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THE ABILITY OF DIFFERENT MECHANISMS TO DECREASE RACIALLY MOTIVATED POLICE VIOLENCE AND THE ROOT CAUSES THEY TARGET – AN ANALYSIS OF EXISTING RESEARCH

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This thesis evaluates the ability of five different mechanisms to decrease racially motivated police violence and to understand what issues each mechanism can target the best. The mechanisms that are covered in this study include police body-worn cameras, policies regarding the use of force, penalties from racially biased policing, bias training, and militarization of the police. The study is conducted as an integrative literature review. The analysis is based on the evaluation of 12 previous studies. Content analysis is used to form categories on the basis of existing theories to find connections to the root causes of racially motivated police violence.

Based on the findings of this study, establishing clear and detailed use of force standards and abolition of police militarization hold the best ability to decrease racially motivated police violence. Weakest support is provided for racial bias training, although more studies would be needed about the applicability of newer training programs. When it comes to police body-worn cameras and penalties for racially biased policing, the results are not unanimous. Penalties can be an effective tool if the processes are planned thoughtfully and teach the police officer what they have done wrong and how they could have acted differently instead of being punishment-oriented. The benefits of body-worn cameras seem vary between organizations, but they could regardless be helpful in enhancing police-community relations.

The main categories that can be formed based on previous studies are those of organizational theory, community and trust, and racial bias. All five studied mechanisms are related to organizational theory and community and trust, and racial bias training and police militarization are also related to racial bias.

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1 Introduction

The recent killing of African American George Floyd in the hand of police officers has brought the issue of racially motivated police violence into new light and many are now demanding changes into the way police organizations and officers operate (Bhardwaj & Ankel 2021; Buchanan, Bui & Patel 2020). Some of the suggested solutions brough up by the citizens and local media include moderate measures, such as requiring the officers to wear body-cameras, whereas others include more radical measures such as demanding the existing police institution to be abolished completely (Zaiets, Haseman & Bravo 2020; White 2020).

While agreement is not reached on what exactly should be done and what would work the best, there is a wide consensus about the need for change. This research aims to find out which of the methods that have been discussed in the media can help to reduce racially motivated police violence. I will be looking at previous research to evaluate which methods have evidence to support their utilization and to understand what root causes of racially motivated police violence each of them can help with.

Solving the issue of racially motivated police violence would not only benefit the victims of racially motivated police violence, but also police organization themselves. Police is dependent on the trust of the communities they operate in and needs to be perceived legitimate in their eyes. Furthermore, cooperation with the public is important when it comes to receiving tips and evidence to solve crimes. If violence, injustice, and possibility for death are the first attributes a community associates with police, it becomes more likely that the community is hesitant to contact the police and feels uneasy about their presence. Feeling threatened could also affect the behavior of the individuals and communities at large, in turn making them more likely to act aggressively against the police. (U.S. Department of Justice.)

What makes this topic particularly interesting besides its topical nature and societal importance, is the unique nature of police's work. Police has the mandate to limit and interfere with citizens' rights and they work under highly stressful and often dangerous circumstances in a fast-phased environment. Use of force is often inevitable, yet there should always be a justification for it. However difficult a given situation between a police officer and a citizen is, it should never result to a lost life. If a police officer shoots someone,

difficult ethical questions arise – such cases could even be compared to death penalties without the chance of trial (see Bingham 2011).

This topic is particularly important because of the injustices and unfair treatment experienced by the black community throughout the history of USA. It is each country's responsibility to protect the lives of its citizens and ensure its institutions are committed to the same aim. When this is failed, there should be active investigations to understand where the issues lie and how they could be solved. Otherwise, citizens are striped off of their fundamental rights and equal treatment fails.

1.1 The Issue

The tense relations between black citizens and police authorities in the United States has its roots in the formation of Slave Patrols in 1700's. The patrols were established to control slaves to ensure they would stay in captivity. After slavery was abolished, the patrols were replaced by militia-style groups who enforced local codes to deny and restrict black citizens' access to civil rights and the life of free men. After the Constitution amendments made them illegal, racial segregation was enacted. The emerging police forces of municipalities were tasked to enforce the law and it was often done violently. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.)

These past events have paved the way towards tensions and unfair treatment of black citizens by the police and the consequences of the past reach all the way to this day. The likelihood of being killed by police is 1 in 1000 among black men compared to 2 in 2000 among white men (Edwards, Lee & Esposito 2019). On average, police in the United States shoot three people each day, and more than 2500 police departments have shot and killed at least one person in the past six years (Fox, Blanco, Jenkins, Tate & Lowery 2019).

The magnitude of the issue becomes even more apparent when looking at the chart below (Chart 1). While only 13 % of the population in the United States is black, they make up 26 % of those who have been shot by police. Black Americans are even more disproportionately presented in the statistics that measure unarmed people shot and killed by the police: they make up 36 % of the victims. (Ibid.)
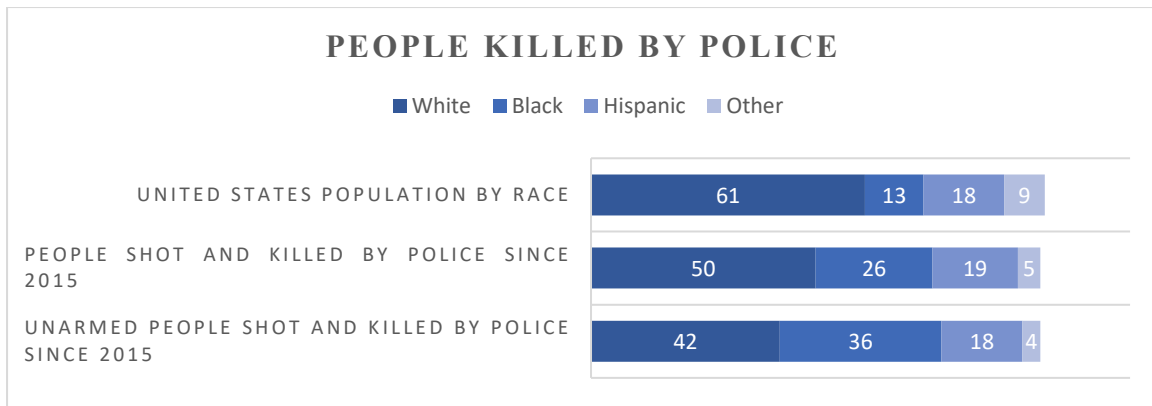
Chart 1. People killed by police. Credit: Fox, Blanco, Jenkins, Tate & Lowery 2019

1.2 This Study

This thesis researches the ability of different mechanisms to decrease racially motivated police violence. Additionally, this thesis looks at the root causes of racially motivated police violence that each mechanism is best suited for. The answers are looked for by presenting two questions: ''Does previous research provide support for the utilization of the mechanisms in decreasing racially motivated police violence?'' and ''What root cause of racially motivated police violence each mechanism can help to solve?''. The mechanisms that are evaluated in this study include body-worn cameras, standards for the use of force, penalties for racially biased policing, racial bias training, and limiting police militarization.

The scope of this study covers United States, as police institutions and the power police holds varies in each country: thus, combining studies from different countries could affect the reliability the results. Additionally, in comparison to other industrialized democracies, the police in United States kills the highest number of people (Edwards, Lee & Esposito 2019). The above-mentioned historical context also makes United States and interesting point of study for this topic.

Integrative literature review is used to analyze previous studies about the ability of the presented mechanisms to decrease racially motivated police violence. While there are multiple researches about different mechanisms, most of them fail to look at the effects of the mechanisms in different ethnical groups. Thus, it is not clear if the mechanisms are able to reduce police violence towards black citizens and it is difficult to evaluate their suitability when the aim is to reduce the violence experienced by black communities. This is why the results of these studies are analyzed against the root causes of racially motivated police

violence: it helps to understand if the mechanisms can deliver results in decreasing racially motivated police violence.

Additionally, as racially motivated police violence can be the consequence of various factors, this viewpoint helps to understand what root causes each mechanism can target. The theory of this thesis thus explores previous researches about the causes and origins of racially motivated police violence. These theories form the foundation for the analysis: based on them, it is possible to create categories to break down the results of the articles to be analyzed.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

To get started with the topic, I first introduce the central concepts and terms related to the study and explore their meaning. This is followed by theory that expands understanding about racially motivated police violence and its causes and provides context to this study. Many researches touching the topic of police violence and studies about decreasing it have their focus on police violence in general instead of taking racial view into consideration. This highlights the importance of the theoretical framework in this study, as it is important to analyze the studies selected for literature review in the context of racial violence. By having a theoretical background to refer to, it is possible to analyze the studies in a context that is relevant for this thesis.

After theoretical framework has been established, I go through the research questions and explain the study methods used for the thesis in detail. This study is conducted as an integrative literature review and the material is analyzed by using content analysis. This is followed by the selection of those methods to be analyzed that have been suggested as the solutions to decrease racially motivated police violence on media discussions. Searching of the material for the literature review is then detailed and the articles for analysis are chosen.

This is followed by introducing and explaining the contents of the selected articles. Further, their findings are presented, and reliability assessed. This is followed by an evaluation of the articles in order to answer the research questions. First the ability of the presented methods to to decrease racially motivated police violence is assessed, and then connections to theoretical framework are created by breaking down the studied articles and main categories are created.

Once the selected articles are analyzed, conclusions are drawn about each studied method and their ability to decrease racially motivated police violence, as well as their theoretical standing based on the literature and theories about the topic. Finally, the last section summarizes the findings of the study and provides suggestions for actions to be taken.

2 A Review of the Basics

To provide clarity and context for this research, I first introduce some relevant research and concepts relating to this study. The focus on the past research is on discovering what is already known about racially motivated police violence and its causes, and what has been tried and learnt from different approaches to decrease it. As one could expect, there are no easy answers or solutions, and as the case examples at the end of this section show, even if positive changes are achieved, they can be accompanied by unwanted and unexpected outcomes.

2.1 Justification of Policing

Because police violence is one of the most central terms of this study, there should be an idea of its meaning and contents. However, it is not an easy term to define: following from the unique nature of polices' work, using force against citizens is more or less inevitable. As Weber (1946/1999 p. 78.) has explained, state can be defined as a community that holds monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force. This combined with the idea about state of nature where everyone would be at war against one another without the existence of state (Hobbes 1651) can be used to justify the power mandate of the police. Further, they serve as a justification for police use of force: due to the nature of polices' job as representors of public institution and exercisers of public power, they have the right to use force in the name of the state.

Even though the power mandate of the police can be explained, the appropriate level for the use of force is still needs to be justified. When it comes to this aspect of polices' power, it is generally agreed that use of force should follow the proportionality principle: use of force should be in accordance with the situation at hand and not exceed what is reasonable considering the prevalent circumstances (see Poliisilaki 872/2011 § 3). Appropriate level for the use of force is thus situational and the need for it varies depending on the situation.

When the aspect of racism is added into the mixture, there are further questions – how racially motivated police violence differs from police violence? If there is an agreement that certain behavior is violent, what factors need to be added for the violent behavior to become racially motivated? Is it enough if we rely on the definition of racism as a belief system, systematic oppression, or political or social system founded on racism (Merriam-Webster), and apply it to policing context?

Considering these factors, the term of racially motivated police violence is rather vague and hollow by nature. One way to approach the definition in the context of public institutions and policing is by separating between institutional (also referred to as organizational) violence and violence that originates from individuals regardless of institutions, often as a consequence of biases the individual holds (see Kahn & Martin 2016, p. 88–91). Before these terms are looked at closer, I first introduce some basic ideas about the contents of police violence and racially motivated police violence. The concepts of institutional and individual-originated violence build and expand on these concepts, so it is necessary to define them first.

2.2 Defining Racially Motivated Police Violence

Police violence in general can be understood as actions of individual police officers. It can emerge in a form of unjustified physical violence by those individuals who are representatives of government institutions, such as police. (Bryant-Davis, Adams, Alejandre & Gray 2017, p. 853.) It can also be defined as violations of human rights by the police that can take the form of unlawful killings, beatings, torture, indiscriminatory use of riot control agents at protests, or racial abuse (Amnesty International). These definitions look at the individual origins of police violence: the focus is on the actions of an individual rather than an organization. However, Amnesty International's definition could further be expanded to cover wrongdoings that occur in organizations at large, so it can be applied to both aspects of the police violence.

The definitions of racially motivated police violence are not that different from the definitions of general police violence. Many of them describe racially motivated police violence similarly to police violence, with the difference of adding people of color as the targets of the violence. (see e.g.: Dukes & Kahn 2017, p. 691; Souhami 2014, p. 5.) Based on these definitions any act by police that is considered violent becomes racially motivated if the victim is a person of color. Therefore, these definitions fail at looking at the motives and origins of the violence. To understand racially motivated violence better and to give it a more precise definition, above-mentioned concepts about institutional violence and individual-originated violence are needed.

The idea of these two concepts was first brought up into the consciousness of bigger audience in the infamous Macpherson letter (1999). Macpherson wrote the letter as the final report of a murder case involving police and a black citizen as the appointed head of the inquiry of the case. In the letter, Macpherson stresses the importance of differentiating between violence

originating from individuals and violence originating from institutions: just because an individual or several individuals within an institution engage in racist activities or act in a racist way does not mean the entire organization they work in is racist and vice versa (6.5–6.10).

In the letter, Macpherson discusses the idea of institutional racism and provides a comprehensive definition for it. From word to word, he defines it as

> The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (6.34.)

In this definition institutional racism is characterized by the inability of an organization to treat people equally because of someone's personal qualities. The defects in the treatment become an issue of the organization, contributed by the individuals working in the organization. Further, Macpherson elaborates that institutional racism can take form in two ways: it can be explicit and originate from policy and direction levels or be implicit and can take the form of unwitting discrimination at the organizational level, making it more difficult to detect (6.15). Thus, it can be active or passive: when it is not actively practiced by individuals, it can exist in the organizational structures. It can also take place knowingly or unknowingly, so it is not always practiced deliberately.

Carmichael and Hamilton (1967, pp. 20–21) define institutional racism as anti-black practices and attitudes that are present in the established and respected forces of the society. It is active and pervasive in nature and build on a belief of superiority: whites are seen superior to blacks. These believes, as well as practices and attitudes originating from it are present both in the organizational level and in individuals operating in the organizations. In this definition institutional racism includes three dimensions: it needs to come from an established societal actor, it needs to be rooted in the attitudes and practices, and there needs to be a division between ''us'' and ''them''. The racism is not necessarily conscious, but it is visible to the individuals experiencing it.

Based on these descriptions, racially motivated police violence is no longer understood as any violence by police when the victim is a person of color, but instead as discriminatory actions that take place within institutional structures and / or by an individual representing an

institution based on the subjects' ethnicity. Actions of multiple individuals within an organization contribute to organizational practices and structures that induce racism and racist actions, making it both explicit and implicit and difficult to abolish. Next, I am expanding the concept racial violence by adding the dimension of racially motivated violence to it. Reasons behind racial bias are looked at, and the process of individual racism turning into an organizational racism is explored.

3 Establishing Theoretical Settings

Now that there is a better idea about the central concepts related to this study, relevant theories are introduced to provide a context for the study. Past studies explore the roots of racially motivated police violence, both from institutional and individual viewpoints. This section expands the understanding of the causes of racially motivated police violence and looks at two case examples to demonstrate what attempts have been taken in the past and how they have succeeded.

3.1 Sociological, Psychological, and Organizational Causes

One classical way to approach the reasons behind racially motivated police violence is by examining it under three distinctive branches of research: sociological, psychological, and organizational branches. Many studies have been conducted about these views in order to explain and understand police violence and racially motivated police violence and they have been cited as promising frameworks for studying the issue. This is why they are presented here and used in this study. Organizational view elaborates the institutional roots of racially motivated police violence, whereas psychological and sociological rather focus on the individual level. However, they also help to explain institutional violence: when certain individuals come to operate in groups, they have an effect on the surrounding people and organizations. (see Worden 1995; Klinger 2005; Wolfe & Piquero 2011).

In sociological research, the behavior of police officers is understood to be dependent on the nature of police-citizen encounters. The attributes and perceived status of a citizen influence the actions the officers, consciously or unconsciously, choose to take. This makes the police officers more likely to exceed appropriate use of force when the encounter takes place with a representative of racial or ethnic minority. (Worden 1995, p. 23–25.) This theory is tied to that of racial bias, which is looked at closer later in this study.

The psychological theory on the other hand argues that personality traits of individual police officers explain the actions taken and decisions that are made during citizen encounters. From this perspective, individual qualities such as race, gender, and educational background effect the way police officers behave and treat citizens, much like in the sociological theory. One of the views build on the psychological theory places police officers into categories based on their approach to different situations, varying from a ''tough cop'' to a ''problem-solver''. Although these categorizations have received notable criticism, they have not been

completely abandoned. However, it has been noted that because personality is rather challenging to alter, actions targeted towards psychological dimension are not the most effective ones in reducing racially motivated police violence. (Ibid., p. 25–28.)

The organizational theory focuses on the organizational settings surrounding the police officers, making it relevant in understanding the institutional origins of racially motivated police violence. Attempts to reduce police violence with methods based on organizational theory could have the highest chances to succeed because organizations are easier to alter than individual traits which are in the center of sociological and psychological theories. One of the aspects of organizational theory is that of administrative controls. Policies can be used to establish the limits for acceptable use of deadly force and the usage of firearms. They can also be used to set requirements for procedures and standards. (Ibid., p. 28–29.) Administrative controls directly target the explicit form of institutional racism as defined by Macpherson (see above: section 2.1) and could be an efficient method to decrease it.

Another aspect to organizational theory is that of culture. It can be either organizational or occupational. This distinction is important to understand, especially when the goal is to reduce racially motivated police violence – it is easier to change organizational culture than it is to alter occupational culture, and they both require different approaches. Occupational culture is tied to the surrounding peer group and picked up from other police officers in the organization. Occupational culture is strongly established and thus rather difficult to alter as it originates from informal settings from the field outside the reach of formal supervision. As police officers start their job, they are often encouraged to leave the principles and attitudes of their formal training behind by their peers, so the issue cannot simply be solved by training. (Ibid., p. 29–32.) Occupational culture is thus tied to the institutional settings, as well as the individuals within organizations. If multiple individuals operating under the same institution develop their own set of norms, they could eventually become reflected to groups, and further to the organizational level. Discrimination in this form is shares many similarities with the unwitting discrimination described by Macpherson (see above: section 2.1), which is difficult to detect and alter.

The concept of occupational culture can be further elaborated by using the concept of cop (or police) culture, which has more negative tones to it and is also more attached to the issue of racial bias and violence than occupational culture. According to Nhan (2014) the way police officers perceive their environment and act on it is based on a set of values. These values are

characterized by group introversion and negative perceptions about civilians as a threat or as enemies. This can lead into protection of peers at the cost of accepting and hiding misconducts. The culture is connected to the collective memory of the police officers and enforces hostile perceptions towards black communities and other minority groups.

Further, the material officers are exposed to during their training can contribute to the ideas and perceptions the police officers hold about civilians and persons of color. Lack of interaction with non-whites and non-police officers outside the work context can also contribute to the development of stereotypical ideas about people of color and to negative occupational and cop cultures. (Beauchamp 2020; Rowe 2004, p. 47.) This aspect of occupational culture is also described in Macpherson's (1999, 6.28) letter. He notes how institutional racism in the police force can be attached to the occupational culture: because most of the police officers are white, the white experience gets a disproportionate weight, leaving black experiences, values, and culture into its shadow. These differences create a division that could distance police officers from the community and further complicates the attempts to alter the occupational culture.

On the contrary, organizational culture is more prone to variations between different departments and locations and easier to alter than occupational or cop culture. Organizational culture can be defined as the product of administrative structures that is tied to leadership and management. Because of this, it is possible to affect and alter it through trainings and incentive structures: by reducing incentives to violent practices and by increasing the sanctions attached to violent behavior, it is possible to achieve positive changes in the police behavior and decrease racially motivated police violence. (Worden 30–32.) In this light, altering organizational culture would be better use of resources rather than focusing on individuals or occupational and cop cultures.

3.2 Racial Bias

Racial bias is commonly brought up as one of the root causes for racially motivated police violence at individual level. Analysis of the attitudes and values of police officers have shown that police officers hold xenophobic and racial stereotypes more commonly than what is present in the population at large. These attitudes actualize in various forms: black people are more likely to become stopped and incarcerated, they are more likely to be shot and to experience use of force by the police officers than white people. (Goff & Kahn 2012, p. 178–179.)

The racial biases hold by police officers can be either explicit or implicit. If an individual police officer has accepted or been influenced by the negative and stereotypical images presented in the society, it can very well impact their behavior on their work role, whether or not an individual acknowledges it. (Greenwald & Banaji 1995.)

Previous researches have explored evidence to support the existence of racial bias: police officers are not only more likely to mistakenly shoot an unarmed black compared to whites, but they are also more likely to shoot black individuals when the situation requires quick decision-making. Based on analysis of police behavior, racial stereotypes play a notable role in these situations. They can receive a disproportionate role in individual officers' mind and therefore, they could view black citizens more negatively than whites. Prevalent stereotypes often lead into seeing all black people as aggressive and dangerous, regardless of the situation and surrounding factors. This affects the decisions the police officer makes as they can feel threatened even if there is no real reason to feel that way. As a consequence, they are more likely to resort to extreme actions and exceed what the situation requires. (Kahn & Martin 2016, p. 91–97.)

Prevalence of racial bias among police officers is an issue, as they have the mandate to use public power. It explains biases and racist behavior on individual level, but it does not justify it. As has been noted above, individual causes of racially motivated police violence are rather difficult to alter compared to organizational causes, so there are no easy ways to solve the issue of racial bias. However, good relations between communities and police could be helpful. This view is explored closer below.

3.3 The Role of Community and Trust

The way police operates in communities affects the relations to and trust within the communities in relation to the police, but the community itself could also contribute to the presence of racial bias. If the community perceives the actions of police officers unjust repeatedly, it decreases the trust and legitimacy towards the police which in turn could increase violent encounters in a long run. This could make black communities and their members stigmatized as violent on a general level, regardless of the nature of each encounter and individual – in other words, it could contribute to the racial bias. (Brunson & Kau 2014, p. 365–370; Kahn & Martin 2016.) Because of this, it is important that the police and community have a good relationship: presence of trust is beneficial for both parties as it can help in avoiding violent encounters and the escalation of encounters.

To enhance the relations and to build trust, any changes made must be systematic. The changes need to involve the whole organization from managerial level to the patrol officers. Fair and respectful treatment of the community members must be the norm and there should be no differences in the treatment between communities and neighborhoods. Accountability paired with transparency and communication are one of the key elements in this, as is active participation of the communities. They need to have the chance to be heard and receive an active role in building the community-policing relations. (Brunson & Kau 2014, pp. 365; 372–374.)

If the police wishes their efforts to enhance the community relations to succeed, strategies and changes in police practices and behavior alone will not suffice. The police needs to utilize the community and understand how it operates. An efficient way to get the positive changes noted in the community is by having the community to talk about them. When encounters with the community members become increasingly positive, the community members will eventually start to share their experiences and become less suspicious and more trusting towards the police as a consequence. (Ibid.; Wood & Brunson 2011.)

3.4 Community Oversight

One way to have the community involved is by utilizing community oversight when police misconduct complaints are being investigated. Having these investigations conducted by the police is problematic, as guaranteeing objectivity is difficult since police can be prone to protect their peers. Complaints that are handled with external civilian insight are more likely to lead into sustained complaints than those handled by the police (Terrill & Ingram 2015, p. 12–22). Civilian oversight gives the community a chance to feel valued and heard which can further help in building trust between communities and police.

3.5 Community Race Relations Training

One of the approaches to enhancing the relationship between the community and the police and decreasing racial bias is through community race relations training. It is not a uniform practice, but rather something that is left up to individual police organizations. The aim of the community race relations training is to alter the behavior of police officers into positive direction by affecting their attitudes and values. (Rowe 2004, p. 61–63.)

Race relations training provides the community with an opportunity to be heard, as it is possible to include a section with representatives of ethnic minorities sharing their past

experiences and encounters with police officers. However, trainings focusing only on this aspect carry some issues: without changes being made in the organizational level, police officers are merely burdened with the guilt that comes with awareness. Therefore, race relation trainings alone are not enough to constitute change, but changes in the organizational level are also necessary. (Ibid.; p. 69–73.)

As it can be seen based on the arguments in this section, good community relations can help to create positive images both ways. This is particularly helpful from the viewpoint of racial bias, since positive encounters can help to battle negative images and stereotypes. However, such positive encounters can only happen if the police actively seeks to avoid excessive use of force and ensures that it treats all communities with the same respect and applies the same rules regardless of the location.

3.6 Policies, Management, and Administrative Measures

Even though racial bias has been recognized as an issue among police officers, United States still lacks a law that would forbid racial profiling (see e.g., Goff & Kahn 2012). Utilization of policies to prevent and limit police violence in general is also defective around the country. The existing policies fail at offering guidance and state the limits to the use of force. They mostly rely on the bare minimum provided by the constitution without further descriptions. This vague definition (''police use of force must be reasonable'') is not adequate enough as such to prevent excessive use of force, as it leaves too much leeway for an individual. It also fails to provide the victims of police violence with sufficient resources to take their case forward. (Obasogie & Newman 2017, p. 279–280.)

The lack of laws that would criminalize racial profiling is an issue, particularly because racial bias is common among police officers (see section 3.2). Such law would not only be important symbolically, but because it would clearly state what is acceptable and what is not. This way it would be an administrative measure that targets the organizational dimension of racially motivated police violence, which is known to be easier to alter than personal causes (see section 3.1).

3.7 Recruitment

As recruitment process essentially defines who becomes a police officer and receives the mandate for the use of force as a representor of public power, the process of selecting future police officers matters. Based on reviews of police complaints, male officers are far more

likely to become the subject of complaints than female officers are (Bergman, Walker & Jean 2016, p. 593). Female officers also appear to be using less force than their male colleagues (Bolger 2014, p. 481–482).

Careful consideration and examination of the characteristics of individual police officers could also help in battling racially motivated police violence. Some individuals are more prone to situational bias on minority encounters than others, so taking these factors into account during the recruitment phase could work as a preventative measure (Goff & Rau 2020, pp. 67). Overall, careful recruitment process could be a tool for fighting the individual causes of racially motivated police violence: individual characteristic are challenging to change, so by selecting candidates without a strong bias it could be possible to avoid violent encounters that originate from police officers' biases.

3.8 Diversity of the Workforce

There has been a recent emergence of studies regarding the role of the diversity of the police force in decreasing racially motivated police violence and unnecessary shootings and killings. This can take place through two different mechanisms: firstly, diversity of the workforce helps to build legitimacy in the eyes of the civilians, as more diverse workforce would represent the communities better. Secondly, diverse background of the workforce would also help the Caucasian police officers to have positive contacts with non-whites in neutral settings. This could help against racial biases and create positive perceptions of non-whites. (Smith 2003, p. 150.) Workforce diversity can also help to battle racism and racist attitudes within police organizations as individuals in the organizations get to know people representing minorities and minority members get representation for their views, ideas, and values in the organization (Bhugowandeen 2013).

The benefits of diverse workforce have also received support in a research conducted by Hong (2016). She collected material from English and Welsh police stretching over a ten-year period and discovered a positive correlation between the diversity of workforce and a decrease in police misconduct. What is important is the finding that diversity within police organizations also leads into a decrease in complaints from black people. Additionally, it alters the attitudes and behavior of the workforce towards the minorities into a positive direction, which further leads into a greater satisfaction among the minority civilians. (Ibid. p. 195–196.)

Diversity of the workforce has same benefits as careful recruitment process does: it helps to build a workforce that is tolerable and less likely to hold strong racial biases. Diverse workforce would also be beneficial for the police-community relations as it can help in building trust and legitimacy. Together they could be an effective way against the individual causes of racially motivated police violence.

3.9 Former Experiences with Reformations

There have been attempts to decrease racially motivated police violence in the past through reformations. Perhaps the most well-known case is that of New Jersey where structural reforms were made in the cities of Camden and Newark. These cities mostly populated by black people were struggling with violence issues. The changes that took place were successful in reducing crime, both by the police and the civilians. However, they also created new issues and have received a lot of criticism. (Rao 2020; Schuppe 2020; Danley 2020.)

The city of Camden decided to abolish the city police entirely and replace it by hiring police officers under the local county jurisdiction instead. Policies were updated to define the limits for the use of force and allowed actions with civilian encounters. Leadership experienced changes and transparency and low hierarchy became dominant principles. These changes clarified accountability and responsibilities of the police officers regarding their actions. (Ibid.)

In Newark, the approach was less radical: instead of abolishing the existing institution, emphasize was put on advancing the relationship between the community and police. A citizen review board was set up to investigate police abuse cases. Policies regarding the use of force were reformed and the police officers participated training to learn to recognize racial bias. Programs have been established to enhance the community relations and to have officers involved in questionable practices to face consequences. Social workers have also been involved more in cases involving homeless people and drug abusers to offer needed help for the offenders. (Ibid.)

Both reformations have received criticism, particularly from black communities. In the city of Newark, black people are still more likely to get stopped by the police and are subjects to use of force more often than non-blacks. Recently there has been an increase in reports regarding these allegations and the success of the reform has been widely questioned. Despite the

efforts put into healing the police-community relations, a sense of distrust is still present, and civilians have issues in trusting the police and feeling safe around them. (Ibid.)

The city of Camden has struggled with similar issues after the changes and the civilians still feel the police officers are distant to the community and are not representative of it. The changes also lead to broken window policing and the arrests of people of color increased. Only after the local community was involved in the process, the reform took on a positive direction. (Ibid.)

Based on these past cases, it is possible to argue that reformations are not always the best solution for reducing police violence. Healing the community-police relationships is not a straightforward process, and neither is changing the way police operates and thinks. Perhaps Newark and Camden tried to do too much at once without sufficient resources or throughout planning and implementation. It would be wrong to argue that because of issues related to these reformations, no reformations should never be made. There are multiple situational factors that affect the success of changes, one of them being the root cause of the issues and selecting mechanisms that target the issues. It is also good to keep in mind that any given change can be executed in various ways, and some of them are better suitable for achieving the aims than other.

4 Implementation of the Thesis

This section looks at the empirical dimension of the thesis and explains the research questions. It also includes descriptions of the research methods and their implementation, as well as description of the analysis method. At the end of this section, there is a chapter discussing the reliability of this study. Ethical considerations are also taken into account and discussed briefly.

4.1 Object of the Research

The purpose of this study is to broaden understanding about racially motivated police violence and the ability of different mechanisms to decrease it within United States. It is supposed to provide understanding about mechanisms that work and those that does not and the mirror the mechanisms against existing theories to provide a wider understanding of them. Looking for similarities with theories helps to understand which issues each method is able to tackle. This information can be used to select mechanisms that target the issues that a police organization struggles with, whether it be in the organizational, individual or workforce, or some other level of the police department.

The reasons behind limiting the scope of the study to only cover United States is because of its topical nature. The issue is being discussed and the country is under a pressure to make changes, so there is a need for better understanding about different solutions. The limitation is also done because police organizations and their practices differ between countries. Societies in general are also different, meaning that there are differences in crime rates and the rights of the police, but also the rights of the citizens. It would be challenging to take all the differences into account when analysis is conducted – the differences between countries and societies are likely to affect the consequences different mechanisms have on police behavior and racially motivated police violence.

As there are numerous measures that have been tried and suggested to solve the issue of racially motivated police violence, the first step is to choose those measures that are to be looked at in this study. There has been a surge of public interest regarding the issue in the aftermath of the killing of George Floyd and this has led into demands and news articles regarding what ought to be done. Thus, this study focuses on the methods that have been visibly written about in different media platforms after the said case. Not only does this study help to understand which of these demands have evidence to support their use, but it also

helps to limit the scope of the study to such measures that are topical. It is important to understand the usefulness of popular and demanded solutions as increased public attention towards them can cause pressures to take them into use.

Based on the reasons presented above, the research questions are following:

> 1. Does previous research provide support for the utilization of the suggested mechanisms in decreasing racially motivated police violence?
>
> 2. What root causes of racially motivated police violence each mechanism can help to solve?

The first research question is important because it provides understanding about the ability of different mechanisms to decrease racially motivated police violence. Additionally, as reasoned above, it helps to understand which demands should be looked at closer when seeking ways to reduce racially motivated police violence. It guides the focus in the ocean of the demands and works as an instrument for evidence-based decision-making.

The second research question is presented because it is not only important to understand whether specific mechanism can decrease racially motivated police violence or force changes in police officers' behavior, but also to understand the root causes or issues each mechanism can help to solve. This makes it possible to choose mechanisms that are best suited for different problems. The reasons and root causes behind racially motivated police violence are not simple, and it can be the consequence of multiple different reasons. Therefore, it is interesting to analyze if certain mechanisms are connected to specific causes. This could also help to explain and understand conflicting results about the efficiency of different mechanisms. Deeper understanding about underlaying connections could help to create tailored solutions that take into account the features and issues of different police organizations.

The question about the root causes also makes it possible to conduct an analysis that connects this issue to the theory. It enables conducting an analysis in such a way, that it is possible break the results of the articles down and look for connections to the theories about racially motivated police violence. Consequently, it also becomes possible to present suggestions about relevant actions that are connected to the root causes.

The second question also brings the racial context back to the analyzed studies – much of the previous research has not solely focused on changes in racially motivated police violence, but

on police violence in general. By mirroring the results against existing theories about racially motivated police violence it is possible to understand the results within the context of racially motivated police violence and evaluate the effects of the mechanism from that viewpoint.

4.2 Focus of the Study

As the purpose of this thesis is to look at popular and topical methods that have received the public's attention and support, a poll conducted by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research (AP-NORC, 2020) operating under the University of Chicago is used to select the mechanisms that are going to be analyzed in this study. The poll by AP-NORC measured the opinions of people around United States on various mechanisms that had been commonly present in media and been demanded by protestors around the country.

The mechanisms presented in the poll are following:

1. Requiring on-duty police officers to wear video cameras that would record their interactions with the public as they occur.

2. Requiring police officers to report misconduct by their peers.

3. Establishing clear standards for the use of force by police officers.

4. Prosecuting police officers who use excessive force.

5. Penalizing officers for racially biased policing.

6. Requiring all police officers to participate in more extensive racial bias training.

7. Penalizing police supervisors for racially biased policing by their subordinate police officers.

8. Limiting the use of military equipment.

9. Reducing the criminal justice system's focus on policing and prosecuting low-level offenses.

10. Reducing funding for law enforcement agencies.

Due to limitations placed on this thesis by time and resources, it is not reasonable to study all ten measures presented above. For this reason, I choose five of the presented options by using simple random sampling. It gives each of the measures an equal chance to become picked. There are multiple methods for randomly implementing the simple random sampling, and in this research, I use a random number generator as my tool of implementation. (University of Tampere.)

4.3 Method and Analysis

To provide an answer to the research questions, I am selecting literature review as my method of choice. As I am aiming to find common factors uniting the suggested methods by reflecting previous research, integrative literature review is the most suitable form of literature review. It belongs under descriptive literature studies and its purpose is to provide a broad description of the research topic and to create categories based on previous research. It is also suitable because it allows extensive research questions and topics: the methods presented in the AP-NORC's (2020) poll are not centered around one topic or theme but cover multiple different approaches. By using integrative literature review, I am able to analyze these different mechanisms in a reliable way. (Salminen 2011, p. 6–8.)

Integrative literature review is recommended method for those who seek to create new knowledge based on existing research. There are no strict limitations for the chosen literature, and it is possible to utilize larger base of material if the research setting requires so. Integrative literature review is also allowing as it permits using research that differs in methods and perspectives. (Ibid.) Because this research is looking at an array of mechanisms covering various fields of studies, having source material that relies on different methods is inevitable. Researches that have been conducted in different fields of studies are also useful for this study, because it helps at providing a broader view to the issue. Root causes of racially motivated police violence are not only limited to one field, so excluding some fields could negatively affect the results. Thus, choosing a method that places as few limitations to the scope of source material as possible is justifiable.

Integrative literature review also requires critique from the researcher towards previous researches. (Ibid.) This aspect is particularly important when conclusions from the previous research is drawn, as the reliability of the studies needs to be evaluated. Evaluation of the reliability allows making more informed conclusions about the results of the studies used as source material. Criticality is also important because the topic of this research is prone to strong reactions that could affect the way the researchers analyze and interpret the results of their studies.

The analysis of the material is carried out with the help of content analysis. Content analysis focuses on bringing out the consistencies that are present in the material, but also on pinpointing possible differences and inconsistencies. It is the recommended method when the researcher wants to summarize the central findings of the studies they analyze. Content

analysis can be either centered around an applicable theory or the researched material or both. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, chapter 4.) This research is utilizing theory-based approach, as the mechanisms presented in the AP-NORC's (2020) poll are mirrored against existing theories about racially motivated police violence.

To conduct the analysis, three phases are required: reduction or simplification of the material, grouping of the material, and abstraction of the material. During the simplification phase, the material is read trough and relevant findings are highlighted and re-written into a concise form. Then, in the grouping phase, the summarized findings with similar meanings are categorized to form their own group. The abstraction of the material is then done to form main groups out of the groups found during phase two. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018, chapter 4.) The application of this analysis method into the study at hand is explained closer in the chapter 4.6.

4.4 Arranging the Research

As a first step towards the analysis and conclusions, simple random sampling is carried out to narrow down the mechanisms presented in the AP-NORC's (2020) poll. Each option is given a number ranging from one to ten. After this, an online-based random number generator is set to provide five numbers between one and ten. The numbers provided by the random number generator are then going to form the base for this research, and those mechanisms are analyzed in this study.

After carrying out the simple random sampling as described above, the mechanisms to be analyzed for this research narrowed down to the following five:

      1. Requiring on-duty police officers to wear video cameras that would record their interactions with the public as they occur.

      3. Establishing clear standards for the use of force by police officers.

      5. Penalizing officers for racially biased policing.

      6. Requiring all police officers to participate in more extensive racial bias learning.

      8. Limiting the use of military equipment.

To find the source material to be analyzed, the Tampere University Library's Andor search device and Google Scholar are used. The reason for choosing these two search engines is

their ability to offer researches covering various fields of studies. As reasoned above, the scope of this study reaches over multiple fields. Using a search engine specified for one field of study could not provide enough relevant studies. Integrative literature research also supports utilizing a wide base of source material, so the method of this study supports the suitability of unspecified search engines. Google Scholar could potentially have wider range of studies that have been conducted in United States compared to the search engine of Tampere University, which is why it is reasonable to use both.

4.5 Search Terms

The search terms used in both of the search engines are same.

As the methods that are selected to the analysis cover various fields, the nature of the study is interdisciplinary. Thus, the fields of studies were not strictly limited. However, emphasize was put on studies in the field of social sciences, psychology, and administrative studies, meaning that researches from these fields were favored over researches from other fields, as these fields have connections to the theory presented in this thesis.

Following from the interdisciplinary nature of this study, no limitations for the study methods are placed: both quantitative and qualitative studies can become selected. The reliability of the studies is evaluated by looking at the writers' education, the paper the study is published in, or the university that published the paper, and the publication year. Possible sponsors of the study are also looked on those cases when this information was available.

Only studies published after the year 2000 were accepted, except for one exception. One of the selected studies has been published in 1994, and the reason for accepting the study is its significance and relevance to this study, and because the research was tied to significant changes that had taken place at the time and have effects to this day.

The search terms used to cover the scope of body-worn cameras are following: ''body cameras AND police violence OR police officers'' and ''racially motivated violence OR police violence AND body cameras''.

To find research related to establishing clear standards for the use of force, following search terms were used: ''use of force policies AND police use of force OR racially motivated police violence OR police violence'', ''excessive use of force AND police officers AND use of force policies''.

To find research related to the effects of penalizing police officers for racially biased policing, following search terms were used: ''penalties AND racially biased policing OR police violence OR racially motivated police violence'', ''penalizing police officers AND racially motivated police violence OR police violence OR behavioral change''.

To find articles related to the effects of extensive racial bias learning, search terms ''police officers AND extensive racial bias learning AND racially motivated police violence OR police violence '' and ''racial bias training AND behavioral changes AND police officers '' were used.

Research related to limiting the use of military equipment was searched by using ''military equipment AND police violence OR racially motivated police violence '' and ''military equipment in policing AND police violence OR racially motivated police violence '' in the search engines.

4.6 Conduction of the Analysis

The analysis is conducted in accordance with the theory presented in the section 4.3 Method and Analysis. To answer the first research question, '' Does previous research provide support for the utilization of the suggested methods in decreasing racially motivated police violence?'' the studies are evaluated based on the results and the scope of the study. The general reliability of the study is also evaluated as a part of the analysis. Based on these factors, I evaluate whether or not the study provides support for the ability of the studied mechanism to decrease racially motivated police violence.

To answer the research question ''What root causes of racially motivated police violence each mechanism can help to solve?'', three-phase analysis is conducted (see section 4.3). The first phase, called the simplification phase, is conducted by printing the studies that have been selected among the search results and by reading them through and making markings on the papers. The most relevant words, terms, phrases, and ideas that appear in the written text are marked with a highlighter.

After the most relevant parts have been highlighted, I carry out the grouping phase. To form sub-groups, I go through the highlighted words and look for similarities. Based on these similarities I choose a relevant term that describes them the best. These terms are then written down to post-it notes to make it easier to look for further similarities between the sub-groups.

Once grouping phase has been conducted, I move on to the final phase of the analysis. This phase, called the abstraction, is done by forming main groups based on the terms created during the grouping phase. Post-it notes containing terms (sub-groups) that are similar to each other, are brought together and a term to describe them is chosen. The terms are selected based on previous research, and they form the main groups.

4.7 General Reliability and Ethical Considerations

The biggest issue related to the reliability of this study is its scope. As it analyzes five different mechanisms, it cannot be as comprehensive and pervasive as a more specified study could be. While selecting studies that are both quantitative and qualitative, or case studies, is accepted in integrative literature reviews, this can negatively affect the general reliability of the conclusions I make.

The reliability of this study is further affected by my background. While interdisciplinarity can bring more dimension to the study, it can also be viewed as an issue as my background is in administrative sciences. This can limit my ability to evaluate the reliability of the previous studies and affect the way I understand the results.

One important consideration regarding the reliability of this study is to ensure that I only use relevant material. This is particularly important because of the broad scope of the thesis and because of the number of articles conducting this study requires. It is easy to get lost when selecting the articles, so it is important that I pay attention to the focus of the articles. This way I can ensure that I choose articles that are comparable despite the differences in study methods and fields of studies. Taking the focus into account can also help to provide new fresh views into the issue, if I am able to find articles from different fields of studies.

As I am utilizing previous research as my material, the general questions related to anonymity and similar factors are not much of an issue. However, it is important to evaluate the ethicality of the studies I select to avoid using ethically questionable studies. It is also important to avoid biased studies, stay alert for signs that could indicate racist undertones or aims. However, it is also equally important that I choose a wide range of studies, which means that I need to choose articles that have different viewpoints. While articles that have indications of racism will not be accepted, I cannot reject an article is the results question the usability of the mechanism if the study itself is conducted objectively and written in a neutral form.

Other ethical consideration that I need to keep in mind is how I communicate the results and the language I use throughout the study. I need to make sure I use neutral language, but also ensure that the language I use is clear and understandable. This makes it easier to evaluate and criticize this study and it also makes it more accessible. As English is not my first language, I need to pay careful attention to the understandability and readability of this study.

5 Review of the Selected Articles

This section presents the articles that are chosen for the analysis. There is a table (Table 1) at the end of this chapter that lists all selected articles and their writers and summarizes the studies and their result. All in all, 12 articles became selected: three articles are about body-worn cameras, two about use of force standards, two about the use of penalties for racially biased policing, two about bias training, and three are about police militarization. The compatibility and comparability of the articles of each mechanism is discussed briefly below in the section 5.6.

5.1 Body-worn cameras

The first mechanism I am analyzing is the demand for police officers to wear a body camera while performing their tasks in the field. While the AP-NORC poll did not specify the aims of this change, the usage of body cameras is generally argued to make it easier to hold individual police officers accountable on their misconducts and decrease unnecessary use of force. Below three studies regarding the ability of body-worn cameras to decrease police violence are presented.

5.1.1 Body-Worn Cameras in Washington, DC

The first research I am looking at took place in the Government of the District of Columbia. Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock (2017) conducted a research in Metropolitan Police Department including over 2000 police officers, covering the entire city. A randomized controlled trial was set up and the police officers were divided into two groups.

One of the groups was assigned to wear body-cameras and the other group kept working without body-cameras. Both of the groups contained about the same number of participants and had high compliance rates. Administrative data was used for the analysis, with a focus on use of force, judicial outcomes, policing activity, and civilian complaints. Analysis of the data did not result in statistically significant changes on any of the measured categories.

Although this research was not focused on racially motivated police violence, its results indicate that body-worn cameras may not be able to enforce changes in police behavior in general. The sample size of the research is notable which increases the reliability of the results. However, the research was focused on one city, so extrapolating the results to cover

locations of all sizes would be unsensible, as the size of the city and resulting factors could affect the results.

5.1.2 Impacts of Body-Worn Cameras in a Small City

Another research of the impact of body-worn cameras was conducted by Headley, Guerette, and Shariati (2017). The research was made for Hallandale Beach Police Department employing 144 police officers. The research is composed of a survey measuring the police officer's attitudes and receptiveness and an analysis of administrative data measuring the police officers' performance. The performance data includes performance outcomes measuring arrests, citations, field contacts, external complaints, use of force, assaults on officer, and non-violent resistance. Additionally, officer activity was measured to detect any changes. Both the questionnaires and administrative data was collected before and after the utilization of body-worn cameras in the department. The research was arranged as a partially randomized research.

The overall results of the study are positive: body-worn cameras lead into a decrease in intrusive methods with citizen encounters. The performance of the police officers did not suffer, and performance of duties remained at the same level as it was prior to the body-worn camera utilization. The collected data also suggests that the police officers who wear body-cameras are less likely to conduct arrests and more likely have voluntary field contacts with citizens. Analysis of the data did not result in detectable changes in the use of force by police officers – although it is good to note that the amount of use of force incidents was low during the course of the research. Hence the results are uncertain in that regard, as it is difficult to draw conclusions from small amounts of data.

Although this research, like the one presented above, does not differentiate between the ethnicity of the citizens, it can be used to understand the general impacts of body-worn cameras on police officer behavior. The results of the study indicate that body-worn cameras could have a positive impact on police-citizen encounters through increased voluntary field contacts, even if there would be no changes in the use of force by police officers. The sample size and the police department in question are fairly small, so perhaps body-worn cameras could have bigger impact in smaller cities.

5.1.3 Body-Worn Cameras in a Mid-Sized City

Jennings, Lynch, and Fridell (2015) evaluated the impacts of body-worn cameras on police officer behavior in Orlando Police Department. The study involved 89 police officers and was arranged as a randomized experiment where half of the participants were assigned to wear body-worn cameras, and the remaining half were assigned to not to wear them. The data was collected by surveys measuring the attitudes and perceptions of police officers, and by using administrative data including serious external complaints and response-to-resistance incidents to measure use of force.

Analysis of the data resulted in a significant decrease in the response-to-resistance incidents and in the amounts of serious external complaints between the groups. The police officers who were assigned to use body-worn cameras seemed to change their approach in citizen encounters, resulting in positive changes in their use of force and a decrease in both serious external complaints and response-to-resistance incidents. Additionally, the police officers hold positive perceptions about body-worn cameras and believe in their capability to de-escalate confrontations with citizens.

As in the Hallandale Police Department, the utilization of body-worn cameras seem to have a positive impact to police-citizen encounters. Additionally, they seem to enforce positive behavioral changes resulting in less use of force. Although the sample size of the research is small, it provides support for the utilization of body-worn cameras in a mid-sized city.

5.2 Establishing Standards for the Use of Force

The third suggestion in AP-NORC's poll is establishing clear standards for the use of force by police officers. Current practice is scattered and lacks uniformity, as there the use of force policies vary from state to state and even between police departments of the same state.

The first step towards a more unified practice was taken after the Garner Decision. Supreme Court judgement of the case ruled that police use of force is only justifiable when an officer has a probable cause to believe that the suspect poses a significant threat of death or serious physical injury to another person, whether it be the officer or an outsider. (Tennenbaum 1994, p. 244.)

5.2.1 Evaluating the Impacts of the Garner Decision

To evaluate the impacts the Garner Decision had on deadly use of force, Tennebaum (ibid.) conducted a research about the topic. He collected data from law enforcement agencies across the country by attaining Supplementary Homicide Reports from the agencies. The collected reports cover 11-year long time-period. The research utilized interrupted time series analysis to measure the differences in use of force before and after the Garner Decision. To get a better understanding of the impacts of the Garner Decision, the data was divided into two groups. The first group included data from those states that had adequate deadly use of force laws prior the case, and the other group was formed of those states where deadly use of force laws were not adequate in the light of the Garner Decision.

Analysis of the data revealed an overall decrease in the number of homicides after the Garner Decision: the average homicide rates dropped by 16 %, equaling to nearly five fewer cases monthly. The change was detectable in both groups, yet the influence was almost twice as great on those states without adequate deadly use of force laws prior the Garner Decision than it was on the states with adequate laws. The data also suggests that there was an overall decrease in all police shooting following the Garner Decision.

The results of the research are rather reliable as the data spanned over a decade and involved law enforcement agencies across the country. It provides strong support for the benefits of laws and policies in decreasing police violence. However, the data was not separated based on the ethnicity of the homicide victims, but it helps to understand the impact and power administrative measures can have on police behavior.

5.2.2 Policies of Different Levels

Another research providing support to the utilization of use of force policies was conducted by Terrill and Paoline (2016). They analyzed over 3000 non-lethal use of force incidents from three distinctive agencies. Each of the chosen agency had placed varying restrictions on the use of force in their policies during the time of the study varying from strict to lose. The research only looked at mid- and large sized agencies, no small agencies were chosen for the study to ensure that the number of use of force cases would be high enough to make statistically significant analysis.

Out of the studied policies, the least restrictive one leaves the officers with significant discretion when deciding on the level of the used force. The officers are not denied from

using any measures in any situations, but vaguely instructed to take actions that are justifiable in the situation at hand.

The strictest policy out of the researched ones is rather comprehensive, defining six levels of citizen resistance and seven levels of force. The levels are progressive: when the level of citizen resistance increases, the level of allowed use of force increases together with it.

The agency with a policy that falls between the two defines four levels of citizen resistance and same number of ''officer mental conditions'' (alert, control, active, survival). Both categories are broad, although the progressiveness of the policy provides limits for appropriate level of force.

During the analysis, citizen resistance was used as a control variable. For dependent variables, highest level of force, cumulative force and TASER usage were selected. According to the findings, agencies applying more restrictive use of force policies are less likely to have their police officers to use higher levels of force. The restrictiveness of the policy correlated with all dependent variables. It was also discovered that the level of citizen resistance affects the use of force.

The results of the research provide support for restrictive and comprehensive policies. However, small agencies were not included in the study – thus more research would be needed on those before drawing conclusions about them.

5.2.3 Policies and Deadly Use of Force

White (2001) studied the role of administrative policies in deadly use of force. His research focused on looking at the leeway given to police officers in the form of formal and informal policies and norms. For his study, he analyzed nearly a thousand police shooting cases from Philadelphia for a period covering 22 years by using a interrupted time series analysis to explain the monthly levels of deathly force.

In the beginning of this time period, Pennsylvania had a strict policy limiting the use of force, allowing it only when there was an immediate threat to life or with such violent felons who are posing a threat unless immediately taken into custody. Later this policy was abolished altogether, and it was followed by a period of no policies regarding the use of deadly force. This period was then followed by a strict policy with the same limitations as the earlier strict policy.

White's (Ibid.) analysis on the impacts of the abolition of the strict policy reveals that there is a statistically significant rise in the amounts of police shootings following the abolition. On the contrary, re-introduction of a strict policy for deadly use of force results in a decrease of police shootings. Although other reforms took place simultaneously and the number of violent encounters increased, he argues that the data demonstrates a decrease in the shootings regardless. However, he notes that administrative policies may not be efficient in decreasing shootings in situations where police officers are facing a threat of imminent death or injury.

White's research stands in line with the other studies examined in this thesis: it supports the argument that administrative policies deliver results in decreasing police use of force. What is notable in this study, is the finding that administrative policies can help to decrease deadly use of force – blacks are overrepresented in the statistics measuring police caused homicides.

5.3 Penalizing Police Officers for Racially Biased Policing

The third mechanism to be analyzed is the suggestion to penalize police officers for racially biased policing. Both of the studies analyzed below provide a different perspective to the topic, and the latter article has a comprehensive take on the subject.

5.3.1 Lack of Penalties as Fuel to Violence

Bleakley (2019) conducted a case analysis of the Chicago Police Department to examine the role of penalties in police officers' violent behavior. The focus of the research is on racially disparate policing as he studies the violent behavior of police officers towards the black community. He looks at misconducts that have taken place in the police department and the overall development of the police organization to analyze how lack of penalties and discipline affects police behavior and alters the organizational culture.

During the analysis, he found that lack of penalties contribute to a toxic organizational culture that is not only acceptive of violence but also rewards it. In Chicago Police Department's case this took place through the process giving promotions to police officers who had behaved violently towards black citizens and the lack of any consequences for violent behavior. Bleakley found this to encourage violent behavior and make police officers more likely to resort to it. Further, it also creates a value gap between the community and the police department as they hold differing understanding of appropriate behavior, which consequently contributes to the violent behavior.

This case demonstrates what changes lack of penalties can cause in police officers' behavior and in police organizations. If violent behavior is not controlled, it skews organizational culture and can lead to an increase in violence. However, this study only looked at one police department, so it would be risky to generalize this process to all organizations. The general atmosphere and attitudes of individual officers must also affect the development of organizational culture and (accepted) police behavior. The results of this study are still applicable, as there are now tensions between police officers and the community much like in the study.

5.3.2 Not All Discipline Is Created Equal

In his research paper, Stephens (2011) investigates the current state of the disciplinary processes and issues related to it. His grip on the issue is critical yet development oriented, as he looks at solutions for the recognized issues. He analyzes past research on various aspects of the discipline process and its strengths and weaknesses to examine the role of discipline in changing the behavior of police officers.

In his analysis, he finds that the current procedures fails at many aspects, one of them being the process as it is punishment-centered by nature. Instead of focusing on changing the behavior of the police officers, it counts on deterrence effect. Additionally, disciplinary process can cause tensions between the community and the police organization if it is not deemed to be fair and open. This issue is particularly highlighted in the non-white communities that are inclined to have lower trust on the police in the first place.

According to Stephen's analysis, the disciplinary processes also tend to fail at effectively dealing with the small group of officers who account for a disproportionate amount of the complaints. Additionally, the procedures are often focused on the degree of force that was being used instead of looking at the justification for the use of force in the situation. This approach misses the opportunity to teach the officers how they could have handled the situation differently.

Further issues related to the disciplinary process Stephens brings up in his analysis are related to the appeal opportunity, lengthiness of the procedure, and perceived arbitrariness of the process and outcomes. The appeal opportunity attached to the procedure often leads to annulment of the conviction given during the earlier phases of the process. This weakens the disciplinary process and questions its usefulness. On the top of that, the disciplinary process takes a long time, meaning that a police officer could be on administrative leave for years.

Additionally, since the procedures are often confidential, departments are unable to disclose the circumstances behind the decisions. And because there are multiple people handling the cases, the similar misconducts can lead to different results. Together these two make the process seem arbitrary and raise questions about the fairness of the process.

Stephens also argues that the potential publicity the cases leading into discipline procedure to be evoked can be a source of issues. High-profile cases that evoke the interest of the interest of the community can cause pressures for more severe punishments than in less high-profile cases. The departments can also be forced to give statements before they have attained adequate information about the case and must alter these statements later. This can affect the trustworthiness of the police organization negatively and cause tensions in the community.

He further analyses that the openness of the disciplinary process and the results are also problematic. In some states, the public is allowed to view records of police officers and their misconducts while other states have banned it. Openness would allow the public to see that the cases are investigated properly, but it is also a question of privacy of the police officers. Similarly, the police chief's authority to administer discipline varies from state to state. In some places, they are only not allowed to implement any disciplinary actions at all, whereas in some places they could even terminate a police officer. This is an issue of fairness, but it also questions the existence of the disciplinary process in the first place.

Stephen (Ibid. 19–22) concludes by stating that disciplinary processes can be efficient and recommended method if the issues related to them are first adequately considered and handled. Unified approach is needed for the fairness of the process and outcomes. Various ways for implementing the discipline should be considered and they should be support behavioral change of the police officers.

This study is comprehensive in nature and goes into deep detail to understand the role of disciplinary as an enforcer of appropriate behavior. It is becomes apparent that disciplinary processes can be efficient but that they can also cause further issues and have effects that reach far beyond the police behavior itself. Although the study is not only focused on racially motivated police violence and its links to discipline and punishments, the study gives a good understanding of the role and significance of punishments.

5.4 Requiring All Police Officers to Participate in More Extensive Racial Bias Training

Racial bias training is nothing new in the field of policing, yet its benefits have been widely questioned. Regardless, this was one of the mechanisms presented in the AP-NORC's poll. Below two studies provide a different look at the topic.

5.4.1 Multi-Faceted Training

Devine, Forscher, Austin, and Cox (2012) studied the role of racial bias trainings in decreasing racial bias by conducting a research on a group of volunteers. For the purposes of the study, they developed a multi-faceted training with an aim to make the subjects aware of their bias and to make them concerned about the consequences of their biases. They also wanted the subjects to recognize when biases are likely to occur and how to choose a different course of action.

The study was conducted on two groups of psychology students, both of which had their bias levels measured in the beginning and at the end of the research. In the start of the study, the individuals in the first group were given the personal results of the racial bias test but not provided with any feedback. Participants in the second group were subject to further measures: they had to attend a bias education and training program that aimed at raising concern about implicit biases and at eliminating them. The training also included strategies with concrete actions aiming at recognizing their bias and finding ways to avoid it.

Both of the groups started with similar level of implicit bias. During the course of the research, the implicit bias of the trained group kept decreasing each week. By the end of the research the participants in the trained group had lower levels of implicit bias than the control group. While there were no changes in racial attitudes nor internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice, participants in the trained group developed higher concern about their bias during the course of the research. The researchers conclude that multifaceted training could be a promising method for decreasing implicit bias and help at changing individuals' behaviors and attitudes.

Although this study was not made for police officers, its findings are important. It is true that police officers operate at a vastly different environment to other professions, yet alone students, but these results provide important knowledge about the opportunities of multi-faceted racial bias training.

5.4.2 Racial Bias Training in a Police Department

Worden et al. (2020) studied the effects of racial bias awareness training in the New York Police Department on police officers' implicit bias and their willingness to manage it. Police officers' beliefs, attitudes, and enforcement behavior were studied during the course of the research. The training was arranged to 36 000 police officers employed in the New York Police Department.

The training followed so called Fair and Impartial Policing curricula which aims to inform the police officers about their bias and how it affects their work. The training teaches about the science behind racial bias and provides the officers with specific skills designed for bias management.

Data for the study was gathered both before and after the training to compare the results and draw conclusions about the possible changes brough by the training. A survey was used to map the attitudes and beliefs of the police officers, and their behavior was measured by utilizing data about the police officers' enforcement actions with black citizens.

Analysis of the survey data showed that the police officers became more aware about the concept of implicit bias and developed a greater willingness for trying to manage it. These positive impacts decreased relatively soon after the training and the measured levels were close to what they were before the training. The changes were also small to begin with, meaning that the training did not cause drastic changes in the police officers. Analysis of the enforcement action data rendered similar results: although there was a positive change in enforcement behavior, it was slight.

This study covers a fair amount of police officers and the researchers had significant amount of data to analyze which increases the reliability of this study. However, the study took place in a big city, so it is once again difficult to draw conclusions about the effects similar training would have in a different environment.

5.5 Limiting the Use of Military Equipment

The last mechanism to be looked at is the suggestion to limit the use of military equipment. Three studies are presented to provide an understanding of the effects of militarization.

5.5.1 Militarization Affects Black Communities

Mummolo (2018) conducted a study on police militarization by analyzing SWAT team deployments in the state of Maryland. The purpose of the research is to understand the effects of police militarization on crime and officer safety.

For his study, Mummolo gathered data covering all SWAT team deployments in the state of Maryland covering a five-year long period. He measured the presence of SWAT teams and also gathered data about crime rates. The data he gathered was then used to analyze why and where SWAT teams are deployed, and to estimate if increased deployment of the teams has an effect on crime rates.

Analysis of the data shows that majority of the SWAT team deployments were to serve warrants. It also reveals a strong correlation between the percentage of black residents in an area and the volume of SWAT deployments. He further found that this correlation stays even when social indicators (unemployment, education and household income) are taken into account. Analysis of the data also makes it apparent that the utilization of SWAT teams does not decrease crime, nor does it promote officer safety – changes in numbers indicating these two were statistically insignificant. He also argues that militarization of the police can harm the image of the police in the eyes of the community and increase the distance between them.

Mummolo's study provides an interesting insight on the militarization of police and reveals that militarized forces are used disproportionally in black communities. The results of this research also make it difficult argue that militarization would benefit communities by decreasing crime or police officers by enhancing their safety. However, generalization ability of this study suffers because data was only gathered from one state.

5.5.2 Police Behavior and Militarization

Lawson (2019) conducted a study to research the possible connection between lethal use of force and police militarization. His purpose was to find out if militarization could have an impact on police behavior by making them more likely to resort on lethal use of force. His starting presumption was that militarized environment would make police officers view lethal use of force as more acceptable and thus affect their behavior.

To test this presumption, Lawson gathered data of fatal encounters involving police from a course of two years. He also gathered data concerning the relative value of military hardware and the number of military items. The data was gathered around the country, and it covers all

states. These two data sets were then compared against one another to make an analysis and to draw conclusions. For control variables he chose population, race, poverty, violent crime, budgetary resources, and the countywide jurisdiction.

Analysis of the gathered data reveals that there is a positive correlation between the use of lethal force and militarization. Another finding based on the analysis of the data is that the higher the relative value of military hardware is, the higher the number of killings is. He concludes that the results of his research support the reduction of police militarization as it leads to increased amounts of lethal use of force.

The scope of this study is broad and it would be difficult to argue the applicability of the results to different environments as data was gathered from all states. The biggest deficiency of this study for the purposes of this thesis is that it did not study the effects of police militarization on black communities or provide comparative data between the effects of militarization to blacks and non-blacks. However, it is plausible to presume that the correlation between police militarization and lethal use of force stays even if it was only limited to black citizens.

5.5.3 Militarization and Civilian Killings

Delehanty, Mewhirter, Welch, and Wilks (2017) conducted a research to find out if militarization causes an increase in violent behavior among police officers. In the research paper they, as Lawson, argue that using military equipment leads to a cultural militarization through material, cultural, operational, and organizational changes.

For the research, county-level annual data on police killings was gathered from four different states. Using this data, change in killings was defined by comparing the number of killings in consecutive years. These sets of data were compared with the total value of military surplus goods transferred to the law enforcement agencies in each area. The data was analyzed using time-series cross-sectional method.

Analysis of the data shows that the expected number of civilians killed by the police and the change in civilian deaths increased together with the total value of military equipment. The data reveals that civilian deaths are increased by 129 % in comparison of law enforcement agencies with the lowest expenditure values and those with the highest expenditure values. The researchers end up by concluding that while causal effect is challenging to measure, their research supports a relationship between military transfers and police violence.

While the data of this research does not cover all states, its scope is rather comprehensive as it covers data from various states covering multiple years. Suitability of this research for my study suffers again from the lack of comparison of data between blacks and non-blacks. However, as blacks are disproportionally represented both in the victims of police killings and the targets of militarized police actions, it is plausible to believe that the correlation is would still be present if the data was comparative.

5.6 Key Takeaways from the Articles

The table below summarizes the analyzed articles. It includes a description of the focus of the article and the findings. The tale provides an easy peek at the key contents of the articles, which helps at increasing the reliability of this study, as anyone who reads this study can make their own evaluation about the contents of the articles easily.

The composition of the table also enables evaluating the compatibility of the articles under each section: as it can be seen, the focus of the articles is mainly similar, yet there are some slight differences. These differences are justified, as they provide a broader view to the object of the study and complement the analysis and understanding – however, the differences are not too great to turn the studies incomparable. The table also showcases the findings of each study in a concise form, making it easy to see the key takeaways of the studies. Below the table, a brief comparison is provided to explain and analyze the differences on the focus of the articles.

	Article	Focus	Findings
Body-cameras	Yokum, D., Ravishankar, A. & Coppock, A. (2017) Evaluating the Effects of Police Body-Worn Cameras: A Randomized Controlled Trial. Published by the Government of the District Columbia.	Studied the ability of body-worn cameras to decrease use of force in police-citizen encounters. Analyzed data consists of administrative data including e.g. the number of civilian complaints and use of force during encounters.	Body-worn cameras have no impact on police use of force nor the number of civilian complaints.
	Headley, A. M., Guerette, R. T. & Shariati, A. (2019) A field experiment of the impact of body-worn	Studied changes in use of force by police officers when body-cameras are worn. Analyzed data consists of administrative data, e.g. use of force during	Body-worn cameras decrease intrusive encounters and increase voluntary interactions with civilians. They also decrease the

	cameras (BWCs) on police officer behavior and perceptions. *Journal of Criminal Justice.* Volume 53. pp. 102–109.	encounters and number of external complaints.	number of arrests. Effects on use of force remain unclear.
	Jennings, W. G., Lynch, M. D. & Fridell, L. A. (2015) Evaluating the impact of police officer body-worn cameras (BWCs) on response-to-resistance and serious external complaints: Evidence from the Orlando police department (OPD) experience utilizing a randomized controlled experiment. *Journal of Criminal Justice.* Volume 43. pp. 480–486.	Studied police use of force and the impacts of body-worn cameras. Analyzed data includes administrative data measuring the numbers of serious external complaints and response-to-resistance incidents.	Body-worn cameras lead into a decrease in serious external complaints and response-to-resistance incidents.
Use of force standards	Tennenbaum, A. N. (1994) The Influence of the Garner Decision on Police Use of Deadly Force. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.* Volume 81. Issue 1. pp. 240–260.	Study that analyzed the impacts of Garner Decision on police use of force. The decision set limits to use of force country wide. Used data about police shootings before and after the decision for the analysis.	There was an average decrease of 16 % in shootings by the police after the decision.
	Terrill, W. & Paoline, E. A. (2016) Police Use of Less Lethal Force: Does Administrative Policy Matter? *Justice Quarterly.* Volume 34. Issue 2. pp. 1–24.	Studied how the strictness of the policy affects use of force. Analyzed data consists of non-lethal use of force incident incidents from agencies with varying policies.	Restrictive policies decrease the likelihood to resort into a use of force and leads to lower levels of used force.
	White, M. D. (2001) Controlling Police Decisions to Use Deadly Force: Reexamining the Importance of	Studied how the level of detail and strictness of policies affects deadly use of force by police. Analyzed data consists of police shooting cases and use of force policies.	Strict policies lead into a decrease in shootings by police, whereas lose policies lead into an increase.

	Administrative Policy. *Crime & Delinquency.* Volume 47. Issue 1. pp. 131–151.		
Penalties	Bleakley, P. (2019) A Thin-Slice of Institutionalized Police Brutality: A Tradition of Excessive Force in the Chicago Police Department. *Criminal Law Forum.* Volume 30. Issue 4. pp. 425-449.	Studied the root causes of police violence in the Chicago Police Department. The study was conducted as a case study.	Lack of penalties and toleration for violence lead into favoring violent behavior.
	Stephens, D. W. (2011) Police Discipline: A Case for Change. pp. 1–26. Published in Emerald Group Publishing Limited (2011) New Perspectives in Policing: Stress, Public Perception and Leadership. Emerald Publishing Limited.	Studied the role of disciplinary process in police behavior. The study was conducted as a review of existing disciplinary processes.	Punishments can have positive effects on police use of force if there are unified and well-considered rules in place.
Bias training	Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J. & Cox, W. T. L. (2016) Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology.* Volume 48. Issue 6. pp. 1267–1278.	Studied the effects of multi-faceted training on racial bias. Analyzed data was collected by measuring racial bias levels of participant before and after the training.	The training raised concerns about bias and its consequences and decreased overall racial bias.
	Worden, R. E., McLean, S. J., Engel, R. S., Cochran, H., Corsaro, N., Reynolds, D., Najdowski, C. J. & Isaza, G. T. (2020) The Impacts of Implicit Bias	Studied the effects of informative racial bias training on racial bias. Analyzed data measured the bias level of participants before and after the training.	The training delivered only slight short-term changes in racial bias.

	Awareness Training in the NYPD. Center for Police Research and Policy.		
	Mummolo, J. (2018) Militarization fails to enhance police safety or reduce crime but may harm police reputation. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of the America. Volume 115. Issue 37. pp. 9181–9186.	Studied the effects of militarization on police safety and crime rates. Analyzed data consists of SWAT -team deployment related material.	Militarization does not decrease crime rates nor enhance police safety. It could harm the reputation and image of the police.
	Lawson, E. J. (2019) Police Militarization and the Use of Lethal Force. *Political Research Quarterly*. Volume 71. Issue 1. pp. 177–189.	Studied the connection between lethal use of force and police militarization. Analyzed data consists of fatal encounters and relative value of military hardware and the number of military items.	Militarization leads to an increase in civilian killings and could increase the likelihood of police to use lethal force.
Militarization	Delehanty, C., Mewhirter, J., Welch, R. & Wilks, J. (2017) Militarization and police violence: The case of 1033 program. Research & Politics. April–June 2017. pp. 1–7.	Studied the effects of militarization on police use of force. Analyzed data consists of police killings and the total value of military surplus goods transferred to the law enforcement agencies.	Increased number of military equipment leads into an increase in the number of civilian killings.

Table 1. This table summarizes the contents of the analyzed articles.

5.6.1 Compatibility of the Articles

As it can be seen by looking at the first section of the Table 1, the focus of all selected articles concerning body-worn cameras is nearly identical. The data used for measuring the outcomes is also similar in all of the studies. Regardless, the findings of the studies differ. This could be a consequence of multiple factors, such as the size of the police organization or the city.

When it comes to the articles regarding the use of force standards, there is a little more variety in the focus of the articles. The article by Tennenbaum (1994) differs the most, but the

article was selected regardless because it provides a unique insight to conditions that are tied to historical events analyzing the impacts the existence of the policies have. The focus of the two other articles is similar with one another, and the results also fall in line.

The articles about the role of penalties are different: one is case oriented and the other one is a review. However, they are compatible because they both evaluate the impacts of the penalties critically. Both of the two articles also end up with similar conclusions about the role of penalties.

The studies about the bias training are similar but there are also differences. Both of the articles studied the effects of racial bias training on bias levels – however, one of them studied psychology students, whereas the other one was conducted in a police organization. Out of the selected articles, these two are the least compatible, but selection of the article by Devine et al. (2016) is justified because it provides an analysis of a newer kind of training program and its impacts.

The articles regarding militarization have similarities and differences: while two of them are using similar data, one of them has a different focus. Mummolo's (2018) article studies the impacts of police militarization on crime rates and police safety, whereas the other two focus on shootings by the police. Choosing the differing article is justified because it provides a different aspect to the effects of the police militarization, while still focusing on the impacts it has to civilians.

6 Main Results and Findings

This section presents the findings of the analysis. Each mechanism is looked at distinctively, and conclusions are drawn about the ability of each mechanism to decrease racially motivated police violence in order to answer the research questions. Categories related to existing theories are presented and explained together with each mechanism. The table below (Table 2) provides an overview of the categories and sub-categories and their contents.

	Main categories	**Subcategories**	**Contents**
Body-cameras	Community and trust	Police-community relations	Impartiality Legitimacy Trust
	Organizational theory	Organizational culture	Indication of changes
Use of force standards	Community and trust	Police-community relations	Legitimacy Impartiality
	Organizational theory	Administrative measures	Transparency Equal treatment
		Organizational culture	Indication of changes
Penalties	Organizational theory	Organizational culture	Indication of changes
		Occupational culture	Changes in practices
		Administrative changes	Definitions for punishments and acceptable behavior
	Community and trust	Encounters	Transparency Consistent and unified practices
Bias training	Racial bias / psychology	Changes in behavior and attitude	Self-awareness Concern Tools for change

	Organizational theory	Organizational culture Occupational culture	Changed organizational expectations Changes in individual contribute to communal changes
	Community and trust	Police-community relations	Changes in perceptions Increased trust Sense of communality
Militarization	Organizational theory	Organizational culture	Changes in environment Indication of changes
	Racial bias / psychology	Personal bias	Strengthened negative perceptions Division and confrontation
	Community and trust	Police-community relations	Harmed reputation Negative perceptions

Table 2. This table summarizes the categories related to each mechanism.

6.1 The Many Dimensions of Body-Worn Cameras

When it comes to achieving positive results through body-worn cameras, previous research is not offering unanimous answer. Out of the researches chosen for evaluation in this thesis, one does not provide support for the utilization of body-worn cameras and the other two studies provide support for the benefits of body-worn cameras. Out of these two supporting studies, other one found stronger support that the latter one.

The research that did not find support for the utilization of body-worn cameras, is the research conducted by Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock (2017). They found no impact on police use of force and the number of civilian complaints after the utilization of body-worn cameras in a large police department based on the data they analyzed. Their research had notable sample size and it was conducted in a big city.

On the other end stands the research conducted by Jennings, Lynch, and Fridell (2015). They found that the usage of body-worn cameras to lead into a decrease in serious external complaints and response-to-resistance incidents. Their study took place in a large city but had a small sample size.

Somewhere in-between, yet rather supportive, stands the study conducted by Headley, Guerette, and Shariati (2019). They found body-worn cameras to decrease usage of intrusive methods by the police officers and increase voluntary interactions with civilians. There was also a decrease in the number of arrests after the utilization of body-worn cameras. However, the results are unclear about the effects of body-worn cameras on use-of-force due to the small number of said instances during the course of the study.

Looking at these results makes it difficult to provide a simple answer on whether or not previous research provides support for the utilization of body-worn cameras. While it is possible to claim that body-worn cameras are capable of providing positive changes, the results seem to vary between different locations. Two studies with smaller sample sizes detected positive changes, whereas the study with large sample size was unable to detect such changes. Many factors could affect these results, one of them being the amount of existing surveillance, as Yokum, Ravishankar, and Coppock (2017) mentioned in the conclusions of their study. If the environment police operates in is already high in surveillance (such as CCTV's), body-worn cameras might not bring any additional benefit.

Mirroring the analyzed studies against existing theories about racially motivated police violence, it is possible to create the categories of police-community-relations and organizational culture. The police-community-relations include the aspects of trust, legitimacy, and increased interactions. The category of organizational culture is tied to changes in what is perceived as accepted behavior.

The police-community relationship category connects to trust and legitimacy, as the recorded footage can be used as impartial evidence to investigate incidents and events. This becomes highlighted in cases that lead to death and where there are no other witnesses than police officers. These kinds of cases can easily lead into tensions, which can be avoided with video footage. Increased legitimacy and trust could explain the decrease in serious external complaints found in one of the studies. They could also explain the increase in voluntary interactions, as the police officers would not have to fear that the interaction would lead into an unfounded complaint – with body-camera footage, any such complaints could easily be proven inaccurate.

The category of organizational is formed by the changes indicated by the body-worn cameras. In the reviewed studies, this can be detected from the decrease of intrusive methods and the number of response-to-resistance incidents. These outcomes are present in two of the

analyzed studies. There could be a link to organizational culture: body-worn cameras could indicate a change in the organizational culture towards such culture where obedience towards administrative measures (such as use of force policies) is followed and valued higher. Utilization of body-worn cameras could be seen as a message by the employees about requiring to comply rules, which would then in turn lead into taking them into consideration when situations that require use of force appear. Proving this link would require a closer study about the policies of the studied police departments and analysis about the use of force incidents and whether or not they followed the policies, and a comparison before and after the utilization of body-worn cameras.

6.2 The Beneficial Use of Force Standards

Previous research is rather unanimous about the benefits of establishing clear standards for the use of force. All three studies analyzed for this thesis found support for the correlation between the utilization of use of force standards and decrease in police violence. The strongest link to previous research about racially motivated police violence can be found from organizational theory and its sub-categories of administrative measures and organizational culture. It is also possible to find ties to theories about community and trust.

The oldest of the chosen researches looked at the influence of the Garner decision by the Supreme Court on police shootings around the country. The decision limited use of lethal force as the last resort for the purposes of protecting lives. After the decision, there was an average decrease of 16 % in shootings by the police. The decrease was more significant in the states that declared police use of deadly force as unconstitutional in their local laws. These results provide support for the organizational theory, according to which administrative controls could be used to alter the behavior of police officers and decrease police violence. It is also possible for organizational culture to come into play, similarly to body-worn cameras: strict policies message the police officers that the topic is important and that everyone has the responsibility to behave in a certain manner.

Terrill's and Paoline's research from 2016 also provides support for clear and strict policies regarding the use of force. They found that those police officers who operated under more restrictive policies, were less likely to resort into a use of force compared to those whose organizations had loose policies. Strictness of the policies made the officers less likely to use higher level of force. There is once again a link to organizational theory, as policies are one of the administrative measures. The transparency that clear policies provide to communities

is another mechanism through which use of force policies could be useful. This could help to enhance trust towards police within communities.

Findings of White are in line with those presented above. He detected a surge in shootings by the police after an abolition of a strict policy. Correspondingly, there was a decrease in the shootings by the police after the strict policy was once again put into place. These findings are interesting and provide strong support for the efficiency of administrative controls. They could be a rather quick way to implement changes in the wanted direction in organizations suffering of issues related to organizational factors.

Overall, use of force policies seem to be a strong mechanism to alter police behavior. The power of administrative measures should thus not be undermined when looking for ways to solve the issue of racially motivated police violence.

6.3 Penalties: The Good and the Bad

Previous research about the effectiveness of penalties in decreasing police violence in general are somewhat encouraging. Out of the researches chosen for this thesis, one found support for the use of penalties and the other one found conditional support. Based on these results, it seems that penalties could be used to reduce racially motivated police violence, at least when the process is planned adequately.

Two categories can be found in connection to previous studies about racially motivated police violence. First of them is organizational theory, which includes organizational culture, occupational culture, and administrative measures. The second category is that of community and trust, which can be seen in the community's experience of openness and fairness mentioned in the studies.

Bleakly (2019) studied racially motivated police violence in the Chicago Police Department. He found toleration of violence and lack of penalties to lead into a culture where violence is viewed favorably. Thus, there is a link to organizational theory: lack of penalties creates an environment where violence becomes silently accepted and further encouraged if those behaving violently are able to advance their careers. As a consequence, both occupational and organizational cultures become violence-inducive structures, eventually making violence the norm. This in turn harms police-community relations and leads to distrust on both ends. Lack of administrative measures regarding the consequences of violent action turns into a broader issues concerning the entire organization and community.

From Stephens (2011) analysis on the role of penalties it is possible to find similar connections to theories about racially motivated police violence. Stephen's analysis found that punishments can be helpful in changing police officers' behavior, but that they can also be useless and even have negative outcomes if not arranged with consideration: penalties are helpful when they are not punishment-oriented but instead focus on changing the behavior of police officers by making them understand what they have done wrong and what could have done differently. The processes should also be unified and open to avoid animosity in communities. Here it is easy to see the link to theories about communities and trust, as utilization of punishments can either enhance or harm the trust of the community. The claim for unified and openness requires administrative measures: the process and punishments should be clearly stated in a policy or similar document.

All in all, there seems to be support for the benefits of punishments as long as the process is arranged with consideration. When looked within the context of racially biased policing, this brings issues: it would be challenging to define what actions are considered racially biased as there is always room for contextual factors in each case. This could leave the process arbitrary, as each case has unique factors and deciding whether or not the action was caused by racial bias or situational factors. It also raises ethical questions: if an officers holds implicit biases, it could be unjust to punish them especially if they have not been provided with adequate tools to recognize and dispute their bias.

6.4 The Tricky Nature of Racial Bias Training

The previous studies about benefits of racial bias training seem to be rather contradictory: one of the studies found racial bias training to be efficient in decreasing racial bias, whereas the other study did not. The reliability of the study with positive results is not quite as strong as the reliability of the second study within the context of this paper: the first study was made to psychology students whereas the second was done to police officers. Both of the studies utilized similar racial bias training curriculum aiming at making the subjects aware of their bias and providing them with tools to manage it. The biggest difference is that the study made on psychology students explicitly aimed at making the study subjects concerned about their bias, whereas the other study focused vaguely making the police officers' aware about how their bias may affect their work.

The most obvious category that can be made based on previous research about racially motivated police violence is that of racial bias. There are also connections to organizational theory through occupational culture, and community race relations training.

Devine, Forscher, Austin, and Cox (2012) focused their research on multi-faceted racial bias training and concluded it to deliver positive results. With a training method that aimed at making the study subjects aware of their bias, concerned about its consequences, and providing them with tools to manage it, they were able to decrease the bias of the individuals and make them more concerned about it. Based on this research, efforts targeted towards racial bias could be efficient. As occupational culture affects the way individuals are perceived, there are also connections to occupational culture. Similarly, community race relation training aims at altering the behavior of police officers through changes in attitudes and values, which links racial bias training to community race relation training as it has similar aims and implementations.

Worden et al. (2020) studied the effects of racial bias training in the New York Police Department, focusing on the police officers' implicit bias and their willingness to manage it. The training method that was used aims at informing police officers about their bias, how it affects their work, and how they can manage it. The training was only able to provide slight changes both in bias levels and enforcement behavior, and the effects decreased over time. Same categories can be formed of this study as can be from the former one. The training attempts to affect racial bias, and it also has connections to community race relations training, as there are attempts to change the way police officers view the members of black communities. Changes is police behavior would also eventually change the occupational culture by changing the way the members of the police organization perceive individuals, thus creating a connection to occupational culture.

6.5 Troublesome Police Militarization

The connection between militarization and violent police behavior seems to be strong based on the findings of previous research. All the analyzed papers supported a connection between the two, although they all had different emphasis on their focus. The categories that can be formed about militarization of police based on existing theories about racially motivated police violence are organizational culture, racial bias, and police-community relations.

Mummolo (2018) studied the effects of militarization to crime rates and police safety, but also ended up finding an interesting link to the perceptions of the police. He found that

militarization did not have an effect on crime rates and that it also fails to enhance police officer safety. He also found that SWAT forces are operating disproportionately in black communities and that militarization can harm the reputation of the police in the eyes of the community. Therefore, it is easy to link police militarization to police-community relations: when the reputation of the police is harmed, communities view them more negatively and may find it more difficult to trust the police. This together with disproportionality creates an experience of injustice and can be harmful for the legitimacy of the police. Being equipped with military gear could also enforce the idea of black communities and members of black communities as a threat, further enforcing racial bias.

The focus on Lawson's (2019) study was on the correlation between use of deathly force and the rate of militarization. His study compares data about the number of military items and its relative value in the agencies together with the number of fatal encounters involving police. He found that increase in militarization leads to increase in the killings of civilians and concluded that militarization could make police officers more likely to use lethal force. As Lawson himself pointed out, this can be linked to organizational culture because militarization affects the organizational settings surrounding the police officers. If the settings provide and support the use of extreme methods by providing military equipment, they become normalized within the organization. This could also further affect the occupational culture in the long run as police officers' perceptions of normal behavior skews.

Delehanty, Mewhirter, Welch, and Wilks (2017) conducted a study with the aim to find out if increased amounts of military equipment in agencies could lead to an increase in police violence. The study is based on data about the number of killings by police and the total value of military surplus goods. Their findings are in line with Lawsons, as they found that increase in military equipment lead into an increase in the killings of civilians. Their findings also suggests a connection between militarization and both organizational and occupational culture: the military equipment means changes in the organizational settings and the training provided by military representatives could alter occupational culture. Further, it is possible to speculate on changes in the police-community relations as citizens are viewed as a greater threat. Similarly, racial bias could be enhanced by these views.

7 Conclusions

All in all, the support previous studies provides for the utilization of evaluated methods varies from contradictory and unsure to strong support. The strongest support is provided for establishing clear use of force standards and abolition of militarization. Efforts towards these actions seem to produce the best results in decreasing police violence in general, but also racially motivated police violence. Analysis of past studies regarding use of force standards unanimously demonstrate how strict use of force policies lead into a decrease of police violence. Detailed policies seem to be particularly beneficial, as is supported by the studies of Terrill and Paoline (2016) and White (2011). Similarly, the studies regarding militarization of police show how more militarization leads to more violence, and this violence is disproportionately directed towards black communities.

Support for racial bias training is contradictory, but in the policing context it may not be an effective method due to the unique nature of polices' work and the challenges related to changing ones' perceptions long-term. The kind of multi-faceted approach created by Devine, Forscher, Austin, and Cox (2016) seems to be effective, but it would need to be tested on police officers in long-term to understand its effects on policing context.

When it comes to penalizing police officers for racially biased policing and requiring police officers to use body-worn cameras, the benefits are contradictory, yet slightly more supportive than not. As Bleakley's (2019) analysis showed, complete lack of penalties is an issue and can lead to dangerous organizational culture of acceptance and encouraging violence. However, as Stephen's (2011) argues, penalties are only useful if the processes are well thought of and the goal is not to punish but to provide the wrongdoer a chance to understand what they did wrong and what they could have done differently.

In the case of body-worn cameras, the greatest benefit they can offer stems from increased trust. In uncertain and disputed cases body-camera footage can offer an impartial insight into the case and help to avoid tensions between communities and officers' that could otherwise arise. However, this can only be achieved if there are clear and unified rules regarding the use of body-worn cameras while on duty and for the recorded footage and its handling.

To sum up the connections to theories about racially motivated police violence altogether, the categories of organizational theory and community and trust are the strongest. Both of these categories can be found from all the researches regarding body-worn cameras, use-of-force

standards, penalties, bias training, and militarization. They all break down to perceived legitimacy, trust, transparency, and indication of changes within the organization. All of these methods hold the potential to increase trust towards police and the ability to enhance police-community relations if they are implemented with thought and consideration. They are also all able to bring changes to the organizational culture by indicating changes in what is accepted and what is not, but also by messaging that the organization is now requiring more transparency in its employees' actions and organizational practices.

Additionally, category of racial bias can be found from both the studies regarding militarization and racial bias training. However, they both are related to different aspects of racial bias: militarization connects to enhanced bias, whereas racial bias training connects to decrease of bias. Militarization carries the risk of creating a deeper division between police and civilians and further enhancing existing negative perceptions. Racial bias training on the other hand aims at positive changes in perceptions and behavior. Theories regarding racial bias cannot be looked at without considering psychological theory, as they both look at attitudes, personalities, and their impact to ones' behavior, so this category could be broadened to cover the psychological aspect.

It is important to note the strong presence of organizational theory and its subcategories in all mechanisms: as it was argued in the theory (section 3.1), implementing changes based on organizational theory, particularly those that are targeting organizational culture or administrative measures, it is possible to achieve positive changes. In the theory, it was also noted how by attaching sanctions to violent behavior it is possible to affect the behavior of the police officers. This aspect specifically provides support for the utilization of penalties for unacceptable behavior, which was one of the analyzed mechanisms. In addition to that, use of force standards are one form of administrative measures. Militarization is also something that can be limited with administrative measures, whereas body cameras and bias training target the cultural aspect of organizational theory.

In the light of this, it is apparent that changes in leadership, management, and administrative aspects within an organization can all be used to enhance trust and transparency and to indicate changes in what is acceptable and what is not through different factors of the organizational theory. If incentives to violent practices – whether they lie in the administrative level or are tied to leadership and management – are recognized and handled,

the organization can take a step to the right direction, even if it could not change the individuals that are employed by the organization.

The findings of this research fall in line with the arguments presented about the weaknesses of psychological causes (chapter 3.1): while bias training is connected to the psychological theory, there is very little evidence to support its ability to change the behavior of police officers and decrease racially motivated police violence. The aspect of militarization is also connected to the psychological theory, and although there is evidence to support the benefits of limiting militarization, it is only one of the three categories drawn from the articles about militarization. The connections to psychological theory were also only attached to strengthening existing negative perceptions of police officers. As a consequence, even if militarization was limited, the positive changes caused by the psychological aspect would be slight, as the existing negative perceptions would not disappear entirely but at best only slightly decrease.

This thesis was unable to find connections between the sociological theory as a root cause for racially motivated police violence and the evaluated mechanisms. Connections could be made through the aspect of racial bias and community-police relations, but there were no independent connections to the sociological theory. While the aspect of encounters is present when community and trust is evaluated, it is bilateral, whereas sociological theory is based on the idea of unilateral factors that determine the actions of the police officer (chapter 3.1). Thus the connection to sociological theory is not complete and cannot be reliably drawn based on the findings. However, this does not mean that there are no connections between sociological theory and racially motivated police violence: they could exist in relation to other mechanisms or even to the mechanisms evaluated in this study, if other articles of the mechanisms are analyzed.

As presented above, the connections to organizational theory are strong among the mechanisms of body-worn cameras, use of force standards, penalties, bias training, and militarization. As connections to both psychological theory and sociological theory are slight, it seems that organizational theory has the strongest connection to the evaluated five mechanisms and which makes it the dominating theory among the evaluated mechanisms.

When looking at the results of this study, it is good to keep in mind the difficulty of finding research regarding police violence that would solely focus on the racial aspect. Most of the

studies look at changes in police violence in general rather than measuring the outcomes in a context that would take the racial aspect into account. The data used for this study is also limited in scope, as the number of studies regarding each method is fairly small. It also became apparent during this study that the results vary between locations. This being said, further research could be conducted to study the impact of different methods in locations of various sizes. Perhaps some methods could be more beneficial in smaller cities, whereas other would be more applicable to bigger ones. This could be the case with body-worn cameras, as the results seemed to vary depending on the size of the city they were utilized in.

8 Summary

This study analyzed the effectiveness of various methods in decreasing racially motivated police violence and their connections to existing theories about racially motivated police violence. Based on the findings made during the analysis, it became apparent that establishing clear use-of-force standards is in the center of avoiding unnecessary civilian deaths. Clear and detailed standards have the ability to decrease civilian killings and all shootings by the police, so they should be the standard on all police organizations regardless of their size or location. Establishing national laws to limit the use-of-force would create uniform standards and message that protecting the lives of citizens is a core value of the nation. Taking this step would require actions from all police organizations within United States which would make its impacts encompassing. National laws are therefore among the most efficient mechanisms when it comes to decreasing racially motivated police violence. In case new laws were to be drafted, it is important to ensure sufficient expertise to avoid making laws that allow too much leeway for the local authorities. However, if the process is to be done carefully and the potential issues related to the law-making process are recognized, creating them would be a notable stride towards equal treatment of the citizens.

Besides use-of-force standards, the findings of this research are also clear when it comes to police militarization: this study forces to question its benefits. Police militarization does not decrease crime, nor does it increase officer safety, yet it increases violent behavior by the police officers and damages the relationship between communities and police. Militarization of the police is questionable based on these results, and its justification should be re-evaluated carefully. While it is good for the police to be equipped against serious crimes and dangerous encounters, this opportunity should be limited and left only for specifically defined cases. It should also be considered what level of militarization is allowed and standards should be set for the required training for the use of military equipment. Additionally, while general training provided to police officers by military personnel could be justified depending on the nature and scope of the training, there should also be clear rules for when this is allowed. Any training provided by military personnel should include a section that would clearly define when using the equipment and methods is allowed. If forms of militarization are to remain in police organizations, there should be rules regarding it. It is also important to consider and to define which parts of the personnel are allowed to be provided military

training and / or equipment. By limiting police militarization in this way, it could be possible to avoid situations where justification for such use of force is feeble.

Penalizing police officers for racially biased policing could also be an effective method in battling racially motivated police violence. However, for it to be beneficial, the disciplinary processes needs to be unified across the country to avoid issues related to unequal treatment and disparate outcomes. The goal of the disciplinary process should also be kept in mind when creating them: they should be seen as a learning process that allows the police officer to understand what they have done wrong and how they could have acted differently. Punishment-orientated processes fail at achieving this and should be avoided as they are not able to tackle the issue and could lead into bitterness and defensiveness. Other potential issues related to the punishment process that have been brough up in this study include lengthiness of the process, confidentiality issues, and the impact publicity can have to the process and outcomes. As it can be seen, this mechanism is not the easiest way to affect racially motivated police violence, and it would also require time to recognize all the issues and plan the punishment process accordingly. However, because this mechanism can be efficient when the process is planned well, it should not be overlooked.

When it comes to such often suggested methods that were covered in this study as racial bias training and body-worn cameras, there is room for arguments for both sides when it comes to their ability to decrease racially motivated police violence. The most apparent benefit of body-worn cameras is their ability to provide impartial insight into what has happened, which helps to increase trust and transparency and could further help to improve the relationship between the community and police.

Despite these potential benefits related to body-worn cameras, the impacts they have on police behavior seem to vary greatly between different police departments. The reasons for this could be studied closer to understand how and / or where body-worn cameras can have a positive impact on police behavior. It could for example be that they are more useful in smaller cities than on big ones or vice versa, or that they work better on organizations that are bigger than in smaller ones. Body-worn cameras require money and need to be accompanied with an adequate guidance and rules, so taking them into use in places where they are not able to make a difference would be waste of resources.

Racial bias training seems to be the least efficient of the five mechanisms covered in this study, as conducted studies regarding its ability to change police behavior and attitudes have not been able to find significant effects after the trainings. Although incipient support for multi-faceted training schemes can be found, it has not been tested police officers. It is also good to note that the contents of the multi-faceted trainings are not dramatically different from some of the racial bias trainings programs that are already in use in some police organizations, as it was discussed earlier in this study (section 5.4). While this does not mean that alterations to existing training schemes would be efficient, it is possible to question how significant changes they would be able to deliver. Thus racial bias trainings, much like body-worn cameras, would require more research but also time and adequate planning before it would be smart to implement – otherwise resources could become allocated towards something that would not provide a benefit for the police organizations.

When it comes to the root causes of racially motivated police violence, it was found in this study that they can be traced back to at least organizational theory, community and trust, and racial bias in regard to the studied five mechanisms. This means that all of the five mechanisms have a solid theoretical foundation and could have the potential to be successfully applied into practice if they are implemented with consideration, depending on the root cause of racially motivated police violence in the organization they are implemented in. It is pivotal notice that trust, transparency, and indicated changes in organizational level due to changed demands and expectations are in the center of all researches. This suggests that focusing on changes in organizational level, especially to changes in management, leadership, and administrative aspects, could be one of the key factors in decreasing racially motivated police violence.

It also seems that the community-police relations aspect has a deep-rooted connection to all the mechanisms. Involving the community and providing them with a chance to be heard could be helpful regardless of the mechanism, because racially motivated police violence has a high chance of damaging the relations even if the root cause was recognized to locate somewhere else.

There are many aspects to take into account when implementing the changes, but it is important to recognize where the issues lie. While there are issues that are present on most, if not all police organizations, many have their own points of weaknesses. If racially motivated police violence is to be decreased, it is useful to first understand whether the issues are

caused by organizational factors or if they lie in the individuals working for the organizations, or perhaps in the community relations. Once the source of the issue is recognized, it is easier to choose efficient mechanisms and the chance to succeed in the changes is better.

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