Policing through the Lens of Intergroup Communication

Howard Giles, Edward R. Maguire, and Shawn L. Hill

This book takes a valued and uniquely *interdisciplinary* perspective, by bringing together research and theory in criminology, psychology, and communication, as well as pragmatic insights from scholarly practitioners experienced in the policing world (see Engel and Whalen 2010; Glaser and Charbonneau 2018). Participating in this handbook are some of the most well-regarded academics and innovative and experienced practitioners in their respective fields, exploring topics that are impacting law enforcement and society in significant ways that enhance its scientific base (see Denault et al. 2020). This book examines how communication intersects with policing in areas such as cop culture, race and ethnicity, terrorism and hate crimes, social media, police reform, procedural justice, crowd violence, and police complaints, to name a few. Within these arenas, it also provides palpable examples of power struggles, which can be intergroup in nature (see chapter 1).

An intergroup interaction involves people communicating with one another based on their group memberships (e.g., "the police" and "those policed") rather than their own personal idiosyncrasies (Dragojevic and Giles 2014). A person would be considered communicating with another "ingroup" member when they identify *similar* and *favorable* characteristics or qualities of the other person, which allows them to differentiate themselves favorably from the "outgroup," or people who do not share what they perceive as favorable characteristics (Tajfel 1974). Social identity theorists (e.g., Tajfel and Turner 1986) would posit that, even beyond power struggles, merely categorizing someone as a member of a relevant and contrasting outgroup—however minimal these differences might be—is likely to foster discriminatory beliefs and actions toward them while, at the same time, solidifying positive attitudes toward other ingroup members, including the enhancement of self-esteem. This exploration of the evolving intergroup relationship between police officers and the public provides a platform to explore practical and theoretical pursuits.

Recently, there has been an outpouring of other handbooks on policing; yet while potent in treatises years ago (Thompson and Jenkins 1983; Womack and Finley 1986), the critical roles of *communication* phenomena and processes in understanding policing

practices have received only sporadic attention.[1] This is surprising considering the emphasis on reducing police use of force and the critical role of various communication and de-escalation strategies in police training curricula and police reform more generally (Los Angeles Police Department 2016; PERF 2016; Shipley 2019; Use of Force Reporting 2019). Furthermore, such a perspective has laid fallow since the last volume devoted to this subject matter nearly twenty years ago (Giles 2002). Even when research does address communication issues in policing, it has not embraced much of an *intergroup communication* stance (see Molloy and Giles 2002), one we see as vital to understanding policing in many of its facets. In essence, the scholarly literature on intergroup communication has explored how construing oneself and others in the same encounter—primarily in terms of their memberships in contrasting social groups (e.g., races, genders, religions, nationalities, occupations, etc.)—can affect the nature and content of the communication between them (see Giles 2012; Giles and Harwood 2018; Giles and Maass 2016). Intergroup communication (see chapter 1)—an integral feature of much of this volume—is especially salient for policing in that most of the contacts between police officers and the public constitute intergroup encounters (see Boivin, Faubert, Gendron, and Poulin 2018).

This book is an expansive endeavor designed to fill much of the above void—and one that is timely for at least three reasons. First, significant societal changes (such as digital technology, including cell phones and social media) have greatly influenced the process of policing (Cutting Edge Technology 2019; Innovations in Smart Policing 2020) and public perceptions of the police (see chapters 15 and 21). Relatedly, such changes have impacted the nature of the critical roles of leadership (e.g., Pfeifer 2020) within law enforcement organizations with, ideally, internal messaging promoting officers' sense of autonomy and control (see Gillet, Becker, Lafrenière, Hart, and Fourquereau 2017; Otis and Pelletier 2005), including the necessity for forging meaningful relationships with the media (Media Relations 2019).

Second, in the last few years, the United States has witnessed the resurrection of well-publicized events portraying police as perpetrators of racial violence (Campbell, Nix, and Maguire 2018; Maguire, Nix, and Campbell 2017; Sherman 2020). In tandem, there has been a reported decline in trust in law enforcement among adolescents during this time (Fine, Kan, and Cauffman 2019). Third, there have been attempts by government (e.g., as evident in California's 2019 Stephon Clark's Law) and police-related institutions, such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the Police Executive Research Forum, to proactively encourage change and attempt to improve police-community relationships (see Hollywood, Goodison, Woods, Vermeer, and Jackson 2019; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing 2015; Primicerio and Normore 2018) and collaborations (Crime Prevention Communities 2019).

After a welcome, informative, and supportive foreword by Stephens, in this introduction, we begin by examining recent high-profile events that highlight tensions between police and the communities they serve, affording attention to one of the most recent of these (the killing of George Floyd in Minnesota, 2020) in several chapters. Much talk, in general, these days in American society and politics (and elsewhere) revolves around heated notions of "us" versus "them" (see Kienzle and Soliz 2017; Maass, Arcuri, and Suitner 2014; see chapter 1). Indeed, officers' appearance (e.g., hair style),[2] uniform, armament and vehicles can make them appear militaristic to the public

as an outgroup, further exemplifying the enormous power differential and legal ability to use lethal force (Balko 2013; Kraska and Kappeler 1997). Other intergroup dynamics such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation lead to further differences between police officers and the people they encounter on the job, let alone the disparity in diversity, albeit changing, found within many police departments (see Clinkinbeard and Rief 2020; House 2018). Finally, we briefly outline the chapters in this book and summarize their contributions to our understanding of policing, communication, and society.

RECENT INTERGROUP TENSIONS AS A BACKDROP TO THIS VOLUME

On August 9, 2014, Darren Wilson, a white police officer, fatally shot an unarmed young African American man, Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri (see DOJ Report 2015; Johnson 2018). In the months following the shooting, a hailstorm of media attention was devoted to the incident; protests and civil unrest occurred throughout the United States, and a contentious debate about the use of force by police officers ensued (see chapters 6, 16, and 17). Although the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018) reports that only 2 percent of US residents who had contact with the police experienced threats of force or use of force, incidents such as this one induce many people to *feel* as though they are not uncommon (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2018) whereas given the number of contacts officers have with the public on a daily basis they are extremely uncommon. Yet why did this particular event ignite such enduring, impassioned reactions?

Simply put, this incident's cascading effect on Ferguson, and more generally the United States and nations across the globe (see chapter 16), is due to a clash of social categories: Michael Brown was an African American resident and Darren Wilson was a white police officer. The shooting of Michael Brown ignited long-standing tensions between police and African American residents in Ferguson. A later investigation by the US Department of Justice (DOJ 2015, 2) found that the Ferguson Police Department had engaged in "a pattern of unconstitutional policing" that harmed the community and undermined the perceived legitimacy of police among residents. Moreover, the investigation found that these issues were especially harmful for African American residents because the Ferguson Police Department had engaged in "intentional discrimination on the basis of race" (4). In addition to these local dynamics, the response to Michael Brown's death was also shaped by an emerging movement focusing on police treatment of marginalized community groups (especially minorities). Just twenty-three days earlier, a white New York City police officer attempted to arrest an African American man named Eric Garner for selling loose cigarettes and resisting arrest by applying a choke hold, which led to Garner's death. Both incidents facilitated the growth of Black Lives Matter (BLM), a powerful social movement focusing on racial injustice in the United States (Garcia and Sharif 2015).

In the weeks and months following the incident, individuals took to the streets in both peaceful and violent protests, allegedly chanting, "Hands up! Don't shoot!" This was a reference to Brown's alleged cry when detained by Wilson and a metaphor for protestors' opposition to police violence. Poignantly, the president of the International

Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), Terrence Cunningham, apologized (on behalf of police) for the historic mistreatment of minorities by police, calling it a "dark side of our shared history," when addressing thousands of officers at the IACP Annual Conference on October 17, 2016. Some police union representatives criticized Cunningham's speech, noting that it could help to fuel anti-police sentiment in the United States (Mark 2016).

On the other side of the intergroup ledger, ABC News reported that a police officer was shot through the head as he sat in his patrol car on December 7, 2019, in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Wearing a uniform displaying his identity as a police officer was apparently his only "crime," and in some arenas, killing a cop earns one considerable prestige, especially in gang culture (see Decker and Pyrooz 2015). But when a police officer is murdered, other social and family identities attached to the human being wearing the uniform (e.g., son, husband, father, basketball fan, etc.) are also killed (see Violence against Police 2019). In April 2004, a police officer was killed in front of the Pomona courthouse. Chief James Lewis was reported as stating, "It's clear the motive was to kill a police officer, but not this specific police officer" (Gorman and Winton 2014).

Some suggest that in the aftermath of events in Ferguson, there is now a "War on Cops" (MacDonald 2016). Recent research finds no evidence to support this premise. Regardless of the measure of violence used—fatal assaults, nonfatal assaults with injury, or nonfatal assaults without injury—violence against police officers has not increased in recent years (Maguire et al. 2017; Shjarback and Maguire 2019). However, several high-profile ambushes of police officers in the line of duty have taken an understandable toll on the collective psyche of American police officers. In December 2014, a gunman shot and killed NYPD officers Rafael Ramos and Wenjian Liu as they sat in their patrol car in Brooklyn. In July 2016, a gunman shot fourteen police officers in Dallas during a Black Lives Matter protest, killing five of them and injuring nine. Later that same month, a gunman shot six police officers in Baton Rouge, killing three of them and injuring three. Evidence suggests that all three of these ambush-style shootings were acts of revenge against police for the recent killings of unarmed black men (Blinder 2017; Frosch and Molinski 2016; Zoroya and Hughes 2014). Thus, although there has not been a statistical increase in the number of American police officers killed or assaulted in the line of duty, there remains a strong perception among police officers of a war on cops (Kaste 2016; Nix, Wolfe, and Campbell 2018).

Not unrelatedly, FBI data reveal that there have been 277 active shooter incidents in the United States between 2000 and 2018, with 2,430 casualties (https://www.fbi.gov/about/partnerships/office-of-partner-engagement/active-shooter-incidents-graphics). Such incidents have devastating effects on first responders. Virginia Beach Police chief Jim Cervera claimed that police work naturally takes an emotional toll: "It's the death by 1,000 cuts. It's the water torture, drip by drip. It eventually has a toll on who you are as a person . . . to walk into a scene like this, it has an instantaneous effect on you. They're going to be forever changed" (see Hayes 2019). Officers are among the most vulnerable to taking their own lives compared to workers in other professions (Heyman, Dill, and Douglas 2018), with at least 167 officer suicides occurring in 2018. The number of police suicides is greater than the number of deaths that occur in the line of duty (for the roles of communication in organizational conversations about, and prevention of, suicides, see Myers 2020). Even when suicide does not occur, untreated exposure

to trauma can exert a dramatic toll on officers' physical and mental health (Maguire, Somers, and Padilla 2020).

Clearly, these types of incidents we have just outlined are inherently *intergroup* and intercultural in nature (for a discussion of the distinctive histories and perspectives of these approaches, see Giles and Watson 2008). They reveal tensions between multiple, and sometimes overlapping, social identities: African American, Muslim, Hispanic, LGBTQ, and White, police and civilian, privileged and oppressed, white police and black police. In this book we draw on analyses and theories of intergroup relations and communication (along with other perspectives) that provide a deeper, more nuanced, perspective on these events and allied social movements.

In early 2020, the police worldwide faced a historic challenge in dealing with a global pandemic, COVID-19 (Law Enforcement and COVID-19 2020; see also, chapter 21). To preserve the social distancing guidelines recommended by public health authorities, police were forced to withdraw from the routine daily interactions with the public that define modern policing. The positive interpersonal policing practices that help to embrace the partnership essential to community policing and enhance public perceptions and legitimacy of police were significantly limited. Officers also drastically reduced their enforcement activities, making fewer traffic and pedestrian stops, and refraining from making arrests for nonviolent and petty offenses (see https://www.policeone.com/coronavirus-covid-19/). Police agencies struggled with depleted workforces as officers who were either infected or exposed to the virus were forced to self-isolate or quarantine. Many police officers had to enforce stay-at-home orders issued by governments, bringing them into conflict with people who view such orders as inconvenient or unnecessary, and even unconstitutional. They also had to monitor jail and prison inmates who were released into the community to prevent rampant spread of the virus in these institutions. These and other issues brought about by the pandemic represented a massive intergroup communication challenge for the police and one that received media attention across the globe (in Britain, for example, see Casciani 2020).

OVERVIEW OF THIS BOOK

While we are gratified by the scope and breadth of the topics included in the book, we were, inevitably, unable to cover every social group or communicative relationship encompassed within the complex intergroup dynamics of law enforcement (see conclusion to this book). While we have required some modest consistency in structure across chapters, we have given our authors freedom to follow their own instincts in terms of writing formats, and this particularly so, given that authors derive from different academic disciplinary backgrounds (of communication, criminology and criminal justice, law, sociology, and psychology), while others are police practitioners. Hence, the reader will see variable ways of crafting chapter titles, introductory, and concluding sections, and whether and where they feel confident in formulating and conveying future research agendas. We contend that these and other forms of diversity enhance stylistic liveliness for readers.

The main body of this book is divided into four sections that, while having their own distinctive foci, are not mutually exclusive. While some chapters could have been

included in more than one section, a major aim of the conclusion to this book is to underscore how the processes inherent in the four parts are fundamentally interdependent. Understanding the interplay between these various processes provides a more comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of the role of communication and intergroup dynamics in policing.

The first section addresses issues concerning communication within law enforcement agencies and between them and other relevant units and institutions. In chapter 1, Hill and Giles open up the substantive contributions to this book by examining the emergence, maintenance, and implications of "us" versus "them" mentalities, a dynamic that manifests all too often in police–community relations. After providing a brief history of intergroup communication, they explore the complex ways in which this "us" mentality *within* the police organization is developed from the recruitment process, within police academy training, and throughout an officer's career.

Chapter 2 by Wolfe focuses on managerial philosophies within police departments, arguing that officers will accommodate their agency's ethos and norms more readily when they feel they are being treated fairly by their supervisors, managers, and administrators. He contends that leaders would benefit from training (that is subsequently monitored and evaluated for its effectiveness) not only in terms of embracing the ideals of organizational justice but also in communicating that goal in ways that benefit the welfare of officers on the front line. Chapter 3 by Scheer and Wilson continues the theme of workforce management within police agencies at a time when both recruitment and retention of officers are challenging prospects, especially when appealing to millennials and Generation Z (see Francis 2020). They provide a catalogue of compelling communicative recommendations to overcome current problems in hiring quality personnel and enhancing prospects for retaining them over the long term, including the messaging of the department's criteria for selection and promotion.

The final chapter in this section is chapter 4 by Kuhns and Messer. It examines how various units within police agencies can work more cohesively together but also, inevitably, how they work in tandem with colleagues in *other* professional agencies, such as social workers, mental health workers, district attorneys, medics, and others. While such interagency communication is widespread across a variety of social problems, these authors focus specifically on the investigation and prosecution of homicide cases, emphasizing the need to build collaborative tactics of sharing information, aligning common goals, and communicating empathically with victims' families with a view to solving a murder. Section I, in sum, highlights the need for engaging research on, and developing a more sophisticated theoretical understanding of, fostering effective communication both *within* police organizations, and between police organizations and the communities and institutions that comprise their external environments.

Section II examines communication and policing in five diverse types of communities. In chapter 5, Dixon, Smith, and Weeks reengage the initial topic of this introduction, namely, recent intergroup tensions. They provide an understanding of racial disparities in encounters between police and the public, such as in traffic stops and stop-and-frisk occasions as well as officer-involved shootings. The authors discuss possible reasons for the alleged differences in policing members of various racial and ethnic groups as well as the public consequences for these actions. Chapter 6, by Rabe-Hemp and

Schuck, examines the intergroup processes and theories that lead to the perpetuation of women being marginalized in law enforcement. They discuss the kinds of social threats to their identity, culture, and values that certain male officers might experience when communicating with their female counterparts. Their reactions to these threats provide the foundation for dissatisfactory and unproductive gender barriers and they suggest the fostering of a superordinate police identity as a response for combatting and ameliorating gender tensions and boundaries. In chapter 7, Owen examines the policing of LGBTQ+ groups and discusses ways in which microaggressions (e.g., slurs and other forms of derogatory language) against LGBTQ+, especially in law enforcement climates that promote heterosexuality as the normal or preferred sexual orientation, can sully relations between these groups. Owen proposes a "tool kit" of communicative remedies, including a greater willingness to contact LGBTQ+ individuals and organizations and to promote institutional liaisons between police and these entities.

In chapter 8, Murphy also examines phobias—this time Islamophobia—that stigmatize and marginalize Muslim communities. Procedural justice in community-oriented policing is argued to be a significant way of building trust among, as well giving a voice to, the latter, thereby increasing their likelihood of avoiding radicalization and working with law enforcement in countering terrorism. However, for this to be accomplished effectively, Murphy calls for the need for strong messages of societal unity to be regularly propounded. This section ends with chapter 9 by Scrivner, who examines the police response to people who are homeless and/or mentally challenged. These vulnerable communities deserve to be treated with empathy by police and other representatives of the state. Moreover, police are often able to refer people in these communities to shelters and treatment facilities, rather than relying on more traditional law enforcement approaches. This chapter, like others in section II, adopts a historical perspective and examines the lessons we can learn from crisis intervention models and police teams (with allied agencies) that can problem-solve and work collaboratively and transparently to meet the needs of these at-risk communities.

The chapters in section II underscore the need for a more profound understanding of, and compassion for, the diverse values, distinctive needs, and cultures of the many different kinds of communities law enforcement serves. They lay bare a wide variety of unfortunate (and sometimes hostile) incidents of intergroup communication and expressed prejudice arising from many groups in society (see Kende and McGarty 2019). There is, however, a shared appreciation that responsible and collaborate partnerships engaging in high quality and tolerant contact are keys for enhancing police-community climates (see Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2017).

The seven chapters in section III revolve around how and why law enforcement communicates about policing to the communities it serves and how the latter responds to and communicates about being policed. Chapter 10 by Maguire discusses the role of communication reform in the community policing movement. Community policing is widely considered one of the most influential reform movements in policing in recent decades. This chapter examines the research evidence on the extent to which community policing has influenced internal communications within police organizations and external communications between police and communities. In chapter 11, Scott picks up the theme of police reform by examining unrealistic expectations the public have for,

and communicate to, law enforcement to which, ironically, the latter can accommodate. He argues for an alternative, more strategic and pragmatic communication model that forges a *dialogue* with society that is balanced in terms of maintaining law, order, and security without unnerving individuals' ability to act with free will. Houston, Collins, and Branton, in chapter 12, implicitly take up this dialogic approach by revealing the value for communities of being empowered by law enforcement to be resilient and feel safe in the face and wake of crises. They contend, however, that such a communicative approach can really only be maximally effective once officers and departments, in turn, feel resilient in terms of managing their own ordeals and challenges of safety and public scrutiny.

In chapter 13, Melekian examines the ways in which law enforcement has historically managed public complaints against their officers' actions and expressed attitudes. Traditional (and even technological) ways of doing business such as lawsuits and internal affairs investigations by police departments often leave members of the public feeling marginalized and without a proper voice. These mechanisms also leave officers feeling overly and unnecessarily scrutinized. Melekian endorses the use of mediation processes that allow both sides to communicate their accounts of what occurred, their feelings, and their intentions in ways that are more likely to result in a successful resolution of the complaint.

The above intergroup expectations and feelings are influenced by decades of media attention to police institutions and to encounters between police and the public. The last three chapters in this section focus on this topic. In chapter 14, Mustafaj and Van den Bulck document the allure the public has for depictions of crime and law enforcement and how the messages and images across different genres of the media impact our understanding of social reality and the social stereotypes created and maintained by them. These scholars look at how criminals, victims, and law enforcement are depicted and psychologically processed by readers and viewers as well as the journalistic values and other factors that elevate stories to media attention and place them on the public agenda. Chapter 15 by Walther also looks at new media depictions of exchanges between police and the public on YouTube videos and the attending user-generated comments. He invokes the so-called "echo chamber effect" to comment on how watching—perhaps by accident—one video depicting police overreactions can lead to social media accounts providing the viewer with further (and algorithmically curated) depictions of similar scenarios. Thus, social media algorithms, by regulating what types of content viewers see, can have a powerful effect on undermining public perceptions of police legitimacy.

In chapter 16, the final chapter in this section, Tyler and Maguire examine the influence of a single incident—the police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri—on national media coverage of the police in the *New York Times*. The authors demonstrate how the Ferguson incident had a powerful effect on the volume of news coverage about police in the United States. Unlike some of the other controversial police shootings and deaths in police custody they examine, the Ferguson incident had a singular influence on media coverage of the police in one national newspaper of record. The authors discuss why Ferguson had such powerful effects on media coverage of the police, and more generally how the agenda setting roles of major media outlets help shape public discussion and debate, and indeed public opinion, about the police.

....

In sum, the diverse chapters in section III underscore a couple of key themes. First, there is a widespread lack of trust—and even mistrust—for law enforcement in many communities (particularly in the United States) that is accompanied by the police feeling undervalued by society. Second, and relatedly, the communication pathways between these two social collectives are fraught with misattributions and misunderstandings (see Coupland, Wiemann, and Giles's [1991] miscommunication model). Third, and consequently, both groups have to move beyond existing modes of intergroup communication. Relatedly, Ellis (2006) proposed two ways of ameliorating intractable conflicts. First, both parties must communicate a willingness to *jointly* redefine and rewrite histories and narratives, thereby empowering both parties. Second, the ingroup must listen to and empathize with the outgroup, while also being prepared to be self/ingroup critical (see Nagda's [2006] notion of "dialogic listening").

Finally, section IV examines communication processes in the policing of six specific types of violations, crimes, and incidents. Chapter 17, by Lowrey-Kinberg, focuses on language use by officers and drivers during traffic stops, an occasion when the public interact first or most often with law enforcement officials. She demonstrates that officers who are most procedurally just and communicatively accommodative in terms of being respectful and oriented to drivers' concerns incur more positive outcomes and cooperation than officers who rely less on these communicative practices. The relevance of these findings to more tangible communication training for policing on the street encounters with the public is emphasized.

Chapter 18 by Grubb examines the verbal and behavioral tactics officers draw upon in hostage and crisis negotiation situations. Police negotiators are characterized as expert communicators who invoke a panoply of communicative techniques to de-escalate and attempt to resolve such scenarios. The chapter examines a variety of theoretical models and a range of different quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate these communicatively challenging and dangerous situations in moving to best practices for success.

Chapter 19 by Bettinger-López and Ezer focuses on a globally endemic crime—gender-based violence (GBV)—and the role of gender bias in the policing response to it. The chapter examines communicative strategies involved in interviewing trauma victims and survivors and encouraging them to provide highly sensitive details and information. It also examines strategies for interviewing suspects. The authors explore the intricacies in the reporting of investigations of domestic abuse as well as complexities inherent in managing important and diverse community agencies that can provide to support to victims. We contend that Bettinger-López and Ezer's examination of the fraught relationships between survivors (especially of marginalized groups) and law enforcement are intergroup in nature. Therefore, solutions to disrupt the biases in recognizing and investigating GBV and to improve responses from law enforcement (such as the COURAGE project) can benefit significantly from research on improving intergroup communication.

Chapter 20 by Kennedy focuses on communicative features of policing group-involved violence, particularly as it relates to inner city gangs. His interventions focus on group dynamics rather than focusing, like most interventions, on individual offenders. Kennedy is one of the architects of "focused deterrence," a recasting of deterrence

theory with significant implications for reducing group-involved violence. Structured intergroup communication between gangs and coalitions of community groups (including representatives from law enforcement, social services, education, and the faith community) is a core element of violence reduction strategies that Kennedy and his team rely on. In this chapter, Kennedy reflects on the communication aspects of focused deterrence theory and its application in communities around the world.

Chapter 21 by Blakemore looks at the policing of extremism and terrorism as well as hate crimes that are targeted against an array of social groups albeit manifest in different forms in the digital age. After examining variable definitions of hate crimes in different nations, the chapter emphasizes that these particular crimes are not only violent acts, but also pernicious forms of communication. The communication aspects of hate crime merit further examination and may provide opportunities for intervention. The intricate balance between affording individuals and groups on the Internet free speech and the need to prevent and address offensive and subversive messaging is discussed. The final contribution to this section, chapter 22 by Stott, Radburn, and Savigar, analyzes the communicative dynamics of policing crowd behavior. The chapter begins by taking a historical focus on how crowd behavior had been understood and explained as irrational and how it could be interpreted similarly by police. Stott notes that police tend to embrace these historically inaccurate perspectives on crowds. As a result, they often rely on overly coercive public order and crowd policing strategies that not only raise civil rights concerns but also tend to escalate conflict rather than de-escalating it. Drawing upon studies on managing social protests, sporting events, and mass emergencies, the chapter explores the implications of intergroup relations theory and allied empirical support for the policing of crowds

In sum, the chapters that make up section IV underscore the idea that police can benefit in numerous ways when they choose to engage in communicative practices that are consistent with intergroup communication theory and related research evidence. Such practices lead to healthier organizational cultures, more effective investigative outcomes, improved community partnerships, reduced levels of conflict, and a variety of other prosocial benefits. Included among these communicative tools are interpersonal and intergroup accommodations, the application of procedural justice, the de-escalation of intergroup conflict, the avoidance of unnecessary and often inflammatory coercion, the genuine expression of empathy for victims and their traumatic experiences, and finding common ground between social groups.

The readers of this book will encounter a variety of topics and communication pathways, and much, much more. In the conclusion to this volume, the editors attempt to make cohesive sense of this complex landscape by means of integrative visualizations and a heuristic model that also locates the preceding chapters within its conceptual spaces. This is then invoked as an interpretive tool for understanding a particular set of intergroup tensions involving race issues and a dramatic public outcry. Finally, in this book's conclusion, this and other issues provide us with a template for outlining research challenges and practical recommendations for police-community communications in the future.

One of this book's aims is to be a comprehensive textual resource that has wide international relevance and will be intriguing enough for police practitioners to invest

further in more sophisticated communication training based on theory, enabling them to reach out more effectively to a range of relevant social groups. In tandem, another of our aims is to engender interest in developing the topic of law enforcement and the processes of policing within both the fields of communication and intergroup relations as being a critical, understudied *societal* topic having considerable applied potential. Furthermore, this cannot be driven by a silo-like insular academic approach but one that needs to be fermented in active interdisciplinary cooperation and theory.

NOTES

1. Not only have handbooks on policing emerged in the United States in the last ten years (e.g., Bradford, Jauregui, Loader, and Steinber 2016; Bryant and Bryant 2019; Reisig and Kane 2014; Lave and Miller 2019; Steverson 2008) but, also, elsewhere in the world (e.g., Mesko, Fields, Lobniker, and Sotlar 2013; Newburn 2012). With respect to modest attention to communication processes and practices in these volumes, it is important to recognize previous work that has highlighted these aspects (Gundersen and Hopper 1984; Kidd and Braziel 1999; Womack and Finley 1986; see also, Parish and Cambria 2019).

2. For research on the significance of appearance and clothing for intergroup relations on the one hand and for perceptions of police on the other, see Kebulsek, Giles, and Maass 2017 and Simpson 2018, respectively.

REFERENCES

Balko, Radley. 2013. *The Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Blinder, Alan. 2017. "Gunman Called Police Shootings a 'Necessary Evil' in a Suicide Note." *New York Times*, June 30. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/30/us/gavin-long-suicide-note-baton-rouge.html .

Boivin, Rémi, Camille Faubert, Annie Gendron, and Bruno Poulin. 2018. "The 'Us vs Them' Mentality: A Comparison of Police Cadets at Different Stages of Their Training." *Police Practice and Research* 21 (1): 49–61.

Bradford, Ben, Beatrice Jauregui, Ian Loader, and Jonny Steinber. 2016. *The SAGE Handbook of Global Policing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Bryant, Robin, and Sarah Bryant, eds. 2019. *Blackstone's Handbook of Policing Students* (thirteenth edition). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2018. *Contacts between the Police and Public, 2015*. Washington DC: Department of Justice.

Campbell, Bradley A., Justin Nix, and Edward R. Maguire. 2018. "Is the Number of Citizens Killed by Police Increasing? A Pre/post Ferguson Analysis." *Crime and Delinquency* 64 (3): 398–420.

Casciani, Dominic. 2020, April 20. "Coronavirus: What Powers Do the Police Have?" BBC News Online. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/explainers-52106843.

Clinkinbeard, Samantha S., and Rachel M. Rief. 2020. "Four Steps to Bring More Women into Policing." *Police Chief* 87 (4): 40–45.

Coupland, Nikolas, John M. Wiemann, and Howard Giles. 1991. "Talk as 'Problem' and Communication as 'Miscommunication': An Integrative Analysis." In *"Miscommunication" and Problematic Talk*, edited by Nikolas Coupland, Howard Giles, and John M. Wiemann, 1–17. Newbury Park: Sage.

"Crime Prevention Communities." 2019. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 86 (10): 30–68.

"Cutting Edge Technology." 2019. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 88 (4): 26–52.

Decker, Scott H., and David C. Pyrooz, eds. 2015. *The Handbook of Gangs*. New York: Wiley Blackwell.

Denault, Vincent, Pierrich Plusquellec, Louise M. Jupe, Michel St-Yves, Norah E. Dunbar . . . Peter J. van Koppen. 2020. "The Analysis of Nonverbal Communication: The Dangers of Pseudoscience in Security and Justice Contexts." *Anuario de Psicología Jurídica [Yearbook of Psychology]* 30: 1–12. Retrieved from https://doi.10.5093/apj2019a9. [This article is a translation of the French article "L' analyse de la communication non verbale : Les dangers de la pseudoscience en contextes de sécurité et de justice" published with the authorization of the French journal *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique et Scientifique*.]

DOJ: U.S. Department of Justice Report. 2015. *Report Regarding the Criminal Investigation into the Shooting Death of Michael Brown by Ferguson, Missouri Police Officer Darren Wilson*. Washington DC: Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/04/doj_report_on_shooting_of_michael_brown_1.pdf .

Dragojevic, Marko, and Howard Giles. 2014. "Language and Interpersonal Communication: Their Intergroup Dynamics." In *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication*, edited by Charles R. Berger, 29–51. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Ellis, Donald G. 2006. *Transforming Conflict: Communication and Ethnopolitical Conflict.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Engel, Robin S., and James L. Whalen. 2010. Police-Academic Partnerships: Ending the Dialogue of the Deaf, the Cincinnati Experience." *Police Practice and Research* 11 (2): 105–16.

Fine, Adam D., Emily Kan, and Elizabeth Cauffman. 2019. "Adolescents' Confidence in Institutions: Do America's Youth Differentiate between Legal and Social Institutions?" *Developmental Psychology* 55 (8): 1758–67.

Francis, Joselyn. 2020. "Creating a Culture of Success." *Police Chief* 87 (4): 46–53.

Frosch, Dan, and Dan Molinksi. 2016. "Bomb Materials, Guns, Ammo Found in Dallas Shooter's Home." *Wall Street Journal*, November 23. Retrieved from https://www.wsj.com/articles/dallas-shooting-suspect-targeted-white-officers-was-killed-when-officials-detonated-bomb-1467982329.

Garcia, Jennifer J-L., and Mienah Z. Sharif. 2015. "Black Lives Matter: A Commentary on Racism and Public Health." *American Journal of Public Health* 105 (8): e27–30.

Giles, Howard, ed. 2002. *Law Enforcement, Communication, and Community*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Giles, Howard, ed. 2012. *The Handbook of Intergroup Communication*. New York: Routledge.

Giles, Howard, and Jake Harwood, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Intergroup Communication* (Vols. 1 & 2). New York: Oxford University Press.

Giles, Howard, and Anne Maass, eds. 2016. *Advances in Intergroup Communication*. New York: Peter Lang.

Giles, Howard, and Bernadette M. Watson. 2008. "Intercultural and Intergroup Parameters of Communication." In *International Encyclopedia of Communication*, edited by Wolfgang Donsbach, Vol. 6, 2237–48. Blackwell: Oxford.

Gillet, Nicolas, Caroline Becker, Marc-André Lafrenière, Isabelle Hart, and Evelyne Fouquereau. 2017. "Organizational Support, Job Resources, Soldiers' Motivation Profiles, Work Engagement, and Affect. *Military Psychology* 29 (5): 418–33.

Glaser, Jack, and Amanda Charbonneau. 2018. "Law Enforcement: Finding Common Purpose." In *Making Research Matter: A Psychologist's Guide to Public Engagement*, edited by Linda R. Tropp, 104–21. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Gorman, Ann, and Richard Winton. 2014. "Boy Says He Gunned Down a CHP officer." *Los Angeles Times*, April 23. Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-apr-23-me-shot23-story.html .

Gundersen, Dennis F., and Robert Hopper. 1984. *Communication and Law Enforcement*. New York: Harper & Row.

Hayes, Christal. 2019, June 3. How Cops Cope with Shooting Trauma: 'They're Going to be Forever Changed.'" *USA Today* Online. Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/06/03/virginia-beach-mass-shooting-how-cops-cope-trauma/1321462001/.

Heyman, Miriam, Jeff Dill, and Robert Douglas. 2018. *The Ruderman White Paper on Mental Health and Suicide of First Responders*. Retrieved from http://dir.nv.gov/uploadedFiles/dirnvgov/content/WCS/TrainingDocs/First%20Responder%20White%20Paper_Final%20(2).pdf .

Hollywood, John S., Sean E. Goodison, Dulani Woods, Michael J. D. Vermeer, and Brian A. Jackson. 2019. *Fostering Innovation to Respond to Top Challenges in Law Enforcement*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

House, Cathryn H. 2018. "The Changing Role of Women in Law Enforcement." *The Police Chief* 85 (10): 60–66.

"Innovations in Smart Policing." 2020. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 87 (3): 32–55.

Johnson, Ron (with Alan Eisenstock). 2018. *Thirteen Days in Ferguson*. Carol Stream: Tyndale House.

Kaste, Martin. (2016). "How the Perceived 'War on Cops' Plays into Politics and Policing." *National Public Radio* (December 29).

Keblusek, Lauren, Howard Giles, and Anne Maass. 2017. "Language and Intergroup Communication." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 20 (5): 632–43.

Kende, Anna, and Craig McGarty. 2019. "A Model for Predicting Prejudice and Stigma Expression by Understanding Target Perceptions: The Effects of Visibility, Politicization, Responsibility, and Entatitivity." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 49 (5): 839–56.

Kidd, Virginia, and Rick Braziel. 1999. *Cop Talk: Essential Communication Skills for Community Policing*. San Francisco: Acada Books.

Kienzle, Jennifer, and Jordan Soliz. 2017. "Intergroup Communication." In *Intercultural Communication*, edited by Ling. Chen, 369–88. Boston: de Gruyter Mouton.

Kraska, Peter B., and Victor E. Kappeler. 1997. "Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Police Paramilitary Units." *Social Problems* 44 (1): 1–18.

Lave, Tamara Rice, and Eric J. Miller, eds. 2019. *The Cambridge Handbook of Policing in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Law Enforcement and COVID-19. 2020. *Police Chief* 87 (5). Online Supplement: https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/downloads/COVID19-symptoms.pdf .

Los Angeles Police Department. 2016. *Categorical Use of Force 2016*. Retrieved from http://www.lapdonline.org/categorical_use_of_force_2016.

Maass, Anne, Luciano Arcuri, and Caterina Suitner. 2014. "Shaping Intergroup Relations through Language." In *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, edited by Tom Holtgraves, 157–76. New York: Oxford University Press.

MacDonald, H. 2016. *The War on Cops: How the New Attack on Law and Order Makes Everyone Less Safe*. New York: Encounter Books

Maguire, Edward R., Justin Nix, and Bradley A. Campbell. 2017. "A War on Cops? The Effects of Ferguson on the Number of U.S. Police Officers Murdered in the Line of Duty." *Justice Quarterly* 34 (5): 739–58.

Maguire, Edward R., Logan J. Somers, and Kathleen E. Padilla. 2020. "Promoting Officer Health and Wellness." In *Transforming the Police: 13 Key Reforms*, edited by Charles M. Katz and Edward R. Maguire. Long Grove: Waveland Press.

Mark, Michelle. 2016. "A Police Chief Apologized for the Historic Mistreatment of Minorities—and Not Everyone Is Happy." *Business Insider* (October 18). https://www.businessinsider.com/police-chief-faces-criticism-for-apologizing-for-historic-mistreatment-of-minorities-2016-10.

"Media Relations." 2019. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 86 (8): 22–54.

Mesko, Gorazd, Charles B. Fields, Branko Lobniker, and Andrej Sotlar, eds. 2013. *Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe*. New York: Springer.

Molloy, Jennifer, and Howard Giles. 2002. "Communication, Language, and Law Enforcement: An Intergroup Communication Approach." In *Excavating the Taken-for-Granted: Essays in Social Interaction*, edited by Phillip J. Glenn, Curtis D. LeBaron, and Jenny S. Mandelbaum, 327–40. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Myers, Jennifer. 2020. "Key Strategies to Prevent Suicide among Law Enforcement." *Police Chief* 87 (5): 26–31.

Nagda, Biren A. 2006. "Breaking Barriers, Crossing Borders, Building Bridges: Communication Processes in Intergroup Dialogues." *Journal of Social Issues* 62 (3): 553–76.

Newburn, Tim, ed. 2012. *The Handbook of Policing*. London: Routledge. Online: eBook ISBN: 9780203118238.

Nix, Justin, Scott Wolfe, and Bradley Campbell. 2018. "Command-Level Police Officers' Perceptions of the 'War on Cops' and De-policing." *Justice Quarterly* 35 (1): 33–54.

Otis, Nancy, and Luc G. Pelletier. 2005. "A Motivational Model of Daily Hassles, Physical Symptoms, and Future Work Intentions among Police Officers." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 35 (10): 2193–214.

Parish, Rachel, and Jack Cambria. 2019. *The Other Side of the Door: The Art of Compassion in Policing*. St. Paul: DRI Press.

PERF: Police Executive Research Forum. 2016. *Critical Issues in Policing-Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics*. 2020. Retrieved from https://www.policeforum.org/training guide.

Pfeifer, Michael. A. 2020. "Embracing the Opportunity for Change." *Police Chief* 87 (1), 26–29.

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. Washington DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Primicerio, Jarod, and Anthony Normore. 2018. "Transformation of Community-Police Relations through History." *The Police Chief* 10 (85): 52–58.

Reisig, Michael D., and Robert J. Kane, eds. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Police and Policing*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sherman, Lawrence W. 2020. "Targeting American Policing: Rogue Cops or Rogue Cultures?" *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*. Advance Online: https://doi.org/10.1007/s41887 -020-00046-z.

Shipley, Peter. 2019. "Connecting Research, Decision-Making, and Police Training." *Police Chief* 86: 28–35.

Shjarback, John, and Edward R. Maguire. 2019. "Extending Research on the 'War on Cops': The Effects of Ferguson on Non-Fatal Assaults against U.S. Police Officers." *Crime and Delinquency*. Advance Online: https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128719890266.

Simpson, Rylan. 2018. "Officer Appearance and Perceptions of Police: Accoutrements as Signals of Intent." *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 14 (1): 243–57.

Steverson, Leonard A. (2008). *Policing in America: A Reference Handbook.* Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Publications.

Tajfel, Henri. 1974. "Social Identity and Intergroup Behavior." *Social Science Information* 13 (2): 65–93.

Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1986. "The Social Psychology of Intergroup Behavior." In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations,* edited by Stephen Worchel and William G. Austin, 7–24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Thompson, George J., and Jerry B. Jenkins. 2013. *Verbal Judo: The Gentle Art of Persuasion*. New York: William Morrow.

"Use of Force Reporting." 2019. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 86 (6): 24–51.

Verkuyten, Matkel, and Kumar Yogeeswaran. 2017. "The Social Psychology of Intergroup Toleration: A Roadmap for Theory and Research." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 21 (1): 72–96.

"Violence against Police." 2019. [Special section]. *Police Chief* 86 (2) 26–44.

Womack, Morris M., and Hayden H. Finley. 1986. *Communication: A Unique Significance for Law Enforcement*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

Zoroya, Gregg, and Trevor Hughes. 2014. "Social Media Post Threatened 'Pigs.'" *USA Today* (December 21).