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Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Newsletter

Lies, Damned Lies, and Hate Crime Statistics

By Jacob Kaplan, PhD

New York City, home to 8.6 million people, including about 1 million Asian residents, reported only two anti-Asian hate crimes in 2019. Taken at face value, this means that in that year, an Asian person in New York City had a similar chance of being struck by lightning as being the victim of a hate crime. In 2018 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an avowed white supremacist and anti-Semite attacked the Tree of Life synagogue, killing 11 people and injuring eight, including four police officers (Romac, 2019). However, the Pittsburgh Police Department reported only two anti-Jewish hate crimes to the FBI that year: an unrelated vandalism crime the day after the synagogue massacre and an intimidation crime the month prior. At a national level, in 2020 agencies covering

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about 160 million people, or nearly half of the US population, reported that they had zero hate crimes.

How can this be so? The FBI's hate crime dataset—part of their annual Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program Data—is the most commonly used measure of hate crimes in the United States, but it is systematically flawed and incredibly incomplete, to the point that it is not sufficiently reliable to use in descriptive or causal research.

For a crime to be considered a hate crime under the FBI's definition, there must be some evidence that the crime is motivated, at least in part, by bias against an individual's or a group's race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity. Hateful acts that are not illegal, such as a racial slur alone, are excluded. Like other FBI datasets it only includes hate crimes reported to the police, and therefore excludes any hate crimes where the victim did not report it to the police. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), an annual survey that asks about personal victimizations—and thus undercounts hate crimes where there is no specific victim, even though groups of people may be targeted, such as defacing a synagogue—fewer than half of crimes that the victim believes is a hate crime are reported to the police (Kena & Thompson, 2021). Consistent with non-hate crimes, violent crimes are more likely to be reported to the police, with about 57% of all violent hate crimes reported, while a little under a third of property hate crimes are reported. This is certainly a limitation of the data, but one consistent with problems in other FBI datasets, so by itself, it's not enough to preclude the data from being used. However, there are three additional problems with these data that drastically reduce its usability: (1) many victims may not know that they have experienced a hate crime, (2) agencies that report data are neither consistent over time nor a random selection of agencies, and (3) when agencies do report they give unreliable data.

First, with the exception of some minor property crimes where victims may not even know they were victimized (e.g., have their wallet stolen but think they just lost it), most crime victims are aware that a crime occurred. For hate crime victims, however, a sizeable share of victims may not know that what occurred was a hate crime. Consider, for example, a racist man who decides to punch the first Black person that he sees. If he does so, he will have committed an anti-Black hate crime, but whether the victim is aware of this is highly dependent on the context of the assault. In our scenario, while it is in fact a hate crime, whether it is classified as one depends on what evidence there is that the offender was motivated by bias against Black people. If the offender shouted a racial epithet or wore racist insignias, this would be evidence that would lead the assault to be considered a hate crime. If, however, the offender said nothing and wore nothing racist, this assault would likely never be considered a hate crime. While the true number of these sorts of incidents is unknown, they likely result in a substantial underreporting of hate crimes. This is an immutable fact about any type

of hate crime data collection so, by itself, it may not be sufficient to declare these data unusable.

Given underreporting, it is impossible to get true counts of hate crimes, but it is still possible to examine trends in hate crimes over time as long as underreporting is consistent and the agencies that do report data are either random or are consistent over time. For the former, with the current data available—and NCVS data are not detailed enough to get agency-level information—it is impossible to know how much the underreporting (both to the police and when the victim is unaware that they experienced a hate crime) affects data reported to the police. For the latter, agencies that do report data are neither random nor consistent over time.

Looking at the share of agencies in each state that reported at least one hate crime reveals a clear geographic and political bias in reporting. In 2020—though this trend is the same in previous years—states in the Pacific and Northeast regions of the US had a higher share of their agencies reporting than other parts of the country. Likewise, of the 10 states with the highest share of reporting agencies, all of them voted for President Biden in the 2020 general election. While some of this may be due to true differences in hate crimes between states, large variations even between similar or neighboring states suggest that a substantial factor in this is merely differences in agencies choosing to report. For example, 47% of agencies in New Jersey reported at least one hate crime in 2020, by far the highest in the nation—the next highest state is Vermont at 34% of agencies. In comparison, New Jersey's large neighbors fall near or at the bottom of the pack, with 6% of New York agencies reporting and only 1% of Pennsylvania agencies reporting, the lowest rate in the nation.

There is also significant variation in which agencies report over time. Since the early 2000s, each year of data has had about 2,000 agencies reporting at least one hate crime per year—though this number dipped in the mid-2010s and has increased to a record high of about 2,600 agencies in 2020. That is, out of approximately 18,000 agencies in the US, hate crimes occur in about 11% of them each year. These are not the same agencies every year. Since 1992 (the second year of data available), every year of data has had about 55–60% of agencies reporting that year that also reported the previous year. In other words, every year half the agencies reporting are different than the agencies that reported the previous year. Given how many agencies say that they have zero hate crimes, and how many report unbelievable—and factually incorrect—numbers, it is reasonable to believe that most agencies that report a hate crime one year and not the next are not doing so because they actually have zero hate crimes that year.

Independently, each of the flaws in the FBI's hate crime dataset is potentially excusable. Together, there are three levels of funneling before a hate crime can be included in the data—the victim must think they experienced a hate crime, they must report it to the police, and there must

be evidence that it is a hate crime—where agencies covering about half the country say they have no hate crimes, where those that do report hate crimes give unrealistic or inaccurate data, and where reporting agencies are inconsistent over time and have geographic and political biases. In short, data are inconsistent over time, between agencies, and even unreliable within a single agency. All data are flawed and hate crimes are an important issue—especially in light of reports of surges in anti-Asian hate crimes during the pandemic (Powell, 2021; Weiner, 2021; Yam, 2021)—so how can these data be used in practice?

Given the geographic and political bias in which states have the highest share of agencies reporting, these data are not suitable for getting national estimates of hate crimes. On average in 2020—the year with the highest reporting rate—only about 12% (median = 9%) of agencies in a state report, so using these data for state-level statistics will also give highly inaccurate results. And as there is substantial variation in which agencies report each year, looking at hate crimes over time is not an apples-to-apples comparison, and thus should be avoided. What's left? The safest use of these data is to look only at a single agency at a time, keeping in mind whether anything may affect reporting rates. Even this highly limited use of the data has its risks, as evidenced by the absence of the Tree of Life massacre in Pittsburgh hate crime data. While this is a highly limited use of these data, the importance of the topic necessitates that we minimize the risk of misleading either the public or ourselves by using data that are grossly inaccurate.

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Jacob Kaplan, PhD,'s current research portfolio includes research on policing, the criminology of place, and how to properly use FBI data. His past work includes research on whether more police officers can reduce crime, simulating whether firing "bad apples" will substantially reduce complaints against the police or police uses of force, and whether decriminalizing marijuana affects serious domestic violence. He holds a PhD in criminology from the University of Pennsylvania.

Please make sure you register in advance for the **ACJS 59th Annual Meeting, March 15 – 19, 2022, in Las Vegas, Nevada.** **The discounted rate ends January 31st,** so if you haven't already done so, hurry to save on your registration fee!

As a registered attendee, sponsor, and/or exhibitor of the Annual Meeting, you can expect not only to enjoy the electrifying atmosphere of Las Vegas but experience a wide range of session topics, social events, and interaction with educators and practitioners from around the country.

To view/download a list of sessions, workshops, and special events, visit the ACJS website at https://www.acjs.org/page/2022AMDraftProgram. **If you are a presenter, remember the deadline to submit any corrections or changes to the program co-chairs (acjs2022program@gmail.com) is January 14. *This is a hard deadline.**

NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF ACJS

The Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences **General Business Meeting** will be held on Friday, March 18, 2022, from 11:00 AM –12:15 PM at the Rio Hotel and Casino, 3700 W. Flamingo Road, Las Vegas, NV in Ballroom Amazon Q. Please join us to hear from Executive Board Officers regarding current and future plans, fiscal outlook, and more.

Interested in Exhibiting during the 59th ACJS Annual Meeting? Find out how you can become an Exhibitor and invest with your target audience by visiting the Exhibits page - https://www.acjs.org/page/Exhibits2022.

Sponsorship Opportunities - https://www.acjs.org/page/AnnualSponsor2022

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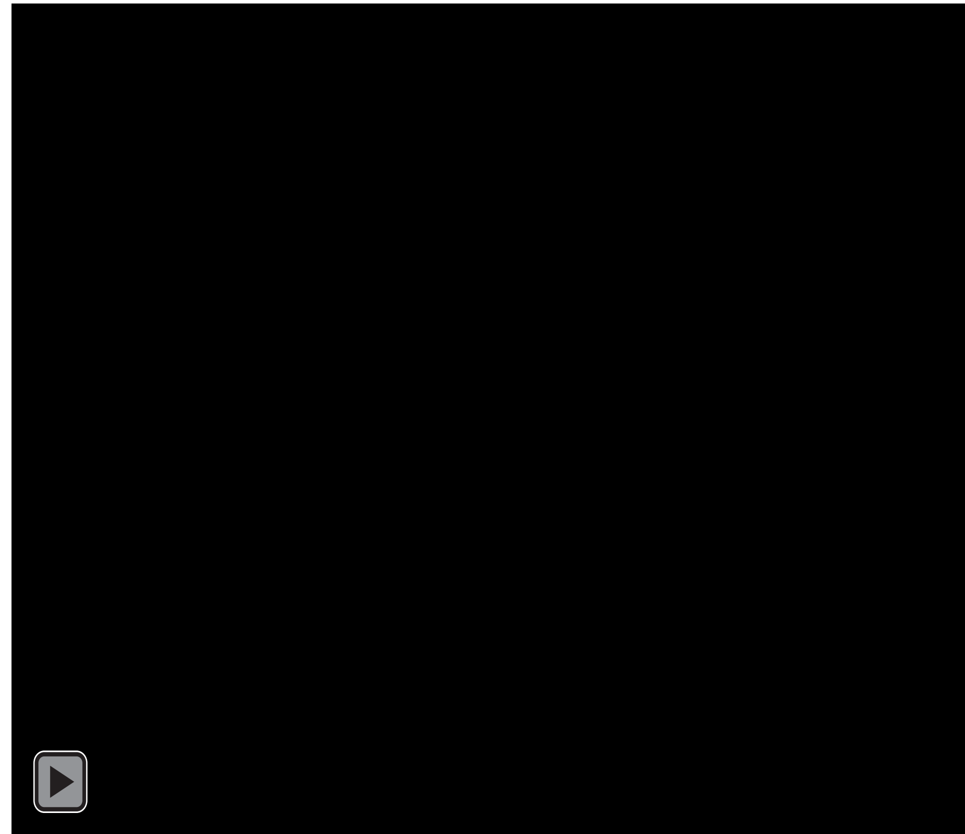
We look forward to seeing you in Las Vegas!

Teaching Tips: Facilitating Online Discussion Boards

By Jennifer Balboni, PhD

ACJS Teaching, Learning, and Scholarship Section



Video best viewed in Adobe Acrobat. It can also be accessed **here**.

Additional Resources

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Jennifer Balboni, PhD, is a professor in the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice at Curry College in Milton, MA, where she teaches coursework in criminal procedure, justice policy, and reform and innovation. She has been published in the *Boston Globe, the American Behavioral Scientist, Contemporary Justice Review, The Criminologist, Albany Law Review, and Justice Research and Policy*, as well as has numerous book chapters and essays on a variety of topics, including: juvenile justice, restorative justice, teaching through HBO's *The Wire*, the war on drugs, police/community relations, and "smart on crime" criminal justice policies. She frequently presents at the Faculty Center at Curry and at NEACJS on teaching and learning, and was recently recognized with the Regional Fellow Award for the Northeastern Association of Criminal Justice Sciences (2019). She considers herself privileged to teach current and future justice professionals about criminal justice reform and restorative justice, and is a Lead Facilitator with Communities for Restorative Justice, where she practices restorative justice principles with clients referred through the justice system.

David C. Pyrooz and Scott H. Decker's

Competing for Control: Gangs and the Social Order of Prisons

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN-13: 978-1108735742

Review by Daniel Mears, PhD

In recent decades, the advent of powerful computers, secondary datasets, "big data," the ability to run statistical analyses with the press of a button, and more have raised problems for the social sciences that were anticipated long ago by Robert Merton (1968, 1973). One in particular is the pursuit of facts for facts' sake, or empiricism. The concern has long-standing roots. In an essay written in the early 1900s, Max Weber (1949) wrote disparagingly of "subject matter specialists" and "interpretative specialists."[1] "The fact-greedy gullet of the former," he wrote, "can be filled only with legal documents, statistical worksheets and questionnaires, but . . . is insensitive to the refinement of a new idea" (p. 112). Committing a different sin, the "gourmandise of the latter dulls [their] taste for fact by ever new intellectual subtilities" (p. 112).

Scholars can and will debate Weber's precise meaning and Merton's views of science. For the purposes here, I will emphasize the idea that science advances not through endless descriptive fact or grand theoretical ideas devoid of reference to empirical data, but rather a blending of the two. In this view, the goal of science is not description or theory, but explanations that span the general and the specific and that can be and are evaluated with relevant data. Data, methods, and theory are simply a means to an end, nothing more. That "end" is knowledge—always provisional—about how the world works.

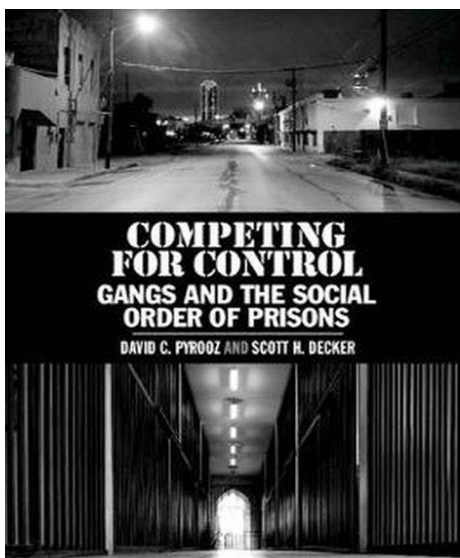
The field of criminology and criminal justice itself constitutes a form of subject matter specialization. That puts it in a tenuous position. Like many fields, it can devolve into endless empirical description as well as theories that cannot be tested, and thus amount to philosophical speculation or ideological posturing. It risks chasing topics that have little relevance for creating knowledge and orients attention to headline-grabbing "findings." At its best, though, this field creates knowledge that sheds light on the general and the specific, leads to new questions, and provides insights relevant to societal debates and policies (Mears & Cochran 2019).

Enter David Pyrooz and Scott Decker's *Competing for Control: Gangs and the Social Order of Prisons* (2019). It won the Academy of Criminal Justice Science's Outstanding Book Award, and for good reason. The book stands as an exemplar of social science. Grounded in theory and the collection of data specifically suited to stimulate and test theoretical arguments, it hits on all pistons—generating knowledge about social order in general, social order in prisons more specifically, and then, still more specifically, gangs. But not gangs for the sake of studying gangs. The book examines gangs for what we can learn about social order in prisons and the connections between prisons and society. It is illuminating and insightful. It identifies connections between individuals, groups, institutions, and society. More, it exemplifies excellence in social science research, and—bonus—the book

[1] The Weber (1949) book is a compilation of essays that Edward Shils and Henry Finch compiled and published three decades after Weber's death.

is a fun read. We learn new facts, yes, but we learn so much more.

Competing for Control fills a tremendous void in existing work. It is comprehensive, with chapters that provide historical and theoretical context (chapters 1 and 2), description of the different data sources, which included surveys and administrative records (chapter 3), characteristics of gang members in prison (chapter 4), characteristics of gangs in prison (chapter 5), the role of gangs in the social order of prisons (chapter 6), gangs and prison misconduct and victimization (chapter 7), joining and avoiding gangs in prison (chapter 8), and continuity and change in prison gang membership (chapter 9). The richness of the data on prison gangs marks a signature achievement of the study. Another significant achievement is the identification of how gangs create a connection between prisons and the outside world. Gangs are shaped by prisons and communities, but they also affect them. They constitute a type of network influence that connects two seemingly disconnected universes.



Although the book makes many contributions, this insight arguably stands out the most. A tendency in many theories and policies is to reduce behavior to individual characteristics. *Competing for Control* avoids this oversimplification, identifying that, for example, prison system classification decisions influence how staff and inmates view and act toward individuals and how these individuals view themselves. As Pyrooz and Decker observe, "We found again and again that identity and classification were key elements of prison life. Identity was built not only on affiliations that were chosen (gangs, religious group, cell block) but also on ascribed characteristics such as race and ethnicity and city of residence" (p. 254).

At the same time, the authors highlight that prison constitutes but one moment in an individual's life. It is, though, one that may have profound consequences. Entering prison, for example, can be viewed as a turning point that requires individuals to exert agency if they wish to successfully navigate the challenges of incarceration. Decisions they make, such as joining or exiting gangs, are shaped by the contexts in which they reside and influence life both in prison and after release. Such consequences tie directly to another major insight from the book—street gangs influence prison gangs, and prison gangs influence street gangs. There are, then, simultaneous forces at play. Individuals make decisions within the context of social networks and contexts, and they also influence these networks and contexts. More broadly, Pyrooz and Decker show that multiple forces—including organizational structure, group dynamics, and prison and gang culture—shape gang behavior.

The book illuminates another level of analysis: social order in prisons. Contrary to what they expected, Pyrooz and Decker's analyses reveal that "the ascendancy of gangs is seen as much more powerful among gang members and may not extend fully to non-gang members," and, in fact, "non-gang members responded that rules set by the staff were of more importance than those

set by gangs" (p. 151). As the authors highlight, that finding likely reflects reliance on data from non-gang members, enabling the study to correct a potential bias that arises from relying primarily on prison gang members' or officials' accounts of gang influence. Social order in prisons thus does not likely stem primarily from gang activity, but gangs clearly play an influential role.

That fact matters for policy. If prisons are to operate safely, and if they are to reduce harmful community influences on prison life and those of prisons on communities, they must address gangs. That entails tackling the thorny problem of prison gang life originating in part from outside the prison walls. It also means treating gang members as a distinct population in need of specialized programming, not least because of their potentially greater risk of offending and victimization. The book offers few policy recommendations, but that is entirely understandable given that it does not evaluate any particular policy. Even so, identifying a problem and its causes—which the book does—constitutes a first step in designing effective responses. This contribution warrants underscoring: Continued policymaker and correctional system emphasis on framing inmate behavior and prison order as an individual-level problem, one reducible to controlling the most risky individuals, will likely and substantially miss the mark. Any effective approach will require attention to systems, structures, operations (including adequate staffing and training), group processes, community conditions, specialized programming, and more.

Competing for Control provides one of those rare gifts. It provides insights about something fundamentally intriguing—prison gangs—but also about prison life, communities, and the role and importance of social groups. In so doing, it illuminates the significance of individual agency and institutional and societal forces. Not least, it provides insights into the nature and possibilities of research. That includes the possibilities for doing research in prison settings and, more than that, the importance of theory, mixed methods, and thoughtful analysis.

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Daniel P. Mears, PhD is a Distinguished Research Professor and the Mark C. Stafford Professor of Criminology in Florida State University's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice. He conducts research on crime causation and policy and is the author of *Out-of-Control Criminal Justice* (Cambridge University Press) and *American Criminal Justice Policy* (Cambridge University Press), both winners of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Book Award.

In Memoriam

Billy J. Spruill

Dr. Billy J. Spruill, age 54, rode his GIANT onto the streets of gold while strumming his Hamer and Epiphone on August 3, 2021. After a 70+ mile fundraising bike ride, Billy was life-flighted to El Paso where he fought a vaccinated case of COVID-19 for 13 days in the ICU.

He is survived by his 'angel' wife Dr. Mikala Reznik-Spruill; daughters Abbey and Gabriella Spruill; mother of daughters, Jennifer Esposito; sons James and Drake Reznik; four sisters, Lynda White, Betty Sommers, April Tyner, and Bonnie Downs, as well as her husband Milton; many nieces and nephews; three dogs, Molly, Sadie, and Boomer; four grand-cats and a grand-dog. Billy was exceptionally loved by the Rezniks, Stones, and his friends. He is preceded in death by his parents Lois Marie and Joe Bob Spruill.

Born in Pasadena, Texas on December 11, 1966, he attended Deer Park High School where he played violin and varsity tennis. Earning a GED his junior year, Billy enrolled in mortuary school and played music professionally Texas-wide. Playing bass and singing with Jeff Griffith (Woolsey) and the Taste of Texas Band in Nashville, Tennessee was a highlight of his professional music career.

Billy married Jennifer Esposito in 1990 and 'baby girl' Abbey was born in 1994 as Billy continued his music across Texas. In 1998, Billy joined the Police Academy in LaPorte as 'baby girl' Gabriella was being born and served as an officer with LaPorte Police Department until 2006.

The household relocated to Monahans where Billy served as a full-time music minster. He returned to law enforcement for the Monahans Police Department where he served as a Lieutenant 2007–2014 and second in command, making an impact in the community and region working with local, state, and national agencies. Billy continued his love of music volunteering with the worship band at Crossroads-Monahans.

In 2014, Billy moved from adjunct professor role to full time with the Odessa College Criminal Justice department, receiving multiple recognitions and awards for many years.

Billy attended a national educators conference in 2015, where he met Mikala as she facilitated courses in the higher education path. The couple later married in 2016 at the family home in Lake Brownwood. Billy also gained two sons. His time leading worship at Odessa Bible Church and as musician with worship at Antioch Christian Church blessed many.

Bill served as a Bike Ambassador with Bike Law, and rode weekly with the West Texas Gazelles, Peyton's, and Holy Cross rides. He valued the Permian Basin Bicycle Association and Bike Law for their safe promotion and growth of the sport which meant so much to his achievement of a healthy lifestyle.

Billy's academic journey began at the College of Biblical Studies, followed by multiple degrees from Liberty University (BS and MS in Criminal Justice; MA in Management and Leadership; MS in Criminal Justice and Public Administration) and completed in May 2021 upon earning a Doctorate in Higher Education Leadership from Abilene Christian University. The job of his dreams was his final one as Faculty Development Trainer in the Teaching and Learning Center of Midland College. His published dissertation can be found here. In lieu of flowers, the family respectfully requests donations be made to #BillysHelmets or call Peyton's Bikes at (432) 699-1718.

Michael E. Buerger

Michael Buerger, age 70, left us on Christmas morning, 2021; the world is a sadder place for those of us who knew him. It is interesting to say that we knew Michael. I considered him my best friend, and there is so much about him that I did not know. Michael was an extremely private person who held his personal life in abeyance and shared little with even his closest friends and acquaintances. I could talk about all his accomplishments, but that is not what made Michael important to us.

Despite his reticence to divulge much about himself and his life, those of us in his world knew the most important thing about him: he had the biggest heart in the world and cared for everyone around him. He was there whenever you asked for help, but he never sought help in return. He would put off taking care of himself and turn down offers of assistance so that he did not burden others and so those around him would not be inconvenienced or miss out on something.

Michael met his wife and children and became a family man late in life. While he did not talk much about his family, his joy with them was obvious when you could get him to open up. He would tell me about the successes of his children and he was very proud of their accomplishments. His family, beloved wife, children, his late mother and father, and his brother were the most important to him.

His work was his life. I was able to lure him to Bowling Green in 2001 to help launch our fledgling master's degree in the Criminal Justice program. He was in his office seven days a week throughout the year, unless he was at a conference, working with colleagues on projects, or taking care of family members. He worked hard to improve our program and the field of criminal justice. He was loved by his students for his undying passion to see them succeed and his caring attitude. It is interesting to hear those words from students when they also found him to be one of the toughest, most demanding faculty members. He challenged them at every turn, yet his graduates always praised him. As a colleague, he would sit and listen and could discern what was important. He would offer to write up thoughts on a topic for the department and would then produce a long, detailed missive that got to the target with clarity and precision. He worked with many organizations over the years and was sought after to aid them in their missions.

Michael had eclectic interests that benefited from his early classical liberal arts education. He had a breadth of knowledge that often left his colleagues scratching their heads (and I was certainly one of them). He had a broad vocabulary that would often confuse his listeners and challenged us to learn more. Michael loved literature, music, politics, and world events.

I will remember and miss Michael most for his knowledge of comic books and superhero movies. Like myself, he collected comics and we could talk for hours about the story lines and characters, and colleagues could often hear us talking about how the movies got the story wrong and that they did not follow the "real story" from the comics. Those around us would walk away shaking their heads.

Finally, those who knew him will remember his sense of humor. He decorated his office with cartoons and social commentaries that poked fun at everything. He was able to see humor in the world around him and make people laugh. That is something we will all miss. The world has lost a beacon of joy and a fount of knowledge that benefited us all. We are all the lesser because of his passing.

If I had the "Infinity Stones", I would bring him back to us. Excelsior!

Written by Steve Lab

Book Review

Martin A. Greenberg's

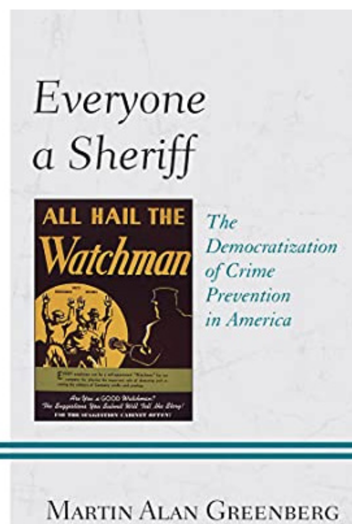
Everyone a Sheriff: The Democratization of Crime Prevention in America

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS

ISBN-13: 978-1793642707

Review by Shavonne Arthurs, PhD

Everyone a Sheriff by Dr. Martin Greenberg provides well-researched, refreshing, and thoughtful examinations of modern policing. Community in policing is a focus in the criminal justice field, especially regarding police legitimacy and social support. The introduction stresses the importance of citizen involvement in policing, which frames the focus of the book. An additional strength is it "highlight[s] how ordinary citizens have or can take on roles involving crime and crime prevention, all within a democratic framework with careful safeguards for the rights of all" (Introduction, para. 13). On the opposing side, the book stresses issues in police misconduct and misuse of force, which causes distrust in various community groups. If you have ever thought to yourself or proposed to your students the question, "How do we move toward gaining trust and legitimacy in modern policing?" this book will provide a framework for that response. Greenberg considers the historical, political, and social influence of the criminal justice system's use of volunteers to provide a comprehensive approach to future policing efforts.



A major area of strength is the detailed historical context of community involvement in policing at both national and international levels (Chapters 1 and 6). Greenberg touches on various historical policing efforts with community integration, moving from the early British settler watchmen system to Sir Robert Peel's creation of the London Metropolitan Police to the establishment of the American Protective League (APL) to the current Neighborhood Watch (NW) programming. He additionally highlights influential nongovernmental organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), and Students Against Destructive Decisions (SADD), to name a few. These types of major community initiatives are well outlined, along with many other developments throughout recent centuries.

Additionally, historical premise is provided in practically all chapters to demonstrate implications for the current day. A prime example is the discussion of youth as Civil War soldiers and the influence of the Ku Klux Klan on youth development and initiatives (Chapter 2), leading into the discussion of youth-involved programming in this century (Chapter 3). Another example is the foundation of NW programming. Greenberg discusses ancient concepts that had features similar to NW, including community protection during medieval times, which provided the premise for NW today (Chapter 4). The historical focus resonated with me because I find strength in building toward the future arises from weighing and understanding the positives and the negatives from the past. Greenberg's detailed historical critique provides the underpinning for

future community-in-policing discussions.

With all the strength in historical context and current fruitful initiatives, there needs to be a critical analysis, as well. Greenberg provides various instances of the failure of policing and community. Mentions of high-profile victims like Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd are scattered throughout the text as a reminder of the growth that still needs to occur within police legitimacy. Additionally, there is mention of recent social movements in response to police misconduct, including "I can't breathe" hashtags, marches, and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (Chapter 8). Greenberg takes a firm stance that social movements like these have not and will not bring reform, and the focus needs to be on implementing police-citizen partnerships, once again framing the theme of the book. Although I do not agree entirely (social awareness can be meaningful and provoke change), I do believe community congruence is essential for community policing success. However, BLM is considered a successful movement in a variety of ways (Fultonberg, 2021). Greenberg did provide fruitful concepts to reframe thinking about community prosecution (Chapter 8). I do appreciate the concept of "peacemaking" citizens in contrast to "peacekeeping." We need to be the agents of transformation and harmony to build trusting communities and police agencies, as Greenberg stresses.

Overall, I found the book to be a thought-provoking lens into the future of community in policing. The suggestions in the book are practical, and Greenberg provides sound arguments for the necessity of community involvement in policing. I believe this book is beneficial both as a guide for research, programming, and policy and as a supplemental text for any law enforcement or contemporary criminology and criminal justice course.

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