Sixth Edition

MULTI-CULTURAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society

Robert M. **SHUSTA** ⋆ Deena R. **LEVINE** ⋆ Herbert Z. **WONG**
Aaron T. **OLSON** ⋆ Philip R. **HARRISA**

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STRATEGIES FOR PEACEKEEPING IN A DIVERSE SOCIETY

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Dedication

To our inspirational co-author, Dr. Philip R. Harris, whose vision for Multicultural Law Enforcement *more than 20 years ago continues to shape criminal justice programs throughout the United States*

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CONTENTS

Foreword *x*
Preface *xii*
Acknowledgments *xiv*
About the Authors *xvi*

Part 1 Impact of Cultural Diversity on Law Enforcement 01

Chapter 1 Multicultural Communities: Challenges for Law Enforcement 03

Introduction 03
The Interface of Diversity and Law Enforcement 04
Typology of Immigrants and Refugees 15
Culture and Its Relevance to Law Enforcement 25
Dimensions of Diversity 29
Prejudice in Law Enforcement 31
Summary *36* • *Discussion Questions and Issues* *38* • *References* *38*

Chapter 2 The Changing Law Enforcement Agency: A Microcosm of Society 41

Introduction 42
Changing Workforce 43
Racism within the Law Enforcement Workforce 48
Women in Law Enforcement 54
Sexual Orientation in Law Enforcement 64
Police Leadership, Professionalism, and Synergy 72
Supervisors, Managers, and the Chief Executive 74
Summary *77* • *Discussion Questions and Issues* *78* • *References* *79*

Chapter 3 Multicultural Representation in Law Enforcement: Recruitment, Retention, and Promotion 82

Introduction 82
Recruitment of a Diverse Workforce 83
Attracting and Retaining Women and Minorities 87
Selection Processes 95
Retention and Promotion of a Diverse Workforce 101
Summary *106* • *Discussion Questions and Issues* *107* • *References* *107*

Chapter 4 Cross-Cultural Communication for Law Enforcement 109

Introduction 109

Language Barriers and Law Enforcement 111
Attitudes Toward Limited-English Speakers 114
Cross-Cultural Communication in the Law Enforcement Context 116
Cross-Cultural Communication Dynamics 120
Interviewing and Data-Gathering Skills 124
Nonverbal Communication 126
Male-Female Communication in Law Enforcement 129
Summary 131 • Discussion Questions and Issues 132 • References 133

Part 2 Cultural Specifics for Law Enforcement 135

Chapter 5 Law Enforcement Contact with Asian/Pacific Americans 136
Introduction 136
Asian/Pacific American Defined 137
Historical Information 138
Demographics: Diversity among Asian/Pacific Americans 141
Labels and Terms 142
Myths and Stereotypes 143
The Asian/Pacific American Family 145
Communication Styles of Asian/Pacific Americans 147
Key Issues in Law Enforcement 148
Summary 152 • Discussion Questions and Issues 153 • References 154

Chapter 6 Law Enforcement Contact with African Americans 155
Introduction 156
Historical Information 156
Demographics: Diversity among African Americans 157
Issues of Identity and Group Identification Terms 160
Stereotypes and Cross-Racial Perceptions 161
The African American Family 163
Language and Communication 165
Key Issues in Law Enforcement 169
Summary 177 • Discussion Questions and Issues 178 • References 178

Chapter 7 Law Enforcement Contact with Latino/Hispanic Americans 180
Introduction 180
Latino/Hispanic Americans Defined 183
Historical Information 185
Demographics: Diversity among Latino/Hispanic Americans 187
Myths and Stereotypes 191

The Latino/Hispanic American Family 192
Communication Styles of Latino/Hispanic Americans 195
Key Issues in Law Enforcement 196
Summary 199 • Discussion Questions and Issues 200 • References 201

Chapter 8 Law Enforcement Contact with Arab Americans and Other Middle Eastern Groups 203
Introduction 204
Middle Easterners and Related Terminology Defined 204
Historical Information and Arab American Demographics 206
Differences and Similarities 207
Stereotypes 209
Islamic Religion 211
Family Structure 214
Communication Styles and Cultural Practices 217
Key Issues in Law Enforcement 220
Summary 224 • Discussion Questions and Issues 225 • References 226

Chapter 9 Law Enforcement Contact with Native Americans 228
Introduction 229
Historical Information and Background 229
Native American Populations, Reservations, Tribes, and Identity 232
Similarities among Native Americans 234
Language and Communication 236
Offensive Terms, Labels, and Stereotypes 238
Family and Acculturation Issues 239
Key Issues in Law Enforcement 242
Summary 252 • Discussion Questions and Issues 253 • References 253

Part 3 Multicultural Law Enforcement Elements in Terrorism and Disaster Preparedness 255

Chapter 10 Multicultural Law Enforcement and Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Disaster Preparedness 256
Introduction 257
Multicultural Law Enforcement Roles in Terrorism and Homeland Security 257
Myths and Stereotypes about Terrorists 261
Response Strategies Addressing Local-Community, Regional, National, and Global Issues 265
U.S. Patriot Act and Intelligence Community 272
Working with Multicultural Communities on Terrorism Prevention and Disaster Preparedness 274

Key Issues in Law Enforcement 281

Summary 283 • Discussion Questions and Issues 283 • References 284

Part 4 Response Strategies for Crimes Motivated by Hate/Bias and Racial Profiling 287

Chapter 11 Hate/Bias Crimes: Victims, Laws, Investigations, and Prosecutions 288

Introduction 288

The Hate/Bias Crime Problem 289

Definition of Hate Crime and Hate Incident 295

Hate Crime Source Theories 297

Jews and Anti-Semitism 299

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Victimization 302

Hate Crime Laws Specific to LGBT 309

Hate/Bias Crime and Incident Investigations 311

Hate/Bias Crime Prosecution 313

Hate/Bias Crime and Incident Victimology 317

Summary 318 • Discussion Questions and Issues 319 • References 320

Chapter 12 Hate/Bias Crimes: Reporting, Monitoring, and Response Strategies 322

Introduction 322

Hate/Bias Crimes Reporting 323

Hate/Bias Crimes Monitoring 324

Organized Hate Groups 325

Response Alternatives to Organized Hate Groups 330

Trends and Predictions for Organized Hate Groups 330

Hate/Bias Crime and Incident Control 332

Trends to Monitor: STEEP Typology 334

Law Enforcement Response Strategies 335

Summary 341 • Discussion Questions and Issues 342 • References 342

Chapter 13 Racial Profiling 344

Introduction 345

Definitions 345

Historical Background of the Term *Racial Profiling* 346

Profiling Challenges in the War on Terrorism 348

Police and Citizen Perceptions of Racial Profiling 349

Profiling as a Legal Tool of Law Enforcement 357

Is Racial Profiling Justified by the War on Terrorism? 359

Prevention of Racial Profiling in Law Enforcement 363

Professional Police Traffic Stops 369
Data Collection on Citizens' Race/Ethnicity 370
Summary 378 • Discussion Questions and Issues 379 • References 379

Part 5 Cultural Effectiveness for Law Enforcement 381

Chapter 14 Community Policing and Multicultural Response Strategies for Gangs, the Homeless, and the Mentally Ill 382

Introduction 383
Community Policing 383
Types of Gangs and Criminal Activity 387
Gang Causation 393
Law Enforcement Strategies to Reduce Gang Problems 394
Homelessness and Its Impact on Peacekeeping 395
Peacekeeping Strategies to Mitigate the Homelessness Crisis 400
Mental Illness Challenges in Multicultural Communities 403
Police Protocol in Encounters with People Who Have Mental Illness 405
Response Strategies between Police and People with Mental Illness 407
Summary 409 • Discussion Questions and Issues 410 • References 411

Appendix A: Multicultural Community and Workforce: Attitude Assessment Survey 414
Appendix B: Cultural Diversity Survey: Needs Assessment 420
Appendix C: Cross-Cultural Communication Skills Assessment for Law Enforcement Professionals 425
Appendix D: Listing of Gangs and Identifying Characteristics 427
Appendix E: Selected Examples of Foreign Terrorist Organizations 434
Glossary 436
Index 442

FOREWORD

One of the most profound social changes to impact American law enforcement is the changing nature of diversity. While police agencies across America have struggled for many years with the issues of race and ethnicity, the nature of that struggle has been essentially binary. Black/White, male/female, similar/other; whatever the local issue, it has generally been narrowly defined.

However, over the last 50 years, these struggles have become even more complex and challenging as large numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants, documented and unauthorized, have come to America seeking economic, religious, or political freedom. The barriers of language, culture and social expectations have added significantly to the challenges of policing a heterogeneous society. Law enforcement professionals frequently encounter cultural and racial tensions, as well as strongly held suspicion, if not outright fear, of the police that the immigrants bring with them. Such suspicion and fear are often a result of personal experience in their countries of origin. Clearly, effective policing of multicultural communities remains an enormous challenge. However, there is good reason for optimism as police agencies become more diverse, enhance their training, and seek to build strong relationships with specific communities.

By embracing the philosophy of community partnerships and community policing strategies, law enforcement agencies, together with citizens, have created some safer towns and cities. To be effective, police officers cannot operate alone; they require the active support and assistance of citizens in their jurisdictions. Central to maintaining that support is the recognition that law enforcement agencies must reflect the diversity of the communities they serve. Every day, officers come into contact with individuals from different cultural backgrounds, socioeconomic classes, religions, sexual orientations, as well as differing physical and mental abilities. Each of these groups brings a different perspective to police community relations and, as a result, our officers must be prepared to respond appropriately to each group. Failure to recognize and adjust to community diversity can foster confusion and resentment among citizens, quickly leading to a breakdown in the critical bond of trust between a law enforcement agency and its community.

Policing has changed dramatically since the publication of the first edition of this book. There has been a generational shift within the law enforcement community, both in terms of age and diversity. Nevertheless, the challenge of policing an increasingly complex society remains. The need to find ways to address this challenge helps explain the continued interest in this work.

The publication of this sixth edition of *Multicultural Law Enforcement: Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society* is significant, considering that over 95 percent of published books never enter into their second edition. Clearly, the authors have filled a gap in the law enforcement literature, and the global sales of this volume confirm that its authors have produced a highly relevant text, one that is rich with instruction. Thus, readers are fortunate now to have access to this sixth edition. Since its first publication in 1995, this work has established itself as a classic in the criminal justice field. The fact that the text has been adopted by and used in police and corrections academies, advanced officer courses, and criminal justice courses is testimony to its far-reaching acceptance.

Multicultural Law Enforcement's major sections effectively address the key cultural needs of law enforcement as practitioners, in increasing numbers have discovered for themselves. The practical contents of the book provide critical information and insight that will improve police performance and professionalism. The subject matter herein, especially the cultural-specific information, continues to be on the leading edge. Instructors and trainers will welcome this current edition of *Multicultural Law Enforcement* as a complete learning system that offers the following supplements to the main text: an Instructor's Manual, chapter quizzes, and PowerPoint presentations for each chapter.

Finally, this edition of *Multicultural Law Enforcement* enables agencies and departments to prepare officers to form partnerships for successful community policing practices within our multicultural communities. It touches on other related topics too, such as gangs, the homeless, the mentally ill, global terrorism, and international politics and their impact on policing in America.

The authors' diversity and collective competence are quite impressive. The five coauthors have a combined total of 58 years of active state and local law enforcement experience. They also have spent years conducting training, teaching criminal justice college classes, and consulting. Each author has sought additional cultural information and input from criminal justice professionals from the diverse backgrounds about which they write. I feel confident in recommending this text, and I encourage all who use it to put into action the strategies and tools of this exceptional work for the betterment of your agencies, communities, and the larger society.

Chief Bernard Melekian (Ret.), DPPD

Former Chief of Police, Pasadena Police Department

Former Director, U.S. Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services

PREFACE

This sixth edition of *Multicultural Law Enforcement: Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society* is a continuing tribute to all our readers who enthusiastically received the first five editions. It is a textbook designed for use in police departments and academies as well as college and university criminal justice programs; it is used in a wide range of agencies for in-service training programs and advanced officer courses. While the text's focus has primarily been on police officers, in addition to law enforcement, the content applies to other criminal justice professionals, emergency service personnel, correctional officers, border patrol agents, marshals, federal agents, and campus and military police.

Multicultural Law Enforcement, with accompanying instructional tools, is a complete learning package designed to assist users in understanding the pervasive influences of culture, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation in the workplace and in multicultural communities.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

The sixth edition contains updated and expanded information for leaders, officers, managers, supervisors, new recruits, and instructors. It is based on research of current issues facing law enforcement professionals and the communities they serve. For some new sections, authors have conducted interviews with criminal justice professionals from diverse backgrounds. The content revision includes:

- Updated demographics throughout the chapters from the latest census figures and U.S. Department of Justice statistics
- Additional in-depth background on refugees and immigrants
- Updated information and examples of law enforcement workforce diversity and workplace inclusion
- Expanded sections on hate crimes and on violence against immigrant and Native American women
- Additional cultural-specific information on such varied topics as Muslim cultural identity and Indian country crime
- New and updated coverage of federal laws pertaining to crimes motivated by hate/bias and information on racial profiling
- Expanded information on homeland security, counterterrorism and citizen programs to benefit multicultural communities in disaster preparedness
- Additional information on law enforcement contact with gangs, homeless and mentally ill populations

Throughout the text we stress the need for awareness and understanding of cultural differences and respect toward those of different backgrounds. We encourage readers to examine preconceived notions they might hold of particular groups. We outline why agency executives and managers should build awareness and promote cultural understanding and tolerance within their agencies.

An increasing number of leaders in law enforcement and criminal justice agencies and their employees have accepted the premise that greater cross-cultural competency and improved cross-racial and interethnic relations must be a key objective of all management and professional development. Demographic changes have had a tremendous impact not only on the types of crimes committed, but also on the composition of the workforce and the people with whom officers make contact. To be effective, executives must understand and be responsive to the diversity in their workforces and in their changing communities. Professionalism today includes the need for greater consideration across cultures and improved communication with members of diverse groups.

In an era when news is accessed instantaneously, the public can witness cross-cultural and interracial contact between law enforcement agents and citizens, seconds after interactions occur. Community members have become increasingly sophisticated and critical with regard to how members of diverse cultural and racial groups are treated by public servants. Police departments, criminal justice and emergency services agencies are now serving communities whose members carefully observe them and hold them accountable for their actions.

With cross-cultural knowledge and sensitivity, those who are charged with the responsibility of peacekeeping and public safety will improve their image while demonstrating greater professionalism within the changing multicultural workforce and community.

We offer instructors and trainers using *Multicultural Law Enforcement: Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society* a complete learning package, including an Instructor's Manual, PowerPoint slides, and chapter quizzes. We hope our readers will find our revised and updated text an enhancement to their law enforcement and criminal justice programs.

Robert M. Shusta, MPA
Deena R. Levine, MA
Herbert Z. Wong, PhD
Aaron T. Olson, MEd
Philip R. Harris, PhD

INSTRUCTOR SUPPLEMENTS

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank Includes content outlines for classroom discussion, teaching suggestions, and answers to selected end-of-chapter questions from the text. This also contains a Word document version of the test bank.

MyTest This computerized test generation system gives you maximum flexibility in preparing tests. It can create custom tests and print scrambled versions of a test at one time, as well as build tests randomly by chapter, level of difficulty, or question type. The software also allows online testing and record-keeping and the ability to add problems to the database. This test bank can also be delivered formatted for use in popular learning management platforms, such as BlackBoard, WebCT, Moodle, Angel, D2L, and Sakai. Visit www.PearsonMyTest.com to begin building your tests.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This sixth edition has benefited from expert contributions by numerous people. Cultural resources and experts read and checked our chapters for accuracy and interpretations of cultural behavior. Other contributors gave us written, up-to-date material that we incorporated in our revision. Still others provided invaluable editorial and research assistance, enhancing the overall quality of this edition.

In particular, for this sixth edition, we would like to express our thanks to the following individuals, some of whom have also contributed to previous editions: Judi Lipsett, editorial assistant; Kay Jones, intercultural specialist and research assistant; Humera Khan, Executive Director at Muflehun, Washington, D.C.; Christopher Martinez, Program Director—Refugee and Immigrant Services of the Catholic Charities of San Francisco; Mitchell Grobeson, Sergeant (retired), Los Angeles Police Department; Lubna Ismail, President, Connecting Cultures, Washington, D.C.; Anthony Pan, Asia Cross-Cultural Consultant; Ilana Lipsett, Researcher; James Johnson, PhD, Social Science Analyst, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts; Thomas Kochman, Founder and COO of KMA Associates, internationally known diversity specialist; Lieutenant Matt Nemeth, Executive Director of PAL in Jacksonville, Florida; Larry Becker, Deputy Chief of S'Klallam Tribes in Kingston, Sequim, and Port Angeles, Washington; Betsy Brantner-Smith, Sergeant (retired), Naperville Police Department, Illinois; Kathy Bierstedt, Sergeant (retired), Metro Dade, Florida Police Department; and Steven P. Wallace, PhD, UCLA Chair and professor, Department of Community Health Sciences, Los Angeles, California.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Robert M. Shusta, Captain (retired), MPA, served over 27 years in law enforcement, and retired as a Captain at the Concord, California Police Department. He has been a part-time instructor at numerous colleges and universities in northern California and at police academies. He is a graduate of the 158th FBI National Academy and the fourth California Command College conducted by POST. He has served on state commissions responsible for developing POST guidelines and state policy recommendations. (Retired) Captain Shusta has conducted extensive training on cultural awareness and hate crimes as well as Train the Trainer programs on combatting domestic violence.

Deena R. Levine, MA, has been providing consulting and training to organizations in both the public and the private sectors since 1983. She is the principal of Deena Levine & Associates LLC, a firm specializing in multicultural workplace training as well as global cross-cultural business consulting. She and her associates, together with representatives from community organizations, have provided programs to law enforcement agencies, focusing on cross-cultural and human relations. She began her career in cross-cultural training at the Intercultural Relations Institute, formerly at Stanford University, developing multicultural workforce understanding for managers and supervisors. She has written an additional widely used text on the cultural aspects of communication, entitled *Beyond Language: Cross-Cultural Communication* (Regents/Prentice Hall).

Herbert Z. Wong, PhD, a clinical and organizational psychologist, provides cultural awareness and diversity training to law enforcement officers on local, state, and federal levels nationwide. He is a professor of psychology and research director at the Graduate School of Professional Psychology, John F. Kennedy University. He is the president of Herbert Z. Wong & Associates, a management consulting firm to over 350 businesses, universities, government agencies, and corporations, specializing in multicultural management and workforce diversity. In 1990, Dr. Wong cofounded and was president of the National Diversity Conference, which became the Society for Human Resource Management's Workplace Diversity Conference. He developed and provided the national Training-of-Trainers programs for the seven-part "Valuing Diversity" videotape series used in over 4,000 organizations worldwide. Dr. Wong specializes in diversity assessments and open systems analysis for cultural competency in human services programs.

Aaron T. Olson, MEd, is an adjunct professor at Portland Community College (PCC), Portland, Oregon, and Eastern Oregon University (EOU), La Grande, Oregon, where he teaches cultural diversity courses. He designed the first cultural diversity courses and curricula for PCC's criminal justice program in 2001, fire protection program in 2009, and EOU's fire service administration program in 2011. Outside of academia, he is an organization and training consultant, specializing in staff development for businesses and government agencies, and conducts multicultural training workshops for public safety and nonpublic safety personnel. He is a retired Oregon State Police patrol sergeant and shift supervisor with 26 years of police experience in communications, recruiting, and patrol assignments. He taught a variety of topics at Oregon's Department of Public Safety Standards and Training to students at the recruit, supervisory, mid-management, and executive management levels. In 2002, he established public safety workshops for immigrants and refugees at the Immigrant Refugee Community Organization (IRCO), Portland, Oregon, and continues to provide instruction for IRCO.

Philip R. Harris, PhD, is a retired management psychologist with extensive experience in human resource development, including law enforcement and criminal justice systems. As President of Harris International, La Jolla, California, he also served as a POST Command College research consultant. In his global consulting practice, he conducted leadership training for such institutions as the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Customs Service, the District of Columbia and Philadelphia Police Departments. Dr. Harris has written or edited myriad texts, articles, and books, including *Managing Cultural Differences*, *Toward Human Emergence*, *Managing the Knowledge Culture*, and *Developing High Performance Leaders* (2013). In 2013, at 88 years of age, having authored or coauthored 53 books, Dr. Harris retired as a global consultant on diversity.

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PART ONE

Impact of Cultural Diversity on Law Enforcement

Chapter 1 **Multicultural Communities: Challenges for Law Enforcement**
Chapter 2 **The Changing Law Enforcement Agency: A Microcosm of Society**
Chapter 3 **Multicultural Representation in Law Enforcement: Recruitment, Retention, and Promotion**
Chapter 4 **Cross-Cultural Communication for Law Enforcement**

Part One of *Multicultural Law Enforcement: Strategies for Peacekeeping in a Diverse Society* introduces readers to the implications of a multicultural society for law enforcement, both within and outside the police agency. Chapter 1 discusses aspects of the changing population and presents views on diversity. The case studies in Chapter 1 exemplify how the presence of different cultures can affect the very nature and perception of crime itself. We present the subject of prejudice and its effect on police work, providing specific examples of its consequences in law enforcement. The chapter ends with suggestions for improving law enforcement in multicultural communities.

Chapter 2 discusses demographic changes taking place within law enforcement agencies, as well as reactions to diversity in the law enforcement workplace and responses to it. In addition to data on ethnic and racial groups, this chapter provides information on women and on gay men and lesbians in law enforcement across the country. We include a discussion of how law enforcement agencies and the community must be proactive about the elimination of discrimination and racism. In addition, we illustrate the realities of the new workforce and the corresponding need for flexibility in leadership styles.

Chapter 3 discusses challenges in the recruitment, retention, and promotion of police personnel from multiple perspectives, including those associated with race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. We emphasize that the pool of qualified applicants for law enforcement jobs has significantly reduced not only because of the economy, but also because of societal changes and trends. We present strategies for recruitment, emphasizing the commitment required by law enforcement chief executives and the need to look inward—that is, to assess the level of comfort and inclusion that all employees experience in a given agency. If the levels are not high, hiring, retention, and promotion will be difficult. Chapter 3 describes the pressing need facing all agencies to build a workforce of highly qualified individuals of diverse backgrounds and in which all people have equal access to the hiring, retention, and promotion processes. It also presents a creative model for recruitment using community policing.

Chapter 4 provides practical information highlighting the dynamics of cross-cultural communication in law enforcement. The chapter includes a discussion of the specific problems involved when officers communicate with speakers of other languages. We present typical styles of communication that people may display when they are uncomfortable with cross-cultural contact. The chapter includes a section on the need for communication sensitivity after the tragedy of September 11, 2011 (referred to in this text as “9/11”). In addition, it covers differences in nonverbal communication across cultures and addresses some of the communication issues that arise between men and women in law enforcement agencies. Finally, we present skills and techniques for officers to apply in situations of cross-cultural contact.

Each chapter ends with discussion questions and a list of references. The following appendices correspond to the chapter content in Part One:

A. Multicultural Community and Workforce: Attitude Assessment
B. Cultural Diversity Survey: Needs Assessment
C. Cross-Cultural Communication Skills Assessment for Law Enforcement Professionals

CHAPTER 1

Multicultural Communities
Challenges for Law Enforcement

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Discuss the impact of diversity on law enforcement.
- Understand the references “melting pot” and “mosaic” society as well as the historical context in which these terms have evolved.
- Summarize key demographic trends in the United States related to the growth of minority populations.
- Provide an overview of key issues associated with immigration directly affecting law enforcement.
- Define “culture” and “ethnocentrism” and discuss the contexts in which they are relevant to law enforcement.
- List the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity.
- Apply the concepts of prejudice and stereotyping to everyday police work.

OUTLINE

- **Introduction**
- **The Interface of Diversity and Law Enforcement**
- **Typology of Immigrants and Refugees**
- **Culture and Its Relevance to Law Enforcement**
- **Dimensions of Diversity**
- **Prejudice in Law Enforcement**
- **Summary**
- **Discussion Questions and Issues**

INTRODUCTION

Multiculturalism in the United States has a long silent history. The United States has, from its founding, taken in immigrants from different cultural backgrounds, many of whom were, at the time, controversial. First, it was the Germans about whom questions were raised as to whether they could or would become “real Americans.” Then questions were raised about the Chinese and after them Irish and the Eastern European immigrants. Now it is Hispanic-Americans and Muslim-Americans of whom we ask those questions.

—Stanley Renshon, Professor of Political Science, CUNY Graduate Center, 2011

The American experience has always been a story of color. In the 20th century it was a story of the black-white line. In the 21st century we are moving into a new off-white moment.

—Suárez-Orozco (Global Expert on Immigration), 2013

Multiculturalism and diversity are at the very heart of America and accurately describe the demographics of our nation. The word *multiculturalism* does not refer to a movement or political force, nor is it an anti-American term. The United States is an amalgam of races, cultures, and ethnic groups, evolving from successive waves of immigration. The United States, compared to virtually all other nations, has experienced unparalleled growth in its multicultural population. Reactions to these changes range from appreciation and even celebration of diversity to an absolute intolerance of differences. In its extreme form, intolerance resulting in crimes of hate is a major law enforcement and criminal justice concern.

THE INTERFACE OF DIVERSITY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Those whose professional ideal is to protect and serve people equally from all backgrounds must face the challenges and complexities of a diverse society. A lack of communication effectiveness, coupled with minimal understanding of individuals' backgrounds, can result in inadvertent violation of individuals' rights as well as officer safety and risk issues. Officers, even more than others, must ensure that their prejudices remain in check and that they refrain from acting on any biased thought.

In an interview, Ondra Berry, Retired Deputy Police Chief, Reno, Nevada, states:

> Law enforcement is under a powerful microscope in terms of how citizens are treated. Minority and ethnic communities have become increasingly competent in understanding the role of law enforcement, and expectations of law enforcement for professionalism have been elevated from previous years. In an age when information about what happens in a police department on the East Coast speeds across to the West Coast in seconds, law enforcement officials must be aware. They must be vigilant. They must do the right thing. (Berry, 2013)

Although our nation has been enriched by diversity, many police procedures and interactions with citizens are, consequently, more complex. Racial tensions and communication challenges with immigrants, for example, are bound to complicate some police encounters. It would be naive to preach to law enforcement officers, agents, and managers about the value of diversity when day-to-day activities can be more complicated because of it. At a minimum, a basic acceptance of our multicultural society on the part of all criminal justice representatives is required as a precursor to improving interpersonal relations and contact across cultural, ethnic, and racial lines.

The United States has always been a magnet for people from nearly every corner of the earth, and, consequently, U.S. demographics continue to undergo constant change. In their efforts to be both proactive and responsive to diverse communities, police officers and groups from many backgrounds around the country are working to become more closely connected in direct relationships promoted in community-based policing models. Leaders from both law enforcement agencies and the community have realized that both groups benefit when each group seeks mutual assistance and understanding. The job of law enforcement requires a certain level of comfort and professionalism in interacting with people from all backgrounds whether one is working with community members to build trust or dealing with suspects, victims, and coworkers.

Through increased awareness, cultural knowledge, and skills, law enforcement as a profession can increase its cultural competence. Acquiring cultural competence is not an instantaneous process; it is multilayered and complex, and includes:

- Exploration of officers' belief systems and biases
- Awareness of an officer's perspectives and perceptions, especially as they may differ from those associated with minority viewpoints
- Acquisition of cultural information relevant to the concerns of law enforcement, and the capacity to apply that knowledge in ethnic, racial, and other diverse communities
- Increased communication skills leading to effective rapport building and communication with all community members
- Development of a set of principles, attitudes, and policies that will enable all individuals in an organization to work effectively and equitably across all cultures and ethnicities

The strategies an individual uses to approach and build rapport with his or her own cultural group may result in unexpected difficulties with another group. The acts of approaching, communicating, questioning, assisting, and establishing trust with members of culturally diverse groups require special knowledge and skills that have nothing to do with the fact that "the law is the law" and must be enforced equally. Acquiring knowledge and skills that lead to sensitivity does not imply preferential treatment of any one group; rather it contributes to improved communication with members of all groups.

Individuals must seek a balance between downplaying and even denying the differences of others, and, on the other hand, distorting the role of culture, race, and ethnicity. In an effort to simply "respect all humans equally," we may inadvertently diminish the influence of culture or ethnicity, including the role it has played historically in our society.

The Melting Pot Myth and the Mosaic

Multiculturalism, also called cultural pluralism, violates what some consider the "American way of life." However, from the time the United States was founded, Americans were never a homogeneous people. The indigenous peoples of America, the ancestors of the American Indians, were here long before Christopher Columbus "discovered" them. There is even strong evidence that the first Africans who set foot in this country came as free people, 200 years before the slave trade from Africa began (Rawlins, 1992). Furthermore, the majority of people in America can claim to be the children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren of people who have migrated here. Americans did not originate from a common stock. Until fairly recently, America has been referred to as a melting pot, a term depicting an image of people coming together and forming a unified culture. One of the earliest uses of the term was in the early 1900s, when a famous American playwright, Israel Zangwill, referring to the mass migration from Europe said, "America is God's crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming. . . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American!" (Zangwill, 1908).

This first use of the term *melting pot* was not designed to incorporate anyone except Europeans. Did the melting pot ever exist, then, in the United States? No, it never did. Yet people still refer to the belief, which is not much more than a romantic myth about the "good old days." African Americans, brought forcibly to this country between 1619 and 1850, were never part of the early descriptions of the melting pot. Likewise, Native American peoples were not considered for the melting pot. It is not coincidental that these groups were nonwhite and were therefore not "meltable." Furthermore, throughout our past, great efforts have been made to prevent any additional diversity. Most notable in this regard was the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which denied Chinese laborers the right to enter America. Early in the twentieth century, organized labor formed the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League "to protest the influx of 'Coolie' labor and in fear of threat to the living standards of American workingmen"

(Kennedy, 1986,). Immigration was discouraged or prevented if it did not add strength to what already existed as the European-descended majority of the population (Handlin, 1975).

Even at the peak of immigration in the late 1800s, New York City exemplified how different immigrant groups stayed separate from each other, with little of the "blending" that people often imagine taking place (Miller, 2013). Three-fourths of New York City's population consisted of first- or second-generation immigrants, including Europeans and Asians. Eighty percent did not speak English, and there were 100 foreign-language newspapers in circulation. The new arrivals were not accepted by those who had already settled, and newcomers found comfort in an alien society by choosing to remain in ethnic enclaves with people who shared their culture and life experiences.

The first generation of every immigrant and refugee group, who saw the United States as the land of hope and opportunity, had always experienced obstacles in acculturation and integration into the new society. In many cases, people resisted Americanization and kept to themselves. Italians, Irish, Eastern European Jews, Portuguese, Germans, and virtually all other groups tended to remain apart when they first came. Most previously settled immigrants were distrustful and disdainful of each newcomer group. "Mainstreaming" began to occur only with children of the immigrants, although some people within certain immigrant groups tried to assimilate quickly. For the most part, however, society did not permit a quick shedding of previous cultural identity. History has never supported the metaphor of the melting pot, especially with regard to the first and second generations of most groups of newcomers. Despite the reality of past multicultural disharmony and tension in the United States, however, the notion of the melting pot prevailed.

The terms *mosaic* and *tapestry* more accurately portray diversity in America. They describe a society in which all colors and backgrounds contribute their parts to form society as a whole, but one in which groups are not required to lose their characteristics in order to "melt" together. The idea of a mosaic portrays a society in which all races and ethnic groups are seen as separate and distinct in contributing their own color, shape, and design to the whole, resulting in an enriched society.

Reactions to Multiculturalism: Past and Present

Accepting multiculturalism and diversity has always been a difficult proposition for many Americans (Miller, 2013). Typical criticisms of immigrants, now and historically, include "They hold on to their cultures," "They don't learn our language," "Their customs and behavior are strange," "They form cliques," and "They take our jobs." Many newcomers, in fact, have historically resisted Americanization, keeping themselves to ethnic enclaves. They were not usually accepted by mainstream society.

Are the reactions to newcomers today so different from people's reactions to earlier waves of immigrants? Let us look at the reactions to the Irish, who, by the middle of the nineteenth century, constituted the largest group of immigrants in the United States, making up almost 45 percent of the foreign-born population. Approximately 4.25 million people left Ireland, mainly because of the potato famine. Many of these immigrants had come from rural areas, but ended up in cities on the East Coast. Most were illiterate; some spoke only Gaelic (Kennedy, 1986). Their reception in America was anything but welcoming, exemplified by the plethora of signs saying, "Jobs available, no Irish need apply."

> The Irish . . . endure[d] the scorn and discrimination later to be inflicted, to some degree at least, on each successive wave of immigrants by already settled "Americans." In speech and in dress, they seemed foreign; they were poor and unskilled and they were arriving in overwhelming numbers. . . . The Irish found many doors closed to them, both socially and economically. When their earnings were not enough . . . their wives and daughters obtained employment as servants. (Kennedy, 1986)

If this account were written without specific references to time and cultural group, it would be reasonable to assume that it describes contemporary reactions to newcomers. We could have taken this passage and substituted Jew, Italian, or Polish at various points in history. Today, it could be used in reference to Afghans, Mexicans, Haitians, Chinese, Koreans, or Indians. If we compare immigration today with that during earlier periods in U.S. history, we find similarities as well as significant differences. In the past few decades, we have received people from cultures more dramatically different than those from Western Europe. For example, many of our "new Americans" from parts of Asia or Africa bring values and languages not commonly associated with or related to mainstream American values and language. Middle Easterners bring customs unknown to many U.S.-born Americans. (For cultural specifics, refer to Chapters 5–9.) Many refugees bring scars of political persecution or war trauma, the nature of which the majority of Americans cannot even fathom. The relatively mild experiences of those who came as voluntary migrants do not compare with the tragedies of many of the more recent refugees. Desperate economic conditions compelled many early European immigrants to leave their countries and thus their leaving was not entirely voluntary. However, their experiences do not parallel those, for example, of war-torn Eastern European refugees who came to the United States in the 1990s or Afghan and Iraqi refugees who came after 2000 or Central and South Americans fleeing gang violence or Africans escaping state violence in the past decade.

Disparaging comments were once made toward the very people whose descendants would, in later years, constitute much of mainstream America. Many fourth- and fifth-generation immigrants have forgotten their history (Miller, 2013) and are intolerant of the "foreign ways" of emerging immigrant groups. Every new group seems to be met with some suspicion and, in many cases, hostility. Adjustment to a new society is and has always been a long and painful process, and the first-generation immigrant group suffers, whether Irish, Polish, Afghani, Filipino, Central American or African. It must also be remembered that many groups did not come to the United States of their own free will but rather were victims of a political or an economic system or circumstance such as war that forced them to abruptly cut their roots and escape their homelands. Although grateful for their welcome to this country, such newcomers did not want to be uprooted. Many new Americans did not have any part in the creation of events that led to their flight from their countries.

Changing Population

Demographic estimates and projections in the twenty-first century are likely to fall short of counting the true mix of people in the United States. In the culture-specific chapters of this book, we discuss Asian and Pacific Americans, African Americans, Latino and Hispanic Americans, Arab Americans and other Middle Eastern groups, and Native Americans. These categorizations are merely for the sake of convenience; an individual may belong to two or more groups. For example, black Latinos, such as people from the Dominican Republic or Brazil, may identify themselves as both black and Latino. Race and ethnic background (e.g., in the case of a black Latino) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Hispanic is considered an ethnicity, not a race. Therefore, people of Latino descent can count themselves as part of any race. Selecting a clear-cut category is not as simple as it may appear. In fact, in the 2010 census, the Hispanic population predominantly identified themselves as either White or "some other race" (Census Bureau Reports, 2011).

Beginning with the 2000 census, biracial individuals could report being a multiple-race combination. The U.S. Census information released in 2008 projected that, by 2050, the number of people who identify themselves as being of two or more races will more than triple, from 5.2 million to 16.2 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012) In fact, data from the 2010 census showed a population well on its way to surpassing that estimate, with 9 million people, or 3 percent of the population, reporting more than one race. Of those 9 million, 92 percent reported being of exactly two races, with 8 percent reporting three races (Census Bureau Reports, 2012).

Law enforcement officials need to be aware of the overlap between race and ethnicity and that many individuals consider themselves to be multiracial. According to historian Edward Ball, "We are not separate tribes of Latinos and whites and blacks in America. We've all mingled, and we have done so for generations." (Swarns & Kantor, 2009)

Heterogeneous Dissimilar, or composed of unrelated or unlike elements. A **heterogeneous society** is one that is diverse, and frequently refers to racial and ethnic composition.

The face of America has been changing for some time. In 1860, there were only three census categories: black, white, and "quadroon" (i.e., a person who has one black grandparent, or the child of a mulatto and a white). Beginning with the 2000 census, there were 63 possible options for marking racial identity, or twice that if people responded in the affirmative to whether or not they were of Hispanic ethnicity. Furthermore, as of 2012, the US Census Bureau even established a National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic, and Other Populations to "help us meet emerging challenges the Census Bureau faces in producing statistics about our diverse nation," according to Census Bureau acting director Thomas L. Mesenbourg (Census Bureau Reports, 2012).

Minority Populations

Documented changes in population characteristics between 2000 and 2010 have been dramatic, and this trend is projected to continue this through the next decade and beyond. The 2010 census projections show that, "The next half century marks key points in continuing trends—the U.S. will become a plurality nation, where the non-Hispanic white population remains the largest single group, but no group is in the majority," according to Mesenbourg. Minorities, defined as all but the single-race, non-Hispanic white population, currently comprise 37 percent of the U.S. population, or 116.2 million people. This number is expected to rise to 241.3 million, or 57 percent of the population, by 2060 (Census Bureau Reports, 2012).

Consider the following data released in 2012 (Census Bureau Reports, 2012):

- The U.S. is projected to become a majority-minority nation for the first time in 2043.
- The Hispanic population is projected to increase from 53.3 million in 2012 to 128.8 million in 2060, meaning nearly one in three U.S. residents would be Hispanic, up from about one in six today.
- The non-Hispanic white population is projected to peak in 2024, at 199.6 million, but unique from any other race or ethnic group, is expected to slowly decrease, falling by nearly 20.6 million from 2024 to 2060.
- The black population is expected to increase from 41.2 million to 61.8 million from 2024 to 2060, increasing its share of the total population from 13.1 percent in 2012 to 14.7 percent in 2060.
- The Asian population is projected to more than double, from 15.9 million in 2012 to 34.4 million in 2060, with its share of nation's total population climbing from 5.1 percent to 8.2 percent in the same period.
- The number of people who identify themselves as being of two or more races is projected to more than triple, from 7.5 million in 2024 to 26.7 million in 2060.

Minority group A group that is the smaller in number of two groups that constitute a whole; part of the population that, because of certain characteristics, differs from the majority population and may be subjected to differential treatment.

Exhibit 1.1 shows projected rates of growth of nonwhite groups through 2050 and the corresponding decline in the white (non-Hispanic ethnicity) population.

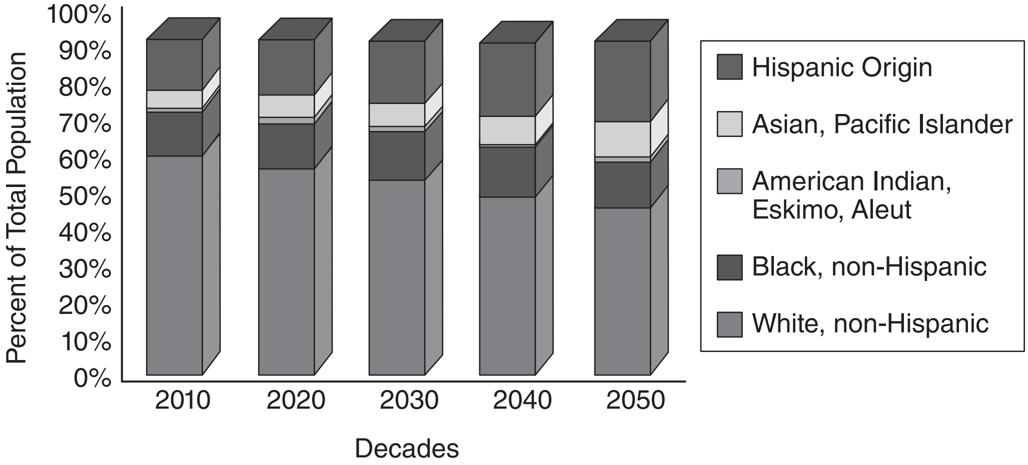


EXHIBIT 1.1 Resident population by race and Hispanic origin status—Projections: 2010 to 2050
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002.

Some of these population shifts give rise to nuances and controversies associated with the word "minority." U.S. Census information released in 2013 indicated that approximately 11 percent of counties (353 of over 3,000 counties) across the United States are a "majority-minority" county (see Exhibit 1.2). Four states—California (60.6% minority), Hawaii (77.2%), New Mexico (60.2%), and Texas (55.5%)—and the District of Columbia (64.5%) are majority-minority states; this means that the percentage of minority residents in these counties and states has exceeded 50 percent (Census Bureau Reports, 2013). Majority-minority counties are growing in rural and urban areas alike. This change has had a huge impact on many institutions in society, including the law enforcement workforce.

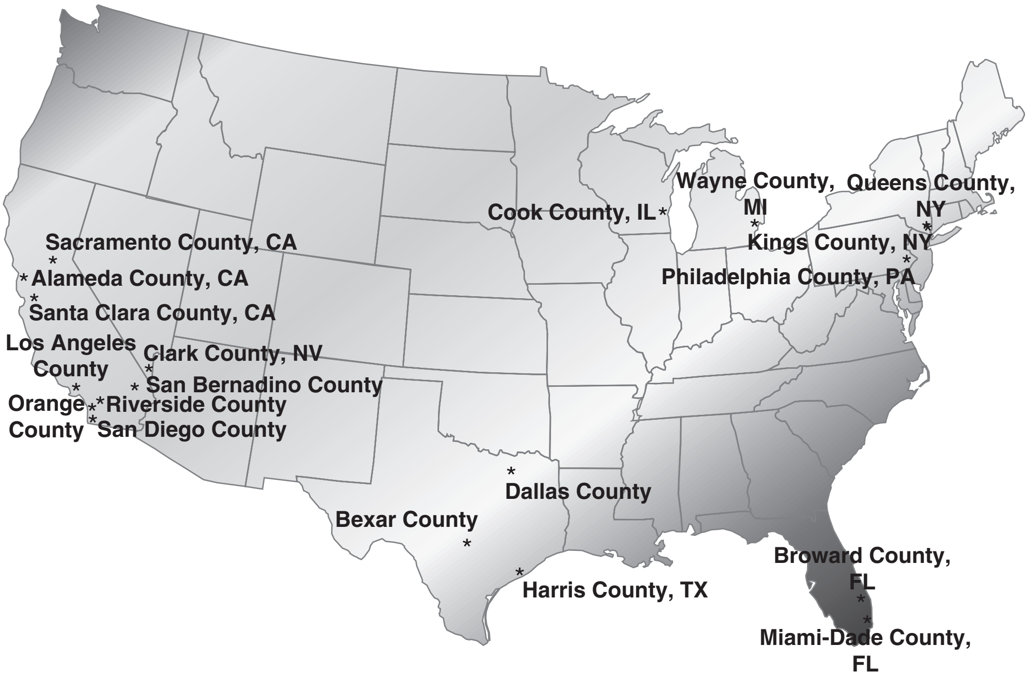

Sacramento County, CA
Alameda County, CA
Santa Clara County, CA
Los Angeles County
Clark County, NV
San Bernadino County
Orange County
Riverside County
San Diego County
Cook County, IL
Wayne County, MI
Queens County, NY
Kings County, NY
Philadelphia County, PA
Dallas County
Bexar County
Harris County, TX
Broward County, FL
Miami-Dade County, FL

EXHIBIT 1.2 Largest Majority-Minority Counties
Source: Badger, "6 More U.S. Counties are now Majority-Minority," The Atlantic Cities, 2013.

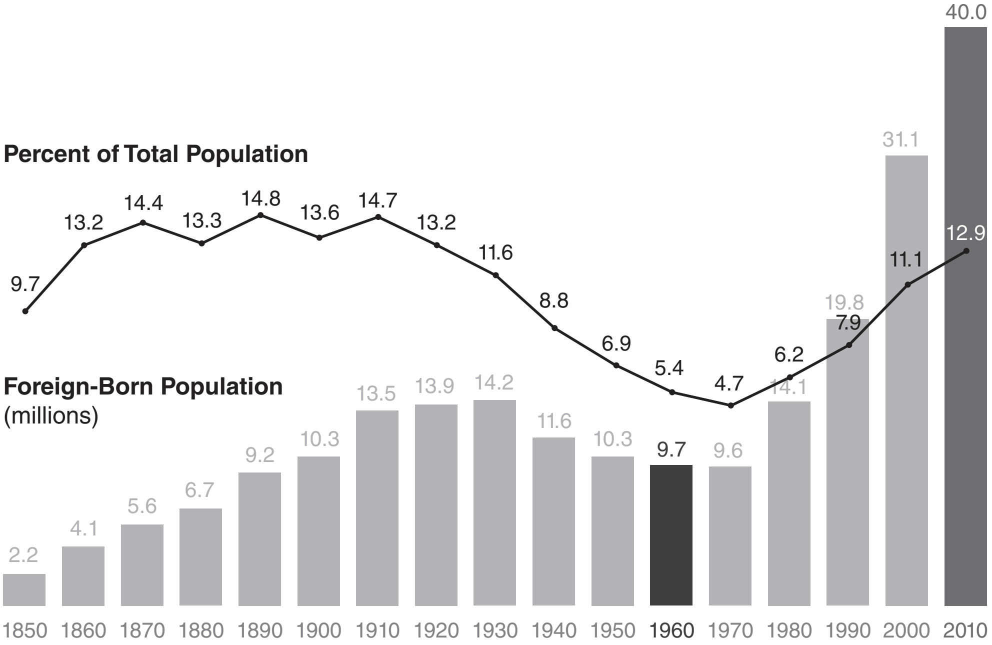


EXHIBIT 1.3 Foreign-Born Population and as Percent of Total Population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1850-2000 Decennial Census; 2010 American Community Survey. Reprinted with permission.

Immigrants and Refugees

Immigration is not a new phenomenon in the United States. Virtually every citizen, except for indigenous peoples of America, can claim to be a descendent of someone who migrated, whether voluntarily or not, from another country. Immigration levels per decade reached their highest absolute numbers ever at the end of the last century, when the number of immigrants surpassed 9 million from 1991 to 2000 (see Exhibit 1.3), not including the estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States. The U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey (ACS) reported that in 2010 there were 39.9 million foreign-born living in the United States, comprising 13 percent of the total population. This represents an increase of 11.5 million people more than a decade earlier, according to the March 2000 Current Population Survey.

Immigrant or **"Permanent Resident Alien"** "An [individual] admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Permanent residents are also commonly referred to as immigrants; however, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) broadly defines an immigrant as any alien in the United States, except one legally admitted under specific nonimmigrant categories [e.g., temporary workers] . . . Lawful permanent residents are legally accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States. They may be issued immigrant visas by the Department of State overseas or adjusted to permanent resident status by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in the United States." (Department of Homeland Security, 2013)

Unauthorized Immigrants and Related Terminology

The terms *illegal immigrant*, *illegal alien*, *undocumented immigrant* and *unauthorized immigrant* are sometimes used interchangeably, but there is controversy around the use of each of these labels, in part, related to people's views on immigration. (Discussion of this controversy is beyond the scope of this chapter.) In this text, we use two common terms—*undocumented immigrant* and *unauthorized immigrant*. The latter term is increasingly in use (e.g., Pew Research and ICE references), however, as of the writing of this sixth edition, it has not entirely replaced the former term. There are two major groups of undocumented or unauthorized immigrants: those who cross the U.S. borders without having been "inspected" and those who enter the country with legal documents as temporary residents, but have violated their legal admission status by extending their stay.

Refugee "Any person who is outside his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return to that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution. Persecution or the fear thereof must be based on . . . race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. People with no nationality must generally be outside their country of last habitual residence to qualify as a refugee." (Department of Homeland Security, 2013)

In addition, immigrants from 1980 to the present have come from many more parts of the world than from where they arrived at the turn of the twentieth century. In the middle of the twentieth century, 75 percent of the immigrants were from European countries. As shown in Exhibit 1.4, by 2009, over 80 percent of immigrants were from countries in Latin America and Asia (Census Bureau Reports, 2010). From the U.S. Census 2009 American Community Survey data, the top seven countries of birth for foreign-born populations were, in descending order, Mexico, China, the Philippines, India, El Salvador and Vietnam, and Korea (see Exhibits 1.5 and 1.6). Exhibit 1.7 shows foreign-born population by state; 56 percent of the total foreign-born population lived in California, New York, Texas and Florida, with at least 3.5 million immigrants in each state (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Despite this historical high immigrant population, the proportion of the total population is lower than during the late 1800s and early 1900s, when it fluctuated between 13 percent and 15 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Seven states experienced over 23 percent of their foreign-born population entering between 2005 and 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The states with the highest percentage of recent immigrants were North Dakota (34 percent), Kentucky (28 percent) and South Dakota (26 percent), followed by South Carolina, Alabama, Indiana and West Virginia (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

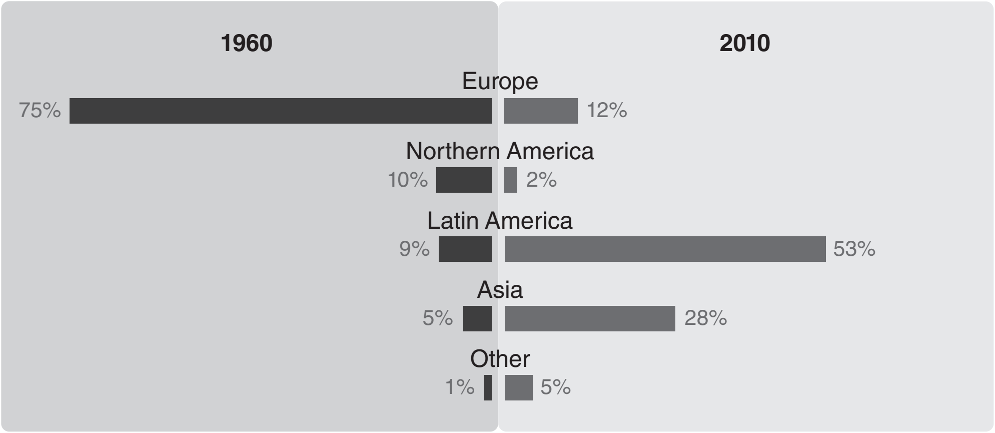
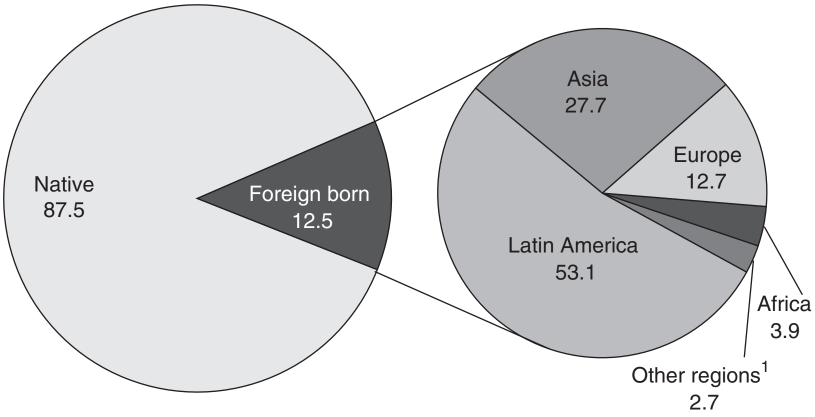


EXHIBIT 1.4 Change in Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 1960 Decennial Census; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

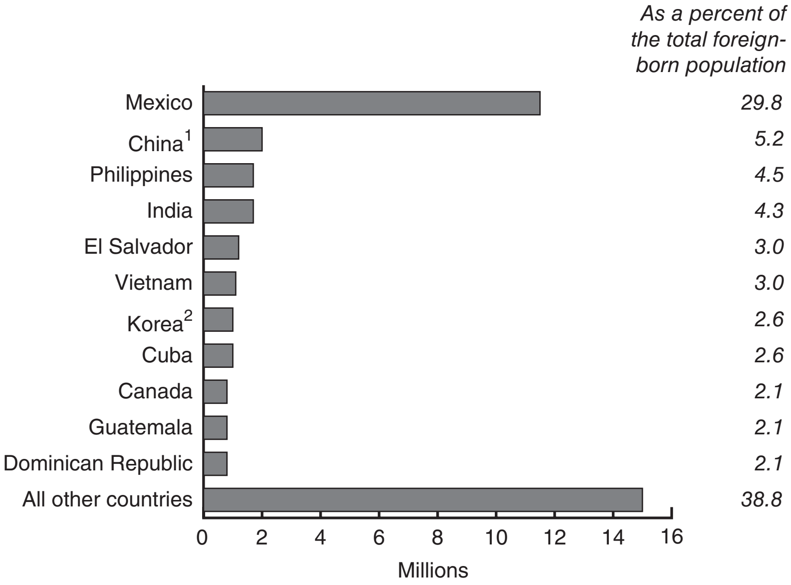


[1]Other regions include Oceania and Northern America.

EXHIBIT 1.5 Total Population by Nativity and Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth: 2009.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2009. Reprinted with permission.

A 2012 report showed Asian immigrants for the first time outpacing Hispanic immigration, making Asians the fastest growing racial group in the United States (Pew Research Social & Demographic Trends, 2012). According to Pew Research demographers, the Hispanic immigrant population has almost tripled the rate of undocumented immigrants compared to the Asian immigrant population. Therefore, tougher border enforcement has had a larger impact on Hispanic immigrants; Hispanic immigration dropped 31 percent from 2007 to 2010, while Asian immigration grew 10 percent in that same time period.



[1]Includes respondents who reported their country of birth as China, Hong Kong, Macau, Paracel Islands, or Taiwan.
[2]Includes respondents who reported their country of birth as Korea, North Korea, or South Korea.

EXHIBIT 1.6 Foreign-Born Population by Country of Birth for Countries with 750,000 or More Foreign-Born: 2009.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2009. Reprinted with permission.

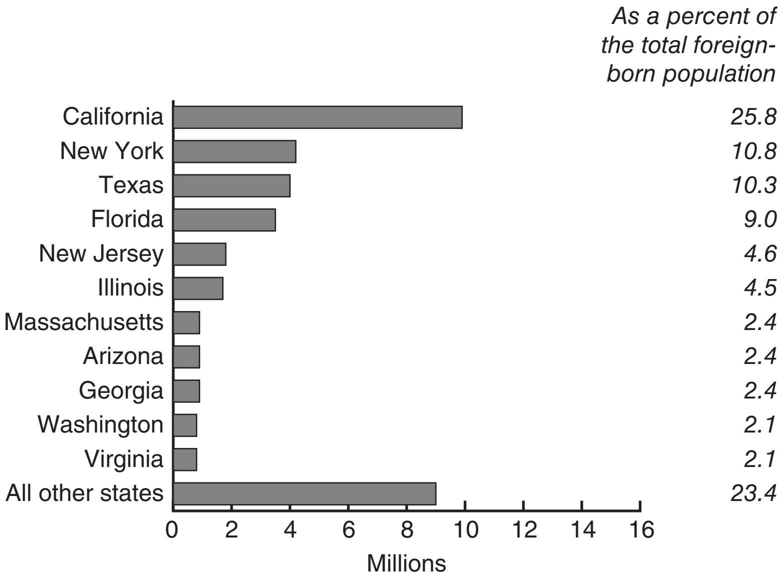


EXHIBIT 1.7 Foreign-Born Population by State for States with 750,000 or More Foreign-Born: 2009

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2009. Reprinted with permission.

The **foreign-born** population includes naturalized U.S. citizens, legal permanent residents, temporary migrants (e.g., foreign students), humanitarian migrants (refugees), and unauthorized migrants. (U.S. Census Bureau, State and Country Quick Facts: Foreign-Born Persons, 2010)

Further Distinctions between Immigrants and Refugees

Because a large proportion of minorities with whom law enforcement officers encounter are born outside the United States, it is important to understand some of the key differences that relate to immigration status as people enter the country.

Refugees are sponsored into the United States under the authority of the U.S. government. Although many ethnic groups have come in under the sponsorship of the federal government with refugee or émigré status, the largest numbers came from Southeast Asia as a result of the upheaval brought on by the Vietnam War. Refugees, sponsored into the United States by the government, are expected to receive fully public support services such as welfare, tuition reimbursement, job training programs, and "English as a second language" programs. Case managers are often assigned to refugee families to ensure that family members utilize all of the services provided. Some believe that such participation in public programs may create dependency and learned helplessness; others feel that refugees have escaped terror, torture or war and require support for being uprooted, that is, a choice to leave their country that was not their own.

Immigrants, on the other hand, enter into the United States under the direct sponsorship of their families. The federal government mandates that immigrants be allowed to enter the United States only if their families can support or provide work for them. In fact, one criterion for being able to attain permanent residence status (a "green card") is that the immigrant will not become a burden to the government; this means that participation in any public-funded program may jeopardize that individual's chances for attaining permanent residence status.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

Even though most Americans, with the exception of the indigenous peoples, have been immigrants at some time in their lineage, anti-immigrant sentiment is common. Especially in times of recession, immigrants are often blamed for society's woes. However, the issues surrounding immigration are not as clear-cut as they may at first appear to be. Despite the problems that are inevitably created when large groups of people have to be absorbed into a society, immigrant groups can stimulate the economy, revitalize neighborhoods, and eventually become fully participatory and loyal American citizens. Nevertheless, if an officer has an anti-immigrant bias, negative attitudes may surface when that officer interacts with immigrants, especially under stressful circumstances. When officers are under pressure, negative attitudes become apparent and their communication may become unprofessional. Indeed, some citizens have claimed that officers with whom they have been in contact had not attempted to understand them or that they demonstrated little patience in communicating or finding an interpreter. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of communication issues and law enforcement.)

In addition, officers must be aware of "racial flash points" that are created when immigrants move into economically depressed areas with large and diverse populations. Some people feel that immigrants' moving into certain urban areas displaces economically disadvantaged groups or deprives them of access to work. Thus law enforcement representatives may see hostility between, for example, blacks and Korean or Arab immigrants in such cities as Los Angeles, New York, and Detroit. Although officers cannot be expected to solve these deep-seated problems, they may find themselves in situations in which they can serve as cultural mediators, helping each group to increase understanding and toleration of the other. For example, police can point out that the absence of a Korean grocer's smile or greeting of a customer is not necessarily a sign of hostility or an expression of distrust, but possibly a cultural trait. When a person complains that an Arab liquor store owner does not hire outside his or her community, officers can explain that it is usually because the business is a small, family-run operation in which employees are family members. It would be too simplistic to attribute all or even the majority of problems as cultural, but with an understanding of immigrants' backgrounds, officers can help explain points of tension to members of other ethnic groups.

Community Policing Outreach to Immigrants and Refugees

As part of his community policing outreach, Aaron T. Olson (coauthor of this textbook), established through IRCO (Immigrant Refugee Community Organization) ongoing police outreach to Portland area immigrants and refugees beginning in 2002. The educational sessions, focusing around police and emergency services, continue through the present (Olson, 2013). New immigrants and refugees, for example, are oriented on interaction with American police and on how to use 911. What instructors learn from the immigrant community is also shared with police officers in various police departments. People in law enforcement have learned that there are some predictable social and cultural differences for which education should be provided to help newcomers with acculturation to the U.S. law enforcement expectations. For example, consider the following:

- In the United States, most police departments do not allow the driver or the passengers to exit their car and walk back to the police car.
- In other countries like Cuba, Japan, Mexico, Russia, and some countries in the Arab world it is expected that motorists exit their car and walk back to the police officer. Getting out of the car is even a sign of courtesy toward officers in some countries.
- The police in such regions as Eastern Europe and South America expect bribes when they stop a motorist.
- Interpreters (especially those who work for the court), and new immigrants are excellent sources of information on customs of their country.

To better serve new immigrants and refugees coming to the United States from all countries in the world, organizations such as the Immigrant Refugee Community Organization (IRCO) in Portland, Oregon have offered public-safety and basic-law workshops. The sessions provide an orientation on America's police, laws, and emergency services.

Immigrants and refugees attending these workshops typically have been in the United States for one month, and have had no previous orientation on the American police, laws, or emergency services. Sessions, with interpreters, include such basic topics as:

- FBI and ICE
- State Police
- Sheriff's departments and city police departments
- Traffic and criminal laws
- Domestic violence
- What to do if stopped by a police officer
- How to use 911 for emergencies and other alternatives for nonemergencies

EXHIBIT 1.8 Workshops for Immigrants and Refugees on U.S. Police, Laws, and Emergency Services
Source: Olson, Aaron T., 2013. Used with permission.

- Men from Eastern Europe and South America find it difficult to believe that a man can be arrested for touching a woman and find it silly that the U.S. police do prostitution sting decoy operations.
- Domestic violence laws are basically nonexistent in Eastern European countries as those governments view family matters as personal and private.
- There are cultures where children are allowed to play outside and where neighbors feel some responsibility for children other than their own (i.e., in some group-oriented cultures). Immigrants and refugees from such cultures need to be educated about the vigilance required to supervise children in U.S. neighborhoods.
- Domestic violence laws in the United States are very specific; some immigrants and refugees do not understand that they do not have to endure abuse by their domestic partners.

The more cultural knowledge that officers gain on ethnic and immigrant communities, the more they will be able to anticipate and deal with reactions and behavior (see Exhibit 1.8 on workshops provided to immigrants and refugees).

TYPOLOGY OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

We have developed a seven-part typology that is useful in understanding and summarizing some of the differences among individuals within immigrant, refugee, and minority groups. Our typology suggests that as law enforcement and public safety organizations prepare and train their personnel to work with minority communities, a focus on key differences and motivational components within each of the typological groups would be beneficial. Following the typology shown in Exhibit 1.9 is a detailed explanation of each "type" of immigrant, refugee, or minority group.

Typology of Immigrant, Refugee, and Minority Individuals

The key to understanding the behavior of the most recent immigrant and refugee group (Type I) is to realize that members are in survival mode. Many people from this category remember that law enforcement and police officers in their country of origin were corrupt, aligned with a repressive government and the military, and/or swayed by bribes from those who were more affluent. All their activities tend to be guided by this framework, which is to survive; to get through. This perspective also makes sense in terms of the traumatic ordeals faced by refugees in their journeys to the United States. Encounters of these people with law enforcement personnel usually involve

Type	Description	Key Motivating Perspective
Type I	Recently arrived adult immigrant or refugee (fewer than [approximately] five years in the United States with major life experiences in the country of origin)	Survival
Type II	Adult immigrant or refugee with five or more years in the United States (with major life expriences in the country of origin)	Preservation
Type III	Immigrant or refugee as youth (major life experiences in the United States)	Adjustment
Type IV	Second-generation minority individual (offspring of immigrant or refugee)	Change
Type V	Third generation or more minority individual	Choice
Type VI	Foreign-country national (anticipates return to home country; includes visitors and tourists)	Maintenance
Type VII	Foreign-country national (global workplace and residency)	Expansion

EXHIBIT 1.9 Immigrant/Ethnic Group Typology

saying and doing anything to discontinue the contact because of possible fears of personal harm (e.g., not speaking English; not producing identification; blindly saying “Yes, I will cooperate!”).

With regard to Type II immigrants, understanding their behavior relates to their need to preserve their home cultures as the motivating perspective. Given that the majority of their life experiences occurred outside the U.S., members are trying to preserve much of the values and traditions of their home cultures. Intergenerational conflict between grandparents or parents and youths tends to occur within this group. Members are inclined to keep to their ethnic communities (e.g., Chinatowns) and have as little to do with law enforcement as possible.

Type III immigrants whose major life experience is in the United States, focus much energy on changes (through assimilation or acculturation)—that must be made in order to succeed—although these individuals tend to continue to value the cultural and ethnic elements of their former homelands as well. Members of this group reflect the socioeconomic standings of the different waves upon which each entered the United States. For members of this group, reactions to law enforcement officials vary depending on their time of immigration and socioeconomic experiences.

People who are second-generation U.S.-born or later (Type IV) work very hard at being assimilated into society, adjusting and changing to be part of mainstream America. Often, the expectations of their parents are high, sacrificing so that their offspring will “make it” in their lifetimes. Type IV minority members may interact primarily with mainstream Americans and take on many of the values and norms of U.S. culture. Despite these individuals’ efforts to become like the mainstream (i.e., “become white”), they may still be considered “marginal” by some and may be viewed as outsiders. People from this group try to minimize their contact with law enforcement personnel and agencies primarily because of the immigration and other experiences relayed to them by their parents’ generation.

The Type V category includes individuals who are more able to choose which aspects of their old cultures to keep and which of the new culture to accept. The focus is on selecting activities, values, norms, and lifestyles that blend the best of their families’ traditions and American cultures. Being bicultural is a unique and important aspect of this group. Many may no longer have as much skill with their native languages as they have with English, and may rely on English as their primary or only language (thus an individual can be bicultural and not bilingual). Contact by members of this group with law enforcement personnel might not be any different than contact with other Americans.

For the last two categories, foreign country nationals, we make a key distinction between those who plan to return to their own countries following work assignments in the United States (Type VI) and those whose work is truly global, in that individuals may have several residences in different parts of the world (Type VII). Those who are on temporary work assignments in the United States maintain their home-base cultural orientation and experiences knowing that when the work assignment is over, they will go back to their home countries again. Because they want to maintain their native cultures, some individuals of this group may be inadequately prepared to understand many of the laws and practices of the United States.

For the second group of foreign nationals (Type VII), the key focus is on their ability to "expand" their actions and behavior effectively in differing global environments. These individuals see themselves as being able to adapt to life in a variety of circumstances; many speak three or more languages (including English). Individuals within this group pride themselves in knowing about the different laws, norms, values, and practices of the countries they encounter. Law enforcement personnel should find this group able to understand and follow the laws and practices of a given community.

European Americans

In learning about multiculturalism in U.S. society, focus is often centered on the diversity among immigrants and foreign-born from cultures very different from "mainstream" U.S. culture. However, there is also a great deal of diversity among European Americans. One of the myths about European Americans is that they are all alike. The majority of people in the United States are of European descent, although as of July 2011, for the first time in history, children born to minority parents outnumbered those born to whites of European ancestry. From July 2010 to July 2011, 50.4 percent of children born belonged to a minority group, up from 48.6 percent in the same period ending in 2009 (Dougherty & Jordan, 2012). According to the 2010 American Community Survey, approximately 12 percent of all foreign-born people living in the United States were from Europe, with roughly two-thirds of those born in Southern and Eastern Europe (American Community Survey, 2011).

Most Europeans are not of the same ethnicity or nationality, nor do they even have the same physical characteristics. Europe is a continent that is divided into four regions—east, west, north, and south—and has a population of 740 million people (Population Reference Bureau, 2013). Europe has 46 different countries, each with a unique national character, government, and, for the most part, language. To illustrate Europe's diversity and heterogeneity, the European Union has 23 different official languages for its European Parliament compared to the United Nations (which has six official languages). The European Union holds the world's largest translation operation and has 60 interpreters in use when its 28-member state Parliament is in session (European Parliament, 2007). The countries listed in Exhibit 1.10 represent the continent of Europe.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 12 percent of the foreign-born population living in the United States was from Europe, a sharp decline from previous decades. In 1960, Europeans comprised nearly 75 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population (Census Bureau Reports, 2010). Under the "Iron Curtain" communist regimes in Eastern European countries, there was little immigration from that region. However, since the democratization of many of these countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the U.S. has seen an uptick in immigration numbers from Eastern Europe.

An estimated 44 percent of European immigrants, or 2.1 million people, were born in Eastern Europe, with the highest numbers coming from Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, respectively (Russell & Batalova, 2012). Many Eastern European immigrants to the

1. Albania
2. Andorra
3. Austria
4. Belarus
5. Belgium
6. Bosnia and Herzegovina
7. Bulgaria
8. Croatia
9. Cyprus
10. Czech Republic
11. Denmark
12. Estonia
13. Finland
14. France
15. Germany
16. Greece
17. Holy City (Vatican City)
18. Hungary
19. Iceland
20. Ireland
21. Italy
22. Kosovo
23. Latvia
24. Liechtenstein
25. Lithuania
26. Luxembourg
27. Macedonia, the former Yugoslav Republic
28. Malta
29. Moldova
30. Monaco
31. Netherlands
32. Norway
33. Poland
34. Portugal
35. Romania
36. Russia
37. San Marino
38. Serbia and Montenegro
39. Slovakia
40. Slovenia
41. Spain
42. Sweden
43. Switzerland
44. Turkey
45. Ukraine
46. United Kingdom

EXHIBIT 1.10 The Countries of Europe

United States came to reunite with family or escape ethnic violence and wars that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The State Department assists refugees—distinct from immigrants who came to the United States for other reasons—with their resettlement, looking for locations with housing, jobs, available services and a "welcoming attitude" (Gilsinan, 2013). The State Department contracts with local agencies to place refugees in cities that immigrants might otherwise not choose. The result is large populations of Eastern European refugee communities found in cities with small nonrefugee immigrant populations. St. Louis, Missouri, for example, is home to the largest Bosnian community outside of Bosnia, many of whom were "settled" prior to 2001 but now make up a thriving Bosnian community (Gilsinan, 2013).

Unauthorized Immigrants: Demographic Information

The census bureau does not ask about legal migrant status of respondents as there is no legislative mandate to do so. (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services [USCIS], 2013). In its 2003 report on undocumented immigrants, the former Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), now the USCIS, placed the growth of this population at 350,000 annually. This figure was 75,000 per year higher than was estimated before the 2000 census, primarily because of improved means of counting a hard-to-track population. Exact figures are difficult to obtain, but estimates put the number of undocumented immigrants in the United States at 11.1 million in 2011, a decrease from a peak of 12 million in 2007 (Census Bureau Reports, 2012). (See Exhibit 1.11)

Unauthorized Immigrants: Background Information

As noted previously, undocumented or unauthorized immigrants can be broadly divided into two major groups: those who enter the U.S. illegally and those who enter legally, but have stayed beyond their permitted time. Initially, Mexicans and other Latin Americans come to most people's minds when they hear the terms *illegal alien* and *undocumented worker.* In addition, however, there are people from the Dominican Republic who enter through Puerto Rico; since Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, they are considered legal. Therefore, officers may come in contact with "Puerto Ricans" who are actually from the Dominican Republic and have come to the United States under an illegal pretext. Asians are also smuggled into the United States, including women brought in for sex trade. People from other parts of the world may come to the United States on a tourist visa and then decide to remain permanently (e.g., Canadians).

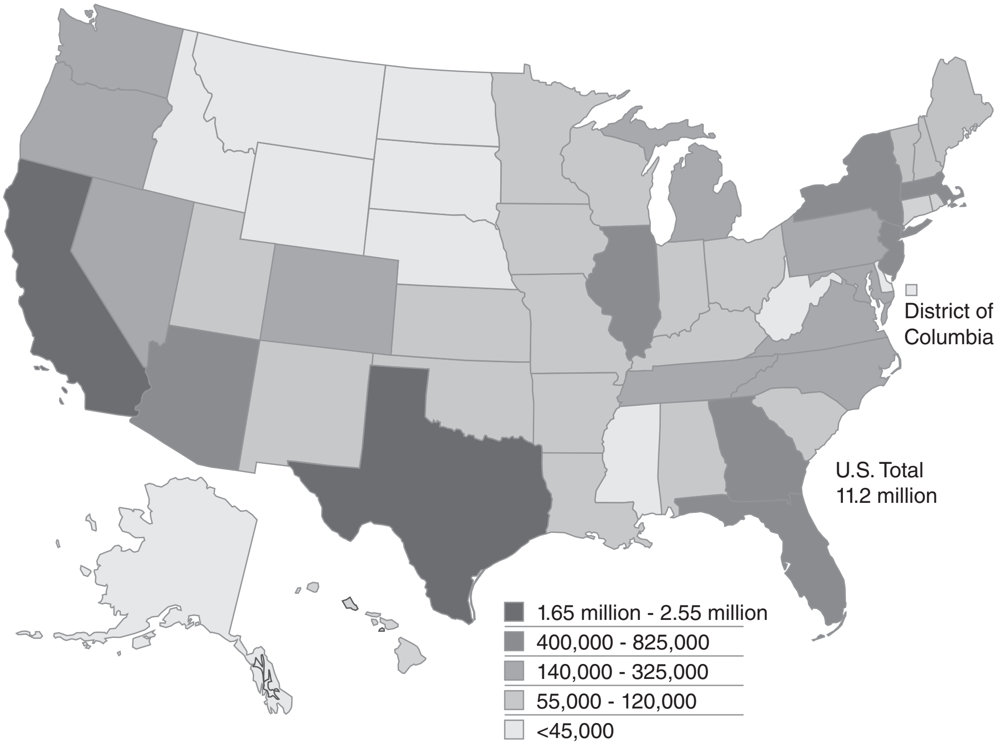


EXHIBIT 1.11 Unauthorized Immigrant Population by State
Source: Passel and Cohn, Pew Research Center, 2011. Used with permission.

Asylee A foreign-born individual in the United States or at a port of entry who is found to be unable or unwilling to return to his or her country of nationality, or to seek the protection of that country, because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution. Persecution or the fear thereof must be based on the individual's race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013).

Some come to the United States with the hope that they can remain legally by proving that they had escaped from the political repression in their homeland. Those who seek asylum would face persecution or death if they were to return to their native countries.

People who are often deported as undocumented arrivals are those who come as "economic refugees" (i.e., their economic status in their home country may be desperate). They generally have few occupational skills and are willing to take menial jobs that many American citizens will not accept. They fill economic gaps in various regions where low-wage labor is needed.

Outer appearances are not an accurate guide to who has legal status and who does not. Both the illegal and the legal immigrants may live in the same neighborhoods. In addition, the U.S. government has occasionally legalized significant numbers of some populations of formerly illegal immigrants, usually in recognition of special circumstances in those persons' home countries, such as large-scale natural disasters or serious political instability.

Undocumented immigrants lack the papers necessary to obtain legal residence in the United States. The societal consequences are far-reaching. Law enforcement officials, politicians, and social service providers, among others, have had to deal with many concerns related to housing, education, safety, employment, spousal violence, and health care. The undocumented segment of the immigrant population poses some difficult challenges for law enforcement officials.

Unauthorized Immigrants: Fear of Deportation

The principal barrier to establishing trust with undocumented immigrants revolves around fears of being reported to the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (USICE), the largest investigative arm of the DHS. Entire communities may resist reporting crimes because of the fear of deportation. These immigrants are often already located in high-crime areas, and become even more vulnerable because of their fears of deportation.

An argument exists that supports leaving undocumented immigrants alone, unless they have committed a criminal act or are creating a disturbance. It is based on the perspective that tracking down and deporting immigrants has technically been the job of the USICE and not that of the state or local police. Sometimes the trust of the entire community, including both the illegal and the legal immigrants, is at stake. If immigrant communities know that police officers will not turn over illegal immigrants to the USICE, then there is less fear of the police when it comes to reporting crimes.

Although law enforcement agencies in Prince William and Frederick counties [Virginia] have agreed to help federal authorities enforce immigration laws, officials in many other parts of the country remain reluctant to do so, saying they fear losing the trust of the immigrant communities and worry about being accused of racial profiling. Raleigh, NC, Police Chief Harry Dolan agrees that undocumented immigrants are hesitant to report crimes, particularly those of which they are the victim. "The challenge today that we're finding is that the trust is diminishing because they're concerned what would happen to a family member if they called the police" (Pardo, 2010).

Law enforcement's involvement with undocumented immigrants had been the focus of controversy for years prior to the publication of this text. "The ICE 287(g) Program: A Law Enforcement Partnership" actively began in 2006 with 29 participating law enforcement agencies. This partnership gave the authority to the secretary of Homeland Security to enter into agreements with state and local law enforcement agencies, allowing officers to perform immigration law enforcement functions. Under 287(g), ICE provides state and local law enforcement with the training and delegated authority to enforce immigration law within their jurisdictions (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2013).

Under the new administration in 2009, the ICE 287(g) program began to undergo tremendous scrutiny. Many immigrant groups claimed that 287(g) had become a vehicle for the racial profiling of Hispanic immigrants, and that deportation by police officers for minor crimes had begun to occur with alarming frequency. Congressional hearings in early 2009 called for the monitoring, improved assessment, and closer supervision of the 287(g) program, and many local law enforcement agencies recognized 287(g) as a problem. From February to July 2009, and the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) conducted a review of 287(g) and published its findings in March of 2010, and has since made fundamental reforms to address findings of the review. The 287(g) program now partners with the DHS Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties to create courses and policies, including "supervisory responsibilities, victim-witness assistance, constitutional protections, and civil rights." DHS OIG released a follow-up report in 2012, "The Performance of 287(g) Agreements FY 2012 Follow-Up," in which OIG indicated the following results of the review:

- "*Since our initial 287(g) report in March 2010, ICE has made significant progress in implementing our recommendations. To close a recommendation, we must agree with the actions ICE has taken to resolve our concerns. Of the 62 total recommendations included in our prior reports, 60 have been closed based on corrective action plans and supporting documentation provided by ICE*" (USICE, 2013).

Budget cuts are reducing the number of communities with active 287 (g) task forces. As of August 2013, there were 36 participating agencies in 19 states (USICE, 2013), down from 67 participating agencies in 23 states in May 2009, partly due to budget cuts and partly due to a shift in focus toward Secure Communities (see below). The 2013 budget report for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced a $17 million cut for the 287(g) program, citing Secure Communities as "more consistent, efficient and cost effective in identifying and removing criminal and other priority aliens . . . ICE will begin by discontinuing the least productive 287(g) task force agreements in jurisdictions where Secure Communities is already in place" (Department of Homeland Security, 2013).

Secure Communities has led to fears of deportation as well. Under this program, local law enforcement agents send fingerprints collected during the booking process to the FBI, which then checks them against the DHS immigration database. While local law enforcement is involved in the collection process, federal ICE agents determine a course of action to take to enforce applicable laws. As of July 2012, Secure Communities was activated in 94 percent of U.S. jurisdictions (USICE, 2013). However, some jurisdictions, including San Francisco, Cook County, IL, and Los Angeles have declined to participate in the program, arguing that it undermines trust that has been built between law enforcement agencies and immigrant communities. Los Angeles Police Chief Charlie Beck, in announcing withdrawal from this program, said that it had reduced trust between the Police Department and the communities in Los Angeles.

"Community trust is extremely important to effective policing," he said. "So it's my intent, by issuing this change in procedures, that we gain this trust back" (Lovett, 2012).

Unauthorized Immigrants: The "U" Visa and the Safe Reporting of Crimes

With the passage of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (including VAWA, Violence Against Women Act), Congress also created the "U" visa, a relatively unknown piece of legislation that can affect communities and law enforcement. When undocumented immigrants call the police, chances are that they are victims of or witnesses to a crime. If they actively cooperate with law enforcement in providing information about the crime, they are entitled to a U visa or a nonimmigrant visa, which can eventually be used in the application for a legal work permit and a social security number. The U visa is distinct from the T visa, another protective measure designed for victims of trafficking in persons, which includes sex trafficking or labor trafficking. While there are many hurdles associated with obtaining the U visa, undocumented immigrants who are granted it may eventually apply for residency. Application for the U visa is an extremely challenging process, and needs to include a "certification of helplessness" from a certifying agency. This means that the individual petitioning for the U visa must "provide a Nonimmigrant Status Certification from a federal, state or local law enforcement official that demonstrates the petitioner 'has been helpful, is being helpful or is likely to be helpful' in the investigation or prosecution of the criminal activity." As of 2007, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services has been able to grant up to 10,000 U nonimmigrant visas in any one fiscal year (USICE, 2013).

According to Christopher Martinez, Program Director for refugee and immigrant services of the Catholic charities CYO in San Francisco, between 2007 (when regulations for the "U" visa were issued) and 2009 only approximately 13,000 people across the country had applied for the U visa. Of these, only 65 had received the visa. Since 2009, when filing and approval processes were streamlined, over 65,000 cases have been filed (up to 10,000 per year), and about 77 percent of them have been approved (Martinez, 2013) Nonprofits such as the Catholic Charities have forged relationships with police departments to maximize cooperation, and have been in a position to educate officers about this provision in the Act. In Martinez's experience in San Francisco, the city has had the support of the police department and the District Attorney's Office for these nonimmigrant visa applications.

If more of the community knew about this law, more undocumented immigrants would likely come forward and out of the shadows to cooperate with law enforcement. In doing so, they could work with the police to create safer communities. It is not an easy road to obtain this kind of visa, but it can be an incentive to speak out and to help avoid becoming victimized again. About 10 years ago, a woman and her child living on the East Coast witnessed a heinous crime involving the husband. While at the time of the crime the law did not exist, this woman came forward cooperating fully with the authorities. Ultimately, the perpetrator was caught and convicted. The woman became eligible for a U visa, and had the full backing of the District Attorney's office in the city in which she and her child live (Martinez, 2013).

Immigrant Women: Victims of Domestic Violence

In a 2003 report to a congressional subcommittee on immigration, Leslye E. Orloff, director of the Immigrant Women's Program (National Organization of Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund), presented a full account of problems that continue to beset battered immigrant women. Even though the frequency of domestic violence is consistent across socioeconomic classes, racial groups, and geographic areas, according to Orloff, immigrant women still face additional challenges in seeking help from their communities.

> [The] Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), passed by Congress in 1994 and improved in 2000 [then reauthorized in 2005 and 2013], set out to reform the manner in which officers responded to domestic violence calls for help. Although significant improvement following the passage of VAWA has been noted, the response continues to be lacking. Some police officers' personal attitudes regarding domestic violence (i.e., it is a private problem) and how it should be handled (through mediation rather than arrest or formal charges), in essence, marginalizes victims of domestic violence. In extreme cases, victims' requests for help are disregarded. The lack of appropriate response to domestic violence from the police is further compounded when the battered woman is an immigrant. The police often do not have the capacity to communicate effectively with the immigrant victim in her own language. The police may use her abuser or her children to translate for her, and/or police may credit the statements of her citizen spouse or boyfriend over her statements to the police due to gender, race or cultural bias. (Orloff, 2003)

VAWA was reauthorized by the Congress first in 2000, after its passage in 1994, and then in December 2005. On January 5, 2006, the bill was signed into law by President George W. Bush, and was reauthorized by President Barack Obama in March 2013. The most recent reauthorization includes expansions of protections for immigrants, including the addition of stalking to the list of serious crimes covered by the U visa. It also added an "age-out" providision to protect children of immigrants who filed for the U visa. Previously, children who turned 21 before a U visa application was approved were not protected, but the 2013 VAWA reauthorization extended the reach of the protections to include children who were younger than 21 at the time of the U Visa filing.

Domestic violence is a phenomenon that exists among people from all socioeconomic classes, races, and backgrounds. Nevertheless, there are particular factors contributing to the high rate of domestic violence that some immigrant women experienced in their native countries and that Native American women face in the United States. One in three Native American women is raped over her lifetime (Erdrich, 2013), and in many cases, have little recourse due to jurisdictional challenges with tribal and federal courts. In 2010, President Obama signed into law the Tribal Law and Order Act, which "address crime in tribal communities and places a strong emphasis on decreasing violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women" (Department of Justice, 2013). Further information on violence against Native Americans can be found in Chapter 9.

Women subjected to domestic violence in their home countries confront societal, familial, and legal systems that refuse to acknowledge the seriousness of the problem or to protect the victim. In many countries, the voices of the victims go unheard, drowned out by age-old traditions that perpetuate the idea that women should serve their husbands no matter how they are treated. Often victims' own families do nothing to help the victim of spousal abuse and force her to "endure"—as generations of women have done. Outside the family network, women find little assistance in the legal system. Many countries do not codify domestic violence as a separate crime, and some countries regard domestic violence as strictly a family issue to be dealt with in a private manner. In many countries, the law fails to recognize rape by a spouse . . . Few countries have enacted protections for domestic violence victims. And, measures that have been enacted all too often fall short due to little or no enforcement. While a growing number of countries have laws on domestic violence, 102 countries have no such specific legal provisions, and marital rape is not considered a prosecutable offence over 53 nations (UNIFEM, 2013)

When women who have been battered come to the United States, they carry with them the traumas they experienced earlier owing to their culture and traditions. There are multiple problems facing battered immigrant women in the United States. The following summarizes some of these, and should help law enforcement representatives understand the larger context in which an immigrant may fail to report a crime (Tiede, 2001):

- Some battered immigrant women are completely isolated in the United States. They may live secret lives, never having established a legal identity in the United States.
- Batterers frequently add to victims' fears by threatening to call ICE about deportation.
- Women fear losing their families and being deported to a hostile society upon their return. (In certain places in Latin America, for example, a woman returning to her own village without her husband and children is often ostracized.)
- Victims are often not aware that protection is available, nor do they know how to find it.
- Many victims do not speak English and have no understanding of U.S. criminal and immigration laws and systems.

In addition, a battered immigrant woman may not understand that she can personally tell her story in court, or that a judge will believe her. Based on her experience in her native country, she may believe that only those who are wealthy or have ties to the government will prevail in court. Batterers often manipulate these beliefs by convincing the victim that he will prevail in court because he is a male, is a citizen, or has more money (Orloff, 2003).

A 2013 report in Public Radio International (PRI) details additional hardships undocumented immigrant women face when it comes to domestic violence. The following quote is from Sister Rosemary Welsh, Executive Director of Casa de Misericordia, or House of Mercy, a shelter for battered women in Laredo, Texas.

"One of the ways men would keep [undocumented immigrant women] in a domestic violence situation [is] saying that 'I am a U.S. citizen,' or 'I am a legal permanent resident, and you call the police, and they will deport you and I will stay with the kids. It was a way of terrorizing the women and also keeping them in bondage and keeping them in a violent situation." (PRI, 2013).

Police can assist by being ready with resources to provide to victims. In the case of immigrant women, both documented and undocumented, officers need to be aware of community assistance programs specifically created to address their needs. In some jurisdictions, management may even encourage or mandate that officers make an initial call for help, while still with the victim, to a community organization, for example. The Women's Justice Center in Santa Rosa, California, is one such example of a community resource. Exhibit 1.12 lists advice from the Center and lets immigrant women know that their issues and fears are shared.

Immigrant Barriers to Positive Relationships with Police

Immigrants must learn a great deal about U.S. laws, the law enforcement system in general, and the role of police officers. Many fear the police deeply because police in their native countries engaged in arbitrary acts of brutality in support of repressive governments (e.g., in Central America). A Central American refugee who was granted asylum in the United States recalled a police act of "handcuffing" that took place in the 1980s. He explained that such actions, and

Women's Justice Center
HELP
Special for Immigrant Women

1. You deserve help, and as a crime victim, you have a right to all the same crime victim services as any crime victim born in the United States.
   —Do not be shy about calling police, using women's shelters, calling rape crisis centers . . . or going to restraining order clinics.
2. What if the person abusing you says that he will call ICE and get you deported if you call the police or try to get help?
   —It is very, very common for violent men to make this threat to immigrant women who are their victims. But it is virtually impossible for these men to carry out the threat.
3. If you are still afraid to seek help, ask someone to make the phone calls for you, and to be with you when you deal with police and other crisis workers.
   —It's a very good idea when you get help for domestic violence and rape to have someone at your side.
4. What if you can't find anyone who can go with you?
   It's very common for abusers and men who rape to isolate you from human contact, especially if you have just arrived to the U.S. You can ask others for help even if you don't tell them everything. For example, you can say, "*Will you call this number for me and ask if they have someone who speaks Spanish?*" Or, you can say, "I have been a victim of a crime and I need to go to court. Will you watch my children for the afternoon?" Or, you can say, *"My husband is abusive and I need a ride to the police."*
5. Insist on good translations.
   —The U.S. Constitution says that all persons must be given equal protection of the laws. The courts have repeatedly ruled that this means everyone from native born citizens to newly arrived immigrants, whether or not they have the proper documentation. Every human being has a right to equal protection under the laws.

EXHIBIT 1.12 Advice to Immigrant Women from the Women's Justice Center
Source: De Santis, Women's Justice Center, 2013, www.justicewomen.com. Used with permission.

worse, were common practice for police. (Would it compromise his safety if you mentioned the state and agency?)

> I was about 14 years old. My father and I were in the car driving home late in the afternoon. It was very common to have to go through checkpoints, and we were unfortunately pulled aside at one of them. My father was asked to produce paperwork, including a license. Unfortunately, he had forgotten his wallet that day. Even though my father had also worked for the government, the police did not believe him. They took my father out of the car, put his arms behind his back, and with a string tightly tied his thumbs together as they had no handcuffs. Right away, I could see his thumbs start becoming purple. The police demanded that I go home and get his wallet. It took me about one hour to run home and back. Thankfully, I got the wallet. But, when I returned to see my father, his thumbs had turned completely black from the tight string around them. There was no way we could complain about this—things would have gotten much worse for us if we had. There was too much fear at that time in our history. We could not even look an officer in the eye without getting into some kind of trouble. . . . (Central American asylee, personal. communication., 2013)

To illustrate this fear even further, the Central American interviewee added, after he shared the above story: "Please do not ever identify me by name or associate me with this anecdote. There could still be consequences for my family back home if they knew that I was speaking about the authorities like this" (Central American asylee, personal communication, 2013).

In some other countries, citizens disrespect police because the officers are poorly educated, inefficient, corrupt, and have a very low occupational status (e.g., in Iran). The barriers immigrants bring to the relationship with police suggest that American officers have to double their efforts to communicate and to educate. A further challenge for law enforcement is that, for the reasons mentioned above, new immigrants often become victims of violent crimes. In part, the acculturation and success of immigrants in this society depend on how they are treated while they are still ignorant of the social norms and laws. Law enforcement officials who have contact with new Americans will need extraordinary patience at times. Adaptation to a new country can be a long and arduous process. Without the knowledge of citizens' cultural and national backgrounds, law enforcement officers may observe citizens' reactions that they do not fully understand.

CULTURE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

An understanding of accepted social practices and cultural traditions in citizens' countries of origin can provide officers with insight into predicting some of the reactions and difficulties new immigrants will have in America. However, some customs are simply unacceptable in the United States, and arrests must be made in spite of the cultural background. Regardless of the circumstances, immigrant suspects need to be treated with respect; officers and all others in the criminal justice system must understand the innocent state of mind the citizen was in when committing the "crime." For example, female circumcision is illegal under all circumstances in the United States but is still practiced in certain African countries. The Hmong, mountain people of Southeast Asia, and particularly Laos, have a tradition considered to be an acceptable form of eloping. This Hmong tradition allows a male to capture and take away a female for marriage; even if she resists, he is allowed to take her to his home, and it is mandated that he consummate the union. However, "Marriage by capture" translates into kidnap and rape in the United States. Perpetrators of such crimes in the United States must be arrested.

In interviews with a deputy public defender and a deputy district attorney, a legal journal posed the following question: Should our legal system recognize a "cultural" defense when it comes to crimes? The deputy district attorney's response was, "No. You're treading on shaky ground when you decide something based on culture, because our society is made up of so many different cultures. It is very hard to draw the line somewhere, but [diverse cultural groups] are living in our country, and people have to abide by [one set of] laws or else you have anarchy." The deputy public defender's response to the question was: "Yes. I'm not asking that the [various cultural groups] be judged differently, just that their actions be understood according to their own history and culture" (Sherman, 1986). This counsel, dispensed in the late 1980s, continues to reflect on current legal decisions about culturally influenced "criminal" actions today.

If law enforcement's function is to protect and serve citizens from all cultural backgrounds, it becomes vital to understand the cultural dimensions of crimes. Obviously, behaviors or actions that may be excused in another culture must not go unpunished if they are considered crimes in this country (e.g., spouse abuse). Nevertheless, there are circumstances in which law enforcement officials at all levels of the criminal justice system would benefit by understanding the cultural context in which a crime or other incident occurred. Law enforcement professionals must use standard operating procedures in response to specific situations, and the majority of these procedures cannot be altered for different groups based on ethnicity.

In a multicultural society, however, an officer can modify the way he or she treats a suspect, witness, or victim, given the knowledge of what is considered "normal" in that person's culture. When officers suspect that an aspect of cultural background is a factor in a particular incident, they may earn the respect of—and therefore cooperation from—ethnic communities if they are willing to evaluate their arrests in lesser crimes. For example, certain aspects of what is considered "normal" in the Sikh culture and religion can cause confusion for officers who have not been exposed to Sikh traditions and practices (Sikhism is a religion followed by a minority of people who are mainly from Northern India). Sikh men wear turbans as they are required to cover their hair in public. Removing a turban in public can be likened to a strip search and would need to be done in a culturally sensitive manner. Sikh men carry a *kirpan* (sheathed knife); a *kirpan* is not a concealed weapon.

Many officers say that their job is to uphold the law, but it is not up to them to make judgments. Yet discretion when deciding whether to take a citizen into custody for a lesser crime may be appropriate. When officers understand the cultural context for a crime, the crime will and should be perceived somewhat differently. The Sikh religious requirements are one example. Consider Pacific Islanders having barbecues in their garages, where they roast whole pigs. Or a Tongan driving under the influence of "Kava," a relaxing elixir; the Kava ritual is considered to be an integral part of life popular with Pacific Islanders. What about a Vietnamese family that eats dog meat? When officers understand the cultural context within which a "crime" takes place, then it is much easier to understand a citizen's intent. Understanding the cultural dimensions of a crime may result, for example, in not taking a citizen into custody. With lesser crimes, this may be the appropriate course of action and can result in the preservation of good police–community relations. Before looking at specific case studies of incidents and crimes involving cultural components, we present the concept of culture and its tremendous impact on the individual.

All people, except for very young children, adhere to cultural dos and don'ts, and both consciously and unconsciously identify with their group; individuals have varying degrees of attachment to their cultural group's traditional values. A persona's identity is sanctioned and reinforced by the society in which he or she has been raised. According to some experts, culture has a far greater influence on people's behavior than does any other variable such as age, gender, race, and socioeconomic status (Hall, 1959) and often this influence is unconscious. It is virtually impossible to lose one's culture completely when interacting in a new environment, yet change will inevitably take place.

The Definition of Culture

Although there are many definitions of culture, we are using the term to mean beliefs, habits, attitudes, values, patterns of thinking, behavior, and everyday customs that have been passed on from generation to generation. Culture is learned rather than inherited and is manifested largely in unconscious and subtle behavior. With this definition in mind, consider that most children have acquired a general cultural orientation by the time they are five or six years old. For this reason, it is difficult to change behavior immediately to accommodate a new culture. Many layers of cultural behavior and beliefs are subconscious. In addition, many people assume that what they take for granted is taken for granted by all people ("all human beings are the same"), and they do not even recognize their own culturally influenced behavior. Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1959) said, "Culture hides much more than it reveals and, strangely enough, what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants." In other words, people are blind to their own deeply embedded cultural behavior.

Ethnocentrism An attitude of seeing and judging other cultures from the perspective of one's own culture; using the culture of one's own group as a standard for the judgment of others, or thinking of it as superior to other cultures that are merely different; an ethnocentric person would say there is only one way of being "normal" and that is the way of his or her own culture.

Ethnocentrism is a barrier to accepting that there is another way, another belief, another communication style, another custom, or another value that can lead to culturally different behavior. Ethnocentrism often causes a person to assign a potentially incorrect meaning or attribute an incorrect motivation to a given act. Consider how the outcome could have differed if only one person in the chain of authorities had viewed the bruises as something other than abuse.

To further understand the hidden nature of culture, picture an iceberg. The only visible part of the iceberg is the tip, which typically constitutes about 10 percent of the mass. Like most of culture's influences, the remainder of the iceberg is submerged beneath the surface. What this means for law enforcement is that there is a natural tendency to interpret behavior, motivations, and criminal activity from the officer's cultural point of view. This tendency is due largely to an inability to understand behavior from alternative perspectives and because of the inclination toward ethnocentrism.

When it comes to law enforcement, there is only one set of laws to which all citizens, whether native-born or not, must adhere. However, the following case studies illustrate that culture does affect interpretations, meaning, and intention.

Mini Case Studies and Cultural Practices: Does Culture Matter?

The following descriptions of cultural practices or mini case studies involve "crimes" or "offenses" with a cultural component. If the crime is a murder or something similarly heinous, most people will not be particularly sympathetic, even with an understanding of the cultural factors involved. However, consider that understanding other cultural patterns gives one the ability to see and react in a different way. The ability to withhold judgment and to interpret a person's intention from a different cultural perspective is a skill that will ultimately enable a person to identify his or her own cultural blinders.

The examples describe "crimes" of varying severity. The corresponding questions at the end of the chapter (page 38) will allow you the opportunity to discuss the degree to which culture matters, or does not matter, in each of the following cases:

1. Culture Matters? The Sword in a Public Park

A City University of New York (CUNY) study entitled, "Police Narratives about Racial and Ethnic Identity" illustrates culture and "crime" involving a cultural practice in parts of Asia and associated with the martial art of Tai Chi. It is customary for some followers of Tai Chi to carry a sword with them to parks, and then proceed with the movements, using the sword. For the immigrant who does this, there is clearly no criminal intent since the practice is accepted as "normal" in the person's country of origin. Yet, in the United States, this would potentially be considered a crime.

2. Culture Matters? The Turban and the *Kirpan*

In a previous section entitled, "Culture and its Relevance to Law Enforcement," you learned that removing a Sikh's turban in public is tantamount to doing a strip search. Sikh men must keep a *kirpan* (sheathed knife) at all times, and for some, this extends to when they sleep. A police officer arrives at the home of a Sikh couple after a neighbor calls the police to say that she heard specific verbal threats (with intimations of violence) toward the wife and that she also heard. The officer arrests the husband, pats him down and searches him, and finds, incidental to the arrest, the husband's *kirpan*. The Sikh is now additionally charged with "possession of a concealed weapon."

3. Culture Matters? A Tragic Case of Cross-Cultural Misinterpretation

In parts of Asia, there are medical practices unfamiliar to many law enforcement officials (as well as medical practitioners) in the West. A number of these practices result in marks on the skin that can easily be misinterpreted as abuse by people who have no knowledge of these culturally based medical treatments. The practices include rubbing the skin with a coin ("coining," "coin rubbing," or "wind rubbing"), pinching the skin, touching the skin with burning incense, or applying a heated cup to the skin ("cupping"). Each practice leaves highly visible marks, such as bruises and even burns. The following is an account of a serious misreading of some very common Southeast Asian methods of traditional folk healing on the part of U.S. school authorities and law enforcement officials.

> A young Vietnamese boy had been absent from school for a few days with a serious respiratory infection. His father, believing that coining would help cure him, rubbed heated coins on specific sections of his back and neck. The boy's condition seemed to improve and he was able to return to school. Upon noticing heavy bruising on the boy's neck, the teacher immediately informed the school principal, who promptly reported the "abuse" to the police (who then notified Child Protective Services). When the police were notified, they went to the child's home to investigate. The father was very cooperative when questioned by the police and admitted, in broken English, that he had caused the bruising on his son's

(*continued*)

> neck. The man was arrested and incarcerated. While the father was in jail, his son, who was under someone else's custody, apparently relapsed and died of his original illness. On hearing the news, the father committed suicide in his jail cell. Of course, it is not known whether the father would have committed suicide as a response to his son's death alone. The tragic misinterpretation on the part of the authorities involved, including the teacher, the principal, and the arresting police officers, provides an extreme case of what can happen when people attribute meaning from their own cultural perspective.
>
> Cultural understanding would not have cured the young boy, but informed interaction with the father could have prevented the second tragedy. All of the authorities were interpreting what they saw with "cultural filters" based on their own belief systems. Ironically, the interpretation of the bruises (i.e., child abuse) was almost the opposite of the intended meaning of the act (i.e., healing). Even after some of the parties involved learned about this very common Southeast Asian practice, they still did not accept that it existed as an established practice, and they could not fathom how others could believe that coining might actually cure illness. Their own conception of medical healing did not encompass what they perceived as such "primitive treatment."

4. Culture Matters? Latino Values as a Factor in Sentencing

In a court of law, a cultural explanation or rationalization (i.e., a cultural defense) rarely affects a guilty or not-guilty verdict. Nevertheless, culture may affect sentencing. Consider the following case, in which, according to retired Judge Lawrence Katz, cultural considerations lessened the severity of the sentence:

> A Mexican woman living in the United States became involved in an extramarital affair. Her husband became outraged when the wife bragged about her extramarital activities at a picnic at which many extended family members were present. At the same time, the wife also made comments about her husband's lack of ability to satisfy her and how, in comparison, her lover was far superior. On hearing his wife gloat about her affair, the husband left the picnic and drove five miles to purchase a gun. Two hours later, he shot and killed his wife. In a case such as this, the minimum charge required in California would be second-degree murder. However, because the jury took into consideration the cultural background of this couple, the husband received a mitigated sentence and was found guilty of manslaughter. It was argued that his wife's boasting about her lover and her explicit comments made specifically to emasculate him created a passion and emotion that completely undermined his machismo, masculine pride and honor. To understand the severity of the wife's offense, the law enforcement officer and the prosecutor had to understand what it means to be humiliated in such a manner in front of one's family, in the context of Latino culture. (Katz, 2013)

The purpose of these "Culture Matters" descriptions or mini case studies is not to discuss the "rightness" or "wrongness" of any group's values, customs, or beliefs but to illustrate that the point of contact between law enforcement and citizens' backgrounds must not be ignored. Officers must be encouraged to consider culture when investigating and presenting evidence regarding an alleged crime or incident involving people from diverse backgrounds. This consideration does not mean that standard operating procedures should be changed nor does it imply that heinous crimes such as murder or rape should be excused on cultural grounds. However, as a matter of course, officers need to include cultural competence as a variable in understanding, assessing, and reporting certain kinds of incidents and crimes.

Law enforcement representatives have the ultimate authority to arrest or admonish someone suspected of a crime. According to retired Judge Katz, "Discretion based on cultural competence at the police level is much more significant than what happens at the next level in the criminal justice system (i.e., the courts)." Individual police officers have the opportunity to create positive public relations if they demonstrate cultural sensitivity and respect toward members of an ethnic community. Katz cited the example of police contact with the San Francisco Bay Area Samoan community, in which barbecues and parties can include a fair amount of drinking, resulting in fights. In Katz's opinion, the police, responding to neighbors' complaints, could come in with a show of force and the fighting would cool down quickly. However, word would spread that the police officers had no cultural understanding or respect for the people involved. This would widen the gap that already exists between police and many Pacific Islander and other Asian groups and would not be a way to foster trust in the Samoan community. Alternatively, the police could locate the leader, or the "chief," of this group and let that person deal with the problem in the way that he would have handled the conflict in Samoa. There is no question about the chief's ability to handle the problem. He has a prominent role to play and can serve as a bridge between the police and the community. The *matai* is also a resource; he is an elder who has earned the respect of the community.

The heads of Samoan communities are traditionally in full control of members' behavior, although this is changing somewhat in the United States. Furthermore, according to traditional Samoan values, if a family member assaults a member of another family, the head of the family is required to ensure punishment. Given the power entrusted to the chiefs, it is reasonable to encourage officers first to go through the community and elicit assistance in solving enforcement problems. This recommendation does not imply, in any way, that groups should be left to police themselves; instead, understanding and working with the leadership of a community represents a spirit of partnership.

The awareness of and sensitivity to such issues can have a significant impact on the criminal justice system, in which police have the power to either inflame or calm the people involved in a particular incident. According to Katz, "Many cases, especially those involving lesser offenses, can stay out of court." He asks, "Do you always need a show of force? Or can you counsel and admonish instead?" In certain situations, such as the one described earlier, officers can rethink traditional police methods in order to be as effective as possible. Doing so involves knowledge of ethnic communities and a desire to establish a positive and trustworthy image in those communities (Katz, 2013).

DIMENSIONS OF DIVERSITY

To make sense of the different groups in our workplace and society, we need to have functional categories and terms. Marilyn Loden, organizational diversity consultant, describes and outlines the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity (Loden, 2013). The specific categories within the dimensions of diversity are not new but rather provide a functional construction of individual and group characteristics for understanding the people in the workforce and our society. This awareness and the ability to view differences as sources of strength often results in improved interpersonal relationships and improved citizen contacts.

Primary Dimensions of Diversity

A primary dimension is a core characteristic with which a person is born that remains with the individual in all stages of his or her life. According to Loden, people have a minimum of six primary dimensions (Loden, 2013):

1. Age
2. Ethnicity
3. Gender
4. Mental/physical abilities and characteristics
5. Race
6. Sexual orientation

Most people are aware of the meaning of these categories. For the sake of clarity, the following terms are included in the category "sexual orientation": heterosexual, homosexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, asexual, and queer. All of the six primary dimensions are characteristics that contribute to being advantaged or disadvantaged in the workforce and in society. Victims of hate bias crimes have been targeted because of these six dimensions of diversity—age, ethnicity, gender, disability status, race, and sexual orientation. The primary dimension associated with age also includes generational differences. In the law enforcement agency workforce, values may collide among the generations; leaders and managers need to be cognizant of this dimension of diversity. Recruiting someone from "Generation Y," for example, could involve an understanding of some of the unique characteristics associated with this age group. Generation Y members (born between 1977 and 1994, and compromising 20 percent of the population) have been characterized by one global human resource and recruitment firm as a tolerant group (NAS Insights, 2006). "With the ever growing diverse population, the word 'minority' may no longer have meaning to this and future generations . . . Working and interacting with people outside of their own ethnic group is the norm, and acceptable" (NAS Insights, 2006). A 2008 survey of students at California State University, Fullerton, showed that members of the younger generation are more tolerant of immigrants (Fiber-Ostrow & Hill, 2011).

Secondary Dimensions of Diversity

A secondary dimension is a characteristic a person acquires as the result of a choice he or she made or a choice someone else made for him or her (Loden, 2013). Nearly all of the secondary dimensions' characteristics contribute to the micro level demographic data. The secondary dimensions of diversity include, but are not limited to,

1. Communication style
2. Education
3. Family status
4. Military experience
5. Organizational role and level
6. Religion
7. First language
8. Geographic location
9. Income
10. Work experience
11. Work style
12. Others

Both primary and secondary dimensions of diversity influence the personal and professional lives of law enforcement personnel. Police officers need to be cognizant of these dimensions with their coworkers, and leaders with their subordinates. Tensions between supervisors and coworkers are often caused by the differences in secondary dimensions. Similarly, a police officer's ability to establish rapport with citizens can also be related to either the actual or the perceived degree to which dimensions are shared.

Exhibit 1.13 shows how the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity influence people in the workforce and society. "While each dimension adds a layer of complexity, it is the dynamic interaction among all the dimensions of diversity that influences one's self-image, values, opportunities, and expectations. Together, the primary and secondary dimensions give definition and meaning to our lives by contributing to a synergistic, integrated whole—the diverse person" (Loden, 2013).

Further Diversity within and among Ethnic Groups in the United States

As much as we may try to categorize people into distinct ethnic categories, it must be recognized that there are some unique factors that should be taken into account that can increase understanding and improve communications between law enforcement and the members of minority communities. Take, for example, "age" as a primary dimension of diversity. Some people, especially those who are Asian American, for a variety of reasons might self-report a different age than what is shown on official identification. In some cultures, children are considered to be one year old when they are born; in yet other cultures, birthdays are based on the lunar calendar and thus at certain times of the year, reported ages don't match "official" ages. Among immigrants, entry papers are sometimes falsified leading to discrepancies. So as we can see, there are nuances even with this primary dimension of culture.

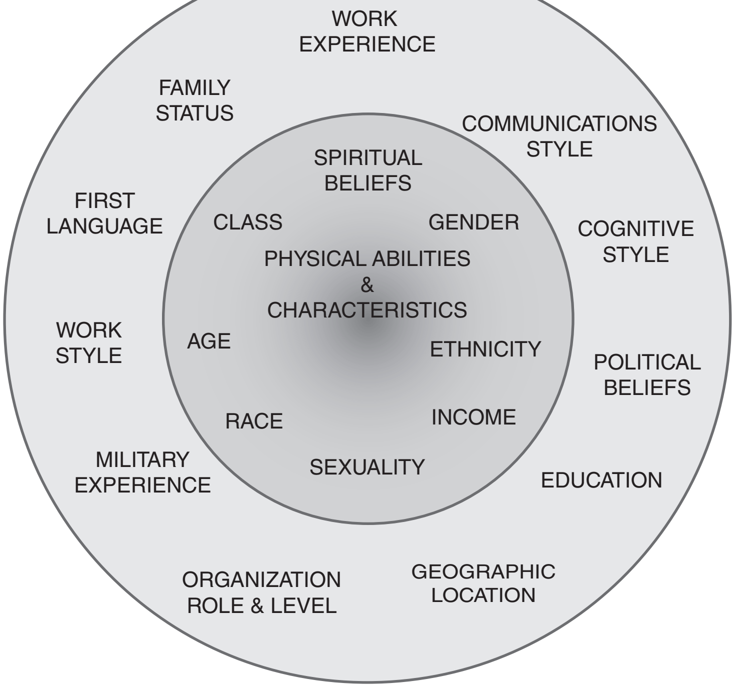

WORK EXPERIENCE
FAMILY STATUS
COMMUNICATIONS STYLE
FIRST LANGUAGE
COGNITIVE STYLE
WORK STYLE
POLITICAL BELIEFS
MILITARY EXPERIENCE
EDUCATION
ORGANIZATION ROLE & LEVEL
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION
SPIRITUAL BELIEFS
CLASS
GENDER
PHYSICAL ABILITIES & CHARACTERISTICS
AGE
ETHNICITY
RACE
INCOME
SEXUALITY

EXHIBIT 1.13 Dimensions of Diversity

Models such as the diversity wheel, designed by Loden Associates, facilitate understanding of a broad range of primary and secondary dimensions of diversity.

Source: Loden Associates Inc. 2013. Reprinted with Permission of Marilyn Loden. http://www.loden.com

Other diversity factors to be considered are as follows:

- people's comfort with and competence in English;
- generational status in the United States (refer to the section on typology presented earlier in the chapter; first-generation refugees or immigrants are likely to deviate from cultural norms more than their second- or third-generation offspring);
- their degree of identification with the home country and/or region of self or parents' origin;
- their family composition and the extent of family dispersion in the United States and globally;
- their participation in and degree to which they are embedded in their ethnic community network;
- their cultural values; and
- the extent to which they relate to issues, concerns, and problems shared by other ethnic/racial groups.

PREJUDICE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT*

The following questions were asked of police officers participating in a cultural diversity program:

> "Raise your hand if you are a racist." Not a single officer raised a hand.
>
> "Raise your hand if you think that prejudice and racism exist outside this agency." Most officers raised their hands.
>
> The instructor then asked with humor: "From where were you recruited?" (Berry, 2013).

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*Racial profiling is discussed in Chapter 13 as well as in the culture-specific chapters (5–9).

When discussing the implications of multicultural diversity for police officers, it is not enough simply to present the need to understand cultural background. Whenever two groups are from entirely different ethnic or racial backgrounds, prejudice may exist because of fear, lack of contact, ignorance, and stereotypes. To deny the existence of prejudice or racism in any given law enforcement agency would be to deny that it exists outside the agency.

To stereotype To believe or feel that people conform to a pattern or manner with all other individual members of that group, lacking any individuality. People who are prone to stereotyping often categorize the behavior of an entire group based on limited experience with a very small number of people in that group. Negative stereotyping classifies many people in a group by the use of slurs, innuendoes, names, or slang expressions that depreciate the group as a whole as well as individuals in it.

Prejudice A judgment or opinion formed before facts are known, usually involving negative or unfavorable thoughts about groups of people.

To scapegoat To blame one's failures and shortcomings on innocent people or those only partly responsible.

Bias A preformed negative opinion or attitude toward a group of persons based on their race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity.

Bias-based policing The act—intentional and unintentional—of applying or incorporating personal, societal, or organizational biases and/or stereotypes in decision-making, police actions, or the administration of justice.

Prejudice and Bias

Prejudice is a judgment or opinion formed before facts are known, usually involving negative or unfavorable thoughts about groups of people. Bias, which can be conscious or unconscious, influences behavior, decision-making or action and reflects an inclination to make certain choices based on the inclination. Discrimination is action based on prejudiced thought and biases. Increasingly, researchers in the social science field contend that all people have biases, and that they are largely out of our awareness.

How Prejudice Influences People

Prejudice is encouraged by stereotyping which is a shorthand way of thinking about people who are different. The stereotypes that form the basis of a person's prejudice can be so fixed that he or she easily justifies his or her racism, sexism, or other bias and even makes such claims as "I'm not prejudiced, but let me tell you about those—I had to deal with today." Coffey, Eldefonson, and Hartinger (1982) discuss the relationship between selective memory and prejudice:

> A prejudiced person will almost certainly claim to have sufficient cause for his or her views, telling of bitter experiences with refugees, Koreans, Catholics, Jews, Blacks, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, or Indians. But in most cases, it is evident that these "facts" are both scanty and strained. Such a person typically resorts to a selective sorting of his or her own memories, mixes them up with hearsay, and then overgeneralizes. No one can possibly know all refugees, Koreans, Catholics, and so on. (Coffey et al., 1982)

Indeed, individuals may be so convinced of the truths of their stereotypes that they claim to be experts on "those people." One of the most dangerous types of prejudice can be subconscious. Subconscious prejudice (sometimes called "character-conditioned prejudice") usually runs deep; the person with this character deficiency may hold hostile attitudes toward many ethnic groups, not just one or two. People who tend to mistreat or oppress others because of their prejudices often were mistreated themselves, and this experience can leave them extremely distrustful of all others. In addition, people who have strong prejudices can be insecure and frustrated because of their own failures. Consequently, they blame or scapegoat others. They have a great deal of stored-up anger that often began to build in childhood because of dysfunctional relationships with their parents. Quite often, members of racial supremacist organizations fit the description of the extremely prejudiced person for whom mistrust and hate of all others is a way of life.

Another type of prejudice is acquired during "normal" socialization. This type of prejudice results when a person belongs to a group that holds negative views of other specific groups (e.g., southern whites and blacks, Arabs and Jews, Chinese and Japanese, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans). When there is a pattern of prejudice within a particular group, the "normal" person is the one who conforms to the prejudice. From childhood, parents pass on stereotypes of the out-group into the child's mind because of their "normal" prejudices. By adulthood, the person who has learned prejudice against a particular group can justify the prejudice with rationalizations (Coffey et al., 1982).

If you are normal, you have cultural blind spots that will give you an unbalanced view of people who are different from you. Officers must look at themselves and understand their own biases first before getting into situations in which they may act upon them (Berry, 2013).

Furthermore, biases are powerful, and often largely hidden. "Project Implicit" has resulted from the collaboration of scientists from three universities, including Harvard; researchers have devised assessments, tools, and laboratory methods to assess individuals' biases (Project Implicit, 2011).

Captain Tracey Gove of the West Hartford, Connecticut Police Department summarizes key findings and methods from Project Implicit in an article entitled, "Implicit Bias and Law Enforcement," published in the journal *The Police Chief* (Gove, 2011).

Project Implicit key findings include:

Implicit biases are pervasive.

People are often unaware of their implicit biases.

Implicit biases predict behavior.

People differ in levels of implicit bias.

In Gove's summary of key findings related to implicit bias and law enforcement, she cites Criminal Justice Professor Dr. Lorie Fridell who has made recommendations that "help agencies to address the ill-intentioned officers who engaged in biased policing and the overwhelming majority of well-intentioned officers who aspire to police fairly and impartially, but who are human" (Gove, 2011).

In law enforcement, the expression of prejudice as bias, discrimination, and racism is illegal and can have tragic consequences. It is not possible to force people to abandon their own prejudices and biases in the law enforcement workplace or when working in the community. Because prejudice and biases are thoughts or preferences, they are private and do not violate a law. According to Gove, "While individual police leaders and personnel may have their own thoughts or beliefs on the topic [of implicit bias], its pervasiveness requires implications for the law enforcement field (Gove, 2011).

Although police chiefs cannot mandate that their officers banish prejudicial thoughts, police management can help officers understand the nature of prejudice and unconscious bias, and how decision-making can, in a split second, reflect a bias. While some police officers say they have every right to believe what they want, the chiefs of all departments must be able to guarantee, with as much certainty as possible, that officers will not act on their prejudices or be so unaware of unconscious biases that officers do not see the connection between their actions and their biases. All officers must understand where the line is between prejudice and discrimination, whether in the law enforcement agency with coworkers or with citizens. It becomes eminently clear that prejudice and biased in the law enforcement agency must be addressed before it turns into racism and discrimination. Indeed, an agency cannot be expected to treat its multicultural population fairly if people within the agency are likely to act on their prejudiced thoughts.

Police prejudice has received a great deal of attention since the late 1990s when it was addressed as a topic of concern in the President's Initiative on Race ("One America" 1998).

> Racial disparities and prejudices affect the way in which minorities are treated by the criminal system. Examples of this phenomenon can be found in the use of racial profiling in law enforcement and in the differences in the rates of arrest, conviction, and sentencing between whites and minorities and people of color. Law enforcement professionals have recognized, especially as they enter the twenty-first century, that prejudices unchecked and not acted on can result in not only citizen humiliation, lawsuits, loss of jobs, and long-term damage to police–community relations but in personal tragedy as well.

Sometimes, training can be successful in changing behavior and possibly attitudes. Consider the example of firing warning shots. Most officers have retrained themselves to refrain from this action because they have been mandated to do so. They have gone through a process of "unfreezing" normative behavior (i.e., what is customary) and have incorporated desired behavior. Thus explicit instruction and clear directives from the top can result in profound changes of police actions. Clear policies that, in no uncertain terms, condemn racist acts or forms of speech will prevent most outward demonstrations of prejudice. It is not acceptable to ask a citizen, "What are you doing here?" just because he or she is of a different background than those of a particular neighborhood. Officers pay attention to these specific and unambivalent directives coming from the top. It may be difficult to impossible to rid an officer of stereotypes, but eliminating acts of prejudice becomes the mandate of the department.

Peer Relationships and Prejudice

Expressions of prejudice in police departments may go unchallenged because of the need to conform or to fit into the group. Police officers do not make themselves popular by questioning peers or challenging their attitudes. It takes a leader to voice an objection or to avoid going along with group norms. Some studies have shown that peer behavior in groups reinforces acts of racial bias. For example, when someone in a group makes ethnic slurs, others in the group may begin to express the same hostile attitudes more freely. This behavior is particularly relevant in law enforcement agencies given the nature of the police subculture and the strong influence of peer pressure. Thus law enforcement leaders must not be ambiguous when directing their subordinates to control their expressions of prejudice, even among peers. Furthermore, according to some social scientists, the strong condemnation of any manifestations of prejudice can at times affect a person's feelings. Authorities or peers who keep prejudiced people from acting on their biases can, in the long run, weaken the prejudice itself, especially if the prejudice is not virulent. People conform and can behave differently, even if they hold the same prejudicial thoughts. Even if they are still prejudiced, they will be reticent to show it. National authorities have become much more vocal about dealing directly with racism and prejudice in law enforcement as an institution, especially in light of the quantity of allegations of racial profiling in police departments across the country.

A process of socialization takes place when top management has mandated change and a person is forced to adopt a new standard of behavior. When a mistake is made and the expression of prejudice occurs, a police department will pay the price in adverse media attention, lawsuits, citizen complaints, human relations commission's involvement, or dismissal of the chief or other management. What may have been acceptable at one time is now definitely not and may result in discipline and monetary sanctions.

When police officers are not in control of their prejudices, either in speech or in behavior, the associated negative publicity affects the reputation of all police officers. It reinforces the popular stereotype that police are racists or bigots. Yet, because of publicized instances of discrimination, officers become increasingly aware of correct and incorrect behavior toward ethnic minorities. One example of this was a police department that was besieged by the press and outraged citizens for over two years. Several police officers had exchanged racist messages on their patrol car computers, using the word *nigger* and making references to the Ku Klux Klan. The citizens of the town in which the incident took place ended up conducting an investigation of the department to assess the degree of racism in the institution. In their report, the committee members wrote that the disclosure of the racial slurs was "an embarrassment and a crushing blow" to the image and credibility of the city and the police department. In addition, citizens demanded the chief's resignation. In a cultural diversity workshop, some of the officers said they believed that the entire incident was overblown and that there was no "victim." These officers failed to understand that the use of derogatory terms alone is offensive to citizens. Officers who do not grasp the seriousness of the matter may not realize that citizens feel unprotected knowing that those entrusted with their safety and protection are capable of using such hateful language. While the language is offensive, the problem is more with the attitudes it conveys. Such incidents are extremely costly from all points of view; it may take years for a department to recover from one incident connected to an officer's prejudice or racism.

Officers need to be aware that anything they say or do with citizens of different backgrounds that even hints at prejudice automatically creates the potential for an explosive reaction. Here the experience of the minority and the nonminority do not even begin to approach each other. An officer can make an unguarded casual remark and not realize it is offensive. For example, an officer can offend a group member by saying "You people" (accentuating a we–they division) or by implying that if a member of a minority group does not fit a stereotype, he or she is exceptional (e.g., "She's Hispanic, but she works hard" or "He's African American, but very responsible").

Members of culturally diverse groups are up against the weight of history and tradition in law enforcement. Ethnic groups have not traditionally been represented in police work (especially in top management), nor have citizens of some ethnic groups had reasons to trust the police. The prejudice that might linger among officers must be battled constantly if they are to increase trust with ethnic communities. The perception of many ethnic group members is that police will treat them more roughly, question them unnecessarily, and arrest them more often than they arrest whites. Awareness of this perception is not enough, though. The next step is to try harder with ethnic groups to overcome these barriers. Officers should go out of their way to show extra respect to those citizens who least expect it. It is important to create nondefensiveness in citizens who have traditionally been the object of police prejudice and who expect rude or uncivil behavior from the officers.

Beyond eliminating the prejudice manifested in speech, police management can teach officers how to reduce or eliminate acts of bias and discrimination. A large metropolitan police department hired several human relations consultants to help assess community–police problems. The chief insisted that they ride in a police car for four weekends so that they would "appreciate the problems of law officers working in the black ghetto." Every Friday through Sunday night, the consultants rode along with the highway patrol, a unit other officers designated as the "Gestapo police." When the month ended and the chief asked what the consultants had learned, they replied, "If we were black, we would hate the police." The chief, somewhat bewildered, asked why. "Because we have personally witnessed black citizens experiencing a series of unjust, unwarranted intimidations, searches, and series of harassments by unprofessional police." Fortunately, that chief, to his credit, accepted the feedback and introduced a successful course in human relations skills. After this training, the officers demonstrated greater professionalism in their interactions with members of the black community.

When it comes to expressions of prejudice, people are not powerless. No one has to accept sweeping stereotypes (e.g., "You can't trust an Indian," "All whites are racists," "Chinese are shifty," and so on). To eliminate manifestations of prejudice, people have to begin to interrupt biased and discriminatory behavior at all levels. Officers have to be willing to remind their peers that ethnic slurs and offensive language, as well as differential treatment of certain groups of people, is neither ethical nor professional. Officers need to change the aspect of police culture that discourages speaking out against acts or speech motivated by prejudice. An officer or a civilian employee who does nothing in the presence of racist or other discriminatory behavior by his or her peers becomes a silent accomplice.

Eight Tips for Improving Law Enforcement in Multicultural Communities*

- Make positive contact with community group members from diverse backgrounds. Don't let them see you only when something negative has happened. Allow the public to see you as much as possible in a non-enforcement role.
- Make a conscious effort in your mind, en route to every situation, to treat all people objectively and fairly.
- Remember that all groups have some bad, some average, and some good people within them.
- Go out of your way to be personable and friendly with minority group members. Remember, many don't expect it.
- Don't appear uncomfortable with or avoid discussing racial and ethnic issues with other officers and citizens.
- Take responsibility for patiently educating citizens and the public about the role of the officer and about standard operating procedures in law enforcement. Remember that citizens often do not understand "police culture."
- Don't be afraid to be a change agent in your organization when it comes to improving cross-cultural and interracial relations within your department and between police and community. It may not be a popular thing to do, but it is the right thing to do.
- Remember the history of law enforcement with all groups and ask yourself the question, "Am I part of the past, or a part of the future?"

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*Tips and quotes are from Ondra Berry, retired Deputy Chief of Reno Police Department, 2013.

Summary

- A diverse society contributes to the challenges of a law enforcement officer's job. Although our nation has been enriched by diversity, many police procedures and interactions with citizens can become more complex because of it. Racial tensions and communication challenges with immigrants are bound to complicate some police encounters. Officers have to work harder at building trust with certain communities. As individuals, officers need to increase their own cultural competence; as a profession, law enforcement needs to ensure that agencies promote the ideal of officer effectiveness across all backgrounds and equitable principals, policies, and structure throughout police organizations.
- Multiculturalism has been a way of life in this country since its founding; U.S. society has never been homogeneous. Until fairly recently, America has been referred to as a melting pot, a term depicting an image of people coming together and forming a unified culture. However, the melting pot did not really ever exist. The first generation of every immigrant and refugee group in the United States has always experienced obstacles to acculturation into the new society. History does not support the metaphor of the melting pot, especially with regard to the first and second generations of most groups of newcomers. The terms *mosaic* and *tapestry* more accurately portray diversity in America. They describe a society in which people of all colors and backgrounds contribute to form society as a whole—and one in which groups are not required to lose their characteristics in order to "melt" together. The idea of a mosaic portrays a society in which each group is seen as separate and distinct in contributing its own color, shape, and design to the whole, resulting in an enriched society.
- The face of America has been changing for some time. Minorities constitute one-third of the U.S. population, and are expected to become the majority by 2043. By 2050, minorities are expected to reach 54 percent of the