### RACE AND RACIALIZED POLICING IN THE U.S. **PART TWO**

Folks, this is a two-part reading; you must read both parts with diligence (see below).

NOTE: This reading goes with these two videos, which you must also view with diligence:

Video (a): What is the Police For?

Video (b): Race and Policing in United States

Both videos are available HERE.

The Washington Post

## Aren't more white people than black people killed by police? Yes, but no.

By Wesley Lowery July 11, 2016

SOURCE: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/07/11/arent-more-white-people-than-black-people-killed-by-police-yes-but-no">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/07/11/arent-more-white-people-than-black-people-killed-by-police-yes-but-no</a>

Dylan Noble died on the last Saturday of June.

Police in Fresno, Calif., received a report of a man walking a downtown street with a rifle, but when they arrived, they instead found Noble speeding by in his pickup truck.

When they tried to pull him over, the 19-year-old led police to a nearby gas station and then exited his car.

"The driver then turned towards officers with one hand concealed behind his back, and told officers he hated his life," the Fresno police department said in a statement. "As he continued to advance towards officers, an officer-involved shooting occurred."



The department framed it as a "suicide by cop." His family insisted that could not be the case, urged federal officials to investigate and demanded that video from the body cameras worn by both officers involved be released.

Members of Black Lives Matter participate in the annual Martin Luther King Holiday Peace Walk and Parade in Washington, D.C. (Alex Wong/Getty Images)

"I am outraged that the police would shoot my son and say that it is his fault," Veronica Nelson, Noble's mother, told reporters at a news conference not long after the shooting. "So please join me as I'm demanding justice for Dylan."

Noble's friends and family gathered for days at the gas station parking lot where he was killed — some waving Confederate flags and others chanting, "White lives matter."

And soon, they were angry at their inability to garner more attention. At a time when dozens of police killings have prompted outrage, why hadn't this one? Was it because Noble was white?

For current figures on police shootings in the U.S., go to this database here.

Many across the nation find themselves this week asking a similar question in the days since two recent police shootings of black men — in Baton Rouge and Falcon Heights, Minn. — have sparked nationwide protests:

Doesn't the available data show more white Americans are being killed by police officers? Where is the outrage for them?

"If we have a shooting, we end up assuming that it had to be racial," former Arkansas governor Mike <u>Huckabee (R) said Saturday</u> during an interview with Fox News, in which he argued that national concerns about police killings of black men are overblown.

"When in fact, as we know ... more white people have been shot by police officers this year than minorities," he said.

Huckabee is not, factually, incorrect.

In 2015, The Washington Post launched a real-time database to track fatal police shootings, and the project continues this year. As of Sunday, 1,502 people have been shot and killed by on-duty police officers since Jan. 1, 2015. Of them, 732 were white, and 381 were black (and 382 were of another or unknown race).

But as data scientists and policing experts often note, comparing how many or how often white people are killed by police to how many or how often black people are killed by the police is statistically dubious unless you first adjust for population.

According to the most recent census data, there are nearly 160 million more white people in America than there are black people. White people make up roughly 62 percent of the U.S. population but only about 49 percent of those who are killed by police officers. African Americans, however, account for 24 percent of those fatally shot and killed by the police despite being just 13 percent of the U.S. population. As The Post noted in a new analysis published last week, that means black Americans are 2.5 times as likely as white Americans to be shot and killed by police officers.

U.S. police officers have shot and killed the exact same number of unarmed white people as they have unarmed black people: 50 each. But because the white population is approximately five times

larger than the black population, that means unarmed black Americans were five times as likely as unarmed white Americans to be shot and killed by a police officer.

[READ MORE: Unarmed and black: Police are still killing unarmed black men at higher rates than whites]

Police have shot and killed a young black man (ages 18 to 29) — such as Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo. —175 times since January 2015; 24 of them were unarmed. Over that same period, police have shot and killed 172 young white men, 18 of whom were unarmed. Once again, while in raw numbers there were similar totals of white and black victims, blacks were killed at rates disproportionate to their percentage of the U.S. population. Of all of the unarmed people shot and killed by police in 2015, 40 percent of them were black men, even though black men make up just 6 percent of the nation's population.

For current figures on police shootings in the U.S., go to this database <a href="here">here</a>.

And, when considering shootings confined within a single race, a black person shot and killed by police is more likely to have been unarmed than a white person. About 13 percent of all black people who have been fatally shot by police since January 2015 were unarmed, compared with 7 percent of all white people.

In response to these statistics, critics of police reform — often political conservatives and police unions — typically argue that the reason more black men and women are shot and killed by police is that black Americans commit more violent crime.

"There's too much violence in the black community," former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani said Sunday on CBS's "Face The Nation." "If you want to deal with this on the black side, you've got to teach your children to be respectful to the police, and you've got to teach your children that the real danger to them is not the police; the real danger to them, 99 out of 100 times, 9,900 out of 10,000 times, are other black kids who are going to kill them. That's the way they're gonna die." Page 4 of 16

#### Giuliani: Black parents should teach children to respect police

Responding to the wave of demonstrations across the country that have been triggered by recent police shootings of black men, Former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani said black parents should teach their children to be respectful to police. (Reuters)

As the New York Daily News noted: Giuliani is wrong about the so-called black-on-black crime rate. According to FBI numbers from 2014, about 90 percent of black homicide victims were killed by other black people. The "white-on-white" murder rate that same year — homicides in which a white person was killed by another white person — was 82 percent of all murders of white people.

[READ MORE: How Philando Castile's killing changed the way blacks talk about traffic stops]

But it is true that a disproportionate amount of murders and other violent crimes are committed by black Americans.

Because detailed FBI data on crime can lag by several years, the <u>most-cited</u> statistics on this point refer to 2009 data. According to that data, out of all violent crimes in which someone was charged, black Americans were charged with 62 percent of robberies, 57 percent of murders and 45 percent of assaults in the country's 75 biggest counties — despite the fact that black Americans made up just 15 percent of the population in those places.

"Such a concentration of criminal violence in minority communities means that officers will be disproportionately confronting armed and often resisting suspects in those communities, raising officers' own risk of using lethal force," wrote Heather Mac Donald, a conservative researcher, in a Wall Street Journal column headlined "The Myths of Black Lives Matter" that was originally published in February and re-published this weekend. The assertion that the black men and women killed by police are primarily violent criminals and the explanation for racial disparities in who gets killed by law enforcement is the premise of Mac Donald's new book, "The War on Cops."

"Blacks are three times as likely to be killed by cops as are whites, on a per-capita basis," Peter Moskos, a former Baltimore police officer and criminal justice researcher at John Jay College of Criminal Justice told the New York Times last April. "But part of that is because of crime in predominantly black neighborhoods."

Despite these arguments, police reform advocates and researchers as well at The Post's own analysis has consistently concluded that there is no correlation between violent crime and who is killed by police officers.

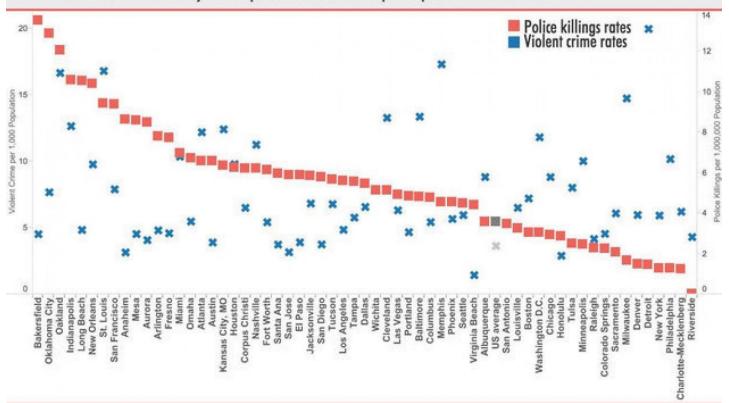
[READ MORE: White N.C. man arrested after pulling gun on deputy, who wrestled it away, sheriff says]

A 2015 study by a University of California at Davis researcher concluded there was "no relationship" between crime rates by race and racial bias in police killings. A <u>report released last</u> week by the Center for Policing Equity, which reviewed arrest and use-of-force data from 12 police departments, concluded that black residents were more often targeted for use of police force than white residents, even when adjusting for whether the person was a violent criminal.

"We've been hearing these arguments going around without any data or any evidence from folks who are saying that police are killing so many people — particularly black people — because they say black people are in high-crime communities and potentially involved in criminal activity," Samuel Sinyangwe, a data analyst and activist with Campaign Zero — a policy-oriented activist collective associated with the Black Lives Matter protest movement — told the Huffington Post in December.

#### Police Violence and Community Violence are Independent Issues

Violent crime levels in U.S. cities did not appear to make it any more or less likely for police to kill people in 2015.



Source: MappingPoliceViolence.org; US Census 2014; FBI Uniform Crime Report 2014 Police killings data from Jan 1 through Dec 15, 2015

In a report covering 2015 data, Campaign Zero compared violent crime rates of 50 major cities to the rate at which police officers killed people, concluding that there was no correlation.

As part of its data effort, The Post tracks the "threat level" of each person who is shot and killed by a police officer: Were they shooting at the officer? Were they threatening the officer? Were they fleeing?

Overall, the majority of the people who have been shot and killed by police officers in 2015 and 2016 were, based on publicly available evidence, <u>armed with a weapon and attempting to attack the officer or someone else</u>.

But an independent analysis of The Post's data conducted by a team of criminal-justice researchers concluded that, when factoring in threat level, black Americans who are fatally shot by police are no more likely to be posing an imminent lethal threat to the officers at the moment they are killed than white Americans fatally shot by police.

[READ MORE: Study finds police fatally shoot unarmed black men at disproportionate rates]

The study also sought to answer whether officers were more likely to shoot and kill someone who is unarmed if the shooting happened to occur in a high-crime area. They concluded that is not the case.

"The only thing that was significant in predicting whether someone shot and killed by police was unarmed was whether or not they were black," said Justin Nix, a criminal-justice researcher at the University of Louisville and one of the report's authors, <u>said in April</u>. "Crime variables did not matter in terms of predicting whether the person killed was unarmed."

"This just bolsters our confidence that there is some sort of implicit bias going on," Nix said. "Officers are perceiving a greater threat when encountered by unarmed black citizens."

Racial disparities in the rate of police shootings do not mean, though, that criminal-justice experts are not concerned about how many people are being killed by police officers — including white people.

Statistics kept by the FBI have never counted more than 460 police shootings in a single year. However, The Post's database chronicled 990 fatal police shootings in 2015, and 494 of those people were white.

Among them are several cases that drew national headlines. Two officers will face trial for the shooting of 6-year-old Jeremy Mardis, <u>2015's youngest police-shooting victim</u>. The family of <u>Zachary Hammond</u>, who was shot and killed by officers in Seneca, S.C., received a \$2.15 million settlement.

## READ MORE: [Inside small-town Louisiana feud that led to a 6-year-old boy's police killing]

And the civil suit is still pending in the case of Deven Guilford, a white 17-year-old who was killed during a traffic stop. Guilford flashed his headlights on a snowy Michigan night in February 2015 to signal to an oncoming driver to turn off his high beams. The driver turned out to be an officer, who did a U-turn and pulled Guilford over. In a confrontation captured on several cameras the two argued, then fought.

Guilford voluntarily exited the car and lay on the ground when commanded — but he refused to set down his cellphone. Sheriff's Department Sgt. Jonathan Frost shocked him with a stun gun. The video goes black. Then, the sound of gunshots.

"Deven went from flashing his lights to being dead six minutes later," Hugh Davis, an attorney for Guilford's family, told The Post in December. "And there is no explanation for it."

#### [The Washington Post's 2015 database of fatal police shootings]

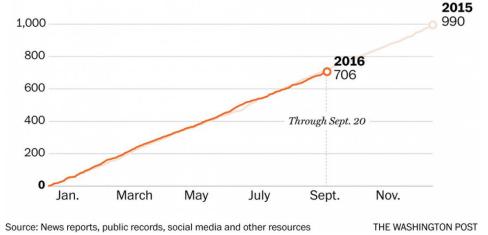
In Fresno, Noble was at least the seventh person shot and killed by city police since 2015, and one of three white men (the other four were Hispanic men), according to The Post's database.

And cellphone <u>video obtained by the Fresno Bee</u> raises new questions about the police account of the shooting.

#### The number of people shot by police

The fatal police shooting of Keith Lamont Scott in Charlotte on Tuesday was one of 58 such deaths since Sept. 1. That's eight more than in the same period in 2015, but seven fewer than the annual total this time last year.

Late last, week the FBI said it would open an investigation.



Police are on pace to fatally shoot about as many people in 2016 as they did in 2015

READ MORE: Police are
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Protests in Minnesota and D.C. after a black man was fatally shot during a traffic stop. Protesters gather in Falcon Heights, a St. Paul suburb, after the killing of 32-yearold Philando Castile.

For current figures on police shootings in the U.S., go to this database here.



Police shot and killed nearly 1,000 people last year. They're on track to reach the same numbers this year. [2016]

Steven Rich contributed to this report, which has been updated.

# More police shootings are being caught on camera — but many of those videos aren't released to the public

By Wesley Lowery September 22, 2016

SOURCE: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/09/22/more-police-shootings-are-being-caught-on-camera-but-many-of-those-videos-arent-released-to-the-public">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/09/22/more-police-shootings-are-being-caught-on-camera-but-many-of-those-videos-arent-released-to-the-public</a>

CHARLOTTE — For two nights, enraged residents here have taken to the streets in both peaceful and violent demonstrations following the fatal police shooting of Keith Lamont Scott, 43.

Police have said Scott raised a gun toward an officer. Scott's family members have said he had a book in his hands. Activists have noted that North Carolina is an open-carry state — and that even

if Scott was armed, they want to see proof of him raising the weapon in a way that would justify lethal force.

Body-camera video of the incident could settle the dispute over whether Scott was armed, but police and city officials have declined to make the video public.

Last year, Charlotte became the first city in North Carolina to equip all of its uniformed officers with body cameras. Although the officer who shot and killed Scott was in plainclothes and not wearing a body camera, officials have said that parts of the interaction were captured by body cameras worn by other officers as well as a dash-mounted camera.

This tussle — between public calls for transparency and police pleas for patience — has played out in dozens of U.S. cities in the past two years. Citing cases such as the shootings of Walter Scott, where video upends the police narrative of events, many activists argue that the only way they can know for sure what happened in an incident is if officials release video. Police departments often say that releasing the video too soon could undermine their investigations of these incidents.

"Transparency is in the eye of the beholder," Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Chief Kerr Putney said at a news conference Thursday morning. "I'm going to be very intentional about protecting the integrity of the investigation. We release it when we believe it's a compelling reason."



Charlotte police chief: 'Transparency is in the eye of the beholder'

Charlotte Police Chief Kerr Putney said on Sept. 22 that he has no plan to release publicly a video of the deadly encounter with Keith Lamont Scott. (Reuters)

Initially, police in Charlotte said that they could not legally release the body camera video of Scott's shooting, citing a state law passed by the Republican legislature this year that bans the release of body-camera footage without a court order.

However, that law will not go into effect until Oct. 1, and Charlotte Mayor Jennifer Roberts said that because this shooting occurred before that date, the city does not think the video's release is governed by the new law.

"It's not subject to the new law," Roberts told The Post during an interview Wednesday night in which she said she planned to view the video Thursday.

As the city recovers from a night in which peaceful demonstrations turned into violent clashes that included the smashing of storefront windows and a shooting that left one man in critical condition, officials have yet to announce whether the video of the shooting will be released Thursday, or anytime soon. Scott's family members are expected to view the video Thursday.

"Clearly from my perspective I'd like to have it public as soon as possible," Roberts said. "I think the community wants to see the gun and have the integrity of seeing that evidence because the stories right now are so different."

[Charlotte's mayor: I've asked to see police shooting footage; 'I understand the anger']

Charlotte's resistance to calls to release the video is not without precedent. Although the increase in the use of body cameras has led to more shootings being captured on film, most of those videos are not immediately released to the public.

Of the 706 fatal police shootings that have occurred this year, The Post has found that at least 90 have been captured by a body camera, 30 by a dash camera and 54 others were recorded at least in part by a bystander or surveillance camera (some shootings were captured by multiple types of camera).

Those numbers represent an increase from 2015, when out of 990 fatal police shootings, The Post was able to identify 71 that were captured by body camera, 14 caught on dash camera and 70 with some other type of video.

However, more fatal police shootings being caught on camera does not mean that the public is seeing more of those videos than last year.

Some videos, especially those filmed by bystanders, such as those of the fatal shootings of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile earlier this summer, are released to the public quickly. However, most body-camera and dash-camera videos depicting police shootings are not released by police departments until after the formal investigation of the incident is complete, a process that can stretch for months and in some cases years.

"Transparency is the bedrock of rebuilding trust," said Phillip Goff, a professor at the University of California and co-founder of the Center for Policing Equity. "At a moment when public trust in police is in crisis, it's necessary that police leaders, city leaders and community leaders put a focus on transparency."

In some policing circles it's considered a rule of thumb that videos showing potentially questionable shootings or that could otherwise be inflammatory should be released expediently to avoid allegations of a coverup. Earlier this week, officials in Tulsa released dash-camera footage showing the police shooting death of Terence Crutcher, an unarmed black man, just days after the shooting took place.

That conventional wisdom is derived, in part, from the backlash leveled at Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel (D) after his administration sat for a full year on the dash video of the shooting of Laquan McDonald, a black teenager killed in 2014. But, as recently as this week, former Chicago police superintendent Garry McCarthy defended the decision to not release the video sooner.

"If I was asked, and I was not, I would have recommended not releasing the Laquan McDonald video, for no other reason than we don't release evidence in a criminal investigation," McCarthy said during a speech Monday at the City Club of Chicago. "We don't say 'This is what we've got' while the case is still pending."

Ultimately, officer Jason Van Dyke, who shot McDonald 16 times, was charged with first-degree murder.

An October 2015 analysis by The Post found that despite vows of transparency, most police departments had developed the practice of withholding body-camera videos from the public. At the time, less than half of the fatal police shootings captured by body camera in 2015 had been publicly released — even though, in almost all cases, the officers involved had been allowed to view the camera footage while preparing their statements about the shooting. And at least 10 states, including North Carolina, passed laws limiting the public's right to access body-camera videos.

**READ MORE:** [Police withhold videos despite vows of transparency]

"At a time when you're seeing other states becoming more transparent, North Carolina is taking this tremendous step backward," Mike Meno, spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union of North Carolina, said Wednesday.

The violent protests and conflicting accounts in Charlotte proves "just how misguided this new law is," Meno said, and shows why public access to such footage is crucial.

## RACE AND RACIALIZED POLICING IN THE U.S. **PART ONE**

Folks, Part ONE of this reading is Reading no. **RCR-22(a)**, available **here.** Reminder: You must read both parts.

NOTE: This reading goes with these two videos, which you must also view with diligence:

(a) What is the Police For?(b) Race and Policing in United States
Both videos are available **here**.



Black cops charged with the murder of Tyre Nichols



Family members of Tyre Nichols with a picture of him in the hospital before he passed away from his injuries.