Acknowledgement and Forensically-based Study of Ethnoracial Trauma from Police Excessive Force Actions can Build the Scaffolding for a Restorative Healing Process

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Abstract

Public safety in the 21st century is contingent upon perceived legitimacy, confidence in accountability, cross-cultural credibility/competence, and desired responses by the ethnoracial stakeholders whose perceptions of police are filtered by racially traumatizing incidents. Growing evidence reveals that past and present police violations of core relational tenets fuel both ethnoracial anxieties and criticism of public safety procedures. Globally, law enforcement personnel are charged to practice within a culturally responsive, research-based framework. Such a structure must reflect a psychohistorical understanding of the contextual nature of relationships between police and ethnoracial communities. Effective solutions hinge on acknowledging residual psychological damage from previous policing strategies, plus full inclusion of communities through structured dialogue. In this article, I present a psychocultural portrait of police and racial trauma cases, and review factors that perpetuate discriminatory and invalid police procedures that continue the racial trauma cycle. I assess the prevalence of racial trauma and healing using a prism of police misconduct reports over decades, then provide an ethnoracial critique of the psychological assessment processes used for police hiring and retention. I offer interventions as a foundation for facilitating restorative healing while revitalizing trust within diverse communities. I conclude with implications of this approach for practice, policy, and future research on police and racial trauma.

Keywords: *Trauma, Racial Trauma, PTSD, Police, Law Enforcement, Cross-Cultural Policing*

EFFECTS OF RACIAL TRAUMA BY POLICE

Policing has never been race-neutral or racially unconscious. Therefore, race is a viable framework for assessing the psychological impact of police behavior on others (Fagan, Geller, Davies, & West, 2010; Goffman, 2014; Rios, 2011; Stuart, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Harsh and uneven enforcement of laws enacted across centuries to control ethnoracial minorities (e.g., Blacks and Native Americans) (Crane, 1999; Hadden, 2001; Websdale, 2001) is responsible for intergenerational transmission of racial trauma. The current ethnoracial landscape of law enforcement has been shaped by its precursor, "Slave Patrols" (Hadden 2001; Vila & Morris, 1999), which used extremely harsh measures (e.g., whippings) to promote fear or psychological subjugation of minorities. (Adler, 2007; Hadden, 2001; Platt, 1982; Reichel, 1992).The embedded practices that remain cannot be solved solely through seeking out and punishing "bad" police officers.

Race predicts psychological dispositions toward police. (Dowler & Sparks, 2008) Recurring exposure to negative race-based incidents creates a sequela of lifelong psychological symptoms. (Brown, 2013; Feagin, 1991; Loo, 1993; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Police behaviors minimize the social worth of minorities worldwide and across generations. From 1905 to 1971 in Australia, between one and three of every 10 "half-

caste" or biracial Aboriginal children were taken from their families. Canada had a similar cultural genocidal program. This "Stolen Generation" (Wexler, 2009; Perkins, 2004) was forcibly removed by police from family under the guise of making them "civilized." They were placed in schools, often hundreds of miles away, where they were trained to become domestic or manual laborers (Dafler, 2005). Aborigines were viewed as incapable of higher education (Ellinghaus, 2006). Decades later, an underfunded social service agency was charged with reconnecting these Aboriginal children with their families of origin (Graf, 2013), but many children were never reunited with their families and exhibited symptoms of racial trauma. Behavioral and emotional responses to racial trauma include agita, frequent criminal justice contacts, distrust, health issues, psychological disorders, pervasive hypervigilance, well-preserved ethnoracial memories, substance abuse, and suicidal behaviors (Comas-Diaz, 2016; Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007; Chou, Asnaani, & Hofmann, 2012; Haebich, 2011; Lee & Ahn, 2011, 2012; Lowe, Okubo, & Reilly, 2012; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

In the U.S., cross-generational histories of every racial group record repetitive incidents of trauma perpetrated by abuse of legal authority, ethnoracial policing, or gross evasion of justice (U. S. Department of Justice, 2015).Police misconduct was not investigated or went undisciplined. Awareness of racial trauma through police actions has grown through social media posts of mobile phone videos (Ready & Young, 2015; Reardon, 2013). These videos allow for third-party assessment of previously undocumented interactions, yielding three consequences. First, the videos provide evidence to courts and community. Two weeks after the videotaped beating of Rodney King by members of the Los Angeles Police Department, confidence in the city's police department plummeted to 31%for Latino residents and 14% for African Americans (Weitzer, 2002).Second, videos prompt swift protests, reigniting unhealed emotions from previous intergenerational racial trauma triggered by perceived law enforcement misconduct. Third, the videos facilitate a vicarious form of racial trauma. Low rates of conviction or departmental discipline erode trust in police. Better hiring, screening and training for cross-racial and

intergenerational concerns is needed to break the racial trauma cycle. (Carbado & Rock, 2016; Palmater, 2016).

Past and present violations of core police relational tenets fuel criticism. (Najdowski, Bottoms & Goff, 2015). Historical and contemporary police misconduct is experienced through the lens of U.S. ethnoracial history, creating lasting psychological effects. (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016).Yet the cycle of racial trauma has not been adequately acknowledged or researched. (Kahn, et al.,2017).

Law enforcement structure must reflect a comprehensive psychohistorical understanding of the relationship between police and ethnoracial communities (Westcott, 2015). The lack of police accountability, cross-cultural credibility, perceived legitimacy, procedural justice, and desired civilian responses result inrecurring racially traumatizing incidents (Alexander, 2010; Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Du Bois, 2003; Feagin, 2006; Marable, 1999;Rios, 2011).

A Diverse Psychocultural Portrait of Police and Racial Trauma

Details of hostile police experiences are passed down through generations, worldwide. (Franklin, 2009; Nagata, 1990a, 1993, 1998).The continuing traumatic plight of Aboriginesis analogous to Native American experiences. (Barta, 2008; Brave Heart, 2008; Culhane, 2003; Ellinghaus, 2006;Murphy, 2011).Irreversible distrust between Native Americans and authority was driven by centuries of racial trauma, including marginalization, exploitation, theft, violence, racism, and genocide(Helgesen,2011; Perry, 2009).Per capita, more Native Americans die due to police involvement than any other group (Hutson et al., 2007; Miller et al., 2017; Woodward, 2016). Despite beings overeign nations, a significant number of tribes are under the legal authority of local non-tribal policing agencies. Over 80% of the deadly encounters between Native Americans and law enforcement involved non-tribal police (Chin, Schroedel, & Rowen, 2016). Native Americans have the longest history of exposure to racial trauma in the U.S. Native Americans were forcibly removed from their legal properties because of the Indian Removal Act (1830). An estimated 4,000NativeAmericans died on the brutal march to what is now known as Oklahoma. Black slaves owned by Cherokees also walked in the Trail of Tears.

Roughly 60,000 people were relocated by President Andrew Jackson under horrible weather. The elderly and disabled who were unable to continue the nearly 1000-mile trek were shot or left to die (Johnson, 2014). The psychological impact of removal from their land, mistreatment along the way, and witnessing horrible deaths can be compared to trauma from contemporary police actions. Below are just a few other examples of racial trauma across time and ethnoracial groups.

ASIAN-AMERICANS, LAW ENFORCEMENT AND RACIAL TRAUMA

The racial trauma of Asian Americans due topolicing can be challenging to conceptualize. The topic has been understudied (Koo, Nguyen, Gilmore, Blayney, & Kaysen, 2014; Loo, 1994), and Asian Americans comprise highly diverse 32 groups (e.g., acculturation patterns, languages, migration experiences, national origins, histories, racial identity), (Tran & Chan, 2017). Asians were twice as likely to be convicted of property crimes such as burglary and theft, and more frequently convicted of violent offenses such as robbery and assault than were African Americans and Whites (Franklin & Fearn, 2015).

Cultural snapshots of Asian Americans' racially traumatizing criminal justice experiences are consistent with other ethnoracial groups. Dylan Yang, a 16-year-old Hmong in central Wisconsin, was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide of another adolescent believed to be carrying a gun. Racial tensions between the Hmong and native-born populations had been rising since Hmong began immigrating to the U.S. 40 years ago (Ong, Cerrada, Lee, & Williams, 2017). Yang had requested a school transfer after bullying incidents that included the youth who died on the day of the homicide (Cacho, 2012). Police characterized the dispute as gang-related. The recorded police interrogation of Yang revealed that police deceptions of him as a gang hoodlumled to his adjudication as an adult. According to Cacho (2012), this police approach allowed "de facto status crime [which] does not refer to illegal activity; rather it refers to others' perception that a person of a certain status is more likely than not to commit future crimes and may well have already committed crimes unwitnessed" (p. 43, Cacho, 2012).

The Muslim Ban stemming from a blocked President Trump Executive Order is eerily similar to the Asiatic Barred Zone that prohibited all Asian immigration in the U.S through the first half of the twentieth century. Considerable traumatizing aftereffects arose from anti–South Asian violence (Sangalung et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2015). The Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 limited immigration from places outside Western Europe for four decades.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor led to racial vilification and psychological damage of ethnically Japanese.An estimated 120,000 people from the U.S. West coast were interned, under Executive Order 9066, signed by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1942, despite no clear evidence of wrong doing. An estimated 70,000 were U.S. citizens (Nagata, 1991; Nagata, Trierweiler, & Talbot, 1999). Internment resulted in racial trauma, expressed in anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Brave Heart & Deschenie, 2006; Nagata & Tsuru, 2007).

HISPANICS AND POLICE TRAUMA

Similar to Asian Americans, the Hispanic community embodies diversity of status, language, sexual orientation, and country of origin. Hispanics comprise about 17% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). (Rose, Ellison, & Diamond, 2008). Hispanics were more likely than Whites to report negative attitudes toward police (Garcia & Cao, 2005; Webb &Marshall, 1995).Videotapes of high-profile deaths have captured highly questionable law enforcement actions. The May 2017 death of John Hernandez, killed at a Denny's Restaurant near Houston, Texas was ruled a homicide, leading to murder charges against a sheriff's deputy and her civilian husband. At least eight officers on the scene failed to interview witnesses. Officers held the wife of the homicide victim in a patrol car for hours and confiscated her cell phone. The young daughter of the victim witnessed his life-ending injuries, and pleaded with the assailant at the scene. (Wootson, 2017).

Hispanics experience higher rates of PTSD than do non-Latino Caucasian and Black Americans. Hispanics may be particularly vulnerable to PTSD (Pole, Best, Metzler, & Marmar, 2005). Black and Latino suspects receive more force during early stages of their police interactions (Kahn et al., 2017). Former Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio illegally targeted Latinos, was convicted of criminal contempt for violating a court order, and once told a cable news television host that it was an "honor" to be compared to the Ku Klux

Klan (Billeaud, 2013;Bogado, 2009).Hidden within Latino racial profiling cases were Native Americans mistaken as Latinos. The former sheriff's press releases boast of immigration sweeps, and in-house deputy e-mails contained offensive remarks about Mexicans (Sterling, 2014).The psychological impact of Arpaio's recent Presidential Pardon is not yet known.

Relocation is a racially traumatizing experience shared by free Blacks forced to migrate to the slave South, Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics. An involuntary mass deportation of Mexican Americans was known by a racially offensive slur, "Operation Wetback" (Marsicano, 2016; Wong, 2014) which in1954 deported more than one million people, primarily Mexican nationals. An additional 242,000 were relocated the following year. A congressional investigation compared use of cargo ships to an "eighteenth-century slave ship" and a "penal hell ship."Guards shot at people jumping from moving trains. Other migrants reported "municipal authorities sell them like slaves" (Hernandez, 2006).

Black Americans, Police, and Racial Trauma

2019 will mark the 400th year since the Atlantic slave trade began. In our time, most fatal police shootings of unarmed Blacks are committed by non-Black police officers (Menifield, 2015).Blacks have high arrest and stop rates and, per capita, are much more likely than Whites to die at the hands of police. Blacks were more likely to experience threat of force or actual application during stops (Kahn et al., 2017; Legewie, 2016). Multiple studies document evidence that law enforcement agencies have targeted Blacks for centuries (Matulia, 1982; Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Worden, 1996).

Discriminatory policing actions disproportionately result in deaths, injuries, and incarcerations of Black men, women and children, traumatizing families for generations. (Shuck, 2004; Taylor, 2013). Departments delay or obscure racially motivated police misconduct. For example, a U.S. Justice Department report prompted by the Chicago Police shooting death of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald found a pattern of excessive use of force and a failure to hold officers accountable form is conduct. The Justice Department report noted that Chicago Police Department (CPD) scene report narratives were substantially inconsistent with patrol car videos.

Procedural delays affect public distrust and disgust. Video of the CPD killing of McDonald was not released a judge ordered it, more than a year after his October 20th, 2014 death. The McDonald killing happened 10 weeks after the Ferguson Police shooting death of another juvenile, Michael Brown. Each shooting death of an unarmed youth triggered riots. The degree of discipline taken was roughly 3% of the 56,459 complaints found in the database (Krayewski, 2014).

These recurring incidents not only traumatize victims and witnesses, but also negatively impact procedural justice, and compromise legitimacy and safety of police. (Elliott, Thomas, & Ogloff, 2011; Mazerolle, Antrobus, & Tyler, 2013). Data has prompted some procedural reforms. The Boston Police Department discontinued a stop and frisk policy when it was revealed that Blacks were being stopped disproportionately.

Legitimacy refers to a sense of obligation to obey authority that coincides with trust and confidence in institutions and authority. (Tyler, 2004). Procedural justice refers to an assessment of the presence of fairness and evenhandedness of police procedures. An example of the void in legitimacy and procedural justice is reflected in the actions and lack thereof by J. Edgar Hoover, the first director of the FBI. Hoover played an egative policing role in racial trauma (e.g., the campaign under Hoover to destroy Martin Luther King, Jr., and linking the Civil Rights movement to subversion) (Noakes, 2003; Schwartz & Frederick, 2015. Witnesses to the lynch mob death of James Scales in 1944 (Cohen, 2014) described Scales falling to the ground and a mob member saying, "Shoot him some more, heain't had enough." Felix "Pop" Morris then emptied several more cartridges into Scales's face. Newspapers reported that the mob forced reformatory juveniles to view his bullet-riddled body "as an example." Hoover's FBI discontinued the federal investigation into this racially traumatizing incident.

Prevalence of Racial Trauma and Healing Using Police Misconduct across Decades

The Christopher and Ferguson reports decode minority community-police relations across decades and offer a searing analysis of police and racial trauma. Below are some relevant details from these reports (1991 and 2015), written after violent riots that posed substantial public safety threats. Three ethnoracial community-police racial trauma messages

emerge. First, the reports provide a snapshot of the recurring socioeconomic conditions plaguing diverse communities. Second, the reports reveal systematic patterns of race-conscious behavior that negatively impacted minorities. Finally, the police were cited as central motivational factors in spawning the disturbances (Christopher Report, 1991; Ferguson Report, 2015).

The Christopher Commission was charged by Mayor Tom Bradley to investigate the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). In 1991, the commission's report on accusations of excessive force by the LAPD strongly implied that the LAPD culture embraced an "us versus them" mentality that reinforced race-conscious behavior. The report was released several months after riots spurred by the videotaped Rodney King beating, which involved LAPD officers. The findings were based on a five-year review of internal use of force reports, case settlements stemming from excessive force, and racially tinged recorded communications between patrol cars and police stations. Officers were aware that all their on-duty police communications were being recorded, yet some officers routinely used racially offensive language during transmissions, perhaps indicating cultural acceptance of that behavior (P. XII, Christopher Report). The report documented that not only did multiple behavioral offenses go without disciplinary action; in some cases officers were promoted.

Twenty-three years after the Christopher report, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice investigated the Ferguson, Missouri Police Department. The Ferguson report was fueled by the previously mentioned shooting death of the unarmed Black juvenile, Michael Brown, by a White police officer. The Ferguson report encouraged action on cross-institutional or systemic problems revealed in previous reports but subsequently neglected, noting FPD's "approach to law enforcement both reflects and reinforces racial bias, including stereotyping… FPD appears to bring certain offenses almost exclusively against African Americans." Almost 90% of the cases using force involved Blacks. Moreover, 100% of canine bite cases involved Blacks. African Americans were also 68% less likely to have their court cases dismissed. According to the DOJ, "Our investigation has shown that distrust of the Ferguson Police Department is longstanding and largely attributable to Ferguson's

approach to law enforcement. This approach results in patterns of unnecessarily aggressive and at times unlawful policing" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015).

Police - Ethnoracial Factors that Perpetuate the Racial Trauma Cycle

One example of the Racial Trauma Cycle is the Palm Island riots in Australia. Island protests against police followed an in-custody death of an Aborigine, Cameron "Mulrunji" Doomadgee. Local police responded with house raids, numerous arrests, and enforced impromptu travel restrictions that traumatized children separated from their parents (Brennan, 2011). A resultant 2016 federal court decision determined police were "racist" in their response. Improper police actions have a cyclic psychological impact on survivors.

Policing actions used against Native Americans were aversive, yet sometimes prompted Native Americans to engage in seemingly inexplicable coping behavior (e.g., attaching makeshift American flags to their teepees hoping it would give them power over their oppressors, or performing a ghost dance at Wounded Knee). Though these culturally congruent reactions to trauma seemed designed to curtail the racially traumatic experiences, they actually had the opposite effect (Johnson, 2014), resulting in even more horrific racial trauma.(Brave Heart et al., 2011; Greyshield, et. al., 2015; Reinschmidt, Attakai, Kahn, Whitewater, & Teufel-Shone, 2016; William-Washington, 2010).

Government Agencies and the Race Trauma Cycle Paradigm

The cycle may be conceptualized through an empirically supported triangle of police and racial trauma. The first sector in this paradigm is governmental agencies. A review of hate crime statistics collected by the FBI reveals that certain racial groups are disproportionately targeted for hate crimes more than others. (Cheng et al., 2013l Markoe, 2016) Yet the FBI does not have a category for hate crimes through racially-tinged police actions.

Survivors and the Race Trauma Cycle

Survivors of police racial trauma are not studied within distinct ethnoracial groups. Compounding the trauma, survivors have not had the authority nor the unified voice to prompt significant culturally responsive

corrections to the problematic policing patterns noted across centuries. (Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015; Comas-Diaz, 2016; Hardy, 2013).

Health Care Providers and the Perpetuation of the Racial Trauma Cycle

Traumatic police experiences are transmitted through generations. (Barkan, 2000; Kellermann, 2001). Healthcare providers must craft culturally informed interventions that address transdiagnostic clinical issues (e.g., addiction, dysphoria, declining health status, generalized anxiety, panic disorders, PTSD, and suicidal behavior). Healthcare providers' reliance on professional resources coupled with their circumscribed cross-cultural experiences may lull them into a false sense of competence. The APA cross-cultural competencies guide (APA, 1993), and International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) (IACP, 2009) do not adequately address the racial trauma cycle. Finally, healthcare providers have limited expertise handling psychocultural histories stemming from police misconduct. Scholarship on PTSD within the military is abundant, yet comparatively little is known about police trauma survivors or their descendants.

Ethnoracial Framework on Psychological Testing of Police

Police psychological evaluations are intended to determine presence of any interfering behavioral disorders, dispositions, misconduct, or germane psychopathology (Johnson, 2013b). Mandates for psychological screening are determined on a state-by-state basis. However, most states require at least two recognized psychological tests. (Johnson, 2013b). The process must screen out individuals unfit for duty and screen in capable and suitable police candidates. (Gallo & Halgin, 2011; Lough & Von Truer, 2013).

Many states use the Peace Officer Standards of Training as a screening basis, (Johnson, 2013a) and 90% of departments use some form of testing. (Cochrane, Tett, & Vandecreek, 2006). Psychological testing (e.g., MMPI2-RF, PAI, M-PULSE, 16-PF, etc.) must systematically assess for patterns of behavior that would significantly interfere with job functioning.

None of the previously mentioned psychological instruments were developed for this purpose, and

variability in the cultural competencies of examiners further undermines the ethical practice application in this context. (Gamst, & Liang, 2013; Harris-Haywood et al., 2014; Mareno, Hart, & VanBrackle, 2103; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013). Limited cross-cultural competencies cause examiners to struggle with connecting testing to real ethnoracial issues. Psychological interviews show stronger potential for culturally relevant assessment. (Johnson, 2011; Johnson, Kim, Collins, Del Vecchio, & Jimenez, 2015; Johnson & Marek, 2012).

Issues for Culturally Responsive Psychological Interviewing

While not accounting for all problematic police conduct, race-based attitudes and behaviors not only compromise public safety, but also are antithetical to restorative health required for achieving ethnoracial trust. Ethnoracial competencies must become required steps for both police applicants and incumbent officers. The psychological evaluation standards set forth by the International Association of Chiefs of Police specify that police applicants and incumbent officers should be assessed, with interviews stated as the recommended psychological evaluation method. (International Association of Chiefs of Police Psychological Services Section,2009). Psychologists must be competent to evaluate across diverse police practice issues. Support for valid interviews seems insufficient. The 214-page California Peace Officer Psychological Screening Manual (2017), published by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) provides lists and commentary but lacks sufficient and recent references. It specifies eight POST peace officer psychological evaluator competencies (i.e., assessment, clinical, communication, jurisprudence, occupational procedural, psychometric, and standards). The manual contains sections on Negative Psychological Indicators and Categories of Counterproductive Work Behavior, although neither section contains information on screening for problematic ethnoracial behaviors or dispositions. Most of the 16 references for Peace Officer Psychological Job Demands and Community Policing are more than 10 years old, and only one is from the decade 2000-2010. Peace Officer Psychological Job Demands and the POST Psychological Dimension of Social Competence provide only cursory statements that would be of limited utility for evaluations of ethnoracial competencies.

The Psychological Screening Interview Section of the POST manual (Chapter 8) contains citations that on average are more than 15years old, with several over 20 years old. The manual contains a short section labeled Cultural Competence. Noticeably absent in the POST manual are any citations in the Cultural Competence section or any substantial discussion of how a psychological examiner would screen a police applicant for problematic ethnoracial issues (e.g., conscious or unconscious racism). For example, in the section on interview topics, one of the shortest content coverage was on bias for gender, race religion and sexual orientation (POST, 2017) Also, the sections Interview Topics and Risk Management Information fail to specify details as to how ethnoracial issues would be integrated into the psychological evaluation process. This glaring omission stands in contrast to other more expansive details for other areas.

INTERVENTIONS & RESTORATIVE HEALING FOR REVITALIZING TRUST FROM DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

Researching and studying the distressing history of race and policing is the necessary first step in healing ethnoracial trauma. Healing hurts and there are no quick fixes when it comes to therapeutic interventions for racial trauma (Comas-Díaz, 2016). Research and historical study of police interactions with diverse communities must be paired with facilitated dialogue, which has potential for healing. The recommended restorative healing framework (i.e., a tangible legitimacy and procedural justice framework) contains four overarching principles. (Patel, 2016; Weitzer, 2015).

1. Departments must awaken to the necessity of understanding of the reform stemming from racial trauma that is a direct consequence of police actions.

2. Healing from racial trauma must be internalized as a new public safety objective.

3. Cross-culturally credible accountability must include civilian authority over police.

4. Diverse communities must formally organize to improve police morale and safety.

Police face challenges to legitimacy when ethnoracial trust is weak. (Peck, 2015). Research evidence supports the use of three public safety portals to cultivate a circle of trust with ethnoracially diverse groups. (Gonzales et al., 2017; Holdaway, 2013; Plummer, Stone, Powell, & Allison, 2016; Weiss, 2017; Weitzer, 2015; Wozniak, 2016). Collectively, these three portals may be referred to as Ethnoracial Community-Police Relations (ECPR). The first portal includes the status of the ethnoracial community (e.g., poverty, crime statistics, performance of educational institutions, unemployment rates, etc.). Portal two measures self-reported police morale and safety. Finally, scene management history includes the cross-generational exposure to high profile policing incidents (e.g., locally, nationally and internationally).

The level of trust of all participants must be measured at each session. To accomplish this task, the Circle of Trust (COT) is a multidimensional assessment rating tool designed to yield information about a specific relationship (i.e., between a person and an agency, helper, institution or person). Such a rating could then evaluate the impact of ECPR interventions (i.e., pre-post). The COT has five measurable domains (i.e., hostile, adversarial/oppositional, distrusting, indifferent and trusting). All COT scores would be subject to multivariate statistical analysis.

The department could also use the COT internally. ECPR enables a connection of trust and legitimacy. (Glaser, 2014, Jones, 2015, & President's Task Force, 2015). The Hebrew word for connections is "mithabrim." ECPR could achieve "mithabrim" between the diverse community and police department through shared accountability for public safety.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH, POLICY, AND PRACTICES ON POLICE RACIAL TRAUMA

A recent example of bias in contemporary policing is a traffic stop video from 2016. A Georgia police lieutenant tried to calm a nervous White female motorist by repeatedly telling her: "But you're not black. Remember we only kill black people." If ethnoracial factors are not the chief problematic law enforcement variables, then what other issues explain such seemingly unwinnable cross-cultural police contacts? History reveals that race is a major factor influencing interactions with ethnoracially diverse citizens. Some police officers have already made their decision before they enter a scene management situation with diverse citizens and are therefore not racially unconscious. For example, a former police

officer acquitted of shooting to death a black motorist was recorded saying on a police camera during the pursuit chase, "We're going to kill this motherfucker."

Police racial trauma is not a binary debate, as there are ethnoracially diverse groups of stakeholders. Police and multi-ethnic communities must enter a public safety trust circle (COT) that can forge a working relationship. Over time such trust can facilitate policy, research and training. Moreover, such healing can be applied to other institutions, including military and schools of in education, which also have cycles of racial trauma. Research offers the potential that when citizens perceive that law enforcement authorities have the right to direct appropriate behavior (i.e., legitimacy and procedural justice), they tend to cooperate and comply. (e.g., Bradford, Huq, Jackson, & Roberts, 2013; Elliott et al., 2011; Huq, Tyler, & Schulhofer, 2011a, 2011b; Jackson, Bradford, Hough, Myhill, Quinton, & Tyler, 2012; Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, &Hohl, 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Tyler, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2011a, 2011b; Ter, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010).

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