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When perceptions are deadly: Policing, given the summer in Ferguson, Missouri and other similar stories, before and since

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The film “Birth of a Nation” by D.W. Griffith in (1915) demonstrated America’s often romanticized nexus story of the White savior against the maniacal Black and violent brute. This myth had been perpetuated historically from before 1915 as a part of the justification for slavery in the United States; that is, a need to keep potential Black savagery in check (Muhammad 2011). Relatedly, the perception of many southerners even today, that slavery “in Dixie” was “not all that bad” for Black folks and that Blacks have a propensity for violence continues to be reinforced by media accounts of Blacks and crime. Of course, whose image is shown in the media often reflects the socio-economic status of the criminal suspect.

Film-maker, Michael Moore did a humorous but educational documentary called *The Awful Truth* in 1999, in the aftermath of the New York Police Department shooting of unarmed African immigrant Amadou Diallo where he suggested that Black men should trade in their wallets for brightly colored orange ones. Diallo, age 22, had been shot at 41 times, pulling out his dark colored wallet to access his keys at night, in an apparent effort to rush into his home for safety. There is a pervasive perception amongst many in law enforcement that the more deadly suspects are the Black suspects and hence there is a law enforcement “trigger” prone response with Blacks (Kindy and Kelly 2015). The perception also seems to contribute to the reduced likelihood of an indictment of the officer involved. If indicted, a conviction when the person who kills a Black suspect is White is also unlikely given the general population perception of Black dangerousness. Law enforcement scholars Jerome Skolnick and Jim Fyfe (1994) theorized about this context as the “two Americas”: one in which some perceive the police to be friends, persons to be called in times of need or crisis and, another America in which the police are a controlling, unhelpful entity, known to only make matters worse. There are many in this country, including law abiding Black citizens who would not think of calling law enforcement in cases of criminal victimization, lest they make the situation worse (Gibson 2002).

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015) referring to 2012 to 2013 data indicated that Blacks who are 13% of the population account for 22.4% of the offenders for violent crimes; Hispanics who are 17.4% of the population account for 14.8% of violence and Whites who are 62% of the population account for 42.9% of violent offenders that come to the attention of law enforcement (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2015). Of course, if persons are monitored more, their wrongdoings will be recorded more and the numbers will seem to justify the negative perceptions of Blacks. The literature, as described by Piquero and Brame (2008) includes studies that note that for some populations, self-reported offending is not significantly different across Blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics and that differences with Whites may be attributed to economic community variations. It further indicates that Blacks are generally less likely to report their victimizations, whereas Whites victimized by Blacks are more likely to report their victimizations. Recent research in Los Angeles on the content of television news content indicates that Whites are over represented as victims and authority figures, but under represented in the media as perpetrators (Dixon 2015). Symbolically representing one racial group over another creates distrust in the most stigmatized group and can promote a false sense of security in the least stigmatized racial group. Consequently, mass media have perpetuated an exaggerated sense of fear of Black men and boys. In some cases, these perceptions become deadly. Weitzer and Tuch (1999) identified racism as a partial cause of disparate treatment by the police. A respondent in Weitzer’s (2000) study elaborated upon the use of force upon Blacks by both White and Black police officers with,

I imagine it’s just simple discrimination, really, because not during my lifetime here [65 years in Washington D.C] have I ever seen police harass or mistreat Whites as they have Blacks....if there’s somebody to get roughed up, it’s always been somebody Black. And that was true when the police force here was predominately White and it’s true today when it’s predominately Black. The Blacks always get the short end of the stick (2000, 36).

Media inspired “moral panics” include negative connections between race and crime (Chiricos 1996). Such media depictions of violent criminals appear to have a bearing on the level of force that officers employ to detain a Black suspect. The police, too often have erroneously harassed and intimidated innocent Black men with threats of violence. Consider the 1994, Susan Smith case. Smith, a southern White female claimed that a young Black man had hijacked her car with two toddlers inside. Some Black males in the community described to the media that they had been thrown up against walls and, or had weapons drawn at them. They had felt emasculated by the maltreatment. Indeed a total of 67 incidents in the United States from 1987 and 1996 were identified as racial crime hoax claims (Russell-Brown 1998).

Literature Review

Research on race and crime media portrayals indicate a shift over time. Dixon and Williams (2015) reviewed national news stories and found a reduction in the portrayal of Blacks as victims and perpetrators, but an increase in the negative portrayal of Muslims and Hispanics. Ethnic portrayals are limited yet, the representations of criminal

versus victim and the manner that they are represented are cynical at best. Long, Slater, Boiarsky, Stapel, and Keefe, (2005) examined the relationships of the victims and violent perpetrators and found that television stations in specific regions over generalize crime stories to satisfy a single market area by modeling: 1) situational context of crime stories and; 2) contextual situation of market area. Competition among news stations for market share leads to pressure to report the more risqué crime stories that draw the attention to viewers, assist to advance reporters careers, and maintain a viable relationship with law enforcement (Chermack 1994; Sheley and Ashkins 1981). Bjornstrom et al. (2010) and Shoemaker and Reese (1996) clarified that groups are treated differentially based upon “newsworthiness”; less powerful groups therefore, get projected as criminogenic given their lack of power and resources to fight such portrayals. Black males and Hispanics are likely to receive more attention when they depart from the dominant cultural norms of what is considered to be clean, healthy, and normal. Additionally, Pritchard and Hughes (1997) perspective regarding this anomaly contends that the overrepresentation of Blacks and Hispanics gives audiences the perception that “street crime” is normal for “them” and is a function of race. On the other hand grotesque acts of violence carried out by White offenders (for example, the Charleston Church shooting in 2015 (see the Matthew Lysiak *Newsweek* article “Charleston massacre: Mental illness common thread for mass shootings”); and the Sandy Hook Elementary shooting in 2012 (see *US News and World Report* article by Lauren Fox “Report: Sandy Hook shooter Adam Lanza was obsessed with mass shootings”) are quickly reported then politicized or described as “sickness” as opposed to acts of “evil” when done by someone Black (for example, the DC Sniper shootings by John Allen Muhammad in 2002, see *Newsweek* article by Mark Hosenball (2002) “Descent into evil”).

Large bodies of research have examined the nexus between police practices and the relationships that are forged between the community and with the police (Bowling and Phillips 2003), yet there has been insufficient research that has examined the perspectives of minorities and their interactions with police officers. Black males, especially, Black male juveniles have been frequently labeled as troublemakers and are oftentimes the targets of unscrupulous surveillance, police brutality, and in the gravest of circumstances, deadly force (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Blacks, as it happens, are over represented amongst racial groups who file complaints of excessive use of force by police officers. Mastofski, Reisig and McCluskey (2002) found that a police officer’s likelihood to use either excessive or deadly force was related to the level of disadvantage in the communities.

Barlow and Barlow (2000), Georges-Abeyie (1991), and Worden (1995) found that a sizable proportion of police officers would engage in applying force to individuals that are minority in contexts where the officers did not reside, namely in predominantly Black neighborhoods. On the other hand, mass media when reporting violent White male offenses might characterize them as misgivings attributable to a crisis in masculinity, hence, greater police patience. In 2009, A Bellaire, Texas police officer ran a license plate check then instructed Bobby Tolan, Jr. and his cousin to lay face down on the ground at his residence. Although, the young man’s mother and father explained to the police that the lad’s vehicle was not stolen, the officer proceeded to use force against an elderly woman and other family members. A case against the officers was dismissed and the victims were ultimately blamed for the encounter. It took the U.S. Supreme Court to re-examine the facts of the case and to rule in favor of the Tolan family.

Chiricos and Eschholz (2002) determined that the perceptions of dangerousness attached to Black males occur through a process called typification. Typification occurs when the media cover a crime or specific crimes by a racial group disproportionately. The perception that follows leads individuals in other racial groups to assume that criminal behavior, especially violence is culturally inherent; after all such as, amongst Black men. It seems more common to see media images of Blacks in rugged mug shots or in handcuffs under the control of White police officers (Entman 1990). Media, outlets that are politically partial tend to give high ranking police officials of similar politics the opportunity to articulate their rationales and justifications of suspicious contact with minorities. This tends to follow a rapid-post incident search of the victim’s background for a criminal record, past delinquent behavior, or anything to say that the victim was deserving of his fate at the hands of police. The cases of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Walter Scott are examples of violent outcomes with regard to police interaction with minorities in which the victim was accused of being responsible for his demise. Fox News (2014) coverage of the grand jury decision to not indict a New York City police officer for the choking death of Eric Garner revealed erroneous and incomplete information regarding the incident. The intense disempowerment of the minority community can erupt in violence at a frustration tipping point.

Possibly then, the reinforcement of negative images of Black American males may contribute to both negative initial attitudes formulated by police when encountering minorities. The visual images of Black males and their apparent link to violence have become so common that society may have subconsciously accepted the false notion that Blacks and criminality go hand in hand. Adams (1999) and Geller and Toch (1995) reviewed various pieces of literature examining police use of force. They concluded that situational, community context, and political culture are strongly correlated to police use of force. Most damaging are the political spins crafted by government leaders and politicians to look tough on crime. Scholars such as Chiricos and Eschholz (2002), Jamieson (1992) and Mendelberg

(1997) declared that mentally ill suspect, Willie Horton was an example of the use of the image of a dangerous Black male to further increase negative perceptions of Black males in general. Willie Horton was a convicted Black male felon who, while on furlough, raped a woman. The incident became a 1988 political campaign issue to get tough on criminals.

Most recently, a Fox News interview showed New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton explaining departmental procedures on the use of force in response to the death of Eric Garner. He quickly alluded to the effectiveness of his department’s “stop and frisk” policy in saving thousands of “Black lives”. What becomes problematic then with the approach is when implicit biases in the discretion to use the “stop and frisk” burdens law abiding Black men more than other groups.

Theoretically, racial threat and racial privilege ideas focus on social structure and competition for resources and power. This includes how those in a position of power may tend to defend their position by perceiving and responding to other groups as threats (Blalock 1967). It includes criminalizing the ways of the less powerful group as a means of controlling that population. Law enforcement is a tool for reinforcing such power positions, thus as Swigert and Farrell (1976) and Weitzer (2000) concluded, Whites are more likely to favor aggressive law enforcement and may become defensive when police are given negative criticisms. A 2000 General Social Survey revealed that 48% of Whites hold the belief that Blacks are prone to violence. This widespread belief seems to translate into a collective approval of the use of aggressive policing against minorities and minority communities. Non-minorities by contrast are then perceived to be anti-police (Weitzer and Tuch 2004).

Many Whites have experiences of prompt and adequate police protection whereas Blacks can describe more instances of feeling profiled and disrespect by police. Racial and political climates within cities affect the individual and situational context which causes police officer’s to exert varying levels of force against citizens. Research has popularized the notion that the use of force deployed by police officers is highly attributable to race and conditions such as social disorganization and structural disadvantages (Sherman 1990).

Method

This study utilized a qualitative descriptive design of a content analysis to describe patterns across a number of high profile police-citizen incidents that proved deadly and related court outcomes. Content analysis allows the description of patterns based on real world events. News stories from mainstream journalistic sources should reflect investigative ethics of authenticity as opposed to subjective biases that creep, sometimes subtly, into the reporting. The 61 most publicized cases of Black males who died in the custody of law enforcement from 1994 to summer 2015 were located by a search of Google and YouTube using key terms such as “unarmed”, “police” and “Black male”. These news sources were selected because they are two of the most popular ways that people search for information on topics. The 61 cases were the most published cases over the time period. The time period reflects the impact of the surging popularity of the internet and increased use of the media for news. The data were then coded and examined for patterns and themes, similarities and differences across the cases and their contexts.

Results

The list of the 61 murdered Black males is indubitably incomplete as cases in areas with less media publicity would not be included, nor would cases where the truth is unknown. Possibly, the political climate, community mobilization, activists’ organization, news coverage, and population of various communities all contribute to the reporting of the narratives of the cases and the level of publicity. The victims were 12 to 68 years old with a mean age of 28 years. The years 2012 (13 cases) and 2014 (11 with 5 in August) had the most cases. Ninety-four percent of the cases involved Black victims, with 6% being persons of color from other ethnic backgrounds (West African, Guinean, Haitian and Hispanic). Nineteen or 31% of the cases were from areas of New York; not surprising given the media headquarters in New York City.

Table 1: Contexts and Perceptions that are Deadly in Police Encounters

CASE	NAME	YEAR	AGE	ETHNICITY	CONTEXT	# OFFICERS	DEADLY PERCEPTIONS	OUTCOME
1	Malice Green	Nov-92	35	African American	Detroit	2	had “something balled up” in fist	Prison

2	Nicholas Heyward	Sep-94	13	African American	Brooklyn	1	assumed real gun	Nothing
3	Amadou Diallo	Feb-99	22	Guinea	Bronx	4	that wallet was a gun	Acquitted
4	Malcolm Ferguson	Mar-00	23	African American	Bronx	1	assumed drug dealer	Civil
5	Patrick Dorismond	Mar-00	26	Haitian	Manhattan	1	assumed drug dealer	Nothing
6	Prince Jones	Sep-00	25	African American	Fairfax, MD	1	that vehicle was a weapon	Civil
7	Timothy Thomas	Apr-01	19	African American	Cincinnati	1	assumed suspect with gun	
8	Ousmane Zongo	5/1/2003	43	West Africa	Manhattan	1	assumed gun	Probation
9	Orlando D. Barlow	Feb-03	28	African American	Las Vegas	1	assumed gun	Civil suit
10	Timothy Stansbury	Jan-04	19	African American	Brooklyn	1	accidental	Civil
11	Ronald Madison	Sep-04	40	African American	New Orleans	4	assumed a gun	Prison
12	James Brissette	Sep-04	17	African American	New Orleans	4	fabricated gun story	Prison
13	Henry Glover	Sep-05	31	African American	New Orleans	5	murder	Prison
14	Sean Bell	Nov-06	23	African American	Queens, NY	5	assumed prostitution	Acquitted
15	DeAunta Terrel Farrow	Jun-07	12	African American	West Memphis, AK	1	assumed gun	Civil suit
16	Victor Steen	Oct-09	17	African American	West Pensacola, FL	4	assumed thief	Two weeks suspension
17	Shem Walker	Jul-09	49	African American	Brooklyn	1	assumed drug involved	Nothing
18	Oscar Grant	Jan-09	22	African American	Oakland, CA	1	assumed in fight	Convicted
19	Kiwane Carrington	Oct-09	15	African American	Champaign, IL	1	assumed gun	Civil suit
20	Steven E. Washington	Mar-10	27	African American	Los Angeles	2	assumed gun	Officers won civil suit
21	Derrick Jones	Nov-10	37	African American	East Oakland, CA	1	assumed weapon	Investigation cleared them.
22	Aaron Campbell	Jan-10	25	African American	Portland, OR	1	assumed gun	1 fired; 2 suspended
23	Reginald Doucet Jr.	Jan-11	25	African American	Los Angeles	1	hitting the officer	Nothing

24	Raheim Brown	Jan-11	20	African American	Oakland, CA	2	screwdriver threatening	Civil suit
25	Kenneth Harding	Jul-11	19	African American	San Francisco	2	assumed gun	Civil suit
26	Kenneth Chamberlain	Nov-11	68	African American	White Plains, NY	2	assumed knife	Nothing
27	Alonzo Ashley	Jul-11	29	African American	Denver	8	assumed on drugs	Nothing
28	Wendell Allen	Mar. 2012	20	African American	New Orleans	1	rash action	Prison
29	Timothy Russell	Nov-12	43	African American	Cleveland	10+	assumed gun	Acquitted
30	Tamon Robinson	Apr-12	27	African American	Brooklyn	2+	fleeing police	Civil
31	Manuel Loggins Jr.	Feb-12	31	African American	Orange County, CA	1	yelling	Civil
32	Reynaldo Cuevas	Sep-12	20	Hispanic	Bronx	1	assumed to be a robber	Civil
33	Raymond Allen	Feb-12	34	African American	Galveston, TX	1	not listening	Civil
34	Ramarley Graham	Feb. 2012	18	African American	Bronx	2+	assumed gun	Nothing
35	Nehemiah Dillard	Mar. 2012	29	African American	Alachua, FL	2+	erratic conduct	Nothing
36	Kendrec McDade	Mar-12	19	African American	Pasadena	2+	assumed gun	Civil
37	Johnnie Kamahi Warren	Feb. 2012	43	African American	Houston	1	erratic/intoxicated	Nothing
38	Jersey Green	Mar. 2012	37	African American	Aurora, IL	1	erratic conduct	Nothing
39	Duane Brown	Jan-12	26	African American	Brooklyn	1	disobeying order	Nothing
40	Chavis Carter	Jul-12	21	African American	Jonesboro, AK	2	suicide while handcuffed	Nothing
41	Tyrone West	Jul-13	44	African American	Baltimore	9	assumed drugs	Nothing
42	Larry Eugene Jackson Jr.	Jul-13	32	African American	Austin, TX	1	robbery suspect	Civil suit
43	Kimani Gray	Mar-13	16	African American	Brooklyn	2	pointed a gun	Nothing
44	Johnathan Ferrell	Sep-13	24	African American	Charlotte-Mecklenberg	1	reaching for police gun	Civil
45	Deion Fludd	May-13	17	African American	Red Hook, NY	2+	not paying subway fare	Civil

46	Carlos Alcis	Aug. 2013	43	Haitian	Crown Heights, NY	2+	suspected mugger	Civil
47	Barrington Williams	Sep-13	25	African American	Bronx	2+	illegal selling	Nothing
48	Jordan Baker	Dec-14	26	African American	Houston	1	suspicion of burglary	Nothing
49	Dontre Hamilton	Apr-14	31	African American	Milwaukee, WI	1	a struggle	Fired; not indicted.
50	Eric Garner	Jul-14	43	African American	Staten Island	1	illegal selling	Civil
51	John Crawford	Aug-14	22	African American	Beavercreek, OH	1	holding an air rifle in a store	Civil
52	Tyree Woodson	Aug-14	38	African American	Baltimore	0	alleged suicide in custody for warrants	Nothing
53	Michael Brown	Aug-14	18	African American	Ferguson, MO	1	robbery of a convenience store	No charges; civil suit
54	Ezell Ford	Aug-14	25	African American	Los Angeles	2	assumption of reaching for the officer's gun	Civil suit.
55	Dante Parker	Aug-14	36	African American	San Bernadino, CA	2	assumed burglar and drug user	Nothing
56	Victor White III	Mar-14	22	African American	Iberia, LA	0	fight involvement; suicide in police car	Nothing
57	Tamir Rice	Nov-14	12	African American	Cleveland	2	assumed to have a real gun	Civil suit.
58	Akai Gurley	Nov-14	28	African American	Brooklyn	2	accidental	Officer indicted.
59	Anthony Hill	Mar-15	27	African American	DeKalb, Georgia	1	naked and acting erratic	Investigated
60	Walter Scott	Apr-15	50	African American	North Charleston, SC	1	stopped for broken brake light; shot while fleeing	Indicted for murder.
61	Freddie Gray	Apr-15	25	African American	Baltimore	6	died of spinal injury; stopped for looking suspicious	Indicted; civil suit.

African American assumes a heritage as the descendants of Blacks who were slaves in the United States.

The most common law enforcement explanation for the death of the victim was that they were acting based on a quick assumption that the person had a gun (31% of the time). For the three youngest minors, 13 year old Nicholas Heyward in Brooklyn; 12 year old DeAunta Terrel Farrow of West Memphis, Arkansas; and 12 year old Tamir Rice of Cleveland, law enforcement assumed a toy gun in their hands was real and it led to their death by police. Thirteen of the sixty-one (21%) cases involved officers from a special crime unit. The narrative from witnesses tended to be that the deceased may not have known with whom they were interacting given the lack of identifiers of the investigators. In 82% of the cases, the officers involved had no criminal sanctions. The families receiving remedies, usually achieved this through civil proceedings. The aftermath in many of these locations was protest, which in more recent times has been tagged “Black Lives Matter” activism.

Table 2: Influence of Special Units

NAME	AGE	LOCATION	POLICE UNIT
Malice Green (1992)	35	Detroit	Booster Squad
Amadou Diallo (1999)	22	Bronx	Street Crimes Unit
Malcolm Ferguson (2000)	23	Bronx	Undercover narcotics
Patrick Dorismond (2000)	26	Manhattan	Undercover narcotics
Prince Jones (2000)	25	Fairfax	Undercover narcotics
Ousmane Zongo (2003)	43	Manhattan	Undercover postal investigator
Henry Glover	31	New Orleans	SWAT
Sean Bell	23	Queens, NY	Undercover investigators
Shem Walker	49	Brooklyn	Undercover narcotics
Steven Washington	27	Los Angeles	Anti-Gang Unit
Ramarley Graham	18	Bronx	Undercover narcotics
Tyree Woodson	38	Baltimore	Warrant Task Force
Ezell Ford	25	Los Angeles	Anti-Gang Task Force

Per literature descriptions of the communities and qualitative discussions by one of the authors herein with young males in some of the communities, a majority of the Black men and youth came from working class areas. Most of these communities have housing projects, dilapidated apartment dwellings, or quasi-suburban settings that were depreciating in value. Many of the men killed were victims of a system of profiling and heavy police patrol by officers attached to specialized drug and gang units. The associated social atomization based upon aggressive police styles led many citizens within the Black community to distrust and fear the police and the justice system and moreso, after the lack of indictments of the officers involved.

One might expect that the presence of minority mayors and police chiefs in cities such as Baltimore would create a sense of positive police-community relationships (Jacobs and O'Brien 1998); however, the relationships with the police have been as stagnant as in prior years. Reiss (1992) and Kelling and Kliesmet (1995) acknowledged that the strength of police unions has played an integral role in defending officers who have been accused of the excessive use of force. Most damaging is the overlapping relationship of courts with law enforcement and this impact on the information provided to grand juries, amidst a lack of grand jury diversity. Conversely, the narratives in police reports from the officers in question tend to describe the Black male as the aggressor who evoked fear within the officer(s) which then led them to use lethal force. Consider for example, the 2014 shooting death of Laquan McDonald by Chicago police officer Jason Van Dyke. McDonald was walking away from the officer when he was killed, but after the incident, Officer Van Dyke claimed he was in fear at the time he shot McDonald. Prior to these facts becoming available, the common media projection was of police support versus protestors who were shown as troublemakers. While a few were unruly, a majority seemed to be, in the end, justifiably frustrated.

Conclusion and Implications

The data herein indicate that the problem of police perceptions of Blackness and crime is not a matter of isolated mishaps. The content analysis of newspapers and news media accounts from 1994 to summer 2015 revealed that the media typification process has allowed police departments to blame the victim via exposing any past criminal history or the context of their current lives to blame them for their untimely demise. Consequently, monetary settlements are a quick pacification to a problem that is very costly to citizens. Many cities have been active with forming independent review boards that provide the assistance needed to objectively investigate this particular problem combined with experimenting with body cameras and cutting edge technologies to protect the citizen and the officer. In the end, news reporting institutions need to acknowledge and take deliberate steps to counteract their role in perpetuating implicit race bias.

While the origins of the depictions that link Blackness and crime have historically been deliberate to support a political agenda of Black suppression nowadays, the remaining implicit biases have become normative ways of thinking in mainstream culture (hence, the many jury acquittals of officers). Awareness in the communications academic ranks is a first step at changing these negative perceptions of Blacks. Beyond academia, local media news markets should take care in the images they broadcast. History indicates (such as in New York City) that an informed citizenry can hold their media news outlets accountable for the images that they project.

As philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche theorized about the "will to power", mankind has a natural desire to

exercise a certain will to power, or to control, or to master situations and, or someone. On the other side of things, if persons are disempowered for long enough and severely enough, eventually they are likely to explode in protest and, or irrational violence as Rollo May described it. A sufficient number of persons then, must persist in efforts to “step up” to change the discourse from “us-them”; to empower and to educate both “the us” and “the them”. This can be accomplished by starting early to build relationships between children and police from elementary through high school levels. The start of this journey has been arguably re-ignited by the Black Lives Matter Movement following the death of Trayvon Martin. These deliberate efforts to change perceptions must be emphasized in the media. Unless there is substantial risk of public harm, the images of offenders need not be broadcast in the news as such efforts disproportionately impact poor persons, who often mat be Blacks. Of course, bad officers must be promptly addressed by holding peers accountable for each other’s conduct.

Authors’ Biographies

Julian L. Scott, III, Ph.D. received his Bachelor of Arts in Criminal Justice with honors from Fort Valley State University (GA.). He also holds the distinction of being the first African American male to receive a Master of Science in Criminal Justice from Valdosta State University (GA.). In 2011, he earned a Ph.D. in Juvenile Justice from Prairie View A&M University. He lives with gratitude to all of his professors, collegiate friends, public school teachers, and community members who instilled in him: “It’s not where you come from but, it is where you must go to assist those that started from the same position that you started; be a beacon of hope, inspiration, and light to others.”

Camille Gibson is a professor at Prairie View A&M University in the College of Juvenile Justice and Psychology. Prior to that, she taught at Brooklyn College and at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. She is a past President of the Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice and she currently serves on the Board of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Her publications focus on juvenile justice and juvenile delinquency prevention.

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Ashley Minter earned her Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice from Prairie View A&M University. She is currently pursuing her Master’s in Juvenile Justice at the same institution. She is also a juvenile supervision officer at Harris County Juvenile Detention Center. She worked on a section of this paper as an undergraduate and presented it at the Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice Conference. Her aspirations include juvenile justice administration.

Leanna Davis earned her Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice recently from Prairie View A&M University. She is a former president of the campus’ Criminal Justice Club and a member of *Alpha Phi Sigma* Criminal Justice Honor Society. She plans to attend law school in Indiana in the near future.

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APPENDIX

Table 3
Case Narratives

Date	Name	Age	Ethnicity	Media narrative
11/5/1992	Malice Green	35	African American	<p>Detroit Police Officers Larry Nevers and Walter Budzyn of the 3rd precinct "Booster squad" approached Mr. Green on Detroit's southwest side to question Mr. Green about something "balled up" in his fist. Mr. Green refused to comply with the officer's request and was subsequently beaten to death with police flashlights. Five additional officers arrived at the scene (one supervisor) and reportedly said nothing as Nevers and Budzyn brutally beat Mr. Green.</p> <p>According to residents of the community Budzyn and Nevers were known by the monikers "Starsky and Hutch" because of their brutal style of policing that frightened community residents. An internal investigation led to the suspension of seven officers. Nevers and Budzyn were charged with second degree murder and sent to prison.</p> <p>Source: WXYZ -TV DETROIT/ Channel 7 news archives.</p>

9/27/1994	Nicholas Heyward, Jr.	13	African American	<p>Nicholas Heyward was killed by NYPD Officer Brian George in the Gawanus Housing Projects in Brooklyn, N.Y. Nicholas and his friends were playing “cops and robbers” with toy guns. The officer, thinking the gun to be real, shot and killed the 13 year old boy. The District Attorney, Charles Hines then mislead the public during a news conference by displaying guns that looked realistic rather than the toy gun.</p> <p>Heyward’s community was outraged at this. The officer was not indicted and the shooting was deemed incidental.</p> <p>Source: Paul Derianzo, “Let them Talk,” Manhattan Neighborhood Network. Dec 17, 2014</p>
2/4/1999	Amaddou Diallo	22	Guyanese	<p>The incident occurred at 12:30 a.m. in the Bronx, N.Y. Four officers Sean Carroll, Richard Murphy, Edward McMellon, and Kenneth Boss patrolled the area in an unmarked car. Supposedly, Diallo fit the description of a serial rapist. Diallo was shot 41 times. Diallo might have perceived the way in which the officers approached him as threatening because he spoke little English and the officers were not in uniform. The officers involved maintained that they identified themselves as such. It appeared that Diallo was reaching for his wallet to get his house key to rush inside when he was shot; the officers said they thought that his wallet looked like a gun. No weapon was recovered from Diallo. A grand jury did not indict the officers because the application of the use of force was considered justifiable.</p> <p>Source: www.investigations.com. Nov 11, 2006.</p>
3/1/2000	Malcolm Ferguson	23	African American	<p>NYPD officer undercover narcotics agent Louis Rivera shot and killed Ferguson at 1045 Boynton Ave. Bronx, N.Y. approximately three blocks from the site where Amadou</p>

				<p>Diallo was killed.</p> <p>A jury of 5 Blacks and 1 Hispanic concluded that the NYPD and the City of New York were 100% liable for the death of Malcolm Ferguson. The jury concluded that officer Rivera was merely “hunting” for criminals.</p> <p>The city paid a settlement of 10.5 million dollars to the family of Malcom Ferguson. It is unclear whether or not criminal charges were filed against Officer Rivera. Source: Mortiz, O. & C. Coleman (2007). Pay mom 10.5 million dollars in Bronx death. NY Daily News.</p>
3/16/2000	Patrick Dorismond	23	Haitian	<p>NYPD undercover narcotics agent Anthony Vasquez approached Mr. Dorismond and an acquaintance to inquire about a location to purchase narcotics in Flatbush Brooklyn, NY. Mr. Dorismond, who was pursuing a law enforcement career was offended by the question. As the undercover officer persisted, Mr. Dorismond got agitated and engaged him in a scuffle during which the police gun went off, killing Dorismond. In protest, the “Church St. Riot” followed.</p> <p>Source: whatzuptv published 6/15/2012.</p>
9/1/2000	Prince Jones	20	African American	<p>Prince Jones was an honor student from a well to do African American family. Prior to the incident, Jones had enlisted into the U.S. Navy. He was erroneously identified by narcotics officer Carlton Jones as allegedly stealing a police service weapon. The suspect sought for the theft was described as 5’6” yet, Jones was 6’4.” The undercover officer wore plain clothes and failed to identify himself as an undercover officer at the time of the incident. Officer Jones maintained that Prince Jones (no relation) was using his vehicle as a weapon that ultimately led to the extreme use of force. Officer Jones was not indicted. Shortly afterwards, Officer Jones committed suicide.</p>

				Source: Cortes, T. (2001). Why does America's rich Black suburb have some of the most brutal cops? Washington Monthly.
4/7/2001	Timothy Thomas	19	African American	<p>The incident occurred at 2:00a.m. on April 7, 2001. Cincinnati police officer Steven Roach shot and killed Mr. Thomas as he engaged in a foot chase with the teenager. A strong lobby by the representatives of the CPD police union deemed Officer Roach's use of force appropriate. The killing of Timothy Thomas sparked the Cincinnati Riots of 2001. Archival footage of the riots revealed a strong police presence combined with the questionable use of force against the minority residents of Cincinnati. Ultimately, Officer Roach was not indicted. It is unknown whether or not the Family of Timothy Thomas filed a civil suit against the Cincinnati Police Department.</p> <p>Source: WCPO/ 9 on your side news archives. Published April 7, 2015.</p>
5/23/2003	Ousmane Zongo	43	W. African	<p>Mr. Zongo was restoring African art in a warehouse that was raided by the NYPD for allegedly pirating compact discs. Zongo was not involved yet was shot and killed by NYPD officer Bryan Conroy. Conroy was indicted yet charged with criminally negligent homicide but only received probation for the homicide.</p> <p>Source: Hartcollis, Anemonia: Officer guilty of negligence in the 2003 killing. New York Daily News. Updated 10/22/05</p>
2/28/2003	Orlando D. Barlow	28	African American	<p>Las Vegas PD Officer Brian Hartman responded to a domestic dispute between Barlow and his girlfriend. Barlow was claimed to have "fidgeted" around his waistband which led to he being shot by Officer Hartman with an assault rifle. The homicide was ruled justified yet Hartman was</p>

				<p>removed from the Las Vegas PD for making a mockery of the incident by printing and wearing a shirt with the letters, BDRT which stood for "Baby Daddy Removal Team."</p> <p>Source: The Las Vegas Sun.</p>
	Timothy Stanbury	19	African American	<p>Officer Richard Neri patrolled the rooftop of the Louis Armstrong homes in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood in Brooklyn, NY. Officer Neri told a grand jury that he was startled when the door of the rooftop swung open and accidentally discharged his firearm and shot and killed Stanbury.</p> <p>Stanbury was unarmed and he did not have a criminal record. The death was ruled accidental and Neri was not indicted for the killing.</p> <p>Source(s): Rashbaum, William (2004). Decision not to indict may seem surprising but follows a pattern. Source- <i>New York Daily News</i>. 2itctv- The Shooting. Updated: 11/13/2008.</p>
9/04/2005	Ronald Madison	40	African American	<p>New Orleans police officers Robert Barrios, Kenneth Bowen, Robert Faulcon, Sgt. Robert Gisevius, Ignatius Hills, Michael Hunter, Sgt. Arthur Kaufman were indicted for their involvement in the shooting death of Ronald Madison and James Brisette on the Danziger Bridge during the aftermath of hurricane Katrina. Lt. Michael Lohman was charged with planting a gun at the scene to justify the homicides of the murdered teen and a 40 year old mentally ill Ronald Madison. A former NOPD officer Jeffery Lerhmann cooperated with the FBI and received 3 years imprisonment for "failure to report a felony." Lt. Lohman could receive up to 5 yrs. Imprisonment based upon his cooperation in the case.</p> <p>Source: Danziger Bridge: How we got here. Channel 6/ WDSU/ New Orleans. Uploaded 6/21/2011</p>
9/04/2005	James Brisette	17	African American	

9/2/2005	Henry Glover	42	African American	<p>Henry Glover was shot and killed by New Orleans Police Department in the Algiers section of New Orleans during the chaos surrounding Hurricane Katrina. A good Samaritan William Tanner discovered the mortally wounded Glover and took him for treatment at a disaster relief area where he was met by New Orleans PD officers. The officers assaulted Tanner and proceeded to burn the William Tanner's car with Glover inside.</p> <p>Afterwards, the car was placed behind the N.O. P.D.'s North District precinct. Glover had sustained a shot to the head with a 9 millimeter service weapon Henry Glover's skull was removed from the burnt vehicle. Officers David Warren and Greg McCrae were identified as being involved with burning William Tanner's car. Officer's Greg F. McCrae and Travis McCabe were found responsible for falsifying police reports.</p> <p>Source: Channel 6/ WDSU: The story of Henry Glover. Updated 9/10/2010.</p>
11/25/06	Sean Bell	23	African American	<p>Sean Bell was shot and killed on the morning of his planned wedding in Queens, N.Y. A total of nine undercover officers were present and 50 rounds were fired into Bell's vehicle. Detectives Marc Cooper, Gescard Isnora, and Michael Oliver were acquitted by a grand jury for their involvement in the shootings. Commentaries from onlookers described the killing as an execution of Sean Bell. Bell's family filed a civil suit against the NYPD.</p> <p>Source: <i>New York Post</i></p>
6/22/2007	DeAunta Terrel Farrow	12	African American	<p>West Memphis, Arkansas police officer Erik Sammis and Jimmy Evans were performing surveillance in the neighborhood where Farrow lived. They spotted</p>

				Farrow walking with a friend and assumed that Farrow had a gun. Individuals in the neighborhood who saw the 12 year old prior to his death claimed that the young man had a bag of potato chips and a soda that he purchased from the neighborhood's corner store. No charges were filed against officers Erik Sammis and Jimmy Evan. Source: WordPress.
	Victor Steen	17	African American	Victor Steen was run over by Pensacola PD officer Gerald Ard. Officer Ard thought that Steen was acting "suspicious" and began to pursue the juvenile in his police car. Steen was riding his bike which ultimately led to the officer striking the bike with the teen. The teen was pinned underneath the squad car and died. The incident was ruled an accident and the officer was not charged. Source: Channel 3 ABC/Pensacola.
7/11/2009	Shem Walker	49	African American	Shem Walker had gotten into an altercation with a man he assumed was loitering in front of his mother's Fort Greene- Brooklyn residence. The alleged loiterer was an undercover police officer observing a drug purchase within the vicinity of Walker's mother home. The officer was not indicted because it was argued that the statute of limitations for the charge of manslaughter against the officer had expired. The City of New York reached an agreement to award the family 2 million dollars. Source: Exclusive: City reaches 2 million dollar settlement in undercover cop fatally shooting unarmed Brooklyn man. Marzulli, John (2014). New York Daily News, 7/14/2014
1/1/2009	Oscar Grant	22	African American	Oscar Grant was killed at Fruitvale transit station in Oakland, California by Oakland police department officer Johannes Mehserle. Oscar Grant and others

				<p>within the station were compliant when Officer Mehserle killed Grant. Grant was even able to take a photograph of Mehserle's hand positioned on his taser rather than his service weapon. Another officer at the scene, Tony Pirone was positioned on top of Grant whose phone camera showed that Grant was subdued. The report given by the officers stated that passengers had begun to fight and it made the police officers feel outnumbered. Various cell phone videos from a number of witnesses conflicted with the officer's incident report. The moments that led up to the death of Oscar Grant was recorded entirely by passenger, Karina Vargas. The family of Oscar Grant filed a civil suit for wrongful death.</p> <p>Source(s): Police shooting at BART station- Oscar Grant. KTVU 2/ San Francisco news report uploaded by www.blogtalkradio/vintagemusik. You tube.</p> <p>BART cop takes the stand in murder trial. KTVU 2/ San Francisco uploaded 1/25/2010 by idotbox. You tube.</p>
10/9/2009	Kiwane Carrington	15	African American	<p>Kiwane Carrington and a friend were accused of burglarizing a home in Champagne, Illinois. Chief Artie Finney and Officer Davie Norbert had ransacked the home of Carrington. The encounter ended with the death of Carrington and it was found that Carrington and his friend were not the suspects sought for burglary. A citizen's coalition group petitioned that the investigation of the shooting of Carrington was tainted because the State's attorney investigating the matter received emails from a city council member about the matter. Additionally, Chief Finney who was directly involved with the killing of Carrington had access to potential witnesses that the citizen coalition considered improper.</p> <p>Source: Improper investigation</p>

				conferences 1-3. Uploaded 12/7/2009. Youtube
3/20/2010	Steven Eugene Washington	27	Black	<p>LAPD officer's Allan Corrales and George Diego of the anti-gang unit were responding to a loud noise in the Korea Town area of Los Angeles. The officers spotted Steven Washington and presumed that he were suspicious due to Washington staring at them. They assumed that he was tugging at a weapon in his waistband; it was a cellphone. The officer's fired from their automobile striking Washington in the head. Afterwards, it was discovered that Washington was autistic. A civilian commission unanimously agreed that Corrales and Diego violated departmental policy that governed the use of lethal force. Corrales and Diego were placed on desk duty. In 2015, Corrales and Diego filed a civil lawsuit citing racial discrimination and were awarded 4 million dollars by a grand jury.</p> <p>Sources: Rubin, Joel (2011). Police commission overrules chief, says LAPD was wrong. <i>LA Times</i> Hetherman, Bill (2015)</p> <p>2 Latino officers, on desk duty since 2010, awarded 4 million dollars by grand jury. <i>LA Times</i>.</p>
11/8/2010	Derrick Jones	37	Black	<p>Jones, a business owner had a dispute with a female at a laundromat close to his barbershop. Two Oakland PD officers shot Jones 8 times. Various individuals viewed the officers' reaction to the incident as over reactive. The citizens within the community repetitively mentioned their frustration and disconnect with the Oakland PD. The police officers were found to have acted within departmental policy.</p> <p>Source (s): YouTube Michael Cotton Derrick Jones shot down by OPD. Uploaded 11/10/2010. Jones, Nicole (2010). 11/9/2010. Oakland North</p>

1/29/2010	Aaron Campbell	25	Black	<p>Aaron Campbell was distraught over the death of his brother. Additionally, Aaron's girlfriend had called 911 and told the police that Campbell might be armed with a gun. An onlooker Ryan Pernell explained to a news anchor that Mr. Campbell was compliant and did not reach for a weapon, yet Portland (Oregon) PD officer Ryan Frashour fatally shot Campbell in the back after initially firing 6 bean bag rounds at Campbell.</p> <p>Portland's Mayor Sam Adams concluded that the officers did not act maliciously although they did violate department policies on the proper use of force. An internal investigation by the Portland PD found that Officer Frashour had ignored commands from others. Sgt. Liani Reyna and Sgt. John Birkinbine were both suspended for failure to coordinate critical information as well as not communicating with a supervisor.</p> <p>Source: 1 officer fired, 3 suspended in Aaron Campbell shooting. KATU/Channel 2. http://northeastportland.katu.com. Uploaded 11/16/10</p>
01/14/2011	Reginald Doucet, Jr.	25	Black	<p>Reginald Doucet was killed by LAPD officer Aaron Goff. Doucet was walking down the street naked. An encounter ensued between Doucet and Goff where Doucet punched Goff repetitively forcing Goff to use his service weapon. Officer Goff's explanation of the events that had led to the use of deadly force did not match the deposition given to LAPD's internal affairs division. A medical examiner concluded that Goff's account did not match the fatal wounds suffered by Doucet. The police commission upheld the use of lethal force and Goff was absolved of any wrong doing.</p> <p>Source: Rubin, Joel (2011). LAPD officer found justified in fatally shooting naked man: The police</p>

				commission upholds the use of lethal force against a combative Reginald Doucet, Jr. who punched an officer and tried to grab his gun during confrontation in Playa Vista. <i>LA Times</i> .
1/20/2011	Raheim Brown	20	Black	<p>Oakland unified school district police officer's John Bellusa and Barhim Bhatt were deemed responsible for the death of Raheim Brown who allegedly was armed with a screwdriver. The screwdriver that was discovered was used primarily as a device to hotwire a car. Raheim Brown was shot 5 times. An interview of Officer John Bellusa revealed that the school district had engaged in a form of cover up to deem the shooting justifiable. Bellusa revealed that his actions and being labeled as a whistleblower has led to the department retaliating against him.</p> <p>Source: http://nbcbayarea.com The Investigative Unit</p>
7/16/11	Kenneth Harding	19	Black	<p>San Francisco PD shot and killed Kenneth Harding for not paying bus fare needed to ride the city transit. The officers claimed that Harding pointed a weapon and fired, prompting them to use lethal force. Onlookers claimed that Harding was unarmed. A witness that recorded the incident saw a man lift an object from the ground that appeared to look like a weapon. Further investigation by the media revealed that the media representative of the SFPD insisted that the amateur footage "may" have revealed a gun being removed from the scene, yet there was no such evidence.</p> <p>Source: Bayview suspect armed witness interview. ABC 7 News-San Francisco. YouTube – purldriver, Updated 7/19/2011.</p>
11/19/2011	Kenneth Chamberlain, Sr.	68	Black	Kenneth Chamberlain was tased then shot and killed by White Plains (NY) police officers Anthony

				<p>Carelli and Steven Hart. Chamberlain, a disabled veteran, accidentally activated his medical alert device. Mr. Chamberlain told the police that nothing was wrong and that he was fine while a medical aid attendant was on the telephone. The police then proceeded to force themselves into Chamberlain's apartment. The recording of the incident revealed racial epithets hurled at Chamberlain by Officer Hart. A grand jury convened and decided no bill. An autopsy revealed that Chamberlain died with his hands at his side which conflicted with the narrative given by the officers. Notably, the White Plains PD was accused of altering police reports to cover up the incident up.</p> <p>Source: Rose Arce and Soledad O'Brien (2012-05-04). Police officer cleared in shooting death of ailing veteran in New York. CNN.</p>
11/26/2011	Jimmell Cannon	13	Black	<p>Jimmell Cannon was shot and wounded in the Humbolt Park area of Chicago because he fit the description of an alleged gunman. Chicago PD officers claim that the youth fled while holding what appeared to be a pistol. CBS News 2 interviewed two individuals who were nearby when the shooting occurred. An elderly woman said, "I did not hear the police officers yell 'halt' or 'stop' police!" Another eyewitness mentioned that one of the shots fired by the police entered his home while his wife and son sat on the floor. Cannon's little brother witnessed the shooting and told their parents that Jimmell did not have a weapon in his possession. Jimmell's injuries were not life threatening and he was expected to recover. Chicago's fraternal order of police deemed the shooting necessary based upon the account given by police:</p> <p>Source: CBS News/ 2 Chicago.</p>
7/18/2011	Alonzo	29	Black	Alonzo Ashley was killed by the

	Ashley			<p>Denver PD after they received a tip of a patron exhibiting strange behavior. Upon arrival, eight Denver PD officers claimed that Mr. Ashley had exhibited unusual amounts of strength that could be compared to individuals that are high on cocaine or methamphetamines. A coroner's inquest revealed that Mr. Ashley might have either exhibited signs of the onset of an undisclosed mental illness or his erratic behavior can be attributed to signs of the onset of a heatstroke due to the weather. Although there were no drugs in Mr. Ashley's system the coroner proceeded to rule the death a homicide. Technicalities based upon the conclusiveness of the medical and legal definitions of "homicide" provided enough impetus for the eight officers involved not to be brought up on criminal charges.</p> <p>Source: Death of man at zoo was a homicide: Coroner said Mr. Ashley Alonzo was suffering from excited delirium. ABC News 7- Denver. Posted October 22, 2011.</p>
3/07/2012	Wendell Allen	20	Black	<p>Wendell Allen was killed by New Orleans PD officer Joshua Colclough during the execution of a search warrant on the home of his brother for marijuana. Wendell was coming down the stairs and was shot by Colclough. The use of force exerted by Colclough was deemed unnecessary. Colclough's resigned and was charged with manslaughter for which he received 4 years in prison.</p> <p>Source: NOPD fell short during raid that killed 20 yr. old Wendell Allen, report says. WGNO ABC/ New Orleans. Posted 8/4/2015.</p>
11/29/2012	Timothy Russell	43	Black	<p>Cleveland PD Officer Michael Brelo along with more than 100 officers were engaged in a high speed chase based on a turn signal violation committed by Russell. The occupant of Russell's vehicle</p>

				<p>Melissa Williams was also killed in the incident. Cleveland PD officers assumed that Russell had fired shots; however, the loud noise that sounded like a weapon was actually the muffler of the car backfiring. Brelo, jumped on the hood of Russell's car and fired 15 shots into the windshield of the vehicle killing the occupants. No weapon was found in Russell's vehicle. A trial by judge found that Micheal Brelo's act was justified reasonable and he was acquitted of manslaughter.</p> <p>Source: Steve Ousunsami, Dan Good, Emily Shapiro, & Whitney Lloyd via GOOD MORNING AMERICA. Cleveland Police officer's found not guilty in unarmed couple's shooting death. ABC NEWS. Updated: May 23, 2015.</p>
4/27/2012	Tamon Robinson	27	Black	<p>Robinson was accused of stealing cobblestones by the NYPD, yet witnesses and those individuals that knew of the matter claimed that Robinson had permission to take the cobblestones. Robinson was struck by a NYPD squad car and died from his injuries. The officer driving the squad car claimed that Robinson ran into the car and that caused his injuries; however, the dash camera revealed that the officers used the police cruiser as a weapon. The NYPD settled a civil suit for 2 million dollars. The disciplinary actions that may have been filed against the officers were not disclosed.</p> <p>Source: Ashley Edwards PIX 11-NEW YORK. Updated: August 8, 2014</p>
2/7/2012	Sgt. Manuel Loggins, Jr.	31	Black	<p>Marine Corps. Sgt. Manuel Loggins apparently began acting odd on the morning of Feb. 7, 2012. He had his daughters in an SUV. Loggins crashed his SUV into the gate of a local high school. Orange Co. Sherriff's department deputy Darren Sandberg responded to the scene and commanded Sgt. Loggins</p>

				<p>to “stop” and “get out of the car.” Loggins refused and Sandberg shot Loggins three times, killing him. A review of the officer’s car camera revealed Sandberg used deadly force out of fear for himself and Loggins’ two daughters. Sandberg was not charged with the killing because the DA did not find sufficient evidence to charge the officer. Loggins did not have a criminal record but he might have had a mental episode which caused his erratic behavior. The widow of Sgt. Loggins filed a wrongful death lawsuit against Orange county.</p> <p>Source: Bacchas, Danya & Monica Garske (2012). Fatal shooting of Marine was justified: DA- Camp Pendleton based Marine Sgt. Manuel Loggins, Jr. was shot and killed by deputy in a parking lot on Feb. 7. NBC Channel 7/San Diego. Updated: September 29, 2012.</p>
9/7/2012				
	Reynaldo Cuevas	20	Hispanic	<p>Reynaldo Cuevas, a clerk at a Washington Heights bodega was shot by a NYPD officer as he fled from the store to escape a robbery. The news report showed footage of Cuevas diving into the arms of the NYPD officer. Both Cuevas and the officer fell to the ground and the officer’s service weapon discharged. The name of the officer was withheld pending an investigation. The attorney for the victim’s family mentioned that Cuevas’ mother planned a civil suit against the NYPD.</p> <p>Source: Family, friends remember bodega worker NYPD says was accidentally shot: Loved ones contend that NYPD solely to blame for Reynaldo Cuevas’ death. Channel 2/ CBS- New York. Updated September 11, 2012.</p>
2/27/2012	Raymond Allen	34	Black	<p>Police responded to a call of a man that was repeatedly jumping from the second floor of a Galveston area hotel. Police saw Allen outside a local Waffle House acting erratic. Allen was tased and died.</p>

				<p>According to the <i>Houston Chronicle</i>, witnesses mentioned that the Galveston (Texas) PD officers “hogtied” Allen. They referred to the “hogtying” as low down and dirty. Allen’s wife planned to file a civil suit against the Galveston PD. The officers’ names and disciplinary actions against them were not released.</p> <p>Source: Rice, Harvey (2012). Texas Rangers look into the death of tased Galveston man. <i>Houston Chronicle</i>. Updated March 1, 2012</p>
2/2/2012	Ramarley Graham	18	Black	<p>Ramarley Graham was shot and killed by special narcotics unit officer Richard Haste. Graham was presumed to be carrying a gun. Officer Haste and another officer kicked down the door of Graham’s home. Graham was shot in the chest and no weapons were found in the home. According to a special investigative report, the NYPD is holding on to files needed by the Graham family’s attorney. The NYPD has been stalling for over 2yrs. In lieu of the matter. The city comptroller thought it best to settle and award 3 million dollars to the Graham family. Ramarley’s parents are seeking justice for their son and would like to hear the facts of the incident.</p> <p>Source: Hoffer, John. The case of Ramarley Graham revisited. ABC 7/ NY. Updated Aug 20, 2014.</p>
3/05/2012	Nehemiah Dillard	29	Black	<p>Nehemiah Dillard was arrested by the Alachua County (Florida) sheriff’s deputies for allegedly acting erratic in a neighbor’s yard. Dillard was arrested and taken to the nearest mental health hospital for evaluation. He began to assault the staff at the clinic. Sheriff’s deputies used a taser to subdue Dillard. Dillard died of cardiac arrest or “excited delirium” according to reports.</p> <p>Source: Smith, Chad (2015). Man dies after being shot with Taser. Gainesville Sun. Published March 5, 2012.</p>

3/24/2012	Kendrec McDade	19	Black	<p>Kendrec McDade was shot seven times by Pasadena police officers after they responded to an alleged armed robbery. Oscar Carillo-Gonzales told a 911 dispatcher that McDade and a friend were armed with a gun and had stolen items from his vehicle. Further investigation proved that the claim was false. Carillo was arrested for filing a false claim, suspicion of involuntary manslaughter, and staying in the country illegally. The report filed by police said that McDade was shot facing the officers but an independent review of the autopsy claims that the bullet wounds that McDade received entered from being turned around. McDade was shot at close range. The investigatory bodies responsible for the case are the Pasadena police internal affairs division, FBI, and the office of independent review. The McDade family has filed a federal civil lawsuit against the Pasadena PD. The information of the officer's involved were withheld at the time of the news report.</p> <p>Source: Kandel, Jason and Ted Chen (2012). Kendrec McDade shot by Pasadena police 7 times. NBC 4/ Southern California. Updated Dec. 17, 2012.</p>
2/13/2012	Johnnie Kamahi Warren	43	Black	<p>Houston County Sheriff's deputy responded to an incident involving a disorderly patron (Warren) at a local bar. A spokesman for the Dothan (Al.) PD noted, as the sheriff's deputy arrived at the scene he noticed at least 3 to 4 men struggling to keep the patron under control. The sheriff's deputy deployed a taser to subdue Warren. Afterwards, Warren began slipping in and out of consciousness and died at a local hospital in Dothan Al. The identity of the sheriff's deputy was not made public yet a spokesperson acknowledged that the officer was placed on light duty.</p>

				Source: Staff report (Feb. 2012). Updated Dec. 13, 2012.
03/12/2012	Jersey Green	37	Black	<p>Aurora, Illinois police officers responded to a man (Green) acting wildly and jumping on the hood of vehicles. When Green saw police coming towards him, he began to flee. Police deployed a taser which struck Green to subdue him. Green continued to struggle with the police and paramedics to prevent them from being restrained. During the altercation with police and EMT, Green spit out a bag containing a substance that resembled crack cocaine. While being transported to the emergency room, Green lost consciousness and died. An autopsy and an investigation by the Aurora (Ill.) PD Deadly Force Team sought to determine whether Green's death was caused by being tased or from the effects of being tased and illicit substance ingestion. Information pertaining to the officers involved was withheld from journalists covering the story.</p> <p>Source: Staff writer. Jersey K. Green, Aurora man, dies after being tased by police. <i>Huffington Post</i>. Posted 3/12/2012. Updated 3/13/2012</p>
	Duane Browne	26	Black	<p>Duane Brown was shot and killed by NYPD officers who mistook him for perpetrators. Mr. Brown and his girlfriend were upstairs in their room yet heard noises downstairs. Brown retrieved his gun to see what was happening. According to reports, the reason why Brown was shot and killed by NYPD officers was that he did not comply with the officers' order to refrain from moving. Eyewitnesses noticed that NYPD officers lingered around and within the apartment longer than usual for investigative purposes. Brown's mother became suspicious that the NYPD were engaging in a cover up with regard to the incident. Browne's son filed a civil lawsuit</p>

				<p>against the NYPD. The identities of the officers were withheld pending the outcome of the investigation. Browne was described as a hardworking man that kept to himself. Months afterward the NYPD officers involved were cleared of all wrongdoing including delaying medical treatment</p> <p>Source(s): Officers in fatal shooting of a Brooklyn man taken off the streets for investigation. CBS 2/New York. Posted Jan 13, 2012. -Cunningham, Jennifer (2012). Boy sues city for 10 million dollars, claiming cops shot and let dad die after mistaking him for a robber. New York Daily News. Updated Oct. 16, 2012. -Marzulli, John (2015). Jury clears NYPD cop.</p>
7/29/2012	Chavis Carter	21	Black	<p>Jonesboro, Arkansas: Carter was arrested for a warrant in Mississippi. While being transported, Carter died. Police allege that Carter had committed suicide while handcuffed in the police car. Before Carter was placed in the police car, he was searched thoroughly twice yet no weapon was found on him. Also the .380 caliber handgun that was found next to Carter in the police vehicle was a stolen handgun. The police maintain that they do not have any idea how the gun got into the police cruiser. Consequently, there was no dash camera evidence or recording of Carter's suicide in the police car. Chavis Carter's family suspect that the police may have killed Carter and are covering up the incident.</p> <p>Source: Chavis Carter Case: Tienabeso, Senboye (2012). Dash cam video in police car shooting. Good Morning America. Updated August 17, 2012.</p>
7/18/2013	Tyrone West	44	Black	<p>Nine Baltimore PD officers: 1) Jorge Omar Bernandez, 2) Nicholas David Chapman, 3) Mathew Rea</p>

				<p>Cioffi, 4) Alex Ryan Hashagen, 5) Eric Maurice Hinton, 6) Danielle Angela Lewis, 7) Derrick DeWayne Beasley, 8) Latreese Nicole Lee, and 9) A Morgan State University PD officer (name unknown) were cleared in the death of Tyrone West. An eyewitness account of the beating revealed that when police stopped Mr. West; he had refused to allow them to search his vehicle. The officers suspected that Mr. West may have had narcotics in the vehicle. The eyewitness proceeded to reveal that an officer sprayed Mr. West with mace and Mr. West became disoriented and screamed for help then began to flee the officers. Afterwards the officers began punching, kicking, and beating Mr. West with batons. The prosecutor alleged that Mr. West did not comply, was combative, and tried to take an officer's weapon. Mr. West's pre-existing medical condition (heart) and the use of force could have contributed to his death. A grand jury agreed. All nine officers were cleared of wrongdoing.</p> <p>Source(s): Khan, Saliqa (2013). Cause of death released 5 months after man dies: Cardiac arrhythmia, dehydration cited in Tyrone West's death. WBALTV/ Channel 11. Updated 12/11/2013</p> <p>-Traffic stop ends in Baltimore man's death; police investigating: Witness says some type of spray used; police look for public's help. WBALTV/ Channel 11. Updated 7/21/2013.</p> <p>-Lettis, George (2013). Prosecutor: No charges will be filed in Tyrone West's death: Man died in police custody in July, nine officer's involved in wrongdoing. Updated 12/20/2013.</p>
7/26/2013	Larry Eugene Jackson, Jr.		Black	<p>Detective Charles Kleinart was indicted for the shooting death of Larry Eugene Jackson Jr. According to a witness, Jackson was walking away from a bank that</p>

				<p>had just been robbed. A scuffle with the officer followed and Jackson was killed.</p> <p>Source: Plohetski, Tony (2015). New details in controversial police shooting from eyewitness account. Updated Feb 13. 2015.</p>
3/9/2013	Kimani Gray	16	Black	<p>Kimani Gray was shot and killed by two plainclothes police officers in Flatbush, Brooklyn while leaving a party. The officers alleged that Mr. Gray pulled out a gun and pointed it at them, hence their use of force in shooting Mr. Gray seven times. Eyewitnesses say that they heard Gray screaming: "Please let me live. I don't want to die" as he was shot. A gun was recovered (.38 caliber handgun stolen from Florida). The community maintains that the police used a drop gun and planted it at the scene to justify the use of force. Consequently, riots with the police were sparked when a grand jury decided not to indict the officers. During the investigation, knowledge of Mr. Gray's gang involvement and criminal record was utilized to frame the story.</p> <p>Source(s): Goodman, David and Tim Stelloh (2013). Police kill 16 year old they say pointed a handgun. The New York Times (3/10/2013). -Marzulli, John, Oren Yaniv (2014). Officers involved in the fatal shooting of 16 year old Kimani Gray won't be brought against the officers and a case won't go before a grand jury. <i>New York Daily News</i>. 7/29/2014.</p>
9/14/2013	Johnathan Ferrell	24	Black	<p>Mr. Johnathan Ferrell, had gotten into a car crash in the early morning hours of September 14, 2013. Mr. Ferrell had gone to a house to ask for help; however, the homeowner assumed that he was a burglar and called the police. Charlotte – Mecklenberg PD officer Randall Kerrick claimed that Ferrell was acting "zombie"- like and appeared</p>

				<p>to have superhuman strength. Ferrell was shot a total of 10 times by Officer Kerrik. Additionally, he was shot three times as he crawled in pain and twice as he lay still. An EMT testified that as Ferrell lay handcuffed face down in a ditch, he asked if he could turn him over to check his pulse and the officers at the scene day, said, "no." Officer Adam Neal who was at the scene testified that he heard no commands directed at Mr. Ferrell. A grand jury was deadlocked and could not reach a verdict to indict Officer Kerrick of involuntary manslaughter. The city of Charlotte settled out of court for 2.25 million dollars.</p> <p>Source: King, Shaun. (2015). Jonathan Ferrell shot 8 times while crawling, EMT said police would not let him administer first aid. Daily Kos. Updated Aug 4, 2015. -Hauser, Christine (2015). Video is released from 2013 North Carolina police shooting of Jonathan Ferrell. The New York Times. Updated August 6, 2015.</p>
5/05/2013	Deion Fludd	17	Black	<p>Deion Fludd was rendered quadriplegic after being beaten by NYPD and MTA. Deion and his girlfriend tried to squeeze through a turnstile to board a train. The officers claimed that Fludd was hit by a subway; however, a physician's opinion of Fludd's injuries was that he sustained them from a beating and not a subway. Fludd, died of his injuries July 12, 2013. Fludd's mother has filed a lawsuit against the NYPD and MTA.</p> <p>Source: Lawsuit: NYPD accused of excessive force that left teen quadriplegic. Black Youth Project. Updated April 11, 2014. www.blackyouthproject.com.</p>
8/ 2013	Carlos Alcis	43	Haitian	<p>Alcis died of a heart attack after being questioned at night by police on the suspicion of mugging. According to neighbors, Alcis was</p>

				<p>a quiet man. A 16 year old suspect was apprehended two days later. Source: Brooklyn family: Man died of apparent heart attack after cops barged into home.</p> <p>Source: 2 CBS/ New York: Police maintain that they knocked before gaining access to Alcis home. Updated: 8/16/2013.</p>
9/17/2013	Barrington Williams	25	Black	<p>Mr. Barrington Williams was confronted by NYPD officers because he were suspected of selling Metro cards. Afterwards, he began to flee from the police. Once the police placed him in handcuffs he became unresponsive and died. An autopsy revealed that he died of an asthma attack. An investigation determined that it was difficult to establish whether he died from being chased by the police or from a respiratory condition.</p> <p>Source: Samaha, Albert (2013). Barrington Williams died from asthma attack after police chase, medical examiner. <i>The Village Voice</i>. Updated 11/13/2013.</p>
12/24/2014	Jordan Baker	26	Black	<p>Jordan Baker was shot and killed by Houston (Texas) PD officer Juventino Castro. Castro was working an extra security detail at a strip mall and noticed Baker looking through store windows. Baker was wearing a hoodie. Jordan was unarmed and with family and friends. Baker was a victim of racial profiling based upon his clothing. A grand jury chose not to indict HPD officer Castro. State representative Sheila Jackson Lee notes: "Houston has an Black population of 23.7% within Houston. However, as of 2012 accounted for 48% of victims killed by police."</p> <p>Source(s): George, Cindy (2014). Grand jury clears officer in deadly police shooting. <i>Houston Chronicle</i>. Updated: 12.23/2014. -Murdock, Sebastian (2014). Officer Juventino Castro will walk free after killing unarmed man Jordan Baker. <i>Huffington Post</i>.</p>

				Updated 12/24/2014.
4/30/2014	Donitre Hamilton		Black	<p>Donitre Hamilton, who had schizophrenia, was sleeping on a park bench when Milwaukee police department officer Christopher Manney initiated a patdown that ultimately led to the shooting death of Mr. Hamilton. Hamilton was shot 14 times. According to Officer Manney, a struggle ensued where Hamilton tried to grab his weapon. Subsequently, Manney was relieved of his duties because he had failed to utilize his training that pertained to police practices when dealing with persons who are mentally ill. He was not indicted.</p> <p>Source(s): Madhani, Aarner (2014). No charges for Milwaukee officer who shot man 14 times. <i>USA Today</i>. Updated 12/22/2014. -DeLong, Katie and Ashley Sears (2015). Sen. Baldwin, Rep. Moore issue a letter over lack of experience in federal review of Dontre Hamilton.</p>
7/17/2014	Eric Garner	43	Black	<p>Cell phone video accounts reveal that NYPD officer Danny Panteleo stopped Garner on the assumption that he was selling loose cigarettes. Pantelo, had Mr. Garner's head pinned to the ground as Garner repeated "I can't breathe."</p> <p>Officer Panteleo was named in two lawsuits based upon the allegations of violating an individual's civil rights. Officer Panteleo had been placed on restricted duty following the incident. A grand jury did not indict Panteleo on charges related to homicide, although, a coroner's inquest ruled Mr. Garner's death a homicide. Currently, Officer Panteleo, is under 24 hour police protection due to the death threats.</p> <p>Source: Eric Garner video-unedited version. <i>New York Daily News</i>. Published July 2015 -Eric Garner family settles with NYC for 5.9 million dollars. <i>Time</i>. Published for July 13, 2015.</p>

8/5/2014	John Crawford	22	Black	<p>Mr. John Crawford was killed by Beavercreek, Ohio police officers based upon a fabricated 911 call placed by a man named Ronald Ritchie. Ritchie claimed that Crawford was waiving a loaded assault rifle at patrons of the Walmart. Walmart surveillance film showed something different.</p> <p>The officers involved were not indicted and Ronald Ritchie was not charged with making a false claim to police. The family is pursuing civil litigation and the Department of Justice is reviewing the case.</p> <p>Source(s): Williams, Jessie (2014). Killing of John Crawford. Injustice for all. <i>Time</i>. Updated: 12/1/2014. -Chittal, Nisha (2014). Family of John Crawford sues police, Walmart. Updated: 12/15/2014.</p>
08/05/2014	Tyree Woodson	38	Black	<p>Mr. Tyree Woodson was apprehended by the Baltimore PD Warrant Task Force. Woodson had requested to use the restroom in the SW district's police station. He was found dead with a gunshot wound to the head. WBAL's narrative of Mr. Woodson focused nearly entirely on Mr. Woodson's criminal history rather than the circumstances pertaining to his death within the police station. Police officials assume that Woodson must have brought the gun in via a foot brace that he was wearing due to a foot injury. Police do not know how he got the gun in the station and the Maryland department of training and professional standards are investigating the matter placing emphasis on searching at intake. Tyree Woodson's mother agreed that her son was "no angel," yet pleads that her son would not commit suicide. A separate local news outlet described Mr. Woodson as a "gang member" with a propensity for "guns."</p> <p>Source(s): Reed, Kal (2014).</p>

				<p>Baltimore man shoots himself inside Baltimore police station: Baltimore police investigating how gun got into station. WBALTV/Channel 11. Updated 8/07/14.</p> <p>WMAR staff (2014). Baltimore gang member who killed himself with gun identified. WBAR/ABC Channel 2. Posted 8/05/2014; Updated 08/06/2014.</p>
08/09/2014	Michael Brown	18	Black	<p>Officer Darren Wilson responded to a robbery of a convenience store. Supposedly, Michael Brown had taken three cigars (cigarillos) without paying for them. Officer Wilson spotted Michael and his friend Dorian Johnson leaving the scene.</p> <p>Accounts of what happened next differ. Brown took steps toward Wilson who fired 12 shots at Brown as he approached. Wilson claimed that residents of the neighborhood began to pour out of their homes in protest as confused police looked on.</p> <p>Officer Wilson received one million dollars from the media for his story before a grand jury convened. Wilson was not indicted by a grand jury. The parents of Michael Brown have filed a civil suit against the city of Ferguson and the Department of Justice has reviewed the incident.</p> <p>Sources:</p> <p>Bradley, Ben (2015). Chicago Police officer's alleged Michael Brown comments under investigation. WLST (ABC)/Channel 7 Eyewitness News.</p> <p>-New video from the Michael Brown shooting. CNN. Posted 08/14/2104.</p> <p>-Anonymous (2014). Audio tapes Ferguson (St. Louis Dispatch) (Michael Brown shooting). Anonymous Official. Published 08/14/2014.</p>
08/11/2014	Ezell Ford	25	Black	<p>Ezell Ford was shot and killed by officers attached to the LAPD anti-</p>

				<p>gang unit who on a “hunch,” suspected that Mr. Ford was in possession of illicit narcotics. Officer Charlton Wampler and officer Antonio Villegas were the two officers that confronted Ford as he was walking home.</p> <p>The officers had simply wanted to “talk” to Ford, yet Mr. Ford continued to go about his business and continued walking toward his home. Officer Wampler began to follow Ford and touched Ford on his shoulder with the intention to detain Ford based on “reasonable suspicion,” the assumption that Ford looked “nervous,” and based upon the neighborhood having “drug” and “gang” activity. A struggle ensued between Officer Wampler and Mr. Ford. Officer Villegas then shot and killed Mr. Ford. Mr. Ford did not have a weapon nor was he in possession of illicit narcotics.</p> <p>A committee investigating the matter concluded that “Wampler did not have reason enough to detain Ford.”</p> <p>An eyewitness Shante’ Harris described for CNN that the officers jumped out of an unmarked vehicle with guns drawn as Mr. Ford stood still with his hands up yet wrestled him to the ground. One shot rang out when she heard the officer tell the other officer to [shoot] him again. The attorney for the Ford family plans to file a federal civil lawsuit against the LAPD.</p> <p>Source: Brumfield, Ben (2015). Los Angeles officers who killed Ezell Ford violated policy, civilian board finds. CNN. Updated 6/10/2015.</p>
08/12/2014	Dante Parker	36	Black	<p>Dante Parker had allegedly tried to burglarize a home and the sheriff that responded to the incident had deployed a taser after a scuffle with the female sheriff’s deputy because someone reported that an attempted burglar was riding a bike within a community located in San Bernadino, California. He was</p>

				assumed to be on drugs. Mr. Parker did not have a record but for a 1997 DUI elsewhere.
03/3/2014	Victor White, III	22	Black	Mr. Victor White, III was found shot dead in the back of an Iberia County (Louisiana) squad car. While in the back of the squad car with hands handcuffed, after being patted down twice, the public was asked to believe that he shot himself as his death was ruled a suicide.
11/22/2014	Tamir Rice	12	Black	<p>Tamir Rice, a 12 year old was shot and killed by Cleveland Police who responded to a call of a Black male on a playground wielding a gun that was probably fake. The officers assumed that Rice was much older and estimated that his age was at least 16. Cleveland PD officers Frank Garmbeck and Timothy Loehmann had mentioned in the official police report that they shouted commands to the juvenile to drop the weapon; some witnesses refute this. A police dash camera video shows the officer exited the vehicle at a distance of 4.5 to 7 feet away from Rice and seconds later shot Rice. The District Attorney sought to indict Officer Loehmann for murder and dereliction of duty and Officer Gambrick for manslaughter and dereliction of duty.</p> <p>Source: Ellis, Ralph and Melissa Gray (2015). Tamir Rice report: No proof police officer shouted warning before shooting. CNN. Updated 6/15/2015.</p>
11/20/2014	Akai Gurley	28	Black	<p>Mr. Akai Gurley was shot and killed by NYPD officer Peter Liang at the Louis Pink Houses housing projects in Brooklyn, New York. The officers were performing what news reporters mentioned to be a vertical patrol of the stairwells within the housing project. Mr. Gurley was on the stairs and somehow Liang shot Gurley by mistake.</p> <p>The stairwell was dimly lit and the</p>

				<p>hallway was dark. Officer Liang had begun to argue with his partner pertaining to reporting the incident to the supervisor. Eyewitness accounts revealed that Liang repeatedly said, "I am going to get fired." Advocates for Officer Liang believe that the officer's actions were accidental rather than negligent. A grand jury indicted Liang on the charges: Manslaughter, criminally negligent homicide, second degree assault, second degree reckless endangerment, and official misconduct.</p> <p>The mother of Mr. Gurley's child has filed notice against the New York City Housing Authority for \$50 million dollars.</p> <p>Sources: Leid, Carolina (2015). Rookie NTPD officer pleads not guilty in shooting death of Akai Gurley. ABC 7 NY/ WABC 7 Eyewitness News. Updated: 2/7/2015.</p>
3/9/2015	Anthony Hill	27	Black	<p>Mr. Anthony Hill, a veteran that suffers from bipolar disorder was shot and killed by Dekalb Co. (Ga.) police for acting erratic while naked. Dekalb Co. police officer Robert Olsen shot and killed Hill after he ordered Hill who was moving toward him to stop.</p> <p>Mr. Hill had discontinued the use of his medication due to the side effects.</p> <p>Charges have not been filed against the officer for any wrongdoing. The Georgia Bureau of Investigations is currently investigating the case.</p> <p>Source(s): Moore, Darren (2015). Police identify the naked man shot, killed by DeKalb officer. WSBTV 2/Atlanta. Updated March 10, 2015.</p> <p>Crime Insider Staff (2015). Girlfriend: Naked man killed by Ga. Police was an Airforce vet. CBS/AP. Updated 3/11/2015.</p>
4/4/2015	Walter Scott	50	Black	<p>Walter Scott was shot and killed by Charleston S. C. police officer Michael Slager after a traffic stop</p>

				<p>for a broken brake light. Scott got out of his car and ran possibly because of his outstanding child support debt.</p> <p>Faden Santana, a passerby, filmed the incident on his cell phone which showed the officer shooting Michael Scott as he ran from Officer Slager. The video also shows Slager walk toward Scott and seemingly planting his taser next to Scott's body. A grand jury has indicted Micheal Slager for murder.</p> <p>Source: South Carolina ex-police officer indicted in Walter Scott killing. CNN. Updated: June 8, 2015.</p>
4/19/2015	Freddie Gray	25	Black	<p>Mr. Freddie Gray, a resident of Baltimore was arrested by officers. While Mr. Gray was being transported by the Baltimore officers he died in their custody due to injuries that he sustained at some point.</p> <p>The city of Baltimore settled for 6.5 million dollars to be awarded to the Gray family. Officers Edward Nero, Garrett Miller, William Porter, Goodson, Lt. Brian Rice, Sgt. Alicia White have been indicted for the death of Freddie Gray.</p> <p>The death triggered protests and riots in the Black community.</p> <p>Source: Frantz, Ashley and Greg Botelho (2015). What we know, don't know about Freddie Gray's death? CNN. Updated: 4/29/15.</p> <p>Novacic, Inez (2015). Real Talk: What Baltimore residents think of unrest? CBS News. Updated: 4/28/15.</p> <p>Reiss, Adam (2015). Six Cops in Freddie Gray case will be tried in Baltimore. NBC News. Updated 09/10/15.</p>

