

The challenge of diversity management: police reform and the Arab minority in Israel

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Abstract Diverse societies present different challenges for police forces that have to gain the trust and legitimacy of minorities. Police forces must develop the ability to engage with diversity and overcome their own biases and prejudices in order to better serve minorities. Police reforms, however, may fail to address the challenge successfully if core problems are not clearly identified. In such a case, reforms may be misdirected and fail to achieve the desired results. This paper, based on a study of the Arab minority in Israel, suggests a bottom-up approach that concentrates on identifying the attitudes of minority groups as the basis for any reform plan. A survey was conducted among Arab citizens to identify general attitudes, perceptions of over-policing and under-policing and assessment of three potential reforms; recruitment of minority members into the police, community involvement in policing, and cultural training for police officers.

Keywords Diversity management · Reform · Police · Minorities · Democracy · Legitimacy · Israel · Arab citizens

Introduction¹

In diverse societies where competing cultures, religions, and national identities challenge the existing order, governments often need to develop innovative ways to manage diversity. Indeed, since the early 1990s, the field of diversity management has come to the fore of research in multicultural societies (Dwivedi 2001; Inglis 1996; Lorbiecki and Jack 2000; Rice 2005; Thomas 2004; Troper and Weinfeld 1999). Policy advisers and policy makers must consider diversity seriously for three reasons. First, diversity affects the design, delivery, and effectiveness of many policies. Second, diversity raises questions about the

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design of public institutions (Edelman et al. 2001). And, third, in various countries, diversity is advanced as a policy principle (Boston and Callister 2005). Diversity management includes several mechanisms that have been elaborated in recent decades though it is also a subject for an ongoing academic debate (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000). Therefore, diversity management is more a concept that poses challenges than a managerial method that provides clear-cut solutions.

Law enforcement among minorities provides a major challenge for diversity management. Minority groups often feel deprived of certain rights and alienated from the state and the majority population. As a result, they may be hostile to law enforcement organizations, especially the police (Brunson and Miller 2006; Fleras 1992; Howell et al. 2004). To successfully operate among minorities, police forces must, first, overcome their own biases and prejudices and, second, develop reforms that would enhance their ability to engage with diversity and gain legitimacy and trust across society. These reforms can stem not only from a benevolent desire to serve minorities but also as a measure of control (Barlow and Barlow 2000; Brunson and Miller 2006; Casey 2000; Fleras 1992; Howell et al. 2004; Kelling and Moore 2006).

Troubled relations between minorities and police can be explained by “under-policing,” a neglect of minority neighborhoods, and “over-policing,” an aggressive approach to law enforcement that singles out minorities (Ben-Porat 2008) that can exist simultaneously (Barlow and Barlow 2000). Minority groups may have different combinations of perceptions about under-policing and over-policing that derive from different causes. These perceptions affect their relations with the police as well as their preference for specific reforms. While reforms require the willingness of the police to critically examine its policies toward and treatment of minorities (Chan 1997; Kelling and Moore 2006), goodwill alone may not be enough if the core problems of specific minorities with police are not clearly identified. In such a case, reforms, in spite of resources invested, may be misdirected and fail to achieve the desired results.

What reforms, therefore, are likely to have a positive impact? In order to assess the potential of future reforms, we use a public policy perspective that attempts to identify the problem, evaluate the available alternatives to solve it, and consider the obstacles and conditions influencing decision-making about and implementation of the reform (Weimar and Vining 1998). In doing so, we suggest an innovative approach based on New Public Management principles that integrates the public into the evaluation process by mapping the attitudes of minority groups toward law enforcement agencies. In other words, due to the sensitive nature of the relations between minorities and law enforcement agencies, we suggest a bottom-up approach that concentrates on the attitudes of minority groups as the basis for any reform plan.

Using the Arab minority in Israel, consisting almost 20 % of Israeli populations, as elaborated below has a tense relation with police, as a case study for troubled relations and potential reform, this paper has two main objectives. First, to examine the relationship between perceptions of over-policing and under-policing and the impact these perceptions have on the evaluation of different police reforms. And, second, to evaluate the potential of three specific reforms—community involvement, recruitment of minorities and multicultural training of police officers—to change perceptions of the police and improve police-minority relations. The research was conducted in two stages and used qualitative and quantitative methods. In the first, qualitative stage, four focus groups were held in order to gain a general understanding of the perceptions and expectations of the community. In the second, quantitative stage, a survey of a representative sample of 1,006 adult members of the Arab population in Israel was conducted. In order to understand the entire framework

of the relationships between the variables, we used a SEM model and AMOS software to analyze the data.

We begin our paper with a general discussion of police and minorities, police reforms and citizen's involvement in policy making. We follow the discussion with a brief description of the Arab minority in Israel and its troubled relationship with the police. Based on the theoretical discussion, we create a model to examine the relations between general perceptions, perceptions of over-policing and under-policing and perceptions of central measurements of reform. We test this model with our data from the case study. We are particularly interested in the sequence that a successful reform must take in order to involve citizens and identify particular reforms of high potential.

Policing and minorities: a mechanism of diversity management

Diversity management is based on the premise that organizations must embrace diversity in order to thrive in the modern world (Edelman et al. 2001). This requires a new management style that is respectful of the varying cultural styles and backgrounds and the diverse abilities, aspirations, and attitudes of the modern workforce (Arredondo 1996; Lorbiecki and Jack 2000). A major emphasis is put on fairness and equal treatment to diverse populations and segments in the workforce as well as viewing cultural differences as an opportunity rather than a threat (Edelman et al. 2001).

Questions about police-minority relations are embedded in the broader context of political responses to diversity and the institutional changes many contemporary democracies must enact (Connor 1994; Tully 2001). The issue of policing and police reform is especially significant because of the nature of police work and the type of engagement with minorities it often entails (Brunson and Miller 2006; Fleras 1992; Howell et al. 2004). Public trust and confidence in the police is central to police work because the success of the latter relies on citizens' support and cooperation. Public distrust of the police may reduce the ability of the police to control crime and limit their effectiveness, leading in turn to increased distrust of the police (Brown and Benedict 2002; Decker 1985).

Studies on public confidence and trust in the police find a gap between the levels of trust among minorities and majorities (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2009). The former tend to hold less favorable attitudes toward the police than the latter. In the United States, African-American and Hispanic citizens believe they are discriminated against by the police (Weitzer and Tuch 2004: 17). Similarly, studies in Britain (Bowling and Philips 2003; Chakraborti and Garland 2003; Jefferson and Walker 1993), Germany (Albercht 1997), Canada (O'Conner 2008; Wortley 1996), Finland (Egharevba 2006), and Israel (Hasisi and Weitzer 2007, 2008; Rattner 2009; Smith and Yechezkel 2007) have found differences in perceptions of the police between majority and minority populations, immigrants, and ethnic groups. The negative perceptions minority groups have about the police are re-enforced by their marginalization, discrimination against them by the state, and/or their direct mistreatment by the police. Racial and ethnic minorities are often more likely to be stopped, questioned, searched, and arrested by the police (Mauer and King 2007; Walker et al. 2000; Weitzer and Tuch 2004). Police biases against minorities are sometimes exposed in "shocking" incidents—like the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, the mistreatment of the family of Stephen Lawrence (a young British black man murdered by a racist group) by the police, or the death of young French Muslims escaping the police (Schneider 2007)—that point to the need for police reform.

Literature and experience suggest two central issues in police-minority relations that can be described as “over-policing” and “under-policing” (Barlow and Barlow 2000; Ben-Porat 2008). Over-policing implies mistreatment of minorities by the police, either by excessive use of force toward minorities or by discriminatory practices against them (Findlay 2004: 101). “Racial profiling,” the use of generalizations based on race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality as the basis for suspicion in directing law enforcement actions creates tensions between police and minorities (Closs and McKenna 2006; Smith 2006; Wortley 2003; Wortley and Tanner 2004). Under-policing, conversely, is largely about police neglect of minorities and their needs. When minorities lack significant power, due to their numbers and/or due to a long history of social and economic discrimination, they have much more difficulty encouraging the police to provide them with the same level of service enjoyed by more powerful citizens (Barlow and Barlow 2000: 77). Consequently, poor urban communities suffer from unresponsive policing and high crime rates. Under-policing can also mean neglecting complaints about racial harassment, ignoring attacks against minorities by racist groups, or overlooking domestic violence characterized by the police as “cultural” or “normative” in these communities (Brunson and Miller 2006).

Differences between various non-white ethnic groups and within ethnic groups suggest that measurement of support for the police must be operationalized in multidimensional terms (Warall 1999). In addition, as in other fields of public policy planning, police reform has to take into account not only the needs of individual citizens but also of communities (or “target groups”) that have specific needs and requirements. Finally, over-policing and under-policing are not mutually exclusive. Minorities, especially “visible minorities,” may suffer from a combination of both (Barlow and Barlow 2000), affecting their trust in the police and, consequently, the legitimacy and efficacy of the police. Real and perceived over-policing and under-policing can reinforce each other, but in some cases, one might be more significant and overshadow the other. Relations, therefore, vary and must be examined in particular cases as it related to the groups studied.

Reforming the police

Given the reasons described above, the police may decide to adopt reforms described as “multicultural.” This approach refers to the recognition by the police that its functions must be broadened, so it can engage effectively with different cultural groups, take part in conflict resolution and problem solving, provide services that will strengthen its legitimacy across society, and critically examine its policies toward and treatment of minorities (Chan 1997; Kelling and Moore 2006). Motivations for reform vary and are largely dependent upon the social context in which the police operates. Police may respond to social pressures, ignore minority demands when they have strong support or use police reform as a measure to control minorities more effectively. In some instances, police reform is a top-down process and part of a wider reform of public services. In Canada, constitutional change that defined Canada as multicultural (Findlay 2004) obligates all Canadian institutions, including the police, to practice multiculturalism and take steps such as expanding recruitment among minorities, cross-cultural training education, and other measures to improve relations between the police and minority groups. A similar top-down approach took place in Northern Ireland under the Good Friday Agreement, which required that “policing structures and arrangements are such that the police service is professional, effective and efficient, fair and impartial, free from partisan political control; accountable,

both under the rule of law for its actions and to the community it serves” (McGarry and O’Leary 1999: 35).

In many democratic countries, there is broad support for the general principles of good policing (use of minimum force, impartiality, fairness and accountability), but surprisingly, little is known about the level of popular support for specific kinds of reforms (Weitzer and Tuch 2006: 37). The challenges include the provision of services that suit all segments of society, the diversification of the police force, so it will mirror society, an improvement in the image of the police among minorities, and serious engagement with hate crimes against minorities (Oakley 2001a, b). Police reforms, however, even when intended to improve relations with minorities, may be misdirected and fall short of expectations. Moreover, the institutional commitment to reform, top-down or otherwise, does not eliminate the continuation of discriminatory practices. Finally, a deep distrust between the police and minorities can impede any attempts at reforms that require cooperation.

Police reforms related to multiculturalism and minority groups can be divided into three central areas: (a) diversifying the police force through the recruitment of minorities; (b) changing practices by training police officers and revising discriminatory procedures; and (c) community involvement that includes cooperation, community policing, and civilian oversight of the police. Recruitment of minorities is part of a broader debate about the benefits and challenges of “cultural diversity” in the workplace, both in the public and the private sector (Brief 2008; Williams and O’Reilly 1998). The diversification of the police force can be an important reform because it can narrow the distance between the police and minorities and change the police from within by combating a discriminatory “police subculture.” At the same time, the police subculture may be maintained by the assimilation of new recruits or their marginalization (Coderoni 2002; Desroches 1992; Tinor-Centi and Hussain 2000). Finally, minorities may be reluctant to join the police because they see it as alien or hostile (Ben-Porat 2008). Finally, research shows no conclusive support for the assertion that hiring minority officers will positively affect perceptions of the police (Brown and Benedict 2002).

Training police officers to be culturally sensitive and strengthening the ties between the police and minority communities is central to changing police attitudes and perceptions. This mandate includes changing police practices that are offensive to minorities, reducing stereotypes, and eliminating discriminatory practices. More importantly, the training of police officers to be culturally sensitive requires a previous understanding of what practices are offensive to minorities and whether problems in the relationship between the two groups are related to over- or under-policing.

Community policing is one method for bridging the gaps between the police and minority communities and includes principles, policies, and practices that link the police and community members together in the joint pursuit of local crime prevention (Fleras 1992: 74; Roberg et al. 2002: 56). However, both the police and minorities themselves may regard community policing as “too soft” and ineffective. Community involvement also includes formal and informal channels for communities to convey their needs and concerns (Lewis 2005; Perez 1994; Stone and Bobb 2002). Police boards can be established to allow civilian oversight over the police and permit them to be part of the decision-making process (Lewis 2005; Perez 1994; Wortley 2003). However, the police may resist subjecting itself to civilian control, and minorities may remain suspicious and uncooperative.

The relationship between the different reforms and their potential to make a significant change requires an in-depth study of specific minorities, their needs and demands. First, perceptions of over-policing and under-policing are likely to produce different expectations and different preferences of police reforms. Second, reforms depend not only on the

readiness of the police to take the necessary steps but also on the target community's readiness to cooperate. Strong perceptions of over-policing and under-policing can generate strong distrust of the police and a reluctance to cooperate, so it is possible that the police will have to take the first steps and uproot over-policing and over-policing in order to gain the trust necessary for reforms. And, third, a bottom-up approach of public policy that involves citizens can help determine the concerns, needs, and demands of the community before a policy is chosen and implemented.

Citizens' participation

Citizens' participation in reforming the police pertains to both selecting the reforms and implementing them. The literature on citizens' participation in decision-making (PDM) suggests that such actions provide strong and direct support for the democratic ethos and can improve public sector performance (Adams 2004). Consequently, recent studies have concentrated on finding the most efficient methods (Berner 2003; Church et al. 2002; Franklin and Ebdon 2004; Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Orosz 2002; Simonsen and Robbins 2000) and the ideal conditions for promoting citizens' participation (Irvin and Stansbury 2004).

Expanding public involvement in policy decisions requires that administrators allow participation that would affect both processes and outcomes so that participation is an integral part of administration, rather than an add-on to existing practices. The public is part of the deliberation process from issue framing to decision-making (King et al. 1998). This approach is also supported by democratic participatory theory, suggesting that participation in decision-making processes increases citizens' responsibility for outcomes and their acceptance of and cooperation with the political system (Dahl 1971; Pateman 1970; Putnam 1993). In addition, participation in decision-making processes may strengthen the sense of group identity and correspondingly, loyalty to the group or organization (Bouckaert et al. 2002; Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990; Osterman 1999; Rose 1999). Widespread participation of citizens in decision-making processes helps increase the performance of public agencies and the trust in them. Very involved citizens may become more sympathetic evaluators of tough decisions government administrators are often required to make, allowing government to rule effectively (Irvin and Stansbury 2004; King et al. 1998; King and Stivers 1998; Putnam 1993).

The positive relationships between PDM, trust in public agencies, and performance are significant for the engagement of the police with citizens and even more so for its engagement with citizens of minority groups. The ability of the police to involve citizens in different levels of policy making has the potential to enhance their trust in the police and, in turn, police performance.

The police and the Arab citizens in Israel

Israel can be described as a "deeply divided society" where police and policing mean different things for the majority and the minority (Weitzer and Hasisi 2008). Arab citizens in Israel and the police have an ongoing history of tense relations that reached a peak in October 2000 when 13 Arab citizens were killed by police officers during riots in the northern part of Israel. An inquiry commission established after the events found fault not only in the police actions but also, and more importantly, deeper structural causes:

The events, their exceptional character and their adverse consequences were the result of structural factors that caused an explosive situation among the Arab public in Israel. The state and the elected governments consistently failed to seriously engage with the difficult problems of a large Arab minority within a Jewish state. The government's treatment of the Arab sector was generally one of neglect and discrimination. At the same time, not enough was done to enforce the law in the Arab sector...as a result of this and of other causes, the Arab sector suffered greatly, suffering that was evident, among other things, in high levels of poverty, unemployment, shortage of land, problems in the education system and serious deficiencies in infrastructure. All of these issues created ongoing discontent, which culminated in October 2000 (Orr Commission 2003).

Arab citizens constitute 20 % of the 7.3 million citizens of Israel. This large minority group is a population divided into three major religious communities: Muslim (81 %), Christian (9 %), and Druze (10 %). Arab citizens are a non-dominant, non-assimilating, working class minority, often viewed by the Jewish majority as a dissident group that sympathizes with Israel's enemies. Consequently, the Jewish–Arab divide is the deepest schism in Israeli society. Arab citizens describe themselves as suffering from “extreme structural discrimination policies, national oppression, military rule that lasted until 1966, land confiscation policies, unequal budget allocations, rights discrimination and threats of transfer” (Future Vision 2006). From the end of the war in 1948 until 1966, in spite of their formal citizenship, Palestinian Arabs were placed under military rule that limited their movement. The gradual relaxation of Israeli policies toward Arab citizens has not diminished the social gaps between them and the Jewish majority, or their economic, social, and political marginalization (Gavison and Abu-Ria 1999; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 1993). Specifically, Arab citizens suffer from higher rates of poverty, a lower quality of public services and are underrepresented in the public sector and political life.

The police in Israel are a centralized force tasked with the dual roles of ordinary crime control and internal security, albeit playing a junior role in security (Hasisi and Weitzer 2008). Most members of the police force are Jews, and the majority of non-Jewish officers are Druze. Public evaluations of the police show a steady decline in trust in them and a general perception of “under-policing,” exist among both Jewish and Arab citizens. Recent data show that Arab citizens' trust in the police is still significantly lower than that of Jewish citizens, but other research shows low levels of trust in the police (as well as in other institutions) among both Arabs and Jews (Rattner 2009). These low levels of trust, however, may be the result of different expectations and frustrations.

The fact that police is involved both in ordinary crimes and internal security is especially significant for its relations with the Arab minority. Police is often in the forefront of Arab citizens' struggles, whether by controlling demonstrations or demolishing “illegal” houses in Arab towns and villages. The strained relations between Arab citizens and the police include both biases of police officers toward Arabs (Hasisi and Weitzer 2007) and distrust of Arab citizens in the police. The Orr Commission noted not only the stereotyping of Arabs as disloyal citizens by the police but also the erratic enforcement of the ordinary criminal law in Arab communities (Hasisi and Weitzer 2007).

The explosion of these tense relations in the events of 2000 brought the police under severe criticism, but also led to an internal recognition that reform was necessary. Following the recommendations of the Orr Commission, police stations were opened in Arab villages, community policing was established, and various channels of communication

were established between the police command and Arab leaders. The impact of these reforms and the potential of other reforms not yet undertaken, measured in the willingness of citizens to cooperate, are yet to be studied. In recent years, high levels of violent crime in Arab towns and neighborhoods severely undermined feelings of security and led to public outcry for police to take action. A report presented to parliamentary committee in February 2010 indicated that crime in the Arab sector grew steadily since 2006 showing a 1.9 % rise in 2007, a 1.5 % rise in 2008 and an 8.4 % rise in 2009. Arab citizens, according to the report, who constitute 20 % of the population, are suspects in 41 % of murder cases, 36 % of attempted murder cases, 36 % of serious assaults, 41 % of arson cases, 36 % of robberies, and 43 % of serious robberies (El-Taji Daghsh 2011).

The theoretical discussion and the particular characteristics of the Arab minority in Israel raise the following questions in regard to police reforms: (a) how do perceptions of over-policing and under-policing influence the attitudes of Arab citizens toward the police? Assuming that over-policing and, in the Arab citizens case, especially under-policing have a negative impact on perception will (b) negative attitudes impact the perception of police reforms? Or, (c) police reforms will have a positive effect on attitudes toward police? Specifically, (d) should police first tackle issues of under-policing and then initiate reforms, or should it initiate reforms to improve its status among the minority? And, finally, (e) which reform carries the strongest potential to make positive change in police relations with the Arab minority?

Research model and hypotheses

Figure 1 presents a model of the hypothesized relationships among the research variables. The model has several goals. First, it examines the relationships between perceptions of over-policing and under-policing. Second, it examines the effect of over-policing and under-policing on the minority's attitudes toward the police. Third, it tests the effect of those attitudes on three main instruments of police reform—community involvement, recruitment, and cultural training. Fourth, it explores the effect that specific reforms may have on attitudes toward the police. Our general argument, therefore, is that perceptions of

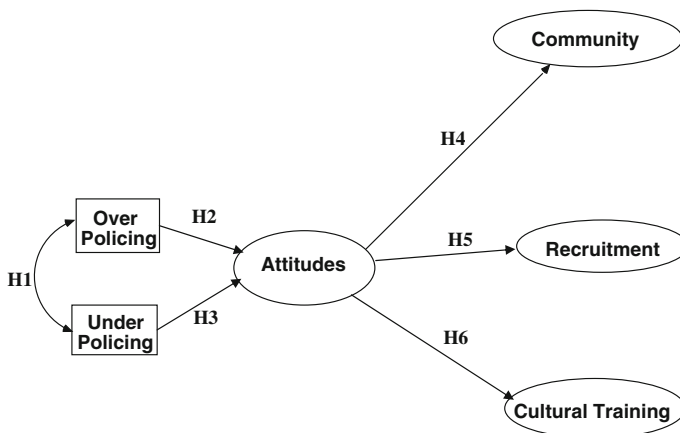


Fig. 1 The theoretical model

over-policing and under-policing have a negative effect on attitudes toward the police and, consequently, on the likelihood of support from minorities for police reforms. The ability of the police to change minority attitudes, we argue, would allow them to implement those reforms with a strong chance of success.

In our study of Arab citizens of Israel, we combine the general theoretical model with the specific characteristics of our case study and propose the following hypotheses that will be examined in the next section.

H1 Perceptions of under-policing in specific categories will be negatively linked to perceptions of over-policing in others. Consequently, those who believe they are under-policed are less likely to feel over-policed. Five main areas were singled out in the focus groups—domestic violence, traffic violations, crime, public order, and neighborhood disputes—the first two areas were identified with over-policing and the last three with under-policing.

In some instances over-policing and under-policing are positively linked (Barlow and Barlow 2000) especially for visible minorities that suffer from both physical and verbal abuse and from a lack of police protection. However, Arab citizens are not necessarily an identifiable visible minority for police officers and, therefore, might be less exposed to racial profiling than African-Americans. More importantly, because they suffer severely from violence in their communities we suspect under-policing will overshadow the frustrations of over-policing. Hence, the second and third hypotheses are proposed:

H2 Perceptions of under-policing will negatively affect attitudes toward the police.

H3 Perceptions of over-policing will be less significant and have a negative but minor effect on attitudes toward the police.

The core assumption in most analyses of the relations between minorities and law enforcement agencies is that there is significant dissatisfaction and negative attitudes among the population and hence the need for reforms. However, the successful implementation of any reform will probably require the population's cooperation, which is less likely given their negative attitudes. Therefore, we propose two different sets of hypotheses. The first explores the relationship between attitudes toward the police and attitudes toward or preferences for specific reform instruments. The second explores the effect that these instruments may have on attitudes when they are applied and tested, even when attitudes are negative.

Referring to the first set of hypotheses, we discussed earlier three reforms for improving the relations between minorities and the police: community involvement, recruitment among minority groups, and cultural training for police officers. Community involvement refers to various programs for providing ethnic minorities with access to the police and allowing them to voice their concerns and needs. Recruitment refers to various programs designed to diversify the police force and increase the representation of minorities in the police. Cultural training is designed to familiarize police officers with minority cultures and to erase negative perceptions and stereotypes. However, given that these measures require a certain trust in the goodwill of the police, minorities are likely to be skeptical and suspicious of their actual benefits. Hence, three additional hypotheses are proposed:

H4 Negative attitudes toward the police will negatively impact perceptions about community involvement.

H5 Negative attitudes toward the police will negatively impact perceptions about recruitment.

H6 Negative attitudes toward the police will negatively impact perceptions about cultural training.

Thus, negative attitudes toward the police that stem from over- and under-policing will impair any reform attempts that require cooperation. To examine this proposition, we hypothesize that attitudes about community involvement, recruitment, and cultural training are positively related to attitudes toward the police, but these relationships are weaker than the effect that attitudes have on these reforms (see Fig. 2). Police reforms, therefore, are unlikely to succeed when negative perceptions of the police exist among minorities. Such perceptions reduce expectations and deter citizens from cooperating with the police.

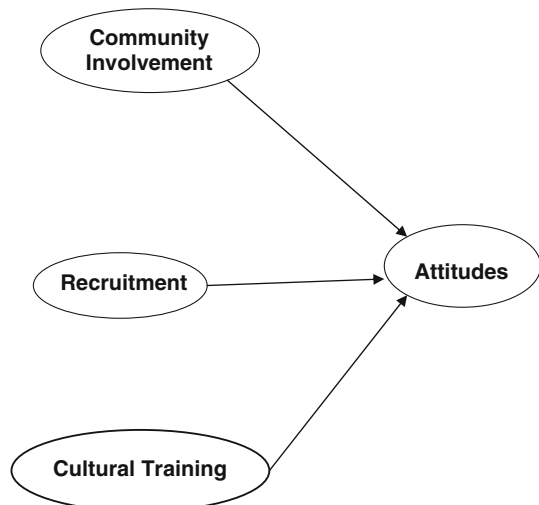
Looking at the possible impact of reforms, which include active citizen participation, on attitudes toward the police, the earlier discussion explained how such participation transform citizen attitudes in various dimensions. In particular, authentic participation places the citizen next to the issue and the administrative structures and processes furthest away, while the administrator is the bridge between the two. Based on these rationales, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H7 Attitudes about community involvement, recruitment, and cultural training are positively related to attitudes toward the police. However, these relationships are weaker than the effect that negative attitudes have on these reforms.

We maintain that in order for police reforms to be effective, there must first be a change in attitudes about over- and under-policing. In addition, these reforms must be adjusted to the needs of specific minorities. As mentioned above, Arab citizens in Israel suffer from under-policing far more than over-policing (H2, H3). Consequently, we expect that minorities will view reforms related to cultural training (reducing stereotypes and introducing the community culture to police officers) as less important than community involvement and recruitment. These two reforms are more significant for police performance in the minority neighborhood. Consequently, we propose the following hypotheses:

H8 Perceptions about under-policing are positively related to attitudes toward community involvement.

Fig. 2 The theoretical model



H9 Perceptions about under-policing are positively related to attitudes toward recruitment.

H10 Perceptions about under-policing are positively related to attitudes toward cultural training but to a weaker extent than to attitudes toward community involvement and recruitment.

H11 Perceptions about over-policing have no significant link with attitudes toward community involvement, recruitment, or cultural training.

Finally, several control variables were used in order to examine the generalization of the model. Gender, education, and age were tested in the final analysis in order to examine their influence on perceptions of over-policing, under-policing, and police reforms.

Method and sample

The Arab citizens of Israel provide a case study for understanding perceptions about over-policing and under-policing, the relationship between them, and how perceptions of under- and over-policing affect expectations and evaluations of potential police reforms. In the following pages, we will: (a) map the perceptions and needs of this specific minority group vis-à-vis the police; (b) identify the reforms that can underpin a significant strategic institutional change; and (c) develop a model for understanding potential reforms in policing that can be used elsewhere. The research was conducted in two stages and used qualitative and quantitative methods. In the first, qualitative stage, four focus groups were held in order to gain a general understanding of the perceptions and expectations of the community. Each group had seven or eight participants and was led by an Arabic-speaking moderator. Discussions revolved around various aspects of policing and the Arab minority. The participants in all of the focus groups were Arabs citizens, 16 women and 14 men, 20–25 years old, and residents of three different Arab cities (Tira, Cassem Village and the city of Jut). The discussions of the focus groups, transcribed and translated by the moderator, raised different problems and concerns of Arab citizens that enabled us to build the survey used in the second stage.

In the second, quantitative stage, a survey of a representative sample of 1,006 adult members of the Arab population in Israel was conducted. A telephone survey of a random sample of adults over the age of 18 was administrated by the University of Haifa's Survey Center during March–April 2009. Interviews were conducted in Arabic by Arab interviewers. Almost two-thirds of the participants—65 %—completed the entire interview. Of the participants 48.5 % were men and 51.5 % were women (compared to 50.9 and 49.1 %, respectively, in the overall population²). The average age in this sample was 35.33 years (standard deviation of 13.2 years). As for religion and ethnicity, 80.4 % of respondents identified themselves as Muslims, 1.6 % as Bedouins (all together 82 % Muslims compared to 81.6 % in the general population), 11.9 % identified themselves as Christian (10.3 % in the population) and 3 % were Druze (8.13 % in the population). With regard to residence, 74.9 % of the participants lived in the Galilee in the north of Israel (as opposed to 70 % in the general population), 18.9 % lived in the center of the country in an area known as The Triangle, and 6.3 % lived in the southern Negev. Negev Bedouins were underrepresented because many of them live in unrecognized villages and cannot be reached by a phone survey.

² According to the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.cbs.gov.il/>.

Measures

The Survey included 55 questions that examined the following variables:

- (A) *Over-policing and under-policing* were measured through five binary questions in which respondents were asked to evaluate whether the police intervenes too much or too little in five areas identified as important in the focus groups: domestic violence, traffic violations, crime, public order, and neighborhood disputes. In the focus groups, the first two areas were identified with over-policing. Respondents (particularly male) indicated that police tends to intervene in domestic disputes that should be left for families to resolve and that police tends to single out Arab drivers, when recognized, more than Jewish drivers. Conversely, the last three were identified with under-policing attributed to neglect and discrimination. In the survey, respondents were asked to state for each of the five areas whether they feel under or over-policed.
- (B) *Attitudes toward the police and policing* were measured using three items that participants ranked on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Participants were asked to agree or disagree with the following statements (A1, A2, and A3 in the model in Fig. 1): (A1) “The police is able to provide Arab citizens with security,” (A2) “The police has made significant efforts since October 2000 to improve its relations with the Arab citizens of Israel,” and, (A3) “The police in my neighborhood are more attentive than other public institutions to the needs of Arab citizens.” The average of the respondents’ answers indicates their general (positive or negative) perceptions of the police.
- (C) *Core aspects of police reform*—potential of three different police reforms. *Community involvement* was measured by items B1 and B2 in the model below. Once again, participants were asked to agree or disagree with the statements on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The statements were: (B1) “Community policing provides an adequate response to the community’s needs,” and (B2) “Residents of my neighborhood are usually willing to help police in its work.” Police training was measured by one item: “The Arab public can and should be involved in the process of police training.” *Recruitment* was measured by items C1 and C2 in the model below. Participants were asked to answer yes or no to questions such as (C1) “When searching for a job, would you consider joining the police?” and (C2) “Would you support the recruitment of Arab citizens to the police force?” along with four identical questions about support for the decision of different people from the social circles of the respondents to join the police: neighbors, relatives, sons and daughters. The participants’ final scores were the total number of positive answers they gave. Therefore, the more people participants said they would support for police recruitment, the higher the score they received.

Data and analysis

General characteristics of attitudes toward the police

While the vast majority of the participants (74 %) have not personally encountered police discrimination, the negative perceptions of the police run deep (see also Rattner 2009; Santo and Ali 2008). These findings rose from both, the qualitative as well as the quantitative stages of the current study. The participants of the focus groups clearly point on problems unique to the Israeli Arab sector that ground feelings of dissatisfaction and a low

Table 1 Attitudes toward the police: percentages, mean (standard deviation)

Mean (SD)	<i>N</i>	5	4	3	2	1	
2.67 (1.3)	595	12	10	36	14	27	“What is, in your assessment, the quality of the services you receive from the police?” (low/high)
2.27 (1.6)	1,002	17	6	16	9	52	“I would rather have no police service at all in my neighborhood”
2.58 (1.6)	982	23	7	16	12	42	“The crime rate in my neighborhood was significantly reduced in the last year”
2.54 (1.4)	952	14	10	27	17	33	“In my neighborhood the police are more attentive to the public needs of the Arabs than other government institutions”
Yes: 26 %	No: 74 %	<i>N</i> = 1,002					“Have you personally experienced any discriminatory treatment from a police officer in recent years?”
Equal: 17 %	Don't know: 6 %;	Treat Jews better: 77 %; <i>N</i> = 1,001					“Do you think the police treat Jewish and Arab citizens equally?”

level of trust in Israeli police. Most of the participants of the focus groups expressed negative standpoint toward the police in general and support this standpoint by plentiful of examples that illustrate, according to their point of view, the discriminatory treatment and services they get from the police. The descriptions include reports on stubborn treatment in some services while at the same time ignorance and no reaction from the police when it is most needed, with regard to different services. These findings find a wide supportive evident in the survey conducted as the second stage of our research. The majority of the respondents (42 %) believe the relations between the minority and the police are “problematic” and only 30 % believe that the problematic relationship is more an image than a reality. Our findings indicate that Arabs have perceptions of both over-policing and under-policing, but place a greater emphasis on under-policing as a problem that affects everyday life (Table 1).

Respondents believe that Arabs receive unfair treatment from the police, and a majority (77 %) believes that Jews are treated better than Arabs. In addition, 49 % of the respondents believe that the police arrest more Arabs than Jews (29 % disagree). Most respondents characterize the quality of service provided by the police as very poor, and the majority of respondents do not feel that the crime rate in their neighborhood has dropped as expected. Only 30 % believe that the police provide security to Arab citizens, and 46 % believe it fails to provide them with security. Consequently, 40 % of the respondents would not call the police if a problem occurs, 38 % would call the police, and 20 % are not sure what they would do. However, as the table above indicates, Arab citizens are unwilling to give up on police services, even if they regard them as discriminatory and of poor quality. This attitude, we believe, indicates that a potential for reforms exists and that cooperation between the police and the Arab minority is possible.

Findings: the model

Our findings support the first hypothesis (H1) about the negative correlation between over-policing and under-policing (Pearson's $r = -0.314$; $p < 0.000$). This evidence clearly shows that perceptions of under-policing overshadow those of over-policing. Thus, not

only did respondents regard under-policing the major problem they have also downplayed the significance of over-policing. The intuition for this hypothesis was evident in the focus groups, that report on a general perceptions of police and policing include, on the one hand, strong feelings of discrimination or over-policing in several specific services and, on the other hand, of neglect or under-policing in services of a different kind. According to the examples used by the participants, over-policing was related mainly to traffic violations as well as to violence in the family, while the under-policing was related to services inside the villages such as crimes, public order and neighborhood disputes. Which in these cases as the participants reported the police avoid any kind of reaction or react slowly. Given that both over and under-policing express certain inefficiencies in the functioning of the police as viewed by the minority, we next assessed hypotheses H2 and H3 that perceptions about over- and under-policing would be negatively associated with attitudes toward the police. We used a linear regression model in which attitudes were treated as the independent outcome variable and perceptions about over- and under-policing were the main explanatory variable. We also included some additional variables such as the quality of services the police provide (measured using a 5-point Likert scale) and the receipt of treatment equal to that offered to Jewish citizens (measured using binary answers). We also adjusted for the demographic variables of age, years of education, household income, number of children, and gender. A hierarchical model was tested using the following steps: (1) over- and under- policing, (2) quality of police services and equality of services, and (3) demographic variables. Results indicated that each step significantly improved the fit of the model.

In Table 2, we list the effect sizes for the variables of the model. The regression analysis demonstrates that personal attitudes about and evaluations of the police are influenced by general perceptions of the police. However, while perceptions of under-policing have a strong impact on attitudes toward the police, we did not find a similar impact for over-policing. In spite of evidence that over-policing does exist it has no significant impact on attitudes toward the police (see Table 2). Indeed, the interaction between policing and under-policing was also non-significant. Table 2 demonstrates that only in one area of policing (traffic violations) did Arab citizens feel they were over-policed. In the other four areas, under-policing was more significant. Most of the demographic variables (age, gender, and education) had no significant influence on attitudes. Only income had a negative and significant influence (Table 3).

Table 2 Linear regression estimates for attitudes toward the police

B (β)	Attitudes toward the police and policing
-.293 (-.293)**	Under-policing
NS	Over-policing
.250 (.078)*	Quality of police services
.217 (.262)**	Equal treatment from police (1 = equal)
.402 (.262)**	Social economic status:
-.106 (-.138)*	Income
.097 (.193)*	No. of children
NS	Gender (Female = 1)
NS	Education
NS	Age
.310**	R^2
.289**	Adj. R^2
2.402**	Constant

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p = 0.000$

Table 3 Perceptions about the focus of policing efforts: over- and under-policing in various areas

Adequate amount of policing	Under-policing	Over-policing	Policing issue
43.2	37.8	13.9	Domestic violence
38.0	14.9	44.9	Traffic infractions
33.5	49.2	12.0	Crimes
51.4	36.5	9.9	Public order
41.3	47.8	6.3	Neighborhood disputes

Structural equation modeling

In order to understand the entire framework of the different relationships between the variables, we used a SEM model and AMOS software to analyze the data. Path analyses were conducted among the relevant variables and also to determine whether there were sequential relations among the sets of hypotheses presented above. This path model is illustrated in Fig. 3. In accordance with the theoretical discussion above, attitudes toward the police were predicted by perceptions about *under- and over-policing*, ($b = -.37$, $p < 0.000$ and $b = .10$, $p < 0.057$, respectively) (H2–H3). While under-policing had a strong and significant relationship with attitudes toward the police, over-policing had no such relationship (H2–H3). In addition, perceptions about *under- and over-policing* were negatively correlated with each other ($r = -0.41$, $p < 0.000$), supporting H1. In the

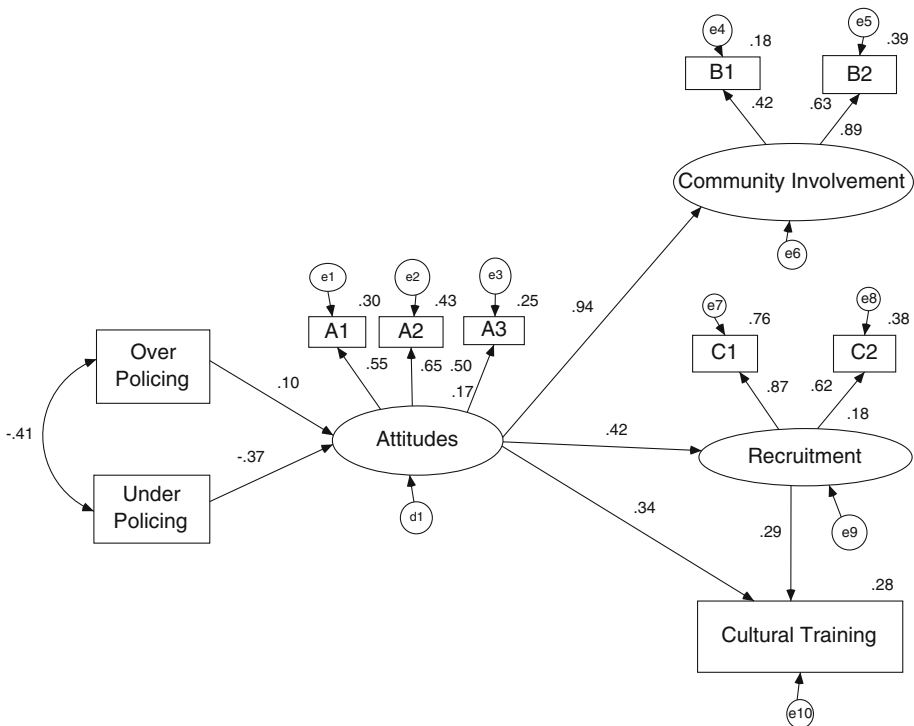


Fig. 3 SEM model-police and policing reform

sequential stage, the *attitudes* variable was expected to mediate between perceptions about *under- and over-policing* and the three core aspects of proposed reforms: *community involvement, cultural training, and recruitment* (H4–H6). The mediation hypothesis was verified, so the *attitudes* variable had a direct path to all three of them ($b = .94, p < 0.000$; $b = .34, p < 0.000$ and $b = .42, p < 0.000$, respectively).

The fit of the path model (Fig. 2) was very good. The model had a χ^2 of 28.0 with 31 degrees of freedom ($p = 0.621$) CMIN/DF .904, RMSEA was .000 [a 90 % confidence limit (CL) .000, .021], CFI = 1.000, and TLI = 1.004.

The structural equation model demonstrates the following

- (a) Over-policing and under-policing are negatively linked. People who believe they are under-policed are less likely to feel over-policed (H1: $b = -.41, p < 0.000$).
- (b) Over-policing has a weak, positive, and non-significant relationship with attitudes toward the police (H2:) ($b = -.10; p < 0.057$), while under-policing has a negative, stronger and significant relationship with such attitudes (H3: $b = -.37, p < 0.000$). Thus, people who believe they are under-policed are likely to have negative attitudes toward the police and policing.
- (c) Negative attitudes were significantly related to the three types of reforms, at different strengths (H4, H5, H6).
- (d) The strongest relationship was with community involvement (H4: $b = .94, p < 0.000$). Thus, a positive attitude about the police and policing will increase support for community involvement. There was also a relatively strong relationship between positive attitudes and recruitment (H5: $b = .42, p < 0.000$). Finally, the weakest relationship was between positive attitudes and cultural training (H6: $b = .34, p < 0.000$).

None of the demographic variables were found to be significantly related to the main variables in this model. However, note that we did find that women feel significantly less under-policed than men do (T test, $p < 0.000$), and people between the age of 45 and 65 reported on more under-policing feeling than others. Thus in both cases of gender and age, there was no significantly different with regard to over-policing perceptions.

The model (Fig. 3) had a χ^2 of 8.5 with 5 degrees of freedom ($p = 0.130$). RMSEA was .026 [a 90 % confidence limit (CL) .000, .056], CFI = .995, and TLI = .980.

Figure 4 shows what the level of support for reforms would be without a change in attitudes toward the police. The findings presented in Fig. 4 demonstrate that police reforms through recruitment, cultural training, and community involvement will lead to an improvement in perceptions about the police among Arab citizens, but less so than engaging in the reforms in the reverse. In other words, a comparison between the results in Figs. 1 and 4 clearly demonstrates that the intensity of the change in attitude is stronger in the path of the under-policing effect on attitudes and, in turn, on perceptions of the three reforms (hypotheses 1–6) than in the direct path of the effect of the reforms on attitudes toward the police (H7). This finding has practical implications for the implementation of reform policies. Top-down implementation of reforms, without prior changes that tackle perceptions of under-policing, is likely to be less effective. We will return to this point in our conclusions.

Finally, the findings suggest a clear hierarchy among the different reforms (H8–H11). Arab citizens rank community involvement as the most significant reform that can be introduced. Far behind is recruitment, and at the bottom of the scale is cultural training. We will explain these findings in the following section. These directions are consistent with the qualitative findings from our focus groups. Participants of the focus groups found it easier to point on what should not be part of the police officers training, mainly entrenchment of

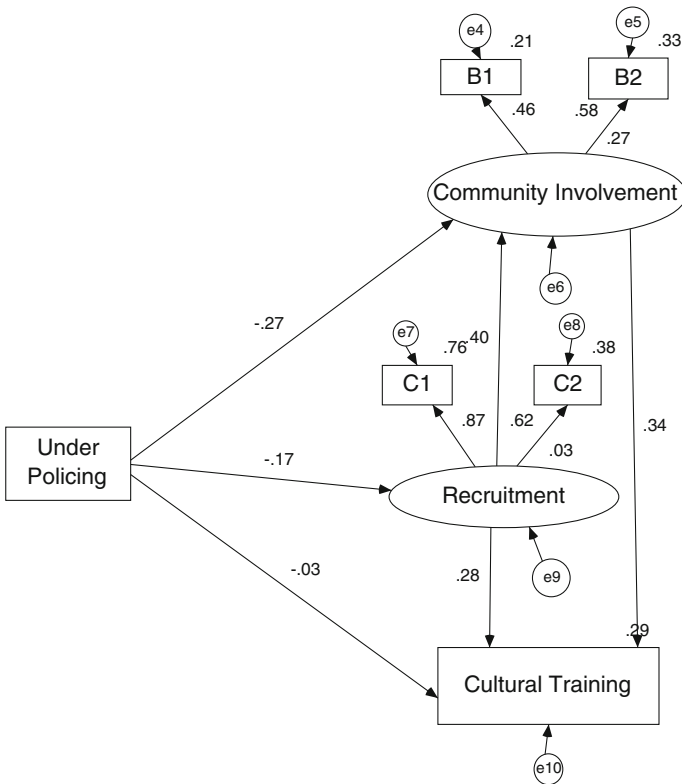


Fig. 4 SEM model-police and policing reform (without attitude change)

the perceptions of Arab citizens as enemies. Accordingly, it was suggested that police officers be trained to treat Arab citizens as equals and with proper respect. Some more specific suggestions included familiarizing police officers with Arab culture and providing an opportunity for police officers to meet Arab citizens in comfortable settings rather than on the beat. However, the obstacles for recruitment were evident in the focus groups where participants expressed strong objections for joining the police. Arab citizens, who serve as police officers, it was argued, are part of a system that discriminates Arabs and prefer loyalty to the police over their co-ethnics. Alongside this criticism hope was expressed that in the future Arabs will become equal citizens and will be able to serve the police without feel guilty. Until these changes occur, however, Arab police officers, they claimed, will have little if any positive impact on the way the police treats the Arab minority and, consequently, Arabs should not join the police.

Discussion: diversity management through attitude change? Israeli Arabs and the police

Policing diverse societies has become a major challenge for many democratic states where minorities feel deprived, are alienated from the state and society, and regard the police as insensitive or oblivious to their needs. In order to improve their legitimacy and

effectiveness among minority groups, the police must examine their policies and practices and consider potential reforms. This paper suggests an innovative approach in which the public is integrated into the policy evaluation process by mapping the attitudes of minority groups toward law enforcement agencies. Due to the sensitive nature of the relations between minorities and law enforcement agencies, we suggest a bottom-up approach to examining potential reforms. The underlying assumption, supported by a rich literature, is that the public's cooperation with reform plans is necessary for their success (Irvin and Stansbury 2004; King et al. 1998; King and Stivers 1998; Putnam 1993). Such cooperation can be best achieved when citizens, and in our case the minority population, take an active part in the reform as well as in the provision of services.

Arab citizens in Israel see themselves as suffering from both over-policing and under-policing. While over-policing receives a great deal of attention when police brutality or allegations of police brutality are exposed, our findings demonstrate that under-policing is a greater concern for Arab citizens. This finding can be explained by rising crime rates and violence in Arab communities, which often suffer from poverty and unemployment. In the focus groups, participants described feelings of being neglected by the police and accused the police of purposefully avoiding taking action to prevent crime and violence in their neighborhoods.

Perceptions of under-policing are strongly related to negative attitudes toward the police and policing. Specifically, Arab citizens do not feel that the police provide them with security or that it makes significant efforts to improve its relations with the Arab community. While Arab citizens are unwilling to give up entirely on police services, having no better alternative, their trust in the police remains low and their willingness to cooperate with reforms is minimal. Thus, police reforms that depend upon the cooperation of citizens will require initial steps by the police in order to improve the level of trust and encourage cooperation.

Of the three reforms examined, conditioned by a change in attitudes, the most important is community involvement. This preference can be explained by the desire of Arab citizens, first and foremost, to be involved in policing and have an impact on policy making. Recruitment is a sensitive issue when communities see the police as alien or hostile and joining the police is considered a betrayal of the community. Surprisingly, a relatively large number of Arab citizens would consider joining the police even without the changes mentioned above. If and when general perceptions about the police change, this willingness to join the police force is likely to grow and, no less significantly, the opposition to recruitment will diminish. Finally, cultural training is the reform that receives the lowest level of support. This finding can be explained by the fact that the major concern of the Arab community is not over-policing, which may be reduced by cultural training that changes stereotypes, but under-policing, which requires more direct measures. In addition, Arab citizens are likely to see the issue not in terms of a "culture" unknown to police officers but in terms of prejudice that needs to be uprooted by more direct measures.

The analysis demonstrates the inherent dilemma in diversity management, namely, how to bridge different attitudes and beliefs. It is clear from the analysis that effective reforms in the relations between the police and minorities require a change in attitudes as a precondition. However, such changes in attitudes can be accelerated if reforms are implemented. Hence, in many attempts to manage diversity, we potentially face a vicious cycle that raises significant obstacles to any change.

There are two possible ways to break the vicious cycle and create significant changes. First, the police, or any other governmental agency dealing with minorities, should try to change the attitudes toward minorities among its employees. Specifically, in this case,

genuine engagement with under-policing, and/or the perceptions of under-policing, may change attitudes and facilitate reforms. Second, in order to encourage the cooperation and participation of the minority population in planning and implementing effective reforms, governmental agencies may use external mediators as is often recommended in conflict resolution. Once a basic understanding between the governmental agency and the minority population is achieved, effective public cooperation can lead to effective reforms in the directions explained above.

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