this perhaps that calls for change appeared more global, more contextualized by a shared environment. It is here that participants, especially from the Black community living in subsidized housing, expressed a range of responses, including empathy. And Undocumented participants mentioned an end to racism in all forms.

The majority of Black participants in the Bronx reported direct experience of prejudice during a police intervention or interaction. “The police are here to scare, not to act” said one 53-year-old woman, explaining inadequate support in emergencies. A 31 year old Black man in the Bronx described the consequences of being in “the system” and the police attention to minor offenses rather than ones that affect the community’s wellbeing, “They should do something about the big things, like child molesters, murderers, not the little things” as he referenced jumping a turnstile. When asked if he could call the police, he responded, “I couldn’t even if I wanted to” implying people with prior arrests cannot call the police for help. “A 911 call couldn’t help me in an emergency.”

Black participants living in the South Bronx housing location painted a historical context of police discrimination, reporting more experiences of harassment and violence, while Central American and Mexican participants in the Bronx reported general feelings of not being supported enough as well as lack of trust in the police to help in an emergency. Most Bronx Participants living without documentation seemed to ask for more attention from police officers (a difference from the Homestead community who sees the current police force, and their policy choice to work with ICE, as more threatening to their security). One Bronx man from Mexico, 39, for example, asked for more support, better behavior to the community, more security, and more personnel. He also noted that the immigrant population was generally treated well, save some experiences with discriminatory officers.

Yet with all proclamation of distrust in the police force, and the seeming narrative evidence of discrimination, most Bronx participants visualized the possibility of a more equitable, more supportive future of policing. It is important to note that in this location, the

local precinct, located at the intersection of the housing development site utilized for this study and the local Catholic Church and community center serving the undocumented community, had recently announced it was relocating. Participants in either Bronx group who mentioned the relocation in their interview, despite negative experiences with the police, were adamant that the police force was needed and were worried about them moving away. This paradox suggests a sense of community belief in the potential of the local police department to become an entity that serves and protects all facets of the South Bronx community.

Homestead-Focus: Driving Black and Undocumented

Black Cars. As Black participants in Florida brought up the need for fairer driving interactions with police, they grounded the need for change in their perceptions of current police activity on the road.

Several participants living in Homestead Housing brought up the concept of “Black Cars” and the pressure to assimilate to a “whiter” aesthetic in order to dissuade police attention. When asked to describe “Black cars” one participant noted the brand, the color, the tints, the rims, but also, sometimes but not always, the lack of upkeep of the car, as a result of poverty.

Two women living in Homestead Housing, 52 and 37, recounted a story of a male family member who was driving slowly with his hazard lights on because he had a flat tire. Police officers followed him to the gas station to give him a ticket for driving slowly, rather than to help him change his tire. In another case, a participant recounted a young man she was in in the car with being pulled over. He was wearing a suit on his way to a new job. Regardless of his pleading, the officer made him exit the car and lie face down on the ground, while he searched the car. According to the participant, the officer found nothing, but he arrived to work late with dirt all over his new work clothes. One 39-year-old Haitian man living in the same Homestead

community echoed the sentiment of fear and discrimination. “I’ve been pulled over so many times...they treat you as nothing.” He then recalled a time an officer stopped him, and asked him to hold his hand out the window, seemingly to see the color of his skin.

In general, the sentiment among Black Homestead residents resonates in one participant’s appeal for police officers to stop pulling people over based on race and gender. “In heavy traffic, they just look at you, and then they pull you over.”

Siempre Con Mucho Miedo: Always with A Lot of Fear. A Homestead man, 57, from Venezuela shared a story of having been in a car accident last year. He said that the police on the scene would not attend to him, and they took the side of the other driver without asking him any information about what happened. In this case, the man happened to be a civil rights lawyer in Venezuela. With this capital, knowledge of law, he was able to make a complaint and now has an active case with investigative affairs. He, while seeking asylum like many others in his community, is a rare voice among most voices interviewed. The majority of undocumented participants living in Homestead expressed they were living as under the radar as possible, and, for many, in constant fear of the police while driving. Some expressed an emphasis on driving carefully, being sure never to break a traffic law, as not to give an added reason to be pulled over beyond their documentation status. “They get too volatile,” said one 63-year-old man from Ecuador, as he explained his fears of harassment coupled with the police force’s known cooperation with ICE.

“They should protect people. Only people who have problems should be stopped. I don’t have problems,” said one 28-year-old Guatemalan man working as a day laborer. “We are always scared while we are driving.” Another man from Guatemala (40) waiting for work in the

same area echoed that response, noting that police stop him even when he is riding a bicycle. Driving for him is a necessity experienced “always with a lot of fear”.

Other Proposed Changes

In Homestead 9 participants overtly asked for more translators and language fluency. Seven of these participants were Undocumented. Two of these participants were of Haitian descent and living in the Homestead Subsidized Housing community.

As mentioned before, participants from all groups focused on youth. Several asked for special connections to be made to community youth who are struggling or community youth in general.

Several participants among groups asked for teams to deal better with domestic violence and mental health situations.

In the Bronx Undocumented community, a quarter of the participants mentioned marijuana as an issue being ignored by the police. These participants, all parents, noted that while they support the legality of marijuana, they do not think that the police should allow people to smoke marijuana in playgrounds, in building hallways, and in other areas frequented by children. One 40-year-old man from Mexico requested there be areas in the neighborhood for people who want to smoke marijuana. He went on to say, “There is so much marijuana, even if you are not smoking, you are smoking, and our small kids are smoking too. It is not healthy for kids. And sometimes the people smoking are kids.” He went on to express some gratitude for the police, comparing how they treat the immigrant community to the San Diego police department, noting that while they don’t necessarily help, at least they don’t go out of their way to hurt.

Limitations of The Study

One major limitation of this study is population size. It is important to note that a significantly greater population would be needed for random sampling. A higher population may show more variance in data. Time and resources prevent this single researcher from attaining such population numbers at this time.

Thirty participants in each group (15 from each subgroup) can only begin to represent the voices of the thousands of others who fit into these categories -Black/African-American adults living in poverty and Mexican/Central-Americans living without documentation. Further, these categories, along with other broad demographic information, only begin to represent the innumerable individual factors and experiences that may contribute to one's desires and ideas for the future of policing. Additionally, this study uses a political efficacy scale; hence, it must be noted that it is difficult to account for political efficacy scale accuracy within groups that may be less connected to Western Democratic systems.

Efforts were made to publicize the study evenly and to provide diverse times of day for participants who work or provide childcare to take part in the study. Still, parents of young children, people working during the times of interviews, people with certain disabilities, older adults for whom mobility is difficult, all may have been less likely to take part in a study. Even though this study does not ask for identifiable data or documentation status, undocumented immigrants who have experienced distrust in community agencies may also be less likely to take part in a study of this kind. Further, people with less belief in their own political efficacy may be less likely to take part in a study.

Lastly, while this research did compare and find similarities between two distinct groups in two contrasting locations (four subgroups), this research did not offer a control group, a

population less vulnerable to police interactions. Relevant research shows that socio-economic factors can sway perceptions of community policing (Wu, 2014). While the research presented here focuses on participant views on the future of community policing rather than current perceptions, participant opinions on future policing policy collected for this study were often evidenced by experience or driven by current perceptions of community police.

While certain limitations are unavoidable in any self-funded study, this research both shows a dedication to transformative practices and a representation of community voice, which could be easily shared with local representatives. Population size was small, yet meaningful results were drawn from data collected, both quantitative and qualitative. Results may present the first glance at greater community trends and the possible disconnect between the voices of vulnerable communities and the voices of political and community leaders.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

Summary and Interpretation

The mixed-methods research presented here uses a concurrent, triangulation approach through a transformative lens to present future-oriented feedback from two vulnerable groups in two distinct locations, (one where participants are dependent on car transportation and one where participants can depend on public transit). This research holds importance as little existing research allows participants to voice their own opinions regarding the future of policing in their communities. Results are inherently different from that of existing literature as existing literature focuses on current perceptions of policing and relies on researchers to draw further conclusions and recommendations for future reform.

Quantitative data from this study show that there is no significant relationship between independent demographic variables (gender, location, age, parental status, racial/cultural identity, or documentation status) and participant recommendation for the future of policing (abolish, keep the same, change). Nor was there a significant relationship between perceived political efficacy scores and participants' wishes for the future of policing.

All but four participants who met the inclusion criteria for the study asked for the department to make a variety of changes to better support communities. Therefore, within the limited population size, variance in data was low. It is unknown whether a larger population size would have increased variance of response significantly. However, participants' documentation statuses did show a significant negative relationship with perceived political efficacy, likely conveying a sense that one's inability to vote reduces the value of one's political voice; it is possible this finding also conveys the belief by undocumented participants that political leaders are unlikely to represent their needs and voices. A covariate (documentation status and

perceived political efficacy score) relationship was not found to be a statistical factor of desires for future policing, as there was low variance in desires for the future; again, only four participants chose an answer other than “change”.

While some public transportation is available in South Florida, all Homestead participants were considered dependent on cars for most transportation. It is also important to note that the State of Florida does not allow undocumented residents to obtain drivers licenses. Undocumented Floridians are thereby forced to choose whether to fulfill everyday needs, including the healthcare needs of their children while breaking the law by driving without a license, try to find a timely and physically straining alternate route to where they are going, or not travel at all. Additionally, anyone suspected of being undocumented may be pulled over by law enforcement for the possibility of driving without a license. While some Bronx residents do drive cars as a mode of transportation, and residents of all documentation statuses are allowed to obtain drivers licenses, a vast public transit system connects the Bronx to all NYC Boroughs and the greater New York area, hence Bronx residents have access to public transit throughout the Bronx linking them to the rest of New York City and the Tri State area, and they are not reliant on cars for transportation. While a difference of relied-upon transportation exists between locations, this difference did not affect quantitative results in terms of participants’ desires for the future of policing. Still, the majority of all participants asked for change.

There were, too, some differences amongst groups in the importance of certain changes. Participants who were undocumented had a special relationship with police officers, as police officers seemed to hold a double power over their communities, a true ability to support or destroy lives through the ability to communicate with ICE. They also emphasized safety for children, especially in schools. It is important to note that much of this research was carried out

in the weeks following an elementary school shooting in the predominantly Latinx community of Uvalde, Texas, which left 19 students and 2 teachers dead.

While participants from Undocumented communities showed the lowest political efficacy score, the average score among all groups was low. Social capital may also be used to guide political efficacy. Even if people do have opinions to share, do hope for change, the belief that those changes will be heard or seen through may be low. In the transformative research depicted here, participants shared how past experiences and shared narrative drove their opinions for the future of local policing, but as noted in previous chapters, participants may not feel as though their experiences are believed by a broader audience (Pica et al., 2020).

While the relationships between perceived efficacy and future-oriented opinion data on policing is one that calls for more exploration in social science research, Weitzer's work (2000, 2008) does set the tone for this study by exploring how race and class affect current opinions of policing and corresponding reports of police violence. Here, desires for change were often accompanied by stories of what participants deemed unfair behavior. Echoing 2015 data, in many participant-shared stories, the lawfulness of a police encounter was secondary to negative perceptions of the police conduct during the encounter itself (Meares et al., 2015) and the perceived intentions of police officers in the encounter.

Overwhelmingly, participants across all groups asked for change. Several themes were present among groups of participants, Black/African-American participants living in subsidized housing in both the Bronx, New York and Homestead, Florida, and adults, most from Mexico and Central- America, living without documentation/rights to citizenship in the Bronx, New York, and Homestead, Florida. Those expressed themes were increased commitment and accountability to communities, increased community policing, better hiring practices and

background checks, more mandatory training and attention to police officers' mental health, reallocation of funding for youth and community programs, and basic respect and compassion. While the experiences and narratives that shaped these views differed from group to group and participant to participant, and while low levels of political efficacy were measured for most participants (especially those who were Undocumented), still, these main themes surfaced as participants voiced what they thought should happen next. The shared desire for change, even as participants doubt their voices matter, even as history has shown for most a police department that seemingly does not work for them but rather against them, is a noteworthy finding, as it shows that most participants share a hope that the police department could become for them, a form of protection and support, a tool for social mobility in younger generations, and an entity that shows equal respect and compassion for all communities. And participants offered advice for how to achieve these goals through more stringent hiring practices, through training, and through attention to the mental health not only of community members but of police officers themselves.

Relevant Theory

True to the framework of Empowerment Theory (Black & Rose, 1985), dialogue drove this study as it does meaningful social change. Participants were given space and time to express rationale for major questions asked in this study. Participants were allowed to elaborate, to tell stories that exemplified the change they wished to see. And, ultimately, research gathered not only gave participants a voice in social work research, but valued participants as the experts of their own experience and the masters of change. A Political Efficacy perspective was, hence, utilized to document how the value participants currently believe their opinions hold in a political arena. Critical Race Theory, too, was woven into the texture of participant voice,

expressed in participant perceptions of the intention behind unfair policing. Embedded in participants' hope for future change was the call for less racial oppression, and equal rights and assurances of safety for Black and Brown populations.

Implications for Social Work Advocacy

While there is a growing focus on law enforcement's collaboration with social workers, there is a gap in advocacy research around the communities most affected by law enforcement interaction and surveillance. What this research study brings to Social Work Research is a focus on the agency of less vocal communities. Moreover, this research brings forth the expressed desires for the future of policing among two underserved groups, explores the underpinnings of those proposed futures, and creates the foundation for future research to compare desired police reform to that being proposed by local political representatives. The question remains, are all community voices being represented by local officials?

Residents of areas where driving is a critical mode of transportation are subject to police interactions at traffic stops. Reasonable cause in a traffic stop is inherently subjective and, in many cases, hard to prove. While there is a rising awareness through citizen documenting efforts of police brutality at traffic stops, there is still little oversight to substantiate whether police traffic stops are made in fairness, in both the Black and Undocumented Mexican and Central American communities. For decades, organizations like the ACLU have advocated for traffic stop reform and protections for citizens under the 4th Amendment (Harris, 1999). In order to modify current systems of traffic policing that serve to protect all people on the road, social workers must advocate for monitoring that relies more heavily on objective mechanisms such as cameras and speed guns. Moreover, social workers should advocate for the expansion of Green Light Laws. If there is the assumption that undocumented drivers are not licensed, there is

always reasonable cause. Further research should be conducted as to whether or not providing licenses changes police/civilian dynamics in the context of driving in states like New York State and California where we know some local police precincts do corroborate with ICE. Ultimately, Greenlight laws must be supported in all 50 states.

Further Research

It is essential to note that all transformative research carried out within the Social Work discipline further the evolution of social work education. Research efforts such as this one reinforce the social worker's role as an advocate and a liaison of community needs. Further, this research drives changes in social work curriculum to include greater focus in community work and the study of transformative research techniques.

Further, there is little pre-existing social science research that focuses on the future of policing or on the voices of undocumented Americans in relation to law enforcement. More specifically, the author could find little existing data in social work literature that begins to address topics addressed in this study. Hopefully, this work will prompt further research focused both on current relationships with law enforcement and on recommendations on the future of policing inspired by the voices of the silent.

Several populations left out of this study may be considered for future research.

At one of the Homestead sites that serves undocumented residents, several documented residents of Cuban origin were omitted from the study. It is important to note, however, that the majority of the Cuban (documented) participants held dramatically different views from the majority of participants in all other groups, reporting contentment with the state of the police department as well as the view that policing is a fair practice. While most responses from the undocumented participants at this Homestead Church location resonated with the major themes

brought forth in this study, several of the Cuban participants in Homestead responded with a positive attitude towards the police, calling for no change or an increase of the same law enforcement modalities. This difference in perception is a possible focus of further study.

Similarly, non-Black identifying ethnic groups living in public housing, while omitted from this study, expressed similar viewpoints to Black or African-American identifying participants. In Bronx Housing, Puerto Rican (non-Black) residents, for example, were omitted from the study. Many were eager to share similar views that were documented for possible use in future research.

People under 18 were not eligible for the study, even though several children standing with their parents and caregivers were quick to chime in. For example, one Bronx boy of Honduran origin asked for more fairness, as his grandmother was completing the survey. The Youth perspective is an important focus of further study. The views of children and teens are especially significant in families where they will be the first-generation eligible to vote.

Lastly, due to time and funding restraints, two relevant elements of study have been left to further research efforts. One, in further research, data on perceived political efficacy shall be compared to secondary political efficacy data sets. Second, in this study we explore suggestions for the future in two locations; one where driving is essential and political leadership is more conservative, and two where driving is not essential and political leadership is more progressive. Hence, it would behoove the researcher to conduct a similar follow-up study in a California City where driving is essential for transport and political leadership is more progressive, so that data sets may be further compared.

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APPENDIX A: Population

Table 1

Population Sample Chart

	Low-income Black Community Members	Undocumented Central American/Mexican Community Members
Residents of driving areas (or “drivers”)	18 (Homestead)	23 (Homestead)
Residents of non driving areas (or “non-drivers”)	15 (Bronx)	16 (Bronx)

Table 2

Participant Demographic Information

	Low-income Black Community Members	Undocumented Central American/Mexican Community Members
Residents of driving areas (or “drivers”)	n=15 (Homestead) N=18 Gender 1.6 Parent .77 Age 42.11	n=15 (Homestead) N=23 Gender 1.47 Parent .96 Age 47 (biggest range)
Residents of non- driving areas (or “non-drivers”)	n=15 (Bronx) N=15 Gender 1.46 Parent 1 Age 41.26	n=15 (Bronx) N=16 Gender 1.56 Parent .875 Age 42.13

Table 3*Participant Demographic Information Continued*

	Population Size	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	72	43.72	14.56	18	80
Gender	72	1.53	.50	1	2
Parent	72	.90	.30	0	1

APPENDIX B: Quantitative Results

Table Group 4

Future of Policing Chi Square Models for Categorical Independent Variables where Future of Policing is coded as: 1=Abolish, 2= Do Not Change, 3=Change

parent	futurepolicing			Total
	1	2	3	
0	0	1	6	7
1	1	2	62	65
Total	1	3	68	72

Pearson $\chi^2(2) = 2.0758$ Pr = 0.354

gender	futurepolicing			Total
	1	2	3	
1	0	2	32	34
2	1	1	36	38
Total	1	3	68	72

Pearson $\chi^2(2) = 1.3506$ Pr = 0.509

Table Group 4 continued

docstatus	futurepolicing			Total
	1	2	3	
0	0	2	37	39
1	1	1	31	33
Total	1	3	68	72

Pearson chi2(2) = 1.3723 Pr = 0.504

. tab identity2 futurepolicing, chi2

identity2	futurepolicing			Total
	1	2	3	
1	1	1	31	33
2	0	2	37	39
Total	1	3	68	72

Pearson chi2(2) = 1.3723 Pr = 0.504

.

location	futurepolicing			Total
	1	2	3	
0	1	2	28	31
1	0	1	40	41
Total	1	3	68	72

Pearson chi2(2) = 2.1027 Pr = 0.349

.

Table 6

Basic Linear Regression Model: Relationships with Future of Policing (DV)

note: **identity2** omitted because of collinearity.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	72
Model	.372163188	6	.062027198	F(6, 65)	=	0.64
Residual	6.28061459	65	.09662484	Prob > F	=	0.6963
				R-squared	=	0.0559
				Adj R-squared	=	-0.0312
Total	6.65277778	71	.093701095	Root MSE	=	.31085

futurepoli~g	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P> t	[95% conf. interval]	
petotal	.0087021	.0123349	0.71	0.483	-.0159324	.0333366
2.gender	-.0206625	.0757807	-0.27	0.786	-.1720071	.130682
1.docstatus	-.0503683	.0777777	-0.65	0.520	-.2056997	.1049631
age	-.0017517	.0027109	-0.65	0.520	-.0071657	.0036623
1.parent	.1223898	.129853	0.94	0.349	-.1369446	.3817241
identity2	0	(omitted)				
1.location	.1168135	.0752394	1.55	0.125	-.0334499	.2670768
_cons	2.778673	.1925894	14.43	0.000	2.394046	3.163301

Table 7

Basic Linear Regression Model to analyze relationships with Perceived Political Efficacy

Scores (DV)

note: **identity2** omitted because of collinearity.

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	72
Model	90.5170666	7	12.9310095	F(7, 64)	=	1.37
Residual	604.135711	64	9.43962049	Prob > F	=	0.2334
				R-squared	=	0.1303
				Adj R-squared	=	0.0352
Total	694.652778	71	9.78384194	Root MSE	=	3.0724

petotal	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P> t	[95% conf. interval]
2.gender	-.4309206	.7591103	-0.57	0.572	-1.947418 1.085577
1.docstatus	1.742429	.7403516	2.35	0.022	.2634068 3.221452
age	.0271228	.0280904	0.97	0.338	-.0289942 .0832398
1.parent	-.6345417	1.322779	-0.48	0.633	-3.277096 2.008013
futurepolic~g					
2	-5.051634	3.766531	-1.34	0.185	-12.57614 2.472876
3	-1.688498	3.198944	-0.53	0.599	-8.079124 4.702127
identity2	0	(omitted)			
1.location	-.2163071	.7581571	-0.29	0.776	-1.7309 1.298286
_cons	10.56359	3.478646	3.04	0.003	3.614199 17.51299

Table 8*Political Efficacy and Documentation Status (IV) and Future of Policing (DV)*

Multinomial logistic regression

Number of obs = 72

LR chi2(6) = 5.33

Prob > chi2 = 0.5020

Pseudo R2 = 0.1506

Log likelihood = -15.031477

futurepoli~g	RRR	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
1						
petotal	.9978229	951.4418	-0.00	1.000	0	.
1.docstatus	1733126	1.59e+10	0.00	0.999	0	.
docstatus#						
c.petotal						
1	1.17434	1119.754	0.00	1.000	0	.
_cons	3.04e-09	.0000279	-0.00	0.998	0	.
2						
petotal	.8150078	.1841751	-0.91	0.365	.5233685	1.269159
1.docstatus	207.8163	1245.154	0.89	0.373	.0016505	2.62e+07
docstatus#						
c.petotal						
1	.5088207	.4180269	-0.82	0.411	.1016837	2.546116
_cons	.2819615	.5027984	-0.71	0.478	.0085568	9.291083
3	(base outcome)					

Note: _cons estimates baseline relative risk for each outcome.

APPENDIX C: Demographic Information in English and Spanish

Demographic Questionnaire English and Spanish

Demographic Information Survey/ Encuesta Demografica

5. **Which cultural identity best describes you?**

Asian ___ African-American ___ Black-American ___ Central-American ___

Mexican ___ Other Latino ___ White ___ Other _____

¿Qué identidad cultural te describe mejor?

Asiático ___ Africano-Americano ___ Negro-Americano ___ Centroamericano ___

Mexicano ___ Otro Latino ___ Blanco ___ Otro _____

2. **¿Cuál es su género?** Hombre ___ Mujer ___ Otro ___

What is your gender? Man ___ Woman ___ Other ___

3. **Are you a parent?** Yes ___ No ___

¿Usted es madre/padre? Si ___ No ___

4. **¿Cuántos años tiene usted?** _____

What is your age ? _____

5. **What is your yearly income?** 32,227 or 106an _____ more 106an 32,227 _____ ¿

¿Cuál es su ingreso anual? Menos de 32,227 _____ más de 32,227 _____?

If you are not sure, what is your weekly income? _____

Si no está seguro, ¿cuál es su ingreso semanal? _____

ADDENDIX D: Interview Questions English and Spanish

Interview English and Spanish

Interview

I would like to better understand what you would like to see in terms of the future of policing in your area.

If you could choose the future of policing in your area, what would you do?

Three choices:

1. The police department should be eliminated/ People do not need a police department. If you would replace it with a different system, what would that be?
2. The police department should stay the same/ the police department doesn't need to change. Why?
3. The police department should change. How?

Entrevista

Yo querría conocer más su punto de vista sobre la policía local, que te gustaría de la policía en el futuro.

Si pudieras elegir el futuro de la policía en tu barrio, qué harías?

La primera pregunta: Elige una de las tres opciones

1. No debería existir el departamento de policía/ la gente no necesita del departamento de policía. Y algo debería reemplazar el sistema de policía?
2. La policía no necesita cambiar. ¿Por qué?
3. El Departamento de policía no necesita cambiar. ¿Cómo cambiar?

APPENDIX E: Political Efficacy Scale English and Spanish

Political Efficacy Scale English

Groskurth, Nießen, Rammstedt, & Lechner (2020). An English-language adaptation and validation of the Political Efficacy Short Scale (PESS). *Measurement Instruments for the Social Sciences*.

Additional File 2: Answer Sheet (English Version)

PESS

The following statements may apply more or less to you. To what extent do you think each statement applies to you personally?

	does not apply at all	applies a bit	applies somewhat	applies mostly	applies completely
1. I am good at understanding and assessing important political issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Politicians strive to keep in close touch with the people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I have the confidence to take active part in a discussion about political issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Politicians care about what ordinary people think.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Political Efficacy Scale Spanish

Archivo Adicional 2: Hoja de Respuestas (Versión en Español)

PESS

Las siguientes oraciones puede que tengan que ver con usted en mayor o menor medida. ¿Cuánto piensa que cada oración aplica a usted personalmente?

	no aplica nada	aplica un poco	no aplica casi nada	aplica en su mayoría	aplica totalmente
1. Soy bueno(a) entendiendo y analizando asuntos importantes de política.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Los(as) políticos(as) tratan de mantenerse en contacto cercano con la gente.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Yo tengo confianza para tomar parte activa en conversaciones sobre asuntos de política.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. A los(as) políticos(as) les importa lo que la gente piensa.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX F: Study Consent Letter in English and Spanish

Dear Participant,

Thank you for considering your participation in this research project!

The purpose of the research is to explore **your** suggestions for the future of policing.

You will be one of between 50-70 people who will be participating in this study. This study is designed to learn more about the community's vision for the future of policing in your area.

We hope you will participate because the study will generate important information regarding your community's needs and desires for the future of law enforcement in your area. If you agree to participate in this research, the time duration should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete.

You will be asked to:

1. Complete the confidential demographic information questionnaire in preferred language.
2. Complete a 5-minute interview in preferred language.
3. Complete a 4-question assessment in preferred language (which can be read to you if you prefer).

When completed, you will receive a 10\$ gift card to Dunkin Doughnuts or a local store.

Please note, every effort will be made to protect your privacy and confidentiality by not using your name. Additionally, interview information will be kept in a locked file available only to researchers and IRB personnel.

You have a choice about being in this study. If you decide to take part, you are free to stop participating at any time without giving a reason.

The researcher and Principal Investigator, Michelle J. Bialeck MS, LMSW, is currently A PhD Candidate at the Wurzweiler School of Social Work, 2945 Amsterdam Avenue New York, NY 10033. For questions about the research study, please contact Michelle Bialeck directly at Michelle.Bialeck@yu.edu and 786-877-2218 if you require additional information about this study. You may also contact her PhD Advisor, Dr. Susan Mason at masonse@yu.edu or 646-592-6806. .

This research study has been approved by the WCGB Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Yeshiva University's Wurzweiler School of Social Work.

Possible discomforts or risks include evoking uncomfortable feelings related to the sensitive subject of your experiences with local policing. There may be risks the researchers have not thought of.

I have read the consent form and I understand that it is up to me whether or not I participate. I know enough about the purpose, methods, risks and benefits of the research study to decide that I want to take part in it. I understand that I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this informed consent document. I will be given a signed copy of this consent form.

Printed name of the person conducting the consent process:

Initials of Participant:

Date:

Querido Participante,

¡Gracias por considerar su participación en este proyecto de investigación!

El propósito de la investigación es explorar **sus** sugerencias para el futuro de la policía.

Usted será una de las 50 a 70 personas que participarán en este estudio. Este estudio está diseñado para aprender más sobre la visión de la comunidad para el futuro de la policía en su área.

Esperamos que participe porque el estudio generará información importante sobre las necesidades y los deseos de su comunidad para el futuro de la aplicación de la ley en su área. Si acepta participar en esta investigación, la duración del tiempo no debería demorar más de 15 minutos en completarse.

Se le pedirá que:

1. Complete el cuestionario de información demográfica confidencial en el idioma de su preferencia.
2. Complete una entrevista de 5 minutos en el idioma preferido.
3. Complete una evaluación de 4 preguntas en el idioma que prefiera (que se le puede leer si lo prefiere).

Cuando se complete, recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de 10\$ para Dunkin Donuts o una tienda local.

Tenga en cuenta que se hará todo lo posible para proteger su privacidad y confidencialidad al no usar su nombre. Además, la información de la entrevista se mantendrá en un archivo cerrado disponible solo para los investigadores y el personal del IRB.

Usted tiene la opción de participar en este estudio. Si decide participar, es libre de dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin dar una razón.

La investigadora e investigadora principal, Michelle J. Bialeck MS, LMSW, actualmente es candidata para el doctorado en Wurzweiler School of Social Work, 2945 Amsterdam Avenue New York, NY 10033. Si tiene preguntas sobre el estudio de investigación, comuníquese con Michelle Bialeck directamente a Michelle.Bialeck@yu.edu y 786-877-2218 si requiere información adicional sobre este estudio. También puede comunicarse con su asesora de doctorado, la Dra. Susan Mason en masonse@yu.edu o al 646-592-6806.

Este estudio de investigación ha sido aprobado por la Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) de WCGB para la Escuela de Trabajo Social Wurzweiler de la Universidad Yeshiva.

Las posibles incomodidades o riesgos incluyen evocar sentimientos incómodos relacionados con el tema delicado de sus experiencias con la policía local. Puede haber riesgos en los que los investigadores no han pensado.

He leído el formulario de consentimiento y entiendo que depende de mí si participo o no. Sé lo suficiente sobre el propósito, los métodos, los riesgos y los beneficios del estudio de investigación para decidir que quiero participar en él. Entiendo que no estoy renunciando a ninguno de mis derechos legales al firmar este documento de consentimiento informado. Se me dará una copia firmada de este formulario de consentimiento.

Nombre impreso de la persona que realiza el proceso de consentimiento:

Iniciales del Participante:

Fecha:

