

# JEFFERSON REPORT

## A Pain-filled, Polarized America: *Reflections, Recommendations on Racism in U.S., Erie*

By Parris Baker



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On the Cover: Silent Marchers in Erie, Pennsylvania, organized by Bishop Brock and members of Erie's black clergy. The moment was captured on June 6, 2020 outside Erie's historic Warner Theatre in Downtown Erie. Photo credit to Patrick Fisher, Erie Arts & Culture.

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Page 9: Corpses of George and Ed Silsbee Postcard from <https://withoutsanctuary.org/>

Page 10: Lynching of Jesse Washington Postcard photo from <https://withoutsanctuary.org/>

Page 11: Campaign Zero photo from <https://www.joincampaignzero.org/#vision>

**A Pain-filled, Polarized America:  
Reflections, Recommendations on Racism in U.S., Erie**

**By Parris Baker**

America is weeping; as a nation and as a people. Surprisingly, at a time when the United States has become more isolated from and less allied with our international partners, the world has joined in our nation's lamentation and outrage. Watching the synchronized horror of George Floyd's death from the knee of an apathetic and indifferent death-dealing officer was more than our nation and world could bear. Georgetown University sociologist Michael Eric Dyson described this period in America's history as viewing "the unabridged, unexpurgated version" of black pain, grief, resentment, and anger.

This raw expression of America's confrontation with our present and historic racial reality has moved most Americans beyond the securities and protections provided by economic power, white privilege, and geo-political position. As America became quarantined, which provided ample time for personal and collective reflections, two inescapable truths were confirmed: First, the onset and endemic of American whiteness took place with the 1619 enslavement of 20 Africans (enslavement of Africans has been recorded as far back as the 14th century).

Second, the COVID 19 pandemic has revealed that our nation remains incredibly vulnerable to metastatic racism. The effects of the murder of George Floyd, just like the effects of the coronavirus pandemic exposed an unseen, unpredictable, and for many, an untimely truth. This now publicly naked truth is the very haunting, often ignored open secret of America; one that has been denied for more than 400 years. We weep, many of us painfully, shamefully, audibly, and uncontrollably, because America is beginning to acknowledge the virus of racism.

Though the mode of transmission and sources of our pain are similar; the expressions and manifestations of the pain are distinctively different. What our nation desperately desires is for the pain to stop or at least sensitivity to the sense that the pain is never-ending. It is interesting and ironic that both viruses, racism and COVID 19, are transmitted through human-to-human contact. Moreover, each will require Americans to change personal attitudes and behaviors to prevent further transmission of the viruses.

The chronicled history of the coronavirus and the miasmatic history of racism have precipitously required social closure of America. Social closure<sup>1</sup> refers to the processes of drawing boundaries, constructing identities, and building communities in order to monopolize scarce resources for one's own group, thereby excluding others from using them. The CDC<sup>2</sup> advises that people should avoid contact with people who are sick, practice social distancing, and put

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0084.xml>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/prevention.html>

distance between you and people outside of your home as methods of preventing the spread of the virus.

In like fashion, American institutions have manufactured many ways and offered plausible explanations for xenophobic and racist practices that create social closure: sealing our borders, introducing travel bans, building walls, creating oppressive education and work environments; white flight, instituting redlining and gerrymandering, enforcing Jim Crow laws, displaying signs that read, “For Whites Only”, legislating “separate, but equal” and legislating the Three-Fifths Compromise<sup>3</sup> and would never become United States citizens<sup>4</sup>.

For many white Americans, the pain is an embedded response to the closed or restricted American economy. The grief, resembling a type known as complicated grief, is expressed in the repeated requests or demands to reopen America. Characteristics of complicated grief<sup>5</sup> are acute and chronic emotional pain related to loss or permanent separation, the heightened sense of mourning without a sense of closure or ending and extreme bitterness regarding loss. Risk factors include the reaction to precipitous loss, social isolation, and ongoing financial stress. Armed with their First and Second Amendment rights, automatic weapons, and American and Confederate flags, a segment of white America stormed state capitals to protest the violation of personal rights – the restrictions of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Conversely, black Americans are experiencing a different type of grief, referred to as disenfranchised grief. Disenfranchised grief (Doka, 1989) is defined as “the grief that persons experience when they incur a loss that is not or cannot be openly acknowledged, publicly mourned, or socially supported<sup>6</sup>.” Grief can be disenfranchised in three fundamental ways: (1) relationships are not recognized; (2) loss is not recognized; and (3) the griever is not recognized. This type of grief is socially stigmatized, excoriated, and viewed as unimportant.

In the *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*<sup>7</sup>, excerpts of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s musings eloquently elucidate the concept of disenfranchisement:

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was – well timed – in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word – Wait! It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This – Wait – has almost always meant – Never. We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that “justice too long delayed is justice denied.”

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<sup>3</sup> Approved by the Second Continental Congress on November 15, 1777.

<sup>4</sup> *Scott v. Sanford 60, U.S. 393 (1857)* Justice Roger Taney held majority opinion that African Americans could never experience democracy as American citizens.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/complicated-grief/symptoms-causes/syc-20360374>

<sup>6</sup> <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.2190/LD26-42A6-1EAV-3MDN>

<sup>7</sup> <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/letter-birmingham-jail>

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, Wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; ... when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of “nobodiness” –then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

Race remains a deadly, destructive, and divisive force in America. Moreover, for various reasons, Americans ardently avoid or resist race-related conversations. American philosopher and political activist Cornel West (1999) asserts that one reason white Americans avoid discussions about race is because important underlying questions are raised about what it means to be an American. Further, West maintains the difficulty of defending America as a democratic Christian nation is also realized in America’s stout resistance to acknowledge the historic construct of whiteness, which must include at its very core, the subjugation, subordination, and slavery of black people and the near genocide of Native American people.

The idea that race is an immutable and innate human characteristic is not true. “Whiteness” is a social, economic, and political construct designed to achieve very specific objectives and outcomes. The idea of being an American obligates one to recognize that whiteness and Christianity, democratic composites, are inextricably linked. Whiteness is an integral construct and guiding principle in the construction of American Democracy and Christianity (Cone, 2004; West, 1993). The institutions of whiteness and slavery were created to justify the enslavement of black people and produce economic prosperity and inequality. Four hundred years later, these institutions continue to function with exact efficiencies.

The system is not broken. Much of the disparity and inequities experienced by African Americans and other people of color has been legislated by the United States judicial system, enforced by emboldened law enforcement, and tacitly or overtly supported by a majority of white Christian citizenry (Fletcher, 2017). The United States created democracy as a framework for the construction of hegemonic education, economic, religious, and political institutions. Due to the enormous economic value in maintaining a system of inequality, religious and educational institutions assembled communities that taught rules and performed rituals that normalized the practice of slavery (Emerson & Smith, 2000). Christianity cemented the racial caste in U.S. democracy. The extant and persistent negative correlations among educational, employment, health and access to health care, home ownership, household income, and generational wealth for African Americans are all products of an American system designed to create economic prosperity for some and poverty for others.

## **The System is Not Broken**

Let me be clear: America is not broken! Our nation was created with slave labor designed to build and preserve a system of inequality. And from the looks of things, the system is working extremely efficiently. The moral ideals and sacred principles of America, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness<sup>8</sup>” were written primarily by Thomas Jefferson and edited by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston. On July 4, 1776, these words were approved by the United States Congress. The communication was written by then-British subjects to demand independence from Great Britain.

Almost a century later, Alexander Stephens, the first vice president of the Confederate States of America, delivered the infamous Cornerstone Speech on March 21, 1861 in Savannah, Ga. In his speech, Stephens outlined the differences between the Confederacy and the United States and the rationale for secession. He declared that the new Confederate government was founded on the principle that black people were inherently inferior to white people, thus correcting the error “that all men are created equal.” Stephens contended the ideals of life, liberty, and property included the enslavement of black people and used both science and the bible to support his premise.

### **Excerpts of the Cornerstone Speech<sup>9</sup>**

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science.

Several weeks after Stephens’ speech, America would be engulfed in its Civil War. The ideology of racial equality was so divided, so deeply rooted that each side, the Confederate South and the Union of the United States, were willing to die to defend their respective beliefs. Though the Union won the war, the status of the Negro was and continues to be problematic and confusing. America would remain divided on the issue of race and racial equality well into the 21st century. The real historic and present-day questions from African Americans to the United States remain: “Are we equal?” and “Do we have the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?”

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<sup>8</sup> Excerpt from the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>9</sup> <https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/civil-war/cornerstone-speech-alexander>

In his seminal writing, *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. DuBois (1903) dolefully, but prophetically, pronounced, “the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line.” (p. 1) He articulates this conundrum:

To the real question, “how does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.” (p. 4) “The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world – a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness: an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” (p. 5)

The shameful and humiliating signs “For Whites Only” intentionally reinforced a racial caste system of superiority and inferiority in America. Every day, attendance or participation in “For Whites Only” churches, schools, the military, sports and entertainment events, politics, and places of employment all declared white people were superior to black people. As each discriminatory barrier was destroyed, another was created. Black codes and Jim Crow laws replaced many constitutional amendments. The purpose of these de facto laws was to construct atmospheres of fear, intimidation, suppression, oppression, or brutality that perpetuated the ideology of whiteness and racism. The virus of racism continued to metastasize.

One hundred and eighty-seven years beyond the Declaration of Independence, on August 3, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., in his final speech<sup>10</sup> challenges white America:

All we say to America is to be true to what you said on paper. If I lived in China or even Russia, or any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand some of these illegal injunctions. Maybe I could understand the denial of certain basic First Amendment privileges, because they haven't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech. Somewhere I read of the freedom of press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right.

### **A Horrific American History**

These comments, so frequently quoted today, were made by Martin Luther King, Jr. during an interview with Mike Wallace<sup>11</sup> on Sept. 27, 1966:

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<sup>10</sup> <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/ive-been-mountaintop-address-delivered-bishop-charles-mason-temple>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mlk-a-riot-is-the-language-of-the-unheard/>

I contend that the cry of black power is at bottom a reaction to the reluctance of white power to make the kind of changes necessary to make justice a reality for the Negro. I think we have to see that a riot is the language of the unheard. And what is it that America has failed to hear?"

This prescient dreamer's words have recently resurfaced, primarily due to the worldwide impact of police brutality in America. Protests and/or riots have occurred in all 50 states and in 40 countries.

So what is it that America has failed to hear? I submit that America has refused to hear the cries of mutilated, dead black bodies and the pain of grief-filled mothers and families. America's attempt to silence the protesting knee of Colin Kaepernick may have indirectly contributed to the death-inducing knee on George Floyd. Black Lives Matter (BLM), founded by Patrice Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tomeli, was initially created to express black love (Taylor, 2016). However, to bring national attention to the brutal treatment of African Americans by white police officers, Colin Kaepernick, then quarterback of the San Francisco 49ers, refused to stand for the playing of the National Anthem.

From the onset, white Americans attempted to redefine or diminish the importance Black Lives Matter by refusing to alter their ideological position and definitions of democracy and patriotism.

His silent gesture of kneeling during the anthem was designed to help Americans engage in national discussions devoted to honest evaluation of race relations. Instead, this gesture was recast and redefined as un-American, inappropriate, and unpatriotic (Rickford, 2015). What white America didn't recognize was that each attempt to re-message the movement, such as All Lives Matter, provided another example of "whiteness in action" and the exercising of white privilege and white power.

There is a long horrific and historic narrative of public executions at the hands of white men that has contaminated the consciousness of America (see Table 1.). Black Lives Matter (BLM) framed an easily articulated social narrative that succinctly addressed this history. Three words, simple and yet profound (Bailey & Leonard, 2015), were perceived as pernicious and hostile by white Americans. Confronted with the legacy of racism and white supremacy, many white Americans launched a vituperative attack on BLM.

**Table 1. Historic Examples of Public Police Brutality and Lawlessness by White Men**

- 1902 – Henry Wilson: Convicted of murder in a trial that lasted 2 hours and 40 minutes. Despite a law prohibiting public execution, Wilson received a public hanging.
- 1931 – Scottsboro Boys: Nine African American males charged with raping two white women in Alabama. An all-white, all-male jury sentenced all to death.



- 1955 – Emmitt Till: 14 years old, was murdered in Money, Miss. by Roy Bryant and J.W. Milam. Both admitted to the murder; paid \$4,000 by Look Magazine to tell their story.
- 1963 – Johnny Robinson: While protesting the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, Ala., he was fatally shot by a white officer, Jack Parker.
- 1991 – Rodney King: was videoed receiving an inhumane beating by LAPD officers. The officers were acquitted of all charges.
- 1999 – Ismael Mena: killed; shot eight times by 14 SWAT officers who entered the wrong house.
- 1999 – Amadou Diallo: killed by four NYPD officers. 41 rounds were fired, 19 striking Diallo, who was unarmed.
- 2014 – Michael Brown, Jr.: 18 years old. killed by an FMPD officer, Brown was unarmed. U.S. DOJ concluded the officer acted in self-defense.
- 2014 – Eric Garner: died from a chokehold administered by an NYPD officer. Garner told officers 11 times, “I can’t breathe.” NYPD officer terminated five years later.
- 2016 – Alton Sterling: Killed by two officers at close range in Baton Rouge, La.
- 2016 – Philando Castile: Fatally shot in front of his girlfriend and 4-year-old daughter by a white officer during a routine traffic stop.
- 2019 – Atatiana Jefferson: fatally shot in her home by an FWPD officer.
- 2020 – Breonna Taylor: fatally shot in her apartment by an LMPD officer.
- 2020 – George Floyd: killed; detained by four officers; one officer knelt on Mr. Floyd’s neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds. Floyd pleaded for his life; repeating 16 times, “I can’t breathe!”

Why is America weeping so viscerally in view of the entire world? America has an extensive and repugnant relationship with lynching. Unbelievably, as we watched in agony the death of George Floyd, America realized we have traveled back to our future. Durba Chattaraj<sup>12</sup>, faculty of Sociology/Anthropology Department at Ashoka University, wrote an unsettling book review of *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*. I have included several excerpts of her insightful and informative review in this essay:

Lynching – murder with public sanction and political backing – pits the powerful against the powerless; pits a teeming mob against individual



Postcard featuring a large group of spectators holding kerosene lamps, downed fence in the foreground. Etched in negative, “George and Ed SILSBEE HANGED by a MOB of CITIZENS IN FRONT OF JAIL. Jan. 20, 1900. Fort Scott Kan. Flash Light by Dabbs”

<sup>12</sup> <https://scroll.in/article/911800/a-book-featuring-lynching-photographs-from-america-brings-home-a-reality-we-cannot-ignore>

bodies, where regardless of guilt or innocence, those bodies stand not a chance. Lynching was a way to keep blacks “in their place” through acts of public terror after the Civil War and the ending of slavery. Between 1882 and 1968, an estimated 4,742 African Americans in the United States were murdered by lynch mobs.

Look more closely at the photograph, if you can, and something more terrifying still emerges. See the crowd all decked out? The men and women in their Sunday best? The dark-haired lady in her printed dress? The man pointing up at the body in the tree? These are the crowds that would routinely come to view and participate in the lynchings of the time, creating an atmosphere that was cheerful, celebratory, and festive. In a climate where lynching was an acceptable expression of the hatred of a more-powerful community against a less-powerful one, viewing lynchings became another fun family activity, a festival of hate. A place to take your nine-year-old to see hangings and burnings and things further still. To accompany the spirit of public lynchings then, people bought and sold and circulated picture-postcards of these lynchings, and sent them to family and friends accompanied by handwritten notes that said things like, “This is the barbecue we had last night.” WhatsApp messages of their time.

In 1937, haunted by a photograph of two black men lynched, Abel Meeropol wrote this anti-lynching, protest poem, made famous in song by Billie Holiday in 1939.

### ***Strange Fruit***<sup>13</sup>

*Southern trees bear a strange fruit  
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root  
Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze  
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees  
Pastoral scene of the gallant South  
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth  
Scent of magnolia, sweet and fresh  
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh  
Here is a fruit for the crows to pluck  
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck  
For the sun to rot, for the tree to drop  
Here is a strange and bitter crop*



Postcard of spectators dressed in their Sunday best at the Lynching of Jesse Washington. May 16, 1916 Waco, Texas.

### **Hold America and Erie Accountable**

Can you have racism and oppressive institutions without a racist oppressive designer? No. Therefore, you should not have assessment and evaluative discussions aimed at dismantling or re-imagining racist institutions separated from the individuals who design and occupy those

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<sup>13</sup> Lyrics by Lewis Allan (a.k.a. Abel Meeropol), “Strange Fruit” (1937); Recorded by Billie Holiday in 1939.

positions. To examine the consequences of racism without examining causality; to diagnosis the symptoms of racism without investigating etiology; to be proscriptive regarding race without first being prescriptive is disingenuous, duplicitous, and hypocritical. There is an urgent cry across our nation for transparency and accountability in our police department and judiciary. Therefore, the following recommendations and action plans are submitted for immediate review and implementation.



## Campaign Zero<sup>14</sup>

Campaign ZERO was developed with contributions from activists, protesters and researchers across the nation. This data-informed platform presents comprehensive solutions to end police violence in America. It integrates community demands and policy recommendations from research organizations and President Barack Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing.

Together, we will win. More than 1,000 people are killed by police every year in America. We are calling on local, state, and federal lawmakers to take immediate action to adopt data-driven policy solutions to end this violence and hold police accountable. It will take deliberate action by policymakers at every level of government to end police violence.

The following are recommendations developed by Campaign Zero activists, Center for Urban Initiatives and Research<sup>15</sup>, and the PRIDE Act<sup>16</sup>.

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### Campaign Zero National Recommendations

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1. End Broken Windows Policing
2. Establish Community Oversight
3. Limit Use of Force
4. Independently Investigate and Prosecute
5. Community Representation
6. Body Cams/Film the Police
7. Training

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.joincampaignzero.org/#campaign>

<sup>15</sup> [https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/cityFPC/Reports/150122\\_Police\\_Satisfaction\\_Survey.pdf](https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/cityFPC/Reports/150122_Police_Satisfaction_Survey.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/BILLS-114s1476is/pdf/BILLS-114s1476is.pdf>

8. End For-Profit Policing
9. Demilitarize
10. Fair Police Union Contracts

**Action Plan – City of Erie, Pennsylvania**

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Erie Refocused<sup>17</sup> (2016), Erie’s Comprehensive Plan and Community Decision-Making Guide identifies, the communities labeled Trinity Park, East Bayfront and Little Italy as moderate-to-severe disinvestment. Recommendations for East Bayfront focused property acquisition and demolition. The report states, “The East Bayfront’s high levels of property distress, vacancy, and abandonment are perhaps the most tangible expression of Erie’s supply-demand imbalance, as well as the class and racial disparities that closely track neighborhood conditions in the city (p. 47).

What becomes distressing to the residents of East Bayfront (primarily the 16503 ZIP code) is that the report recommends, “Don’t use a deficit based approach to revitalization” (p. 33). The emphasis of the report is placed on maximizing the economic value of property in the East Bayfront Zone with little attention addressing the economic and education needs of the residents. When compared to Frontier (16506 ZIP code) the disparity is staggering.

**Table 2. General Population Compared by Zip x Race**

Zip Code	General Population	African American	Percentage of Pop
16503	16850	6132	36.4
16506	23720	300	1.3

**Table 3: Zip Code, H.S. Graduate ≥, Poverty, & Median Household Income**

Zip Code	HS Grad ≥	Individuals ≤ Poverty Level	Median Income
16503	72.7	43.0 (46% -2016)	\$22, 918
16506	95.7	7.7 (06% - 2016)	\$59, 427

In November 2017, Erie received the dubious distinction of being called the worst city in the United States for African Americans to live. Enormous disparities in household income, education, unemployment, incarceration rates, and residential segregation were some of the contributing indices used to make this dreadful determination. Though a Jefferson Essay later pointed out exaggerations and numerical errors in the report, many of its main points were validated. Statistics from the 16503 ZIP code probably contributed significantly to Erie’s ranking.

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<sup>17</sup> <http://emerge2040.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Erie-Refocused-2016.pdf>

Erie Mayor Joe Sember has identified five point vision indicators for Erie: (1) rich cultural diversity, (2) welcoming vibrant neighborhoods, (3) world class downtown and bayfront, (4) excellent education for everyone, and (5) an abundance of family-sustaining jobs. The following 10 recommendations are respectfully submitted to improve living conditions for African Americans by strengthening police community relationships:

1. Develop an action plan to identify Erie as one of the best cities in America for African Americans to live.
2. Public culpability, accountability, and ownership of poor policing behavior(s).
3. Increase transparency of each and every complaint against police officers in its entirety.
4. Create a Deputy Inspector General position that is focused on preventing, deterring, detecting and eradicating police misconduct, brutality, waste, fraud, and abuse within law enforcement agencies.
5. Identify and incorporate best practices and evidence-based strategies that improve or strengthen police-community relations.
6. Continue, expand, and empower the Strengthening Police Community Partnership (SPCP).
7. SPCP focused attention on developing leadership with young adults.
8. Continue the Police Athletic League (PAL).
9. Develop the Clergy Ride Along Program (renamed Paraclete Program).
10. Develop an early warning system that identifies police officers and policing practices that may contribute to police violence, decrease police community effectiveness, and create preventable stress.

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