

A Content Analysis on Police Killings of Unarmed Black Males:
An Assessment of Experts' Quotes in National News Sources

by

Christopher Fulcher

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

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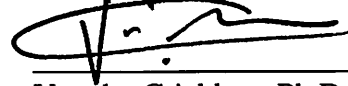
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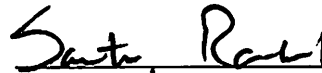
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This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor, Dr. Vaughn Crichlow, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice and has been approved by the members of his supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the College for Design and Social Inquiry and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

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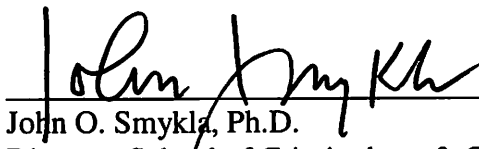
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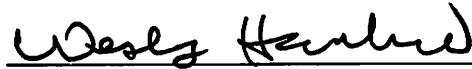
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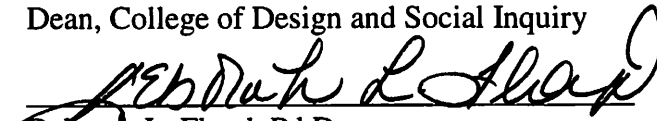
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Abstract

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There is increasing concern in news media sources regarding police killings of unarmed Black males. However, there is limited research on the portrayal of such incidents in the news and the implications for police-community relations in African-American communities. In order to address this gap, this study analyzed 120 experts' quotes provided by two of the largest and most respected newspapers in the United States -- the *New York Times* and *USA Today*. This research comprised a content analysis of quotes related to the deaths of Eric Garner (Staten Island, New York), Michael Brown (Ferguson, Missouri), and Freddie Gray (Baltimore City, Maryland). A number of factors are discussed: The news organization's predominate category and specialty of experts selected; whether the experts' quotes attributed to pro-police or community bias; if the experts' quotes discussed social or racial inequalities in the cities selected; whether the

experts addressed evidence-based strategies necessary to improve police-community relations in the Black community, and whether experts' quotes discussed solutions to improve police and community relations in the Black community. The findings suggest that the selected national news sources, in the one year following the deaths of each of the unarmed victims, highlighted quotes from state manager, particularly politicians, at a much higher rate than intellectuals. Although revealing a substantial level of pro-community bias, the quotes presented very little regarding evidence-based strategies for improving police-community relations in the Black community and reducing the number of unarmed deaths caused by police. The implications for research on media and crime as well as policing strategies are discussed.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my wife, my parents, and the friends who not only supported me throughout this endeavor but helped to keep me motivated. Their patience and understanding reinforced my determination to continue working earnestly to attain this goal. Thank you for your commitment

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CHAPTER I

Mainstream society is often unable to understand the deleterious impact of police use-of-force decisions on disadvantaged urban communities. The mainstream sustains a privileged view of life in America that often ignores the experiences of people of color (Barak, Leighton, Flavin, 2010; Hill Collins, 1990, 2004; Leighton and Killingbeck, 2001). In a study conducted by Lee, Vaughn, and Lim (2014) on the impact of neighborhood crime and its correlation to the use of force, results revealed that incidents in which police used force were at slightly higher levels on people of color in comparison to others. The study also found that citizens' resistance to police resulted in higher levels of use of force than other individual factors such as race, gender, and age. Neighborhood context revealed the highest levels of use-of-force decisions resulted in communities with the highest levels of violent crime (Lee, Vaughn & Lim, 2014).

The question still remains, is it race or neighborhood context that impacts police officers' interaction with members of the African American community? Consistent with social disorganization theory and police officer's perception of social distance between officers and the African American community, police will respond to calls for service less willingly than observed in more affluent and often more predominately White communities where the police officer's social distance is reduced (Shaw and McKay, 1947; Black, 1971; Black and Reiss, 1970). Although a variety of factors contribute to why police use deadly force, it is a concern that more Black males are killed by White

police officers than any other race in America. From 1980 to 1998, young Black males were murdered by police at a rate of six times more than that of White males (U.S. Department of Justice: BJS, 2001). The statistics may be related to more White officers than any other race and that those officers work in more disadvantaged communities where the crime rates are higher and the predominate race are people of color. Nevertheless, news articles reflect that people in the Black community are concerned over the incidents which impact police-community relations in these neighborhoods.

Such killings should warrant further consideration. In a 2015 study, “Why Cops Kill?” male police officers were found to use deadly force at far greater numbers than female officers with White male officers representing a slightly higher percentage of deadly force usage than others (Miller, 2015). In the aftermath of the recent killings of three unarmed Black men by police (during a period of less than one year), the messages broadcasted on news media reflected a variety of divergent themes conveyed by experts, both state managers (professional practitioners) and intellectuals (researchers and academia) when discussing these incidents. Although having very limited research of crime news reporting in the past sixteen years (Welch, Fenwick, Roberts, 1998) a 2015 study of the Central Park joggers wrongfully convicted of rape in 1989 shed some light on the contrasting messages media continues to present to the public today (Stratton, 2015). Commentary conveyed by political and criminological experts to major news organizations reflect both supportive and critical views on the incidents themselves and their aftermaths (Welch et al., 1998; Greek, 1994; Marsh, 1989). A pro-police perspective, as discussed by experts’ quotes that are supportive of the police killings of unarmed individuals may be based on perceptions regarding police officers’ training and

experience. On the other hand, a pro-community perspective may rely on a variety of issues such as training, experience, unanswered questions, and transparency to the public.

The power of persuasion that major news sources possess can be so great that misconceptions and misrepresentations of the facts become legitimized in the minds of consumers (Welch et al., 1998; Barak, 1988; Altheide, 1976; Altheide, 1984; Greek, 1994). Consequently, when discussing crime news or articles related to criminal justice and the law, there has been little research on the analysis of experts' quotes reflecting solutions to reducing the police killings of unarmed Black males. In addition, in the context of police shootings in the Black community, more can be said with respect to improving police-community relations.

News agencies have the ability to disseminate large amounts of information for public consumption. They can be very effective in controlling their content and determining what crime news reaches the public (Welch et al., 1998; Chermack, 1995; Barak, 1988). The killings of unarmed Black men at the hands of police appear to dominate the 24-hour news cycles (Chermak, 1995). This was evident in the aftermath of incidents where three unarmed Black men were killed by police officers in three separate cities in the 9-month period between July 17, 2014 and April 19, 2015.

News of three unarmed Black males, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray who were killed by police officers, generated protests and riots in two of the three cities. The aftermath highlighted the mistrust and re-kindled tensions between the police and the African American community, making it difficult to repair their relationships or adequately address police shootings of young Black males. The three cities associated with the killings, Staten Island (one of the five boroughs of New York City), Ferguson,

Missouri, and Baltimore, Maryland, received a great deal of media coverage, viewed by millions around the world.

Although the US has a long history of police misconduct and brutality in the African American community, the increased media exposure of unarmed Black men being killed by police officers brought this issue to the forefront both socially and politically. Protests, boycotts, and the demand for answers from presidential candidates were also prominent on the 2016 campaign trail. The media's focus intensified to the point that Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray became catalysts that energized social movements (Black Lives Matter, 2014). Incidents like these generated a variety of discussions among the public. Some residents supported the police and some supported the deceased Black men.

Despite the increased attention to these issues, political representatives, criminal justice bureaucracies, as well as academia, have provided little to no solutions for addressing police shootings of unarmed Black men. There is also a paucity of solutions reflected in experts' statements (quotes) conveyed by media organizations. Based on Welch et al. (1998), news sources select a larger percentage of state managers' views than intellectuals' when reporting crime news. Due to the sensationalized nature of news, it was hypothesized that national news sources provide very little focused on solutions for the existing problems in police-community relations or recommendations for reducing the police killings of unarmed Black males in America. If state managers provide the largest majority of quotes, very few will address long-term and more viable solutions to reduce these issues.

Research Goal

The main goal of this study is to contribute to the body of research on police-community relations in predominately African American communities. This study examines experts' quotes presented in major news sources and discusses the extent to which these quotes address solutions for the reduction of police killings of unarmed Black males. It also examines the extent to which the experts' quotes contain recommendations for improving police-community relations.

Structure of Study

The ordering of the chapters is as follows: Chapter II presents a historical perspective on Africans in America, the large number of unarmed Black males killed by police each year, and how news media addresses the killings. It illustrates the context of police-community relations as well as the impact that formal education and related training have on the frequency of force used by police officers. It provides a perspective on the assessment and impact of experts' quotes conveyed through major news sources. This chapter also presents the research questions.

Chapter III discusses the methods used in this study. It describes the purpose and usefulness of content analysis, the coding, categorizing, and examination of data. Chapter IV presents the analysis of findings. The findings from experts' quotes for with-in case analysis and cross-case analysis for the three cities are presented in this chapter. Chapter V contains the discussion, conclusion, limitations, and implications of the research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Perspective

It is first important to consider a historical perspective on the social construction of the African American experience and the context of police-community relations in many Black neighborhoods. Africans entered America against their will, were thrust into slavery, and were considered chattel -- a movable piece of property or an article. Due to centuries of inequality and oppression, many African Americans today view law and order as oppression rather than protection (Staples, 1975; Wiley, 2001; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). The origin of what Africans in America represented was less than human until the abolition of slavery where social engineering into specific socio-economic communities began (Barak, Leighton, Flavin, 2010). In the decades following the abolition of slavery, residual effects of oppression and intolerable abuses reflect the distrust that many Blacks feel toward governmental authorities today.

During the 1960s, reflected in the news reported across the country, many African American communities suffered from police brutality and oppression. Many of civil rights protest and urban riots that broke out resulted in use of deadly force by police (Fyfe, 1988). Activities of peaceful protest for civil rights turned into chaos as police used fire hoses, dogs, and their batons on African American citizens as they marched for the right to live as fully recognized citizens in a free nation. Moreover, legal actions by politicians, combined with the use of police force and containment proved successful at

stalling or setting back efforts by Blacks to achieve civil rights (Barkan, 1994). This was important because the relationship between the police and the community during the civil rights era was strained. Furthermore, given the historical oppression of African communities, it is important that the governmental authorities share responsibility in building trust and perceptions of police legitimacy (Wehrman and De Angelis, 2011; Tankebe, 2013; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). These experiences may still have an impact today, given the difficulty that many African Americans have in trusting police and other governmental agents (Mazerolle and Wickes, 2015; Barak et al., 2010; Bradford, Hohl, Jackson, and MacQueen, 2015). As the frequent and recent police killings of unarmed Black males started gaining national attention, so did the increased mistrust by many African American communities. The media's coverage of these events gave newly organized Black protest movements opportunities to broadcast their message for change.

“Black Lives Matter” movement originally founded by Alicia Garza in 2012, became a voice in the 2016 presidential campaign. Members of the movement embarked on campaign rallies and voiced their opinions and opposition to police misconduct, while seeking answers and solutions from prospective presidential candidates. Although not a police involved shooting, the death of Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old Black male, originally sparked the movement.¹ The increased attention brought to the police killings of unarmed Black men and women in America by news sources helped create the Black Lives Matter movement and it quickly obtained a voice to pressure politicians to speak on this matter. The movement also increased the narrative for social reforms and justice in the Black community. Reforms to improve educational opportunities as well as

¹ Trayvon Martin was shot and killed on February 26, 2012 by George Zimmerman, a self-proclaimed security guard who confronted Martin as he walked back to a residence he was visiting in Sanford, Florida.

provisions placed in the criminal justice system to produce policing strategies that can be beneficial to many disadvantaged communities of color. As evidenced in the recent protest and marches generated by the Black community, there are tensions and mistrust between members of the community and the police.

On August 9, 2014, the police killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri drove the Black Lives Matter movement to national prominence (Garza, 2014).

Additional mantras, one in particular stemming from the police shooting death of Michael Brown, “Hands up, don’t shoot,” emboldened the movement and reinforced its message. This mantra meant that even if a citizen was non-combative and placed their hands in the air they could still be shot by police. As indicted in this section, generations of oppression and abusive control by police in the Black community caused many of its members to view police with suspicion. Moreover, people of color view police misconduct and their use of force much differently than their White counterparts, as shown in the next section.

Use of Deadly Force

There are many reasons why police officers use force likely to produce death or great bodily harm to themselves or others. Studies suggested that neighborhoods with high crime, violence, and citizen resistance to be factors leading up to officer’s use of deadly force (Correll, Wittenbrink, Park, and Judd, 2011). The risks associated with police officers’ duties in high crime areas create threat levels that are greater than that of the common citizen. One of the greatest fears realized are injury or being killed by subjects who create such threats. Since 1980, an average of 64 law enforcement officers

have been feloniously killed in the U.S. In 2013, there were 27 officers feloniously killed with the numbers increasing again in 2014 to 51 officers (FBI National Press Release, 2015). In understanding the number of felonious fatalities reported by the FBI, a 2015 National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund's (NLEOMF) research bulletin revealed a 14 percent decrease in officer felonious fatalities, 42 by firearm, in 2015. The bulletin further revealed a 26 percent decrease in felonious police deaths compared to an average of 51 police felonious killings per year from 2000 to 2009 (NLEOMF, Fact & Figures, 12/29/15). However, it is difficult to determine the number of unarmed Black males killed in the United States based on limited reporting features (Mapping policeviolence.com, 2015).

According to the US Justice Department's March 2014 NCJ 248544 technical report on arrest-related deaths (ARD), only 36 states reported data from 2003 to 2011. Although accepting 32 states' ARD data after 2011 for the years 2012 and 2013, the Justice Department did not actively collect the data. States that did not participate in the program were mostly southern and mid-western states, including the District of Columbia. Very little governmental documentation exists for the number of unarmed persons killed by police in the U.S. The Bureau of Justice Statics (BJS) documentation of police killings of unarmed individuals is scant at best. The media and other independent organizations such as the Guardian, Mint Press, Mapping Police Violence, the BBC, and Buzzfeed to name few, release data reflecting the number of unarmed individuals killed by police in the US. According to these police tracking organizations, from January 1, 2015 to December 29, 2015, over 1,000 people in the US were killed by police with

unarmed Blacks being killed at a rate of 3 to 6 times more than unarmed Whites (Swaine, Laughland, Lartey & McCarty, 2015; Mapping Police Violence, 2015).

Data such as these, in addition to the historical perspective, may be one of the reasons why people of color view police misconduct and use of force differently than their White counterparts. Compared to 61 unarmed Whites killed by police in 2015, 105 unarmed Blacks were killed. When focused on a 13.2 percent African American population compared to a 77 percent White American population (US Census, 2015), clearly police killed a greater number of unarmed Blacks than Whites in America (Swaine et al., 2015; Mapping Police Violence, 2015).

Another widely recognized international news organization, the BBC, reported that unarmed Blacks were three times more likely than unarmed Whites to be killed by police. One of their news articles featured the founder, Sam Sinyangwe, of Mappingpoliceviolence.com. Sinyangwe (2015), asserted, “It goes back to this question of how they [police] perceive young Black men” (BBC; May 26, 2015). Current research has shown that there are many factors triggering a police officer’s decision to use deadly force.

Contextual factors such as dangerous or violent locations (Skogan, 2015) as well as police officer individual factors, such as a lack of crisis intervention training, police-community relationship building, and a police officers’ educational level or rank all contribute to higher levels of deadly force usage by police (Geller and Scott, 1992; Miller, 2015). According to Miller (2015), Black male officers used deadly force at a rate similar to White male officers, with Hispanic male officers representing the fewest

incidents of deadly force usage. Although relying on the actual numbers of unarmed individuals killed by police in America, Miller (2015) cannot argue with the reality of the number of unarmed Black deaths counted per year.

According to the Guardian (2015), in stark contrast to the number of police involved killings in the U.S. compared to other races, both England and Wales, with a combined population of 56.9 million have reported a total of 55 police fatal shootings in the last 24 years. However, in the first 24 days in 2015, a total of 59 people were killed by police in the U.S., a country of 316.1 million (Lartey, 2015). Germany, with a population of 80.7 million has had a total of 15 police fatal shootings of all races of persons through 2010 and 2011, while the US had a total of 19 unarmed Black men killed in the first 5 months of 2015 (Lartey, 2015). Statistics illustrating such extreme findings are somewhat disconcerting when little has been done to curtail the phenomena of police killings in the U.S. compared to other countries (Juzwiak and Chan, 2014).

In a 1982 study on the race of officers more likely to use deadly force, Geller (1992) indicated that Black officers were far more likely to use deadly force than White officers. In contrast to the Geller (1982) study, a 15-year longitudinal study examining the use of deadly force, the impact of the race/ethnicity and gender of the officer was examined to determine correlations with use of deadly force. The findings indicated that White male officers were more likely to use deadly force than their Black or Hispanic counterparts (McElvain, 2006).

In a 2008 study examining Riverside County Sheriff department data over a 15-year period (1990 – 2004), researchers found that White male officers were more likely than non-White officers to use deadly force (McElvain, 2006; McElvain and Kposowa,

2008). This particular study on the race/ethnicity of officers more likely to use deadly force found that non-Hispanic White male officers were 59 percent more likely to shoot or use deadly force than Hispanic and Black male officers. Findings also revealed that female officers used force capable of taking a human life less than their male counterparts. It was also indicated that White college educated officers were 40 percent less likely to use deadly force than less educated officers (McElvain, 2006; McElvain et al., 2008).

The 15-year longitudinal study refuted Geller's findings. White male officers used deadly force at a higher rate than Black officers. White male officers used deadly force greater than female officers as well (McElvain et al., 2008; McElvain, 2006). These incidents of police killings of unarmed Black males may be related to the dangerousness of the law enforcement occupation, the community, the individual, or an intersection of all three.

Community Trust

Trust, according to researchers, is one of the major underpinnings of building relationships and creating perceptions of satisfaction with the police. The historical experience between the police and the Black community produced mistrust in most African American communities. During the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement, challenges related to building trust between the police and Black community were reflected in the continued unrest. One such challenge was how to improve the relationship between the police and African American communities. With little data on widespread successes, relationships between the police and many African American

communities remained a major concern. This urgency prompted researchers, scholars, and practitioners to look at policing approaches focusing on the needs of the community and its residents (Goldstein, 1987).

During the 1980s, Goldstein (1987) presented techniques and approaches designed to have the full acceptance and commitment by both the police and the community in order to create trust and build better relationships. Community-oriented policing gave both the police officer and the members of the community the opportunity to take ownership in the neighborhoods that they work and live in. One particular approach still used today is the S.A.R.A. model. This approach brings police and community members together to form partnerships beneficial in preventing and combating certain types of crime. S.A.R.A., an acronym for: 1) scanning the community problem; 2) analyzing the scope of the problem and developing resources to address the problem; 3) responding to the problem by implementing the plan; 4) then finally assess the progress of the approach.

The deaths of unarmed Black men while interacting with or in the custody of police in America has always been an issue in communities of color. Research has shown that the high number of police shootings of unarmed Black men could be related to officer safety and fear (Lee, Vaughn, Lim, 2014; Smith, 1986; Plant, Goplen, Kunstman, 2011; Correll et al., 2004). In fact, psychological research into the decision to shoot based on racial bias revealed that most White officers equate Black features with danger, and are more likely to shoot based on racial bias than factual conflict (Correll et al., 2004). Profoundly dangerous environments and situations also increase threats that triggered used of deadly force. In contrast, Correll et al., (2004) indicated that positive situational

signs during encounters with Black people may reduce bias by influencing the responses to Blacks as positive. It is believed that threat based on racial bias may be reduced due to the officer's daily experience with people of color. People of color experiencing daily positive interactions with police could create higher levels of perceptions of police legitimacy. Community trust and police legitimacy may play a role in the reduction of police-citizen violent encounters as well as improving the community's satisfaction of the police which helps to build collective efficacy in neighborhoods (Kochel, 2012). Increasing police legitimacy may be the key to successful policing strategies in the Black community.

Police Legitimacy

Referring to a lack of procedural fairness or the unwillingness to obey a police officer, on December 3, 2015, the Mayor of Chicago, Rahm Emmanuel spoke to the press at a news conference and stated, "A [Black] man asked me a simple question that gets to the core of what we're talking about. He said, 'Do you think the cops would treat me the same way they treat you?' "I told him, No". Emmanuel was apologizing for the police killing of a Laquan McDonald who was armed with a knife but walking away from the officer. The officer fired the first two bullets sending the young Black male to the ground and 14 more bullets into the male's body as he lay lifeless on the ground. Coincidentally, the date was the 150th anniversary of the 13th Amendment -- the abolition of slavery. The Mayor's message to the city of Chicago addressed hopes of moving forward and improving police-community relations. He did not mention how police should treat

African American citizens but sent a message that police should perceive members of the Black community as residents who should be respected.²

The community's trust and belief that police have both a legal authority and moral authority to execute their duties defines police legitimacy. The young Black male that questioned Mayor Emmanuel clearly perceives the police as illegitimate. In low socio-economic neighborhoods in portions of cities like Chicago, little to no supportive informal social controls exists. Members of these communities lack cohesion in creating support structures and implementing their own investment strategies to assist police in fighting crime (Mazerolle & Wickes, 2015). Where this is realized, so is crime. Urban and depressed neighborhoods that produce a tremendous amount of crime influences the attitudes and perceptions of many of its members. The unwillingness to cooperate with police is one of those attitudes (Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Nix, Scott, Wolfe, & Rojek, 2015). Hence, most police officers are perceived negatively. Over the past decade, a growing body of police legitimacy research has been conducted. Researchers' results indicate that an individual's willingness to obey the police, and the law, is greatly impacted on whether or not the individual perceives the police as owning a mantle to carry out their duties. In fact, one study indicated that members of the African American community had a greater willingness to cooperate with police than members of predominantly White communities (Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011). Perceptions of legitimacy not only improve police-community relations, but also improve informal social control and builds upon efficacy in the neighborhoods and police departments.

² This case also received a great deal of national attention. See: Ruthhart, Byrne and Dardick (2015). Emanuel apologizes for Laquan McDonald police shooting. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/politics/ct-rahm-emmanuel-met-1209-20151209-story.html>

Procedural and distributive justice, approaches used to reach legitimacy, are necessary and critical elements in building trust for the police (Nix et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Distributive justice, the perception of an outcome rather than the process of an interaction, impact the level of trust; however, procedural justice is the process that the individual experiences during the interaction. In most cases, if the process is fair, the outcome will be accepted (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). These two antecedents of trust greatly impact perceptions of police legitimacy.

Status recognition, acknowledging and respecting one's perceived status in the community also has impact on building trust with another. An example would be an African American medical doctor being treated as a hoodlum or street thug by the police officer or a Hispanic mobile services mechanic stopped by police who believe he is currently stealing vehicle parts. Even after the police officer dispels suspicion, that initial encounter in many cases leaves a poor impression of not only the officer but the agency he or she represents (Nix et al., 2015; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). These evidenced-based approaches that have been proven to work may play a role in the reduction of violent encounters between the police and citizens.

Improving the community's satisfaction with the police has also helped to build collective efficacy in many African American neighborhoods, increasing the willingness to comply and to develop informal social controls (Kochel, 2012; Nix, Wolfe, Rojek, Kaminski, 2015). According to police legitimacy research, studies measuring status recognition and procedural fairness approaches found that citizens were more likely to perceive a greater satisfaction of the police when police actively used these approaches (Nix et al., 2015).

Treating members of a community with respect increased not only satisfaction with the police but also the willingness to cooperate and work together, thus reducing negative outcomes (Nix, Wolfe, Rojek, Kaminski, 2015; Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015; Tyler, 1990; Wehrman and De Angelis, 2011). Transparency or the speed of receiving adequate information appears to help quell or reduce tensions in African American communities, especially when the message is prompt, honest and forthcoming with some facets of resolve. Approaches like these tend to be beneficial in that distributive and procedural justice techniques build trust, legitimacy, police satisfaction, and also improves police-community relations (Nix et al., 2014; Gau & Brunson, 2015; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

Understanding that police have your best interest in mind while interacting with you creates the catalyst for perceptions of legitimacy on the part of the citizen. Researchers suggested that using these methods increase positive outcomes that develop trust in the police (Mazerolle and Wickes, 2015; Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2013; Nix et al., 2015).

Although some policing strategies may be effective in combating or reducing crime, their approaches may be seen as leaving dissatisfied citizens. Policing strategies such as ‘broken windows’ (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), and zero tolerance policing applications were shown to produce tensions in many African American communities. In randomized control trials that rigorously examined policing strategies, researchers found place-based or hot spots policing as one of the more effective approaches in reducing crime (Braga, Hureau, & Winship, 2008; Weisburd, Hinkle, Famega, & Ready, 2011). Yet, some of these aspects of policing created levels of dissatisfaction with the police.

Scholars found that an interrelated approach utilizing procedural and distributive fairness with some of the more evidenced-based strategies would be the ideal approach in not only reducing crime but building relationships as well (Braga, Hureau, & Winship, 2008; Weisburd, Hinkle, Famega, & Ready, 2011).

Braga et al., (2011) provided recommendations of combining policing techniques with community oriented policing-strategies which have the potential to reduce crime and build better partnerships within the community. Better partnerships lead to neighborhood cohesion and informal social controls resulting in less crime (Crichlow & McGarrell, 2015). In turn, less crime creates more participation from residents of the African American community as they assist police in co-fighting crime (Kang, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015; Wehrman and De Angelis, 2011). There are many studies revealing community-oriented policing as an evidenced-based strategy to not only build police-community relations but to also reduce the fear of crime and increase police legitimacy (Piza & O'Hara, 2014; Gill et al., 2014). Therefore, treating people with respect and being committed to improving community relationships while policing and fighting crime can produce more favorable perceptions of police (Crichlow & McGarrell, 2015; Nix et al., 2015; Silver and Miller, 2004). Counterproductively, news organizations publish the sensationalized content of the crime story, leaving out how police and community can learn to work together. Although evidenced-based practices that have been proven to work and increase police-community relationships are made available to police agencies, the news media consumer is unaware of such strategies. News organizations, when discussing tension between the police and the African American community, they publish negative segments on both the police and communities of color. In most cases, the

message published is dependent upon which news organization is sending the message, or, if there is a particular agenda to be set, or what the current climate is calling for on a particular day. The press has the power to alter and mold the consumer's ideology and reference base (Welch et al., 1998).

The Power of the Press

Major news sources solicit experts to deliver statements regarding the news. News organizations, often with liberal or conservative biases, select experts who may at times present contradictory messages. As Welch et al. (1998) explained, state managers tend to provide quotes that news organizations prefer because the consumer likes sensationally coined phrases. However, in many cases, intellectuals provide quotes that are not as sensational when they discuss treatments and causes of crime. Nevertheless, when there is a message that illustrates tough-on-crime initiatives that establish control and boldness, news organizations broadcast these messages because they not only sell newspapers, they increase readership. Welch et al., (1998) defined state managers as individuals occupying federal, state, or municipal positions as follows: public officials, judges, prosecuting attorneys, politicians, police or correctional administrators or executives, bureaucrats, and police practitioners. State managers play an important role in that they are the criminal justice apparatus whereas intellectuals are defined as criminological researchers who are specific to research institutions, professor and professors who conduct research, public defenders or defense attorney, scholars, and non-academic practitioners – direct care staff like juvenile justice employees, social workers and the like.

News organizations use the cliché, “If you do the crime, you do the time,” because it sensationalizes the message (Welch et al., 1998; Barak, 1988). Criminologists who wish to convey the social context of crime, causation, recommendations, and solutions to improving minimum police-community relations, may not be deemed as sensational enough for mass media consumption (Greek, 1994; Barak, 1988; Altheide, 1976; Fishman, 1980). State managers’ quotes often dominate the news due to the harsh, in-your-face/event-driven crime control themes (Welch et al., 1998; Barak, 2007; Altheide, 1987). It is clear that news organizations and other multi-media outlets clearly have a tremendous amount control over what they choose for public consumption (Welch et al., 1998).

Mass Media and News Sources

When news sources solicit responses from criminologists or professors, the scholar will invariably provide a scholarly opinion (Welch et al., 1998). On the other hand, a police chief, sheriff, or county commissioner may respond with an answer suitable for the time to ensure safety and minimize concerns. In an earlier study, Welch, and colleagues (1998) examined statements reported by major news organizations of both intellectuals (academia) and state managers (governmental actors). The study analyzed 294 extracted quotations from 1992 to 1995, from 105 crime articles from four major and widely read newspapers. They then used three separate perspectives on crime causation (utilitarian, personal pathology, and social factors) and two separate perspectives on crime control (hard and soft models of control) to determine the experts’ ideologies. The findings revealed 61 percent ($n=92$) of state managers favoring crime control and 39

percent ($n=58$) causation of crime with 72 percent ($n=104$) intellectuals asserting crime causation and 28 percent ($n=40$) advancing a crime control model (Welch et al., 1998, p. 227).

They also examined the statements made, or words expressed by each expert, and found that state managers' quotes reflected utilitarian and social factors as causes of crime and intellectuals' statements revealing a large percentage of crime being caused by social factors and personal pathologies. In sharp contrast, intellectuals presented 72 percent in favor of crime causation to state managers 39 percent (Welch et al., 1998, p. 227). Intellectuals, researchers, and scholars continuously inquire into causation and implications, whereas state managers are more satisfied with the status quo, and hope to build more institutions and acquire resources to enforce the law.

There is a growing need to study community and environmental factors that trigger interactions resulting in the death of unarmed Black men by police. Furthermore, research is needed on the interactions between police and members of the Black community as well as residents' attitudes toward police. Focusing on these factors may help in providing policy implications and strategies beneficial to the police and the communities they serve. Increasing the number of intellectuals' quotes in major news sources may generate more discussion on evidenced-based strategies. Major news sources have the potential to raise awareness and educate readers about criminal justice problems (Barak, 1988; Chermack, 1994; Welch et al., 1998), with a view to the reduction of police killings of African Americans. This can lead to improved strategies for reducing the number of deaths as well as enhancing police-community relations. In order to make a contribution in this area, this study presents a content analysis of experts'

quotes (intellectuals and state managers). The following questions will guide this research:

Research Questions

1. Are experts' quotes supportive or critical of police actions in describing the incident of the police killings?
2. Are experts' quotes supportive or critical of the police actions in describing the aftermath of the police killings?
3. Do experts' quotes indicate that racial/social inequality is a problem in the city?
4. Do experts' quotes address additional police sensitivity training or interaction?
5. Do experts' quotes address the police organizations' attitudes on legitimacy, procedural fairness, or the community's trust for the police?
6. Do experts' quotes relate social factors or neighborhood context to the police killing?
7. What, if any, are the recommendations for police-community relations?

The study presents a content analysis approach comprising a qualitative assessment of experts' quotes supported by comparisons of frequencies and percentages across three major cases from three cities. The quotes were collected from online newspaper articles related to the police killings of three unarmed Black males in three separate cities, bounded one year from the date of their deaths. The three cases were examined to determine similar or divergent themes related to each case as well as an aggregated assessment of all three cities. The study used purposeful sampling which

involved gathering, identifying, and extracting data from the experts' quotes and entering the coded data into SPSS for frequencies and percentages to support the qualitative analysis. This two-prong approach was an effective tool for examining thematic analysis of criminological experts' quotes as well as validating the findings of each approach (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2003). Newspaper articles were collected from the online version of the *New York Times* and *USA Today*, two of the largest and most circulated newspapers according to the Pew Research Center (2014). The seven phases of the project comprised, data collection, coding & categorizing, content analysis of themes, direct interpretation, naturalistic generalization, and in-depth qualitative description. All of these are discussed in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This study seeks to add to the current knowledge of police brutality and police-community relations in communities of color. It focuses on the messages contained in national news sources that are attributed to criminological experts (state managers and intellectuals) while addressing the police killings of unarmed Black males. The units of analysis were the experts' quotes presented in articles contained in online newspapers. These online articles were related to deaths of three unarmed Black males in three separate cities. A brief description of each incident is presented as well as a discussion of the research design and methods used.

A Narrative Description of the Cases

This study highlights three separate incidents involving unarmed Black men in Staten Island, New York (July 17, 2014); Ferguson, Missouri (August 9, 2014); and Baltimore, Maryland (April 12, 2015). The police killings of these unarmed Black men occurred within 9-months of each other. Although more incidents of police killings of unarmed Black men occurred prior to, during, and after these cases, this study will examine experts' quotes extracted from newspaper articles pertaining to these incidents due to their prominence and the national attention they generated. A brief summary of the facts of each case is discussed along with relevant demographic information.

New York City's Staten Island, NY

Staten Island, located in Richmond County and one of the five boroughs of New York City, has a population of 473,279 according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2014). Staten Island's racial/ethnic breakdown in 2010 was as follows: The White population was as follows: 72.9 percent White, 10.6 percent Black, 8.0 percent Hispanic or Latino, 7.5 percent Asian, 0.4 percent Native American, and 0.1 percent Hawaiian. Based on the 2014 census, compared to the national average of 36.1 percent of individuals 16 years of age or older not in the labor force, Staten Island, or Richmond County revealed 40.5 percent not in the labor force with 6.8 percent of its working residents making less than \$10,000.00 annually (U.S. Census, 2014).

The incident was as follows: On July 17, 2014, while standing outside a convenience store at 202 Bay Street in Staten Island, New York, 43 year old Eric Garner, was attempting to sell loose or single cigarettes to passer-byes, which was a violation of the law. When NYPD made contact with Garner, attempts by several officers were made to physically detain him. In doing so, one of the NYPD officers, Daniel Pantaleo, used a carotid restraint, or more commonly known as the choke hold, that eventually killed Eric Garner. Pantaleo was later acquitted and there were no criminal charges filed against the Pantaleo who applied the choke hold. Surviving members of the Garner family were awarded 5.9 million dollars in a wrongful death suit filed against the City of New York.

Ferguson, Missouri

The City of Ferguson has a population of 21,086 as of 2014 according to the U.S. Census Bureau report. Its racial breakdown revealed 29.3 percent White, 67.4 percent

Black, 1.2 percent Hispanic or Latino, 0.5 percent Asian, and 0.4 percent Native American. From 2010 to 2014, there was little change in the population breakdown. Compared to the national average of 36.1 percent, Ferguson recorded 35.3 percent of its residents not in the labor force with 12.9 percent of its working residents making less than \$10,000.00 a year (U.S. Census, 2014).

With respect to the incident, on August 9, 2014, Michael Brown, an 18-year-old Black male, was walking in the roadway with a friend when instructed by a Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson, to not walk in the roadway. The instructions resulted in a physical altercation at the police officer's vehicle while the officer was still seated in his vehicle. The altercation resulted in the officer discharging several bullets into Brown's body and head fatally wounding him. The argument by some witnesses was that Brown had his hands raised in the air with his back turned when struck by the bullets. However, forensics later revealed the opposite. The officer fired shots at Brown once Brown was quite the distance from the police vehicle lending the assumption that the threat of harm directed by Brown had ended prior to the last barrage of bullet fire. In this case, the grand jury found no evidence for an indictment and the officer was not charged.

City of Baltimore, Maryland

The population of the City of Baltimore was 622,793 as of 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Baltimore City has a current racial breakdown as follows: 31.6 percent White, 63.1 percent Black, 4.7 percent Hispanic or Latino, 2.7 percent Asian, and 0.4 percent Native American. In comparison to the national average of 36.1 percent over 16

years of age not in the labor force, Baltimore City's numbers revealed 37.9 percent of its residents out of work with 13.4 percent of its working poor making less than \$10,000.00.

Regarding the incident on April 12, 2015, Freddy Gray, a 25-year-old Black male, was chased down and apprehended by bike patrol officers. He was later arrested for allegedly possessing a switchblade knife. While being taken to the Baltimore police station to be processed, Gray suffered a severe neck injury later resulting in his death on April 19, 2015. The officer who transported Gray to the station, Officer Caesar Goodson, and five other officers involved were later arrested and charged with murder for his death. A subsequent autopsy revealed that his death was the result of trauma to his neck caused by violent impact in the transport vehicle. The first trial against one of the officers involved, William Porter, resulted in a mistrial. At the time of writing, the other cases have yet to go forward.

Research Design

The research comprised a content analysis of quotes made by experts -- state managers (politicians, judges, prosecutors, public/police administrators) and intellectuals (researchers, professors, non-academic practitioners) to the *New York Times* and *USA Today* one year following the deaths of three unarmed Black men killed by police. Having very popular readership, the *New York Times* and *USA Today* were chosen for their differences in political or ideological affiliations. The *New York Times* is a more liberal leaning newspaper that endorsed twice as many democratic presidential candidates than republican candidates for more than one hundred years.³ Although having a no

³ Since 1860, the endorsement of Abraham Lincoln, to present, the *New York Times* has endorsed over 26 democratic presidential candidates compared to 12 republican candidates prior to Barack Obama.

endorsement policy, the *USA Today* has a relatively moderate or mixed leaning bias. The *USA Today* is right of the *New York Times* but a little left of Fox news which is a right-wing conservative news organization. Fox news and more conservative news organizations were not sampled in this study; however, future implications may suggest that more conservative news organizations be compared and contrasted as well. The reason for utilizing news sources with different political or ideological views is two-fold: To obtain potentially diverse experts' quotes and to increase the validity of the study by using two different viewpoints as opposed to a single source. The main key here, however, was to determine if there would be differences in selection as the news sources chose experts nationally and locally to provide statements referencing the deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray. The deaths occurred in Staten Island, NY, Ferguson, MO., and Baltimore, MA. The Baltimore, MA. case was bounded from the date of the death of Freddie Gray to the finality of this paper which was a period of approximately 9-months.

An inductive strategy involving qualitative content analysis was the main approach used. This study sought to understand and describe the meanings and comparisons of the featured opinions of experts in these news sources and to determine if the content was pro-police or pro-community. This analytical approach involved three with-in case studies and a collective study of all three cities involving a cross-case analysis. The advantages for this type of design was the process in which criminological and sociological terms shared association with the experts' quotes making it easy to develop patterns and meanings when grouping the data for thematic analysis, and finally, direct interpretations (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative content analysis research can generate

beneficial findings and results in sociological and psychological understanding of individuals, subgroups, and organizations based on generalizable observations and analysis of activities (Creswell, 2007). When examining issues related to documents, statements, artifacts, and quotes, content analysis can provide a richer and deeper level of understanding because of the quality of what is written and interpreted. Thematic analysis and direct interpretations developed through case study analysis may assist in understanding different interactions between the police and disadvantaged African American communities. The knowledge gained concerning these interactions also has the potential to assist in the development of new evidence-based policing strategies and practices useful in improving the relationships among police and members of the African American community (Braga and Bond, 2008; Gill et al., 2014). While looking at the content in each bounded setting (cities), dynamics were analyzed, examined, and described.

The expert's quotes depicted in news sources were related to the police killings in the three cities selected for the with-in case analysis and collective case analysis. Although having similar factors bounding these cases, the main bounding parameter was the time frame surrounding these incidents (death of the unarmed victim); and one year following the death or its equivalent (latest date at the conclusion of this collective case study) estimated February 2016. The bounded system, (time frame, location, type(s) of incidents, type(s) of individuals, etc.) for a case study was critical to this research which provided a structure to the cases being studied (Stake, 1995). In case study research, not only time and place define bounded systems. The integrity of the parameters of this study were important because variations in certain factors (quotes related to

social/racial, neighborhood, training, etc.), had the potential to skew or misrepresent results when comparing the cities based on the number of quotes being analyzed (Creswell, 1995).

During the purposeful sampling stage, the researcher decides what should be sampled, methods of sampling, and the number of elements to be sampled and/or analyzed (Creswell, 2007). In selecting a similar number of experts' quotes for each city (n=40) this approach gave each an equal and fair assessment of the same number of quotes maintaining bounding integrity. Therefore, if the bounding criteria, including the sampling procedures and methods, are consistent with all three cities, then the number of quotes extracted from the types of articles selected should be consistent as well (Creswell, 2007).

The parameters used to bound these data were as followed: (1) collecting relevant articles from the news sources; (2) the beginning and ending of the time frames after similar incidents occurred; (3) the similarity in the types of incidents that occurred; (4) the bounded experts' quotes' comprising pro-police or pro-community statements addressing racial/social inequality, police training, social or neighborhood context, and solutions addressing the reduction of police killings of unarmed Black males and/or improving police-community relation, and (5) a standard of experts' quotes analyzed for each city. With-in case analyses of each city's experts' quotes were conducted to develop themes. The analysis involved the association of similar terminology or wording extracted from each quote relating to strategies designed to reduce police shooting fatalities or improving community relationships. The collective case then underwent a

cross-case analysis to compare themes and to determine commonalities or differences among the three cities.

The data collection efforts for the with-in and cross-analyses were divided into seven phases (See Figure 1). The first phase comprised data collection while the second phase involved the coding, categorizing, and storing of data. The third phase analyzed the quotes for the development of themes which were grouped. The fourth phase involved the forming of naturalistic generalizations to which direct interpretations were created from the meanings of each group in phase five. The sixth phase, or summary, provided a description of the aggregate quotes and their themes while phase seven calculated frequencies and percentages of each with-in case and the cross-case analysis for comparison.

Definition of Terms

1. *Analysis of themes or thematic analysis* – Following description, the researcher analyzes the data for specific themes, aggregating information into large clusters of idea and providing details that support the themes (Stake, 1995).
2. *Bounded system* – The case selected for the study has boundaries, often bounded by time and place. It also has interrelated parts that form a whole. Hence, the proper case to be studied is both “bounded” and a “system” (Stake, 1995).
3. *Description* – This means simply stating the facts about the case as recorded by the investigator. This is the first step in analysis of data in a qualitative case study (Stake, 1995).

4. *Direct interpretation* – This is an aspect in interpretation in case study research where the researcher looks at a single instance and draws meaning from it without looking for multiple instances of it. It is a process of pulling the data apart and putting them back together in more meaningful ways (Stake, 1995).
5. *Naturalistic generalization* – In the interpretation of a case, the investigator undertakes a case study to make the case understandable. The understanding may be what the reader learns from the case or its application to other cases (Stake, 1995).
6. *Within- case analysis* – This type of analysis may apply to either a single case or multiple collective case studies. In with-in case analysis the researcher analyzes each case for themes. In the case of multiple cases, the researcher may compare the with-in case themes across multiple cases in a cross-case analysis (Creswell, 2007).

<i>Phase 1</i>	<i>Phase 2</i>	<i>Phase 3</i>	<i>Phase 4</i>	<i>Phase 5</i>	<i>Phase 6</i>	<i>Phase 7</i>
Data Collection Analysis	Coding Categorizing Storing	Analysis of Themes	Naturalistic Generalization	Direct Interpretation	In-Depth Description	Frequency & Percentage

Figure 1: *Analytical procedure by phase, the analytical flow of the examination process from left to right.*

Phase 1 - Data Collection

The initial sampling procedure involved the collection of news articles immediately following the deaths of Eric Garner (Staten Island), Michael Brown (Ferguson), and Freddie Gray (Baltimore) taken from the *New York Times* and *USA Today*. Once collected, these experts' quotes (n=40) for each city were then placed into three separate SPSS databases. With each quote being a separate data point, they were organized by expert type (state manager or intellectual).

Phase 2 – Coding, Categorizing, and Storing

This approach initially involved identifying the category of expert by specific discipline. The experts' quotes were taken from the *New York Times* and *USA Today* archival on-line websites. Once accessed, the articles addressing Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray were printed in descending order and aggregated into two groups; the *New York Times* articles and the *USA Today* articles. In many instances, the articles were not in sequential order by date. The next step was to determine and code pro-police (supportive) or pro-community (critical) leaning bias of the death of unarmed Black men. Each quote, once examined and analyzed was coded to represent the interpretation of the experts' opinions related to the following factors: the incident (killing itself); the aftermath of the incident; if racial or social problems exists within each city; if sensitivity training existed or subsequently implemented after the incident; if factors supporting police legitimacy (procedural fairness/status recognition, etc.) were stated during the quotes; and if recommendations for solutions to reduce police killings of unarmed Black males and/or improving police-community relations were quoted. The data field notes were compiled for management and thematic analysis and then recorded and stored in matrix form. The quotes were nominally coded with alpha-numeric identifications assigned to each quote based on expert type, and baselines were used to compare the differences between the frequencies and percentages of each thematic category. The next section comprises the coding procedure and analysis.

Coding Procedure and Analysis

The experts' quotes were analyzed inductively with the use of key words and terms to determine the manifest and latent content. These data were coded based on several themes that emerged during the analysis. Table 1 illustrates a list of themes and terms developed for thematic analyses. A Quote Analysis Instrument was developed and designed as well to assist in disaggregating these data by code⁴.

Table 1: List of themes and terms used in this study

	Type of Expert
1	State manager - president, senator, representative, congressman, chief, sheriff, commissioner, city manager, police, police union, etc. (Welch et al., 1998)
2	Intellectual - professor, scholar, researcher, fellow, dean, chair, law offices representing racial/social agenda, etc. (Welch et al., 1998)
	Attribution of Quote
3	Pro-police - police justified, legal, fair, self-defense, exonerated, negative community, making arrests, etc. (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004)
4	Pro-community - unjustified, condition of environment, city, race, misconduct, residence, march, riot, tension, unrest, calm, patient, etc. (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004)
	Police Training for Community Relations
5	Sensitivity, inter-personal skills, procedural fairness, status recognition, bias recognition, etc. (Nix et al., 2014)
	Police Legitimacy
6	Distributive and procedural justice/fairness usage, use of trust, police-community improvement, etc. (Nix et al., 2014; Gau & Brunson, 2015)
7	Attitudes on legitimacy; effectiveness of procedural fairness, reliance on police, trust, respect, empathy, fairness (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Weisburd et al., 2011)
	Social Motivating Factors
8	Social inequality - unemployment, education, jobs, schools, housing, funding, etc. (Strick et al., 2015; Merton, 1938).
9	Racial inequality - discrimination, despaired treatment, race ratio: government to people, use of racial slurs and treatment, etc. (Strick et al., 2015)
10	Individual trait (Ellis & Walsh, 2006)
	Neighborhood Context
11	Social disorganization (Shaw & McKay, 1942) collective efficacy, informal social control (Nix et al., 2014)
	Solutions
12	Research, reduce, or eliminate police killings of unarmed Black males using black-danger stereotype, bias awareness, and de-escalation type training, etc. (Correll et al., 2011)
13	Cooperating with police, police-community relations improvement, efficacy, willingness to obey police, informal social control, neighborhood watch, citizen patrol, perception of police effectiveness, etc.(Taylor et al., 2015; Bradford et al., 2015)

⁴ See Quote Analysis Instrument in Appendix.

Newspaper Article (case numbers): The experts' quotes were collected from the newspaper articles pertaining to the deaths of three unarmed Black men by police approximately one year from the date of their deaths. Three separate SPSS (Staten Island, Ferguson, and Baltimore) databases were developed. The *New York Times* expert's quotes for the city of Staten Island were coded= NYTS1; Ferguson=NYTF1; and Baltimore=NYTB1 with subsequent cases following proper sequence. The *USA Today's* newspapers experts' quotes were coded: Staten Island=USATS1; Ferguson=USATF1; and Baltimore=USATB1 with subsequent cases following the proper sequence.

Type of Article: There were five types of articles listed: If the article addressed police or police department, it was coded "1" for Police. If the article addressed courts/prosecutors/legal matters, it was coded "2" for the Courts. When the article addressed tension/civil unrest/riots/quelling civil unrest/rebuilding, it was coded "3" for Community. When addressing politicians and public officials, it was coded "4" for Public Administration. And lastly, if the article addressed the decedent (This refers to the deceased Black men), it was coded "5" for Decedent. If the article contained multiple categories, the category with the strongest point was coded.

Type of Expert: The type of experts behind the quotes were divided into two categories: State managers (politicians, public administrators, and police officer/practitioner coded "1". Intellectuals (researchers, professors, and non-academic practitioners coded "2").

Discipline: Types of experts were further broken down as follows: politician = 1; public administrator = 2; police officer/practitioner = 3; researcher = 4; professor = 5; and non-academic practitioner = 6.

Attribution of Quote: If the quote mentioned support for the police's actions or was critical to the community or the decedent during the incident, it was coded: 1= Pro-police. If the quote mentioned no fault on the part of the deceased, support to the community, or critical of the police killing of the unarmed Black male, it was coded: 2 = pro-community. If the quote mentioned no bias, it was coded: 3 = neutral or no statement. If the quote was critical of the aftermath (protest, riots and hard crime control measure) and supported to hard crime control security, it was coded: 1 = Pro-police; 2 = Pro-community, if critical to the police's approach or supportive to the use of soft crime control techniques; or 3 = Neutral or no statements made.

Training: If the quote mentioned sensitivity training/interaction, it was coded 1 = sensitivity training in place; 2 = will be implementing sensitivity training/interaction; 3 = no sensitivity training mentioned.

Motivation: If the quote stated that the incident was caused by racial inequality in the city, it was coded "1" for Racial and if the quote addressed that the incident was related to social inequality, it was coded "2" for Social. If the quote did not mention racial inequality as the motivator of the police killing, it was coded "3" for not mentioned.

Legitimacy: In discussing legitimacy # 1 (the use of procedural fairness by officers within those agencies and other approaches to achieve perceptions of police legitimacy in the community), they were coded as follows: If the quote mentioned a need to use procedural fairness or community-oriented policing, it was coded: 1 = procedural fairness; 2 = no procedural fairness; 3 = not mentioned. In discussing legitimacy #2, (agency attitudes on the use of procedural fairness), they were coded as follows: If the

quote addressed police or police agency's attitudes on procedural fairness, police legitimacy, or community trust for police, it was coded "1" for positively "2" for negatively if something negative was said by police, and coded "3" if it was not mentioned.

Social Factors/Neighborhood Context: For social factors, if the quote mentioned that some individual trait (behavior by the decedent) caused the decedent to act out in a way that resulted in their deaths, it was coded "1" for Social. If the neighborhood context (dangerous or violent community) causing the police to act in the manner they did, it was coded "2" for Neighborhood context. If both factors were quoted, it was coded "3" for both and if the quote did not mention either, it was coded "4" for not mentioned.

Solutions: If the quote mentioned recommendations to reduce police killings of unarmed Black males or improving community relations, it was coded: 1 = reduce killings; 2 = improve relations; 3 = reducing killings/improve relations; 4 = neither mentioned.

Phase 3 thru 7: Experts' quotes were identified and then categorized in themes depending on the terminology or wording extracted from the quotes. Table 1 illustrates each theme and the list of terms, words, or associations used to analyze each quote. The process of analyzing quotes involved the underlining of words or terms in the quote that were associated with words and term in the list of themes and terms in Table 1. The word or terms were then to be addressed in the paragraph following each theme. After being grouped into themes in phase four, the groups were then examined to determine their general meaning or naturalistic generalization. During phase five, interpretations based

on the meanings of each theme were developed. The interpretations were then developed and documented in the summary or in-depth interpretation in phase six. Disaggregated quotes were then entered into SPSS in order to produce frequencies and percentages in the final phase. These data supported the qualitative analysis of the content of the experts' quotes.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Overview

Expert's quotes from state managers and intellectuals related to the police killings of unarmed Black males were analyzed to ultimately determine statements reflecting solutions using evidenced-based policing strategies. Known strategies rigorously tested and proven to build better relationships in the African American community involved the police officer's utilization of procedural fairness during interactions – conducting a positive process of exchange during the interaction that tends to leave the individual with a positive perception of their outcome. According to the intersectionality of procedural justice and legitimacy, when police officers treat residents with respect with their best interest in mind, this can lead to stronger police-community relations (Crichlow & McGarrell, 2015). This also increases the community's satisfaction with the police (Gil and Weisburd, 2014; Tyler, 1990; Taylor and Wyant, 2015).

With this in mind, a main overall finding was that state managers comprised a majority of the content sampled in this study. It is noteworthy that few offered recommendations for improving police-community relationships in the African American community. Of these few, several state managers' quotes were grouped by theme and contained messages relating to policing strategies for building better relationships in the community. For example, the following quote from a state manager offered suggestions regarding policing strategies currently underway in New York City.

“These goals - of bringing police and community closer together and changing the culture of law enforcement – are why we have introduced so many reforms this year. It starts at the top with Commissioner Bratton – a strong, proven agent. We have dramatically reduced the overuse and abuse of stop-and-frisk. We have initiated a comprehensive plan to retrain the entire N.Y.P.D. to reduce the use of force and to work with the community.” (Mayor Bill de Blasio, 2/3/14).

This quote addressed issues regarding how the city was going to bring the police and community closer together by changing the culture of its agency. Statements and practices such as these are what people of color want to hear and see happen. This is clearly related to treatment, trust, and caring. Some people of privilege may not understand these strategies; however, members of the Black community view them as hope and change for a better and safer community (Barak, Leighton, & Flavin, 2010). Here, the mayor’s quote directly addressed not only building better relationships between the police and community but also reducing the amount of force that had been used in the past. The NYPD’s culture of law enforcement had been counterproductive for building and improving police-community relations until reforms were put in place in 2015. It should also be noted that there were very few quotes associated with most research questions related to police legitimacy, training, or strategies to improve police-community relations. The analysis of expert’s quotes for the three cities, along with themes, direct interpretations, and in-depth descriptions are presented in the subsequent sections.

Case Study 1 – Staten Island, New York

As mentioned earlier, Eric Garner, an African American resident of Staten Island was choked to death by a White New York City police officer after being detained and resisting arrest for selling single cigarettes in front of a business. The range of the

collection period for experts' quotes (n=40) for the Staten Island case was from July 18, 2014 to July 15, 2015. The analysis of experts' quotes is presented in this section. Words underlined in the quote are terms or words associated with the list of themes in Table 1. The asterisk in each table highlights the category with the largest percentage for the purpose of comparison.

Themes

Table 2: The type of articles used to extract experts' quotes (n=40)

<u>Table 2</u>			
<u>Type of Newspaper Article Providing Experts' Quotes</u>			
<u>Type of Article</u>		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid	Police	9	22.5
	Courts	14	35.0
	Community	12	30.0
	Public Administration	1	2.5
	Decedent	5	10.0
	Total	40	100.0

*Courts = 35%

The frequencies and percentages of newspaper articles were obtained to gauge the type of quotes collected from a specified topic to determine which topic was more widely used (See Table 2). In the Staten Island case, topics related to the legal system or courts addressing potential criminal charges against Daniel Pantaleo, person who performed the choke hold that killed Eric Garner, and civil proceedings pertaining to a wrongful death suit against New York City Police department reflected the largest proportion of articles at 35 percent. Articles or topics related to the community were the second most widely used at 30 percent.

Table 3 indicates that state managers represented the largest number of quotes for both the *New York Times* and *USA Today*, indicating 80 percent of the quotes compared to intellectuals' quotes at only 20 percent. When separating the two newspapers, the *New York Times* used 14 state managers and 6 intellectuals where the *USA Today* used 18 state managers and 2 intellectuals for the Staten Island case. These findings, the frequent use of state managers, were consistent with Welch et al., (1998) analysis of experts' quotes addressing crime news.

Table 3: The type of expert selected by the news organization (n=40)

Table: 3

Type of Experts used for Quotes Related Deaths of Unarmed Black Males

<u>Type of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid State Manager	32	80.0
Intellectuals	8	20.0
Total	40	100.0

*State Managers = 80%

Table 4: The type of discipline or specialty of the expert selected (n=40)

Table 4

Type of Discipline of State Manager and Intellectual

<u>Discipline of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Politician	20	50.0
Public Administration	4	10.0
Police/Practitioner	8	20.0
Researcher	0	0.0
Professor	5	12.5
Non-Academic/Practitioner	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0

*Politician = 50%

As mentioned in Table 4, state managers and intellectuals were divided into sub-categories -- politicians, police/public administrators, law enforcement practitioners, researchers, professors, and nonacademic practitioners. Due to the nature of their advocacy and criminal justice expertise, defense attorneys and public defenders were grouped as non-academic practitioners whereas prosecuting attorneys and representatives of police unions and organizations were grouped as police/practitioners. Politicians represented the majority of *New York Times*' quotes with 9 and the majority of *USA Today* quotes with a total of 11. Least used by the two news organizations were researchers followed by professors. Out of 6 disciplines, there were 0 quotes presented by researchers.

Table 5: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or Pro-Community Attribution – Incident (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	6	15.0
Pro-Community	6	15.0
Neutral/Not Mentioned	28	70.0
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned = 70%

The results of pro-police and pro-community leaning bias when discussing the police killing of Eric Garner revealed a total 12 quotes -- 6 reflecting pro-police leaning bias and 6 representing a pro-community bias (See Table 5). The larger number revealed that 70 percent of experts remained neutral or made no statements reflecting bias when discussing the incident itself. In this analysis, the overwhelming thematic analysis revealed a large majority of experts who did not attribute bias for the police or the

community. Although less in terms of the highest percentage of quotes reflecting pro-police or pro-community attribution, this quote addressed a very important aspect of the legal system making it difficult to prosecute police officers who kill unarmed individuals. The following quote not only indicates pro-police attributions, “sympathetic to the police”, it also addresses the likelihood of the courts not indicting Officer Pantaleo for the killing. Moreover, it reflects the few numbers of officers who are indicted for these types of incidents:

USATS18; “Locally, it won’t hurt him (Officer Pantaleo) at all. The island is right of center overall and a lot of police live out here. People are more sympathetic to the police here than the city at large”
(Richard Flanagan, Associate Professor of Political Science).

However, this quote could not be tied into the broader theme. It was just the opposite. Most experts refrained from attributing bias if they discussed the incident itself.

Table 6: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or pro-Community Attribution -- Aftermath (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	9	22.5
Pro-Community	19	47.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	12	30.0
Total	40	100.0

*Pro-Community = 47.5%

The results of pro-police and pro-community leaning bias when discussing the aftermath of the killing of Eric Garner revealed a total 19 quotes pro-community, 9 pro-police and, and 12 refraining from appearing bias (See Table 6). Although illustrating a trend that built to the largest number of pro-police quotes compared to the other two

cities, the thematic analysis of this particular group was more representative of pro-community quotes. Nevertheless, a pro-police quote was used here to reflect the overall interpretation (incitement or not) of the quotes provided for this case. The generalization of quotes depicted anticipation by both the community and police as they waited for the decision to prosecute the police officer involved. In this pro-police quote, Commissioner Bratton stated that protesters would be arrested for protesting and lying down in the streets and forming chains that blocked traffic:

NYTS 1; About 30 protesters have been arrested tonight with “probably more to come”, “If they stop, lie down on the street or attempt to block traffic by forming chains, then we would make every effort to arrest them” (Police Commissioner William J. Bratton, 12/3/2014).

Although having little relevance due to the low numbers of experts attributing pro-police bias, the quote is important because it highlights the need to improved police-community relations (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). If many members of the African American community have pre-disposed perceptions of widespread police misconduct by NYPD and they are being arrested for peacefully protesting when the police can re-direct traffic or allow the 1st Amendment to take its course, NYPD could select a strategy that would build better relationships than discouraging the citizens.

Table 7: Decedent’s death motivated by racial or social inequality (n=40)

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Racial	3	7.5
Social	16	40.0
Racial/Social	6	15.0
Not Mentioned	15	37.5
Total	40	100.0

*Social Inequality = 40%

The experts' quotes were analyzed to determine if racial or social inequalities in the cities were mentioned in their statement (See Table 7). For the city of Staten Island, 16 experts discussed social inequalities, where 6 experts addressed both racial and social inequalities, and 3 experts spoke about racial inequalities in their quotes. Roughly 55 percent of the experts' quotes addressed some form of social inequality and 22.5 percent discussed racial inequality when combining the factors. One example is the unequal treatment under the law and access to legal services. The quote addresses the question about the whether or not race/ethnicity, income, or class has an impact on how individuals are handled in the criminal justice system.

USATS4; "Lady Justice, we look at, is Blindfolded. Why? Because justice is not supposed to see color of skin or income or class, and too many today question the impartiality" (Governor Mario Cuomo, NY, 1/12/15).

This quote suggests that social and racial inequalities do exist in New York City. Social and racial inequalities (injustices) motivate citizen resistance toward the police, which increases the frequency of use of force measures by the police (FBI National Press Release, 2015). This quote ties into the broader theme that people of color or low socio-economic status may not receive legal access as do their more affluent or White counterparts.

Table 8: Training related to police community relations (n=40)

<u>Police Training</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Training (in-place)	0	0.0
Future Implementation	4	10.0
Not Mentioned	36	90.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 90%

Experts' quotes related to current police training or future implications for such training revealed only 4 of 40 experts gave their opinion on the need for additional training. The overwhelming theme here is that police training or the implementation of such training was not mentioned by 90 percent of the experts in New York City as shown in Table 8. There were too few of quotes to suggest a generalization that would illustrate sensitivity and procedural justice training; either in place, or being implemented in the future. In introducing the findings, Mayor de Blasio's quote referenced top down strategies to improve police-community relationships but like this quote, neither discussed types of training to meet these needs. This quote however is important because it addresses the police and community working together to improve police training which would indicate that the community, to which the police are a part of, will be taking ownership in this endeavor as one.

The following quote addresses the need to "improve technology and training within the NYPD" to address these issues:

USATS2; "...by ensuring a lasting legacy of reform that fixes a system that has been broken for far too long. We must continue to work together to improve technology and training within the NYPD, codify the powers of a special prosecutor, promote diversity in police leadership, and unseal the minutes from the Garner grand jury"
(Letitia James, NY City's Public Advocate, 7/13/2015).

Trainings such as status recognition, procedural justice/fairness, de-escalation, bias recognition, are evidenced-based and proven factors that help to increase police-community relations (Nix et al., 2014). Nevertheless, these were not mentioned. The broader theme here is that 90 percent of experts failed to mention types of training,

preferably evidenced-based, to reduce police killings of unarmed people of color or to improve police-community relations.

Table 9: Quotes reflecting use of procedural fairness/police-community related strategies (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Procedural Fairness	0	0.0
Pol. /Comm. Relations	6	15.0
Both	1	2.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	33	82.5
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned = 82.5%

As seen in Table 9, an analysis of the experts' quotes referencing statements that addressed use of strategies related to improving police legitimacy were minimal, if at all mentioned. Out of 40 experts' quotes, only 6, or 15 percent, addressed the need for building trust between the police and the community with 82.5 percent experts not mentioning the use of such strategies. While speaking about the death of Eric Garner, this state manager's quote addressed the need for building trust between the police and the community. Being limited in the number of quotes addressing such, grouping was not sufficient enough to build a theme in this category. However, the theme or general statement taken from this analysis revealed that a large majority of experts' quotes failed to discuss procedural or distributive fairness approaches or applications by police. Nevertheless, this quote was important enough to note because it was one of the quotes that addressed trust, a word associated with procedural fairness and police legitimacy.

Failing to provide strategies or approaches in this particular quote, the expert opened the door for dialogue and change:

NYTS6; “We are not going to let up until we see a strengthening of trust and strengthening of the accountability that exists between our communities and our law enforcement”
(President Barack Obama, 12/3/2014).

The terms “trust”, “strengthening”, “accountability”, “communities”, and “police” are associated with strategies related to procedural fairness and building better relationships between the police and community (Nix et al., 2014; Gau & Brunson, 2015). The Staten Island study revealed a minimal amount of experts’ quotes related to the use or need for procedural fairness to create police legitimacy; however, this particular quote gave promise to improving police-community relations in communities of color. The analysis of the experts’ quotes focused on the amount of statements made; positive or negative, referencing attitudes on police legitimacy, procedural fairness, or police-community relations. Different from the legitimacy 1 category, this theme looked to determine the number of expert speaking positive, or negative, about police legitimacy. The aggregate of quotes from both newspapers revealed 75 percent of experts who did not discuss police legitimacy (See Table 10).

Table 10: Quotes reflecting the attitudes of procedural fairness (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Positive	8	20.0
Negative	2	5.0
Not Mentioned	30	75.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not mentioned = 75%

Disaggregated, the theme suggested that roughly 95 percent of experts in the *New York Times* articles and 85 percent of experts in the *USA Today* articles failed to mention these evidence-based approaches and strategies necessary to build better relationships in the African American community. With 20 percent of experts quotes about the positive attitudes held by police agencies referencing police legitimacy, 30 experts remained silent as shown in Table 10. Although having a small number of quotes to analyze in this particular category, the experts' quote below focused again on trust, a word associated with the development of police legitimacy. This quote was important because the word associated with legitimacy, "trust", started trending across themes in this case study:

NYTS2; "The NYPD is committed to rebuilding the public trust"
(Chief, NYPD, Joanne Jaffe, 12/3/14).

The terms "committed", "rebuilding", and "trust" indicate that this particular command staff is focused on the fidelity of success in gaining the trust of the public (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Weisburd et al., 2011).

Table 11: Individual Traits or Environment Causing Police Killing of Unarmed Black males (n=40)

	<u>Individual/Environment</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid	Social Factors	2	5.0
	Neighborhood Context	2	5.0
	Both	3	7.5
	Not Mentioned	33	82.5
	Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 82.5%

Of the social factors or neighborhood contexts mentioned in this theme, the basis of this analysis was to determine the number of experts' quotes that addressed Eric

Garner himself, based on individual traits as the element that initiated the incident (Ellis & Walsh, 2006). As presented in Table 11, in contrast, the number of experts' quotes that addressed neighborhood context referring to the violence and high crime area as the trigger causing Eric Garner's death was examined as well. In this theme, the experts' quotes mentioned the lowest numbers in the Staten Island case showing two experts' quotes indicating social factors and two indicating neighborhood context with roughly 82.5 percent not mentioning these factors at all.

These results were similar to the lack of quotes mentioned for police sensitivity training and attitudes on police legitimacy. Although not directly related to a physical action by Eric Garner to cause his death, his long-term behavior which lead to his health condition contributed to his death.

NYTS14; Mr. Garner was a large man, weighing over 300 pounds, and had other health issues, including diabetes, sleep apnea and asthma. Some of those ailments were cited in the autopsy as contributing conditions to his death (Goldstein & Santora, 8/1/2014). However, "the medical examiner was clear in the cause of his death, finding he died from 'compression of neck (choke hold), compression of chest and prone positioning during physical restraint by police'" (NYC Medical Examiner's office, 8/1/2014).

This quote reflects the findings of the medical examiner's office showing that poor health factors related to Eric Garner's condition may have exacerbated his death. Therefore, this quote did reflect an individual trait on the part of Eric Garner and not a dangerous or violent neighborhood.

Table 12: Quotes for Reducing Police Shootings and Improving Police-Community (n=40)

<u>Solutions</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
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Valid	Reduce Shootings	0	0.0
	Improve Relations	9	22.5
	Both	1	2.5
	Not Mentioned	30	75.0
	Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 75.0

Ten experts, roughly 25 percent, quoted suggestions to improve community relations; citing changes in police tactics, demilitarizing police departments, making the community more a part of the process as opposed to being effected by the process (See Table 12). There were no quotes that addressed strategies to reduce the number of police killings of unarmed Black males. However, in addressing the hope of improving the criminal justice system, strong words quoted by a non-academic practitioner addressed the frustration experienced by African American men in New York City and the hopes that the entire criminal justice system receives an overhaul. Here, more discussion about improving the criminal justice system and providing a sort of rallying cry for justice was asserted in this quote. The following quote, not addressing the police killings of unarmed Black men is important because it further attaches to trend of discussing what should be done as oppose to implementing policies and strategies to reduce these incidents:

NYTS8; “It’s indicative of this presumption of criminality of black people, and black men in particular, that plagues our society. I’m hoping that the frustration, anger, and outrage that results from another miscarriage of justice will be channel toward really exposing how this bias effects our entire criminal justice system, and that we can really get some reform. (Janai Nelson, Associate Director of Counsel, NAACP, 12/3/2014).

Although capturing the essence of the results of what the “bias effects of our entire criminal justice system” has on black people in general, an analysis of the experts’

quote stresses the importance of using the energy, “frustration, anger, and outrage,” as conduits for reform. The statement, “presumption of criminality” by the criminal justice system infers that representatives from this system presume that African Americans are identified as criminals. Repairing social identity through procedural fairness may be one of the keys to gain satisfaction and compliance with the police (Bradford et al., 2015).

Summary

The majority of quotes collected generated discussion about the aftermath of the incident addressing the legal system and the questions surrounding a possible indictment for the police officer. Meaning developed from the thematic analysis of this study revealed an over-riding theme relative to police reforms. Both newspapers used state managers more than intellectuals. Politicians were selected more so than any other discipline to convey the messages concerning the Eric Garner case. The number of quotes analyzed revealed a majority of pro-community biased quotes with very little representation from researcher, professors, or non-academic practitioners. Community concerns, questions, and grand jury activity dominated the quotes, groupings, and generalizations referencing Staten Island and Eric Garner’s death. Since that time, many number of stop and frisk interactions have been reduced and so has crime in the city; however, there were no quotes reflecting the Eric Garner case as a catalyst that generated police reforms in New York City. In this case, experts failed to address training, strategies, approaches, police legitimacy, and reducing police killings of unarmed Black males or improving police-community relation.

Case Study 2 – Ferguson, Missouri

The facts of the case are reiterated as follows: Michael Brown, a 19-year-old Black pedestrian at the time, was walking in violation of the law. After being confronted by a White Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson, a physical altercation ensued where Officer Wilson believed his life was in imminent danger. He discharged several rounds from his weapon fatally wounding Michael Brown. The range of the collection period for experts' quotes (n=40) for the Ferguson case was from August 10, 2014 to July 22, 2015. The analysis of experts' quotes is presented in this section. The analysis of the experts' quotes is presented in this section.

Themes

Table 13 depicts that the majority of experts' quotes, 57 percent, in the Ferguson case were related to community issues (riots, tensions, and transparency) followed by articles related to the police issues at 32.5 percent, and the courts at only 7.5 percent. Disaggregated, 60 percent of the articles published by the *New York Times* in this case study represented the community where 55 percent of *USA Today's* articles published were representative of the community.

Table 13: The type of articles used to extract experts' quotes (n=40)

<u>Type of Newspaper Article Providing Experts' Quotes</u>		
<u>Type of Article</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Police	13	32.5
Courts	3	7.5
Community	23	57.0
Public Administration	0	0.0
Decedent	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

*Community = 57%

In the category of experts, both newspapers revealed that a total of 26 state managers were selected to provide experts' quotes while only 14 intellectuals were solicited (See Table 14).

Table 14: Type of experts used for Quotes Related Deaths of Unarmed Black Males (n=40)

<u>Type of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid State Manager	26	65.0
Intellectuals	14	35.0
Total	40	100.0

*State Manager = 65%

Table 15: The type of discipline or specialty of the expert selected (n=40)

<u>Discipline of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Politician	14	35.0
Public Administration	11	27.5
Police/Practitioner	1	2.5
Researcher	0	0.0
Professor	5	10.0
Non-Academic/Practitioner	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

*Politician = 35%

When disaggregating the type of experts by discipline in the Ferguson study, 35 percent selected by the newspapers were politicians with 27.5 percent being represented by public administrators (See Table 15). Non-academic practitioners comprised of 25.0 percent of the quotes provided while professors were representative of 10 percent of the quotes. Of the intellectuals, Ferguson revealed the largest number, 15, when compared to the other cities. Again, researchers were not selected in this study population.

Table 16: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or Pro-Community Attribution – Incident (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	5	12.5
Pro-Community	9	22.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	26	65.0
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned =65%

When it comes to the incident itself, a total of 26 quotes were neutral with respect to bias or did not mention bias. Most experts refrained from disclosing bias, 5 quotes represented pro-police and nine represented pro-community (See Table 16). Although having a limited number of experts’ quotes pertaining to the discussions about the incident itself, this particular pro-police quote suggests that Michael Brown was the initiator or “genesis” of the fight or activity that resulted in his death as opposed to Officer Wilson initiating the confrontation:

NYTF3; “The genesis of this was physical confrontation. Brown physically assaulted him (the officer). And they fought over the officer’s weapon” (Chief Jon Belmar, St Louis County Police, 8/10/2014).

Table 17: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or Pro-Community Attribution -- Aftermath (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	8	20.0
Pro-Community	27	67.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

*Pro-Community = 67.5%

Table 17, as seen in 27 quotes conveyed in the aftermath of the Ferguson police killing of an unarmed Black male were pro-community. A naturalistic generalization of a history of despaired treatment among members of the Black community was determine based on the grouping and quotes delivered. The majority of these quotes, post-riot, discussed a history of members of the Ferguson community, predominantly African American, being disenfranchised by forms of police misconduct and government misdoings.

A large majority of experts' quotes in both newspapers were in support of the community as a whole. Discussions by most experts focused on the problems and issues that the people of Ferguson underwent for years. This particular quote, conveyed by a university professor, emphasized the effects that police brutality had not just on one individual "actual person" but also "families" and entire "communities:"

USATF20; "Hearing statistics of police brutality incidents can be jarring, but seeing new cases every few days forces you to acknowledge the pervasiveness of police brutality. Seeing the impact on an actual person, their families and their communities personalizes these incidents beyond numbers" (Keisha Bentley Edwards, Professor University of Texas, 8/9/2015).

Again, the perception of police misconduct by the African American community becomes exacerbated even more so making it difficult to achieve perceptions of satisfaction by the community (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Table 18: Quotes Related to Motivation of Racial or Social Inequality (n=40)

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Racial	7	17.5
Social	11	27.5
Racial/Social	7	17.5
Not Mentioned	15	37.5
Total	40	100.0

*37.5%

Fifteen experts remained neutral or did not mention aspects of racial or social inequalities (See Table 18). Nevertheless, the death of Michael Brown in the Ferguson case resulted in more experts' quotes, 62.5 percent, than any other city in the collective study, with seven quotes representing racial inequality, 11 quotes representing social inequality, and seven quotes indicating both racial and social inequality. A total of 25 experts' quotes conveyed some aspect of racial or social inequality. This particular quote addressed the stark contrast between the governing body of Ferguson and the people it serves. Although the grouping of quotes failed to address the motivation for the officer or decedent to have a violent confrontation, it is important to note that grouping of experts' quotes addressing racial and social inequality developed a theme indicating a history of inequalities for people of color. This quote from a state manager illustrates such.

NYTF1; Being unsatisfied with the police department's explanation of the shooting, "I find it hard to believe. It's a textbook example on how not to handle a situation. Ferguson has a white government and a white mayor, but a large black population. This situation has brought out whatever rifts were between that minority community and the Ferguson government" (City Councilman Antonio French, St Louis).

After collecting the terms and statements from this quote, it can be inferred that this particular Ferguson state manager believed that the police department and city

government were incapable of making a fair assessment of the Michael Brown shooting simply because of the lack of diversity in city government.

Table 19: Training related to police community relations (n=40)

<u>Community Relationship</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Training (in-place)	1	2.5
Future Implementation	5	12.5
Not Mentioned	34	85.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 85%

As shown in Table 19, a total of 34 experts did not mention police officer training or future implications for training. There was a combined total of 5 experts that mentioned future implications for police training. Due to the lack of quotes on the topic, a thematic analysis of quotes addressing training could not be developed; however, the quote below highlighted police legitimacy by speaking about “cultivating relationships”.

USATF19; “The plan is to ‘simply build trust, to develop community policing in this area; to cultivate relationships that we know and hope will reshape our direction in the city of Ferguson.’ The training would include procedural and constitutional justice training and bias awareness training”.
(Chief Andre Anderson, New Ferguson Chief of Police, 8/9/15).

This quote directly addresses how police-community relationships can be built. “Trust” in order to “cultivate relationships” and incorporating “procedural/constitutional training” as well as “bias awareness” training creates perception of police legitimacy and satisfaction with the police. These factors and strategies are known by researchers and law enforcement agency across the country as the cornerstones to building better relationships in any community (Nix et al., 2014).

Table 20: Quotes reflecting use of procedural fairness/police-community related strategies (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Procedural Fairness	1	2.5
Pol. /Comm. Relations	4	10.0
Both	0	0.0
Neutral/Not Mentioned	35	87.5
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned = 87.5%

Table 20 presents the breakdown of experts' quotes for statements related to the police departments' use of procedural fairness or other strategies to improve police-community relations. This procedural fairness comprised the fewest number of quotes at 1; however, there were 4 quotes related to discussions of using strategies at their disposal to repair community relations. Overall, the majority of experts (87.5 %) in this case failed to address strategies to increase police-community relations. The following is one of the small minority of quotes related to strategies for improving police-community relations:

NYTF17; "I've been trying to increase the diversity of the department ever since I got here. Race relations is a top priority right now" (Chief Thomas Jackson, Ferguson Police Department).

This was from a public administrator with the Ferguson Police Department suggesting that "increasing the diversity" of the agency may improve "race relations" which he addressed as an "urgent" matter. This quote reflected the value that more diverse employees, particularly African American (Wilson et al., 2015) bring improvements to both the agency and the community which in turn build better relationships (Nix et al., 2015).

Table 21: Quotes reflecting the attitudes of procedural fairness (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Positive	5	12.5
Negative	2	5.0
Not Mentioned	33	82.5
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 82.5%

Thirty-three experts did not mention evidence-based strategies linked to legitimacy in the Ferguson study (See Table 21). Only 5 experts had positive comments regarding the need or use for sensitivity training vital for the development of trust between the police and community. The following quote indicates how this practitioner addresses the need for police to reexamine themselves and focus on what works to improve relationships in the future.

USATF1; “Policing has taken a hard look at itself. There has been a renewed emphasis on looking at how we hire, how we train, how we investigate, how we release information to the public. All of these aspects have had seismic impact on policing” (Chuck Wexler, Executive Director of the Police Research Forum, 7/22/2015).

In this analysis, the expert’s quote which was generated by the Ferguson incident asserted that law enforcement has been taking new steps toward building trust in the community based on how they hire, train, investigate, and release information to public, which ultimately creates legitimacy and collective efficacy (Nix et al., 2015). This quote addressed the full scope of the agency’s service to the community when looking at crime and community.

Table 22: Social factors/neighborhood context that may relate to incident causation (n=40)

<u>Individual/Environment</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Social Factors	3	7.5
Neighborhood Context	3	7.5
Both	0	0.0
Not Mentioned	34	85.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 85%

Again, the *New York Times* and *USA Today* articles related to Ferguson during the death and aftermath of Michael Brown revealed 3 experts commenting on neighborhood context and 3 commenting on social factors having some relationship to the incident or aftermath as shown in Table 22. These themes were reflected in the following quote:

USATF10; While addressing the community about citizens shooting at police officers during the aftermath of the death of Michael Brown, the quote referencing neighborhood violence was, “This has to stop.” The expert’s quote then followed with, “I don’t want anyone to get hurt. I don’t want an officer to get hurt, I don’t want a citizen to get hurt. We have to find a way to stop it” (Captain Ron Johnson, Missouri Highway Patrol, 8/21/2014).

Although not addressing the individual or neighborhood context as factors related to Michael Brown’s death, violence in the neighborhood reflected assaults on police officers placing the officers at further risk of harm. The Captain stating, “We have to find a way to stop it” suggested the violence was not quelling at the city’s requests. The violence and the resistance to law enforcement, being two major factors to police use of force (FBI National Press Release, 2015) made conditions more difficult for both law enforcement and law-abiding citizens.

Table 23: Number of quotes addressing shooting reductions and improving relations (n=40)

<u>Solutions</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Reduce Shootings	0	0.0
Improve Relations	8	20.0
Both	1	2.5
Not Mentioned	34	77.5
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 77.5%

Consistent with all three cities, no expert addressed how to approach and reduce the police killings of unarmed Black males. With 77.5 percent of experts’ quotes not being related the reduction of police killings of unarmed Black males, 20 percent of the quotes addressed areas to improve police-community relations (See Table 23). Similar to addressing legitimacy # 1, applied strategies, such as increasing diversity was suggested in the following quote as well as the need to raise money to purchase and equip vehicles and officers with dashboard and body cameras, respectively.

USATF9; “We plan to learn from this tragedy. City officials are working to increase the number of black law enforcement applicants and raise funds for cameras for patrol car dashboards and officer vests” (Ferguson City Officials, 8/20/2014).

Summary

Ferguson’s thematic analysis revealed a greater degree of experts’ quotes related to racial and social inequalities that plague the city. The United States Department of Justice’s (DOJ) review of the City of Ferguson (2015) revealed a number of improprieties directed at the African American community which were counterproductive and had a long-term effect on poor police-community relations. The pattern of irregularities was not

only performed by the police department itself but also by the city government that worked hand-in-hand to generate revenue based on the number of police traffic stops, interactions, arrests, and incarcerations. During the aftermath of the Michael Brown case, several city officials within Ferguson's governing body left office, freeing up opportunities to diversify the structure of the city government. Having the greatest percentage of African Americans living in the city of Ferguson and reflecting the least percentage of Black police officers, mirroring the city by employing more qualified officers of color may help to improve police-community relationships. Although limited, some experts' quotes depicted a history and range of racial and social inequalities which were supported by the 2015 DOJ report. In completing their report, the US Department of Justice's Civil Rights division suggested reforms and actions to improve relations in the city.

The "Ferguson Effect," a latent dysfunction that emerged nationwide depicted a reduced effort on the part of many police departments and police officers to enforce certain crimes, which created increases in crime in some areas across the country. In the Ferguson study, the experts' recognized that a major reconstruction based on trust and policing strategies are needed to build more viable relationships in order to improve police-community relations.

Case Study 3 - Baltimore, Maryland

The basic facts of the case are reiterated here as follows: Freddy Gray, a 25-year-old Black male, was apprehended by bike patrol officers and arrested for allegedly possessing a switchblade knife. While being transported to the police station by Officer

Caesar Goodson, Freddie Gray sustained a neck injury resulting in his death on April 19, 2015. A subsequent autopsy revealed that his death was the result of trauma to his neck caused by violent impact in the transport vehicle. In this particular case, there was no threat of imminent fear of death or great bodily harm. Freddie Gray had been handcuffed and locked inside the transport vehicle. The Baltimore City police officers involved at some point were Lieutenant Brian Rice, Sergeant Alicia White, Officers Garrett Miller, William Porter, Edward Nero, and the driver of the transport vehicle, Officer Caesar Goodson. All six were eventually arrested for the death of Freddie Gray; however, the initial trial against Porter resulted in a mistrial. The other cases have yet to go forward at the time of this writing. The range of the collection period for experts' quotes (n=40) for the Baltimore City case was from April 21, 2015 to December 6, 2015. The analysis of experts' quotes is presented in this section. The analysis of the Baltimore City experts' quotes is presented in this section.

Themes

Table 24: Type of Newspaper Article Providing Experts' Quotes (n=40)

<u>Type of Article</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Police	8	20.0
Courts	4	10.0
Community	22	55.0
Public Administration	3	7.5
Decedent	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0

*Community = 55%

As shown in Table 24, in the Baltimore analysis, 22 of 40 articles circulated addressed community related news reflecting the riots, with eight articles addressing the

police. The unrest in Baltimore appeared to shift the focus on the community revealing the least amount of quotes for public administrators (3) and Freddie Gray, the decedent (3).

Table 25: Type of Expert used for Quotes Related to Unarmed Black males (n=40)

<u>Type of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid State Manager	30	75.0
Intellectuals	10	25.0
Total	40	100.0

*State Manager = 75%

The *New York Times* and *USA Today's* experts' quotes for the Baltimore City case study revealed that 75.0 percent of the statements quoted were given by state managers and 25.0 percent were conveyed by intellectuals (See Table 25).

Table 26: Type of Discipline of State Manager (n=40)

<u>Discipline of Expert</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Politician	14	35.0
Public Administration	6	15.0
Police/Practitioner	10	25.0
Researcher	0	0.0
Professor	4	10.0
Non-Academic/Practitioner	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

*Politician = 35%

As seen in Table 26, in the Baltimore study, politicians were quoted more than any other discipline (35 %) police practitioners representing 25 percent of the quotes. Of the intellectuals, four were professors, the lowest number in all three studies; and 6 were non-academic practitioners.

Table 27: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or Pro-Community Attribution – Incident (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	3	7.5
Pro-Community	5	12.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	32	80.0
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned = 80%

As seen in in Table 27, expert quotes referencing pro-police leaning bias about the Baltimore incident revealed the lowest number, (3) quotes and five quotes reflected pro-community leaning bias. Most experts, (32) refrained from appearing biased in their quotes. Although limited in representation within the sampled quotes, the following quote addressed the law that was allegedly violated by Freddie Gray’s possession or carrying a switchblade knife which resulted in his arrest:

USATB9; “City law prohibits the sale possession or carrying any knife with an automatic spring or other device for opening and or closing the blade. We will litigate the issue on the legality of the arrest of Freddie Gray in the courtroom. Nero will be acquitted” (Marc Zayon, Defense Attorney for Nero).

Attributing the quote to a pro-police leaning bias, the non-academic practitioner, in this case Officer Nero’s lawyer, suggested with confidence that Officer Nero did nothing wrong and would be “acquitted” cleared of any wrong doing.

Table 28: Quotes Reflecting Pro-Police or Pro-Community Attribution – Aftermath (n=40)

<u>Attribution # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Pro-Police	8	20.0
Pro-Community	19	47.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	13	32.5
Total	40	100.0

*Pro-Community = 47.5%

Table 28 indicates that 47.5 percent of experts' quotes related to the aftermath represented pro-community bias and 20 percent represented pro-police bias. Unlike the limited number of experts refraining from appearing bias when referencing the incident itself, a total of 67.5 percent of experts made statement having pro-police or pro-community bias when discussing the aftermath. Only 13 experts refrained from appearing bias while discussing activity during the aftermath. The quote analyzed here revealed a pro-community leaning bias:

NYTB2; "There were major shortcomings; excessive noise and confusion" in the police department's command center and they were severely lacking in equipment to handle the riots and unrest". (Chuck Wexler, Police Executive Research Forum, 11/16/2015).

The dissection of words associated with the quote suggested "shortcomings," disorganization, and a lack of preparation to confront the "riots and unrest" by the Baltimore City Police Department. The quote was critical of the police department. Rather than addressing factors that improve police-community relations, it addressed logistic and operational deficiencies.

Table 29: Quotes Related to Motivation of Racial or Social Inequality (n=40)

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Racial	4	10.0
Social	13	32.5
Racial/Social	3	7.5
Not Mentioned	20	50.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 50%

In the Baltimore study, 32.5 percent of experts expressed some form of social inequality, while 4 experts mentioned racial inequality and 3 discussed both racial and social inequality existing in the city (See Table 29). Half of the experts did not mention racial or social inequality while discussing on the incident and aftermath. When analyzing the *New York Times* quote, the terms extracted: high “unemployment” for “young Blacks,” poverty,” the lack of “opportunity,” and “racial composition” are all related to factors that result in high crime (Merton, 1938). It is unknown if Freddie Gray was employed. Although having a diverse police department and command staff, the *USA Today* quote conveyed by a John Hopkins University professor mentioned systematic racism existing within the agency and it was an important issue:

NYTB5; “Unemployment is higher than the national average in Baltimore, and particularly so among young blacks in the city. If lenders are not making loans in a community, the opportunity for people to work their way out of poverty is pretty slim. In Baltimore, the prevailing factor behind who gets a mortgage is the racial composition of the neighborhood” (John Taylor, National Community Reinvestment Coalition President, 11/16/2015).

USATB4; “This is an important issue. It’s more than just police brutality. I think it’s systematic racism” (Jillian Tse, Senior at John Hopkins University, 4/30/2015).

If the professor’s quote reflected the reality or culture of the police department, police legitimacy and the community’s satisfaction with the police would always remain low making it difficult to achieve improved police-community relations (Gau & Brunson, 2015).

Table 30: Training related to police community relations (n=40)

<u>Community Relationship</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Training (in-place)	0	0.0
Future Implementation	6	15.0
Not Mentioned	34	85.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 85%

As shown in Table 30, experts did not mention types of sensitivity training at the Baltimore police department; however, six experts expressed the need for police training in the future. Relative to the collective study, the Baltimore study had the largest number of quotes discussing future implications for training. However, 85 percent of experts failed to address police training to improve relations. The quote below suggests that international organizations have concern about police use of force against minorities in the United States. This organization, an entity, was classified as an expert because the statement was with one voice in their report.

USTAB16; The Human Rights Watch says the U.S. has “largely failed” to follow through on the 2010 recommendations to increase efforts to stop the use of excessive force by police officers against minorities. As they cited, “The united States has little progress to show for the many commitments it made (previously)” (United Nations Human Rights Council, 5/11/2015).

Although recommending in a 2010 report that the United States place more emphasis on curtailing the “excessive force” used by police toward minorities. The United Nations Human Rights Council saw little “progress” in 2015. This particular statement was made in response to the death of Freddie Gray. The quote further revealed that the United States was aware of such recommendations and made a commitment to stop the police brutality but failed to follow through. This expert’s quote indicates that

although training material is available, police brutality continues. Again, procedural and distributive justice has been shown to reduce misconduct and police-citizen interactions that are counterproductive to building better relationships (Nix et al, 2015).

Table 31: Quotes reflecting use of procedural fairness/police-community related strategies (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 1</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Procedural Fairness	0	0.0
Pol. /Comm. Relations	7	17.5
Both	0	0.0
Neutral/Not Mentioned	33	82.5
Total	40	100.0

*Neutral/Not Mentioned = 82.5%

Legitimacy #1, quotes associated with police department’s use of procedural fairness and related training were not represented in the Baltimore study. As can be seen in Table 31, 17.5 percent of experts delivered statements reflecting police-community relations, while 82.5 percent of experts did not address a need for procedural fairness or strategies that build trust in the community. The quote below conveyed by a state manager suggested that all segments of the community work together to improve relations.

USATB5; “The incident raised tensions in the critical relationship between the Baltimore police department and the community. We can’t do it alone, with the information that helps us take these violent individuals off the street. We’re not going to get to where we want to be as a city unless we do the hard work of repairing the relationship, and to me, that is the critical work that is of essence right now” (Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, 8/27/15).

Although not mentioning specific policing strategies necessary to build better relationships, this particular state manager expressed the need for everyone in the city to take part in repairing the relationship between police and the community. The Baltimore

City mayor stressed that the city “can’t do it alone” and that the police and community need to work together to co-fight crime and to “do the hard work” to “repair[ing] their relationship.” Here, the mayor discussed the need for neighborhood cohesion and collective efficacy to handle the challenges ahead.

There were three experts’ quotes that addressed attitudes of police legitimacy with 37 experts failing to address how police and agencies perceived the use of procedural fairness and other tactics to achieve police legitimacy and eventually community satisfaction with the police (See Table 32).

Table 32: Quotes reflecting the attitudes of procedural fairness (n=40)

<u>Legitimacy # 2</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Positive	2	5.0
Negative	1	2.5
Not Mentioned	37	92.5
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 92.5%

The following quote is important because the state manager conveys that his agency is responsible for failing the community and he later expresses empathy for community and the determination to improve the police-community relationship:

USATB2; “The department realized that it was vastly out of alignment with the expectations that the community had. We’re starting to see the empirical evidence that the organization is shifting. That does not mean we’re there yet. There are a lot of people who don’t feel it, don’t see it. We know that there is a community that hurts, that is in pain. We are working to change that. It will take as long as it takes. You never stop trying to work with the community” (Anthony Batts, Police Commissioner, Baltimore Police department, 4/29/2015).

When extracting terms from this quote, although not using the word police legitimacy, the ideology expressed in the quote addressed Baltimore police department’s empathetic approach by understanding and stating that the organization was “vastly out of alignment with the expectations that the community had.” Although observing some progress concerning police-community relations, the state manager added that the organization knew there was still a lot of “hurt and pain” in the neighborhoods and it was necessary to discover the community’s needs in order to improve their relations and to “never stop trying.” Therefore, the quote touched on fairness, trust, understanding, and most importantly the determination to continue moving forward to improve police-community which are necessary elements for success (Nix et al., 2014).

Table 33: Individual Traits or Environment Causing Police Killing of Unarmed Black males (n=40)

<u>Individual/Environment</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Social Factors	3	7.5
Neighborhood Context	3	7.5
Both	5	12.5
Not Mentioned	29	72.5
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 72.5%

A total of three quotes revealed that Freddy Gray’s behavior caused the incident with a 3 quotes suggesting the violence and high crime in the neighborhood as being the reason for Freddie Gray’s death. A total of 5 experts mentioned both Freddie Gray and the dangerous environment as having some relevance to Gray’s death (See table 33). This quote by a state manager addressed the crime and violence in the city at that time.

NYTB9; “When individuals get crowbars and start prying open doors to loot, they’re not protesting. They’re not making a statement. They’re stealing. When they burn down a building, they’re committing arson. And they’re destroying and undermining businesses and opportunities in their own communities” (President Barack Obama, 4/29/2015).

In analyzing this quote, the expert discusses the criminal and violent tendencies of the some of the protesters, highlighting the culture of the city after the death of Freddie Gray. This type of violence not only heightens a police officer’s level of awareness, it also impacts their perception of officer safety and alertness. The tension itself can result in a police shooting of an unarmed Black male based on preconceived threat or danger (Correll et al., 2011).

Table 34: Quotes for Reducing Police Shootings and Improving Police-Community Relationships (n=40)

<u>Solutions</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid Reduce Shootings	0	0.0
Improve Relations	9	22.5
Both	1	2.5
Not Mentioned	30	75.0
Total	40	100.0

*Not Mentioned = 75%

Collectively, no expert mentioned on strategies or techniques to reduce police killings of unarmed Black males; however, 22.5 percent of the experts in the Baltimore study addressed improving the relationship between police and community (See Table 34). Although not addressing the police killings of unarmed Black men, this quote is important because it addresses citizen resistance, one of the major factors that trigger police involved shootings (Lee et al., 2014). Frustrations and lashing out on the part of

the resident may be an issue that can be addressed with both economic and criminal justice reforms.

NYTB10; “It’s not just about use of force. It’s about a system that is not addressing young people’s needs. They’re frankly lashing out, and the police force issue is just a catalyst for the expression of frustration at being left out” (Shirley Franklin, Former Mayor of Atlanta, 4/29/2015).

Although not directly addressing training or strategies used to reduce police shootings or killings of unarmed Black males, this quote discussed the frustration that young people face when the criminal justice system and its representatives treat them poorly. The quote further addressed feelings of frustration and of being left out, causing them to lash out in ways that may create factors (resisting, anger, etc.) resulting in their deaths at the hands of police officers who are either poorly trained or afraid (Correll et al., 2011). However, much more research is needed in this area. The failure to address this issue could make it difficult to generate meaningful dialogue among politicians, administrators, practitioners, and academics. In understanding how the public receives information and the ability of major news organizations to select the content they chose to publish (Welch et al., 1998), increased representation of intellectuals could be allotted so that the consumer has a more informed concept of such a critical issue. The need to address strategies to reduce police killings of unarmed Black males should be seen as something vitally important and broadcasted in the news as well.

Summary

In assessing the incident and aftermath of the death of Freddie Gray, the examination, grouping, and development of themes were as follows: Out of the 40 quotes

allotted, the *New York Times* and *USA Today* selected 30 state managers compared to 10 intellectuals. Politicians again represented the majority of experts' quotes with 35.0 percent. Most of the experts, 60.0 percent, mentioned pro-community bias, with pro-police bias representing 27.5 percent and 12.5 percent of experts remaining neutral. Keeping in mind that 22.5 percent of experts spoke about the need to improve police-community relations, fewer addressed strategies or training to meet those needs. There were only three quotes addressing attitudes of police legitimacy shared by the expert or the police department. In understanding police legitimacy as a building block to assist in repairing and maintaining police-community relations, 37 experts failed to mention approaches, strategies, or techniques in achieving legitimacy or satisfaction with the police. Of the 40 quotes examined, only six addressed additional police training; however, these quotes provided few specifics as to the type of training. In addressing solutions to improve police-community relations, nine state managers, administrators, and police practitioners, made statements reflecting positive change but few mentioned strategies to address these issues.

Although representative of a trend in quotes that illustrated high crime, violence, and homicides in Baltimore City, the major construct of this theme presented by experts' quotes reflected how city government expedited transparency without disclosing too many facts and evidence in the case. The city revealed steps they were taking and keeping the community informed each day. Unlike many police involved shooting deaths of unarmed individuals, the information in this case was presented to the community by its prosecuting attorney moving forward as reflected in the media each day. The decision to release this information to community may or may not have quelled the unrest;

however, the rioting, and threats of rioting distinguished in a relatively short time as reflected in the experts' quotes. Although keeping the city informed, violent crime, homicide in particular, increased the following month of Freddie Gray's death and two months following revealed its highest homicide rate in four decades. Thematic analysis regarding the Baltimore City quotes reflected issues of crime, violence, and dangerous neighborhoods which are predisposed to police use of force (Fyfe, 1988; Correll et al., 2004). A few quotes mentioned social and economic problems for people of color concerning employment, housing, etc. The relationship between the police and community has been strained for many years as mentioned in some of the quotes. There were 13 of 40 experts that addressed social inequality within the city. Prior research has revealed that disorganized social environments create stress and strain in individuals which, depending on their ability to cope normatively, could be a trigger or predisposition to their criminality (Shaw & McKay, 1942; Merton, 1938).

Collective Assessment of Findings

This collective case study involved a cross-analysis of the three with-in case studies examining the experts' quotes as they related to themes for each city: Staten Island, Ferguson, and Baltimore City.⁵ A total of 120 experts' quotes were collected from both major newspapers extending one year from the death of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray. As shown, highlighter here is the type of articles published and the category and specialty of the expert selected by the *New York Times* and *USA Today*. Understanding Baltimore as having a greater number of pro-community quotes, the

⁵ See Table 35 Matrix in Appendix indicating similarities and differences in the results.

Staten Island incident generated more quotes related to training, legitimacy, and repairing police-community relations.

Although close in comparison to most experts' quotes to the news organizations, the fewest number of quotes (n=3) addressing social factors were made in regards to the Ferguson, whereas the greatest number of quotes addressing these factors were found during the Baltimore incident (n=8) and Staten Island (n=5). Quotes involving the neighborhood context itself were rare with the Baltimore quotes mostly addressing issues of gang violence and dangerous neighborhoods. Nevertheless, both Ferguson and Staten Island showed the greater number of experts' quotes addressing the institution of social inequity; Baltimore at (n=11) and Staten Island at (n=16)

Direct interpretations taken from the generalized data in each case study revealed that the majority of the experts discussed only the condition(s) surrounding the death of each unarmed Black male during the selected time period, and in doing so, expressed few solutions or answers to improve the conditions in the future. Put simply, increasing the use of intellectuals' quotes may expand readers' understanding of the issues at hand.

When conducting the cross-analysis of collective cases, there were no dramatic differences across the three cities there was hardly any content. Regarding social factors (decedent's behavior) or neighborhood context (dangerousness or violence in the community) as having relevance to the police killings of unarmed Black males or improving police-community relations. A small minority of intellectual experts conveyed messages addressing all aspects of the conditions surrounding the police and the community. Most intellectuals' quotes, although limited in quantity suggested improving police-community relations by starting with building trust and improving economic

opportunities. Although utilized the least by the news sources, intellectuals, primarily professors, expressed solutions for improving community relations.

Key components in their quotes addressed foundations of trust between the police and community. One state manager, Chief Andre Anderson of Glendale, Arizona, addressed the use of procedural and constitutional fairness, changing police tactics, learning de-escalation and bias awareness training to build better relationships in communities of color. Chief Anderson's statement was based on recommendations from the 2015 U.S. Department of Justice review of the City Ferguson. These quotes were minimal and overshadowed by the large amount of content not addressing solutions. When viewing the cross-analysis data, articles from the City of Ferguson revealed the greatest percentage of experts failing to address factors, strategies, or policies necessary to improve these issues.

The comparison of experts' quotes for each case study appeared to have striking similarities to the Welch et al., (1998) study which state managers were the more dominant messengers utilized by news sources when reporting crime news. The City of Ferguson published more articles, 57.5 percent, related to the community when compared to the other two cities; Baltimore at 55.0 percent and Staten Island at 30 percent. Articles that received the least amount of coverage were articles related to public administration, such as social and economic services. Of the 40 articles sampled for the City of Ferguson, zero quotes were related to public administration. The riots in Ferguson may have increased the media's decision to report in this manner. Eric Garner stories appeared to get the most news coverage from both newspapers with news coverage sympathetic to Michael Brown having the least number.

State managers, in Staten Island (n=32) and Baltimore (n=30) were more likely to be quoted compared to Ferguson with (n=26). Intellectuals had the least amount of representation in the news sources. Although the largest number of experts used by both news organizations were politicians (50%) percent, the most noteworthy observation here is that out of 120 quotes there were hardly any researchers' comments represented in the news. It is possible that these two news organizations focused on setting a safety and security agenda to calm the tensions in each city as oppose to utilizing a researcher/professor to talk about causation and solutions, not immediate control to protect the masses. News articles from Staten Island utilized a large number of professors (12.5%) percent compared to Ferguson and Baltimore having 10 percent each. News articles from the City of Ferguson incident quoted the greatest number of public administrators at 11.

When it comes to discussing the incident itself, the City of Ferguson showed the largest number of pro-community leaning experts' quotes with nine. Staten Island six pro-community quotes and Baltimore had five. Staten Island revealed the largest number of pro-police leaning quotes at six when discussing the incident compared to Ferguson at five and Baltimore at three. Quotes discussing the aftermath of the incident revealed a shift in the pro-police/pro-community bias. Ferguson revealed 67.5 percent of experts' quotes indicating pro-community bias, while Staten Island and Baltimore had 47.5 percent each. Pro-police leaning bias quotes remained at a mean average of 21.0 percent for all three cities.

Staten Island had the largest number of experts' quotes, 16, conveying statements regarding social inequality and three conveying racial inequality. Experts' quotes from

Ferguson revealed the largest number of dual inequality quotes with 11 social and seven racial. Baltimore revealed 13 quotes reflecting social inequality and four racial inequality. This theme represented the greatest number of quotes compared to others. Experts' quotes, 6, taken from news sources for the city of Baltimore revealed statements of future implementations of some sensitivity training or improvements in interactions with the police and community. Quotes from all three cities showed 85 to 90 percent of experts failing to address training, future implications for training, or sensitivity training in use during police-community interaction.

Relatively few experts' quotes addressing the use of procedural fairness or evidenced-based strategies to improve police-community relations. Eighty-seven and one half percent of experts quoted in the Ferguson incident did not mention the use of procedural fairness or police-community relations. State managers represented the largest number of quotes in the midst of the riots with quotes of control measures as opposed to long term solutions and strategies being discussed more frequently.

Experts from the Baltimore case study had the least number of quotes related to agency attitudes on legitimacy and the largest number (n=37) of experts failing to address or discuss matters of legitimacy in the police department. Staten Island and Ferguson's experts' quotes also failed to address police legitimacy at 75.0 and 82.5 percent, respectively. Nevertheless, Staten Island's case study revealed eight experts who revealed positive agency attitudes on police interactions that create legitimacy in a police organization.

The City of Baltimore experts' quotes revealed five statements illustrating both social factors on the part of the individual, Freddie Gray, and neighborhood context

(gangs and violence) as having some pre-disposition to the incident. Ferguson experts' quotes revealed the largest numbers (n= 34) of experts who did not mention environmental or neighborhood factors having some causation to the incident. No expert made statements related to reducing police killings or the shooting death of unarmed Black males; however, all three cities revealed a mean average of eight experts' quotes addressing improving relations between the police and the community.⁶

The collective case study across these cities revealed that the majority of experts refrained from mentioning policies, procedures, guidelines, strategies, training, or approaches to improve the on-going problems in many African American communities. When interpreting the experts' quotes from each city, statements from the Ferguson and Staten Island studies presented racial and social problems at an almost equal number. With this in mind, Ferguson had the least amount of quotes regarding procedural fairness, improving police-community relations, and agency's attitude on police legitimacy to improve police-community relations. Ferguson did, however, have a large number of quotes related to training and future implementation for training. An interpretation of the experts' quotes for Baltimore City suggested both racial and social inequalities and community violence. Statements associated with procedural fairness and community relations were greatest when compared to the other two cities; however, few quotes for Baltimore were related to their agency's attitude of police legitimacy. The next chapter will provide further discussion of these issues along with implications for police-community relations, and directions for future media and crime research.

⁶ See Appendix for tables related to this section.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The main agenda of mass media organizations in their use of 24-hour news cycles is to reach as wide an audience as possible with their content, and often criminal justice incidents are a main part of this agenda (Altheide 1976; Altheide, 1984; Greek, 1994; Barak, 1988; Barak, 2007). The experts' quotes in this study reflected a range of issues and proceedings (i.e., riots, unrest, court or grand jury legal status, etc.) pertaining to the police killing of three unarmed Black males in three different cities. A small minority of experts' content addressed solutions for improving police-community relations. Furthermore, there were no quotes that mentioned reducing the number of Black males killed by police.

Most of the experts relied on by the newspapers were state managers (primarily politicians), who addressed the incidents but provided little to no solutions. Limiting the reader to a state manager perspective in the field of social science potentially limits the framework for deeper assessment and discussion. Many readers will not search for additional information on their own. Consequently, manipulation of the masses can be the result (Welch et al., 1998; Greek, 1994). The agendas of many news agencies may be counterproductive and destructive to the community. When a reader reviews an article that depicts Black youth as dangerous or violent, this stereotypical assessment can perpetuate racial tensions between law enforcement and the residents of urban neighborhoods.

Eric Garner was wrestled to the ground by multiple police officers and choked to death, not because he presented himself as a risk to great bodily harm or death to others, but because he was selling single cigarettes. News sources did not present the story in its entirety, leaving out important details while suggesting Eric Garner was a violent and dangerous individual. Even if he was, there has been less coverage of similar incidents happening to White males. In the Michael Brown case, an altercation developed over an officer telling the individual not to walk in the street. Rather than concentrate on this fact, the news sources showed convenience store footage from several hours before the shooting, of Brown committing a retail theft and resisting a merchant. Although these were two crimes for which he should have been held accountable, the media termed this a robbery thus sustaining the stereotypical narrative about dangerous Black males.

The news media seldom reports on the social, economic, financial, and educational issues facing communities of color. As presented in Welch (1998), it is the news media that decides what they want to publish. As shown in the majority of the experts' quotes, few experts spoke about problems in African American communities. More coverage of intellectuals might have provided evidence-based strategies and solutions that have been proven to work in crime hotspots. Such commentary could also address problematic interactions between the police and the community (Tankebe, 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In addition, urban policing in Black communities depicted by news sources was often characterized by photographs of police in militaristic attire and equipment at the time of unrest, but rarely portrayed officers in uniform interacting positively with people of color in urban communities. There is clearly a problem with the

media that needs to be addressed; however, if the media is the only source for news, consumers will fail to see the big picture.

In sharp contrast to politicians, most intellectual experts conveyed explanations of police misconduct and social factors relating to the incident and suggested solutions rather than just explaining the situation. However, intellectuals represented a small minority of quotes across cases. Furthermore, a small percentage of state managers suggested solutions to improve police community relations as opposed to just explaining the situation. Improving community relations and having a greater satisfaction with the police not only builds long-term partnerships and trust but also improves the level of efficacy within the community which in turn, creates self-sustaining informal social controls (Braga, Weisburd, Warring, Mazerolle, Spellman, Gajewski, 1999; Braga and Bond, 2008; Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, Bennett, 2014; Kochel, 2012; Tyler, 1990).

The most visible form of government on the street are the police. They have a unique opportunity to be a catalyst in providing positive services to many African American residents resulting in enhanced community efficacy and increased informal social controls. Empowered parents and civic leaders within communities of color also have a responsibility to repair social problems within their neighborhoods. Immersed in decades-long cycles of broken families, substance and alcohol abuse, interrupted educational achievements, joblessness, high crime and violence, the lack of collective efficacy and sustainable investments within these communities continue to plague efforts for resolution (Silver and Miller, 2004; Thomas and McGloin, 2013; Hughes and Short, 2014). Moreover, African American communities will have a greater desire and willingness to work with the police when they respect and trust the police. Wehrman and

De Angelis (2011) revealed that African Americans were more willing to assist and trust the police when treated with respect and see the police as legitimate.

Communities, therefore, need to know that the governing body is fair and protects and serves communities equitably. The key component to working together can be demonstrated by police treating residents with respect as they often do in predominantly White neighborhoods (Tankabe, 2013; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011; Tyler, 1999). One current foundation is that Whites who are privileged do not see or understand that they are privileged and sometimes deny benefits to others (Barak, Leighton, Flavin, 2010). While research suggests that many White police officers come from middle-class communities and work in poorer communities of color, police officer training should seek to address these cultural differences. If more law enforcement agencies in America understood that using procedural fairness, status recognition, and simply treating people with respect were proven to work, increased application of these strategies may mitigate interactions resulting in the use of deadly force. More research is needed to determine whether enlightened discussions among law enforcement agencies can reduce the use of deadly force in Black neighborhoods. It is, therefore, a concern that the majority of state managers, politicians in particular, failed to discuss strategies for solutions to these problems in the African American communities leaving readers with an incomplete framework of what is truly taking place in America. There may be other reasons why news organizations choose state managers over intellectuals. Intellectuals may not be chosen as frequently based on the need to disseminate information (safety & security) which may require immediate dispersal for control and containment for the conditions at the time. Intellectuals may not see causation and solution discussion

appropriate for news coverage as well. Intellectuals, state managers, and news organizations may see crime news reporting as something that should be left up to the practical experts as opposed to the researcher or classroom expert. In any case, consumers of electronic, print, and social media continues to receive information that portray the police and communities of color as the “us against them”, mentality as opposed to producing messages of truces or treaties. The police and these communities may have a chance if mass sources of information promote healing and developing viable partnerships. People residing in rural America or communities that are predominately White receive information about communities of color from news sources. This may reflect their only reference base. Not a good thing to start from. News sources, police departments, and communities of color, all have huge obligations to do the right thing; responsible reporting may help sort out misunderstandings and misconceptions and generate dialogue necessary for police and the Black community to heal and work together.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

In regard to limitations, the experts’ quotes were collected from two major newspaper organizations headquartered in the north eastern region of the country. It is unknown whether additional experts’ quotes extracted and analyzed from other major news organizations strategically chosen from different regions of U.S. would yield different results. Such an approach could potentially produce a more politically neutral sample. Therefore, limiting this study to two news source as opposed to many in different parts of the country could have impacted the results.

The use of newspapers as a data source in media and crime research should also be addressed. Although experiencing a decline in readership, traditional news outlets that published print media are now seeking to adjust their business plans and embracing the use of social media. Today's news is not only reflected in the 24-hour cycle on cable television, there is now a non-stop stream of information on the internet that the consumer is able to constantly interact with. Twitter, a popular social media platform, is just one of many examples of this interaction. A state manager can now tweet a remark that instantly becomes news, and the reader can tweet back with an opinion. Notwithstanding these developments, the mass acceptance of information conveyed by news sources may leave the average consumer with misinformation and misrepresentation as opposed to the facts. In these instances, news generating people of color as being violent and dangerous; and, in direct contrast, speak ill of the police officer who is hard-working, honest, and serves their community with respect contradict reality. The method in which messages are portrayed creates misconceptions on what is taking place between police and communities of color. In fact, many of these sources become more extreme -- to the far right or far left, managing to avoid scrutiny on the part of the police or community of color, depending on the agenda that is being at the time. It is therefore recommended that future studies examine these types of news sources and the impact they have on young consumers, in particular.

Another limitation was the size of the sample. Although 120 experts' quotes appeared to be an adequate number in achieving the study's goal, the project could have benefited from a larger sample taken from each city. Despite this limitation, the trend or theme suggested that newspapers used state managers' quotes much more often than

intellectuals' quotes, and this supported the findings of prior research. The possibility of analytical error could be another limitation. The experts' quotes, although examined using the surrounding statements written by the newspapers' reporter, could have been taken out of context. The control and design of the experts' quote were governed by the newspaper so the quote itself may be architecturally delivered giving a different message therefore skewing the results (Welch et al., 1998). Furthermore, agenda-setting by the news sources could also have had an impact on the study, as well as skewing the data by indicating or reporting news that was not quite accurate and interjecting a quote in the article out of context.

For supportive literature to review from, this paper was limited to a small body of research reflecting police killings of unarmed Black males in America. Although having a great number of research article reflecting why police officers use deadly force, there is little research related to why White police officers kill more unarmed Black males than others. There is also a paucity of research on strategies to reduce this phenomenon. Furthermore, there is little research on the legal justification for the acquittal decisions in many of these cases in America. More work in this area is needed in order to find empirically supported answers on why these incidents occur in such large numbers.

Policy Implications

The implications of this research can be divided into three broad categories – The responsibility of news organizations, the impact of police practice and training, and the social conditions of communities of color. Based on the fact that the majority of experts (state managers) that news organizations select to interview are state managers, very little

information reflecting solutions to criminological issues are reported in the news. This is primarily due to the limited number of intellectuals selected for interviews by news organizations. A positive change can occur if news organizations were to select experts to talk about featured crime news with an equitable balance of state manager and intellectual commentary. Additionally, law enforcement can be encouraged to work with academia to resolve socio-economic problems. Researchers, professors, and scholars of academia that rigorously test and discover evidence-based strategies that work should work in collaboration with law enforcement agencies to develop long-term partnerships. They should also be encouraged to work closely with news organizations to promote a constructive message to better educate readers and viewers of news media. Practices such as these could be beneficial to law enforcement agencies as well as the community.

Federal and state government can also implement policy to hold police agencies accountable for hiring practices (histories, educational level, psychological evaluation, socio-economic status, etc.) and strict probationary criteria to determine levels of performance and dangerous biases.

There is also a need for the community to be more responsible and start building efficacy throughout its own neighborhoods as to achieve informal social controls (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Members of these communities need to learn how to be more responsible in taking ownership and investing in their human resources. Communities of color, however, do need public and private sector assistance to improve their social and economic conditions. Therefore, local businesses and governments can play an important role here by implementing more evidenced-based police-community programs that work. Here, police sensitivity, de-escalation, and procedural justice approaches can be

incorporated in police-community interaction to help members of the African American community acquire neighborhood cohesiveness, efficacy, and eventually, informal social controls.

Law enforcement, criminologists, researchers, professors, and related intellectuals should be encouraged to design and implement evidence-based strategies such as sensitivity bias-awareness training. Training that supports procedural fairness and status recognition of its citizens, but also re-emphasizes the importance of ethics and the swift and certain consequences associated with violating such can be implemented. Federal, state, and local governments can also implement programs not only designed to evaluate these strategies to determine if progress and goals specific to those agencies are being met, but can also accurately record police misconduct and the killing of unarmed individuals.

Criminal justice reforms tabled in 2015 by the Obama Administration and Senators Cory Booker (D-New Jersey) and Ron Johnson (R-Wisconsin) were receiving bi-partisan support in the U.S. Senate at the time of writing. Although the reforms primarily address prison issues, funding for law enforcement reforms have also been allocated in the bill. As President Obama mentioned the purchasing of 50,000 body cameras for police, his task force recommended additional strategies to build trust and to improve police-community relations. Stating that body cameras would not be the end all, the goal was to ensure a change in the current police culture and provide a better context for law enforcement accountability.

Unarmed deaths of Black males in American society are a problematic even for the many law-abiding Black men who have reason to fear police officers, unarmed or not.

News organizations produce articles that not only portray Black men as dangerous but that police officers are shooting them more than any other race or gender. Is this fear perceived or real? On the other hand, if a person who has been socialized in a rural or predominately White community and has viewed or consumed information from national news sources inaccurately depicting communities of color, that individual's reference base may be limited to the news source. If that individual becomes a police officer, how much training is needed to alter their way of thinking? The news media is a powerful source. Creating policy within the federal regulatory guidelines to responsibly report the news may have a positive impact on police-community relations and the country at large.

In these three cases reported by news organizations, two officers articulated that they were in fear of their lives because the Black male was so large, he could have overtaken them physically, not because the subject was armed or unarmed. More research into the perceived fear and threat of the police officer is needed to contribute to this body of work. Prosecuting attorneys who are closely associated with the police department should not be the state's representative at a grand jury hearing. Special prosecutors with no bearing on the outcome of the case should be appointed to handle the grand jury proceeding.

On August 11, 2015, Governor Jerry Brown of California signed Senate Bill 227 banning grand jury hearings for police officers who fatally shoot people while on duty. The ban takes effect in 2016. Eliminating secrecy in the criminal courts should be a direction that all states adopt. This does not necessarily mean that the police officer is automatically found guilty, only that the decedent's death will be closely examined. Understanding the large number of unarmed Black males killed by police who have been

sworn to protect them should be examined by prosecutors and grand jurors who understand accountability and not just the years of service of the officer and the history of the decedent. Adequate and desired review from representatives of the entire community can be utilized so that a fair and partial assessment of the facts can be rendered prior to deciding if a police officer who killed an unarmed person should be prosecuted.

Conclusion

When it comes to criminal justice matters, journalism has poorly served the Black community. News sources interviewed state managers or experts who refrained from commenting about strategies to improve conditions in the African American communities, or who said little about programs in place to improve those conditions. The importance of status recognition, which was reflected in only one quote, is one of the most crucial aspects of person's humanity and well-being (Nix et al., 2015). For law abiding persons of color who go to work daily, provide care for their children and families, and pay their bills, there is a need to be treated with respect. If news sources publish stereotypical stories of Black men as being violent and dangerous, people will continue to see them as such. Despite the alarming incidence of unarmed Black males killed by police, the news sources used in this research mentioned little on how to fix the problem. With the exception of the Freddie Gray case, there were no experts' quotes mentioning misconduct on the part of the police officers. Historically, news sources have supported the police in matters concerning Black communities rather than showing restraint and waiting for the facts and vice versa. The news media may need to be held accountable by the educated public. It is a compelling argument that positive change in

news media reporting will not only benefit communities of color, it will benefit all communities.

Appendices

Appendix A: Collective Case Analysis Matrix

Table 35: Collective Case Analysis Themes by City (n=120)

	Staten Island, NY	Ferguson, MO	Baltimore, MA
Related Themes			
	<i>NY Times /USA Today</i>	<i>NY Times/USA Today</i>	<i>NY Times /USA Today</i>
Type of Article	Community / Courts	Community / Community	Community / Community
Category of Expert	Manager / Manager	Manager / Manager	Manager / Manager
Specialty of Expert	Politician / Politician	Politician / Politician	Politician / Politician
Quote (Incident)	Neutral / Neutral	Pro-Com. / Neutral	Neutral / Neutral
Quote (Aftermath)	Neutral / Pro-Com.	Pro-Com. / Neutral	Pol./Com. / Pro-Com.
Quote Motivation (Racial)	1 Racial / 2 Racial	6 Racial / 1 Racial	3 Racial / 1 Racial
Quote Motivation (Social)	12 Social / 10 Social	6 Social / 12 Social	6 Social / 7 Social
Quote Training/Interaction	2 Future / 3 Future	1 Future / 4 Future	2 Future / 4 Future
Quote Police Legitimacy	6 Positive / 2 Positive	Rare / 4 Positive	2 Negative / 2 Positive
Quote Police/Com. Relations	Rare / 6 Fairness	No Mention/ 4 Fairness	2 Fairness / 5 Fairness
Quote Social Factors	4 Factors / 5 Factors	Rare / Rare	4 Factors / 4 Factors
Quote Neighborhood Context	2 Context / No Mention	Rare / Rare	Rare / 2 Context
Quote Reducing Police Killings	No Mention/No Mention	No Mention/No Mention	No Mention/No Mention
Quote Improving Relations	4 Improve / 5 Improve	2 Improve / 7 Improve	2 Improve / 7 Improve

*0 experts mentioned strategies on reducing policing killings of unarmed Black men

Appendix B: List of Tables of Cross-Case Analysis

Table 36: Collective case of Types of Articles (n=120)

<u>Type of Article</u>		<u>NYTS/USATS</u>		<u>NYTF/USATF</u>		<u>NYTB/USATB</u>	
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid	Police	9	22.5	13	32.5	8	20.0
	Courts	14	35.0	3	7.5	4	10.0
	Community	12	30.0	23	57.5	22	55.0
	Public Admin.	1	2.5	0	0.0	3	7.5
	Decedent	5	10.0	1	2.5	3	7.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Ferguson=57%

Table 37: Collective Case of Expert Type (n=120)

<u>Type of Expert</u>		<u>NYTS/USATS</u>		<u>NYTF/USATF</u>		<u>NYTB/USATB</u>	
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid	State Manager	32	80.0	26	65.0	30	75.0
	Intellectuals	8	20.0	14	35.0	10	25.0
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*State Managers=80%

Table 38: Collective Case of Expert Specialty (n=120)

<u>Specialty of Expert</u>		<u>NYTS/USATS</u>		<u>NYTF/USATF</u>		<u>NYTB/USATB</u>	
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Valid	Politician	20	50.0	14	35.0	14	35.0
	Public Admin.	4	10.0	11	27.5	6	15.0
	Police/Pract.	8	20.0	1	2.5	10	25.0
	Researcher	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Professor	5	12.5	4	10.0	4	10.0
	Non-Acad/Pract.	3	7.5	10	25.0	6	15.0
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Politician=50%

Table 39: Collective Case Attribution of Pro-Police or Pro-Community Bias: Incident (n=120)

	NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Attribution # 1</u>						
Valid Pro-Police	6	15.0	5	12.5	3	7.5
Pro-Community	6	15.0	9	22.5	5	12.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	28	70.0	26	65.0	32	80.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Baltimore=80%

Table 40: Collective Case Attribution of Pro-Police or Pro-Community Bias: Aftermath (n=120)

	NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Attribution # 2</u>						
Valid Pro-Police	9	22.5	8	20.0	8	20.0
Pro-Community	19	47.5	27	67.5	19	47.5
Neutral/Not Mentioned	12	30.0	5	12.5	13	32.5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Ferguson=67.5%

Table 41: Collective case of Experts' Quote Related to Racial of Social Inequality (n=120)

	NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Motivation</u>						
Valid Racial	3	7.5	7	17.5	4	10.0
Social	16	40.0	11	27.5	13	32.5
Racial/Social	6	15.0	7	17.5	3	7.5
Not Mentioned	15	37.5	15	37.5	20	50.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Baltimore=50%

Table 42: Collective Case of Experts' Quotes Related Sensitivity Training or Interaction (n=120)

	NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Community Relationship</u>						
Valid Training (in-place)	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0
Future Implications	4	10.0	5	12.5	6	15.0
Not Mentioned	36	90.0	34	85.0	34	85.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Staten Island=90%

Table 43: Collective Case of Experts' Quotes Related to Procedural Fairness and Community Relations (n=120)

		NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Legitimacy # 1</u>							
Valid	Procedural Fairness	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0
	Pol./Comm. Relations	6	15.0	4	10.0	7	17.5
	Both	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Neutral	33	82.5	35	87.5	33	82.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Ferguson=87%

Table 44: Collective Case of Experts' Quotes Related to Police Agency's Attitude on Legitimacy (n=120)

		NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Legitimacy # 2</u>							
Valid	Positive	8	20.0	5	12.5	2	5.0
	Negative	2	5.0	2	5.0	1	2.5
	Not Mentioned	30	75.0	33	82.5	37	92.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Baltimore=92.5%

Table 45: Collective Case of Experts' Quote of Individual Traits or Environment Causing Police Killing of Unarmed Black Males (n=120)

		NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Individual/Environment</u>							
Valid	Social Factors	2	5.0	3	7.5	3	7.5
	Neighborhood Context	2	5.0	3	7.5	3	7.5
	Both	3	7.5	0	0.0	5	12.5
	Not Mentioned	33	82.5	34	85.0	29	72.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Ferguson=85%

Table 46: Collective Case Quotes Reducing Police Shootings and Improving Police- Community Relationships (n=120)

		NYTS/USATS		NYTF/USATF		NYTB/USATB	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Solutions</u>							
Valid	Reduce Shootings	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Improve Relations	9	22.5	8	20.0	9	22.5
	Both	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5
	Not Mentioned	30	75.0	34	77.5	30	75.5
	Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

*Ferguson=77%

Appendix C: Quote Analysis Instrument

Case # _____

Eric Garner Michael Brown Freddie Gray

Date of Quotation: _____

Type of Article: Police = 1 Courts = 2 Community = 3 Pub. Adm. = 4 Decedent = 5

Category of Expert: State Manager = 1 Intellectual = 2

Discipline of Expert: Politician = 1 Public & Police Administrator = 2 Police/Practitioner = 3
 Researcher = 4 Professor = 5 Non-academic practitioner = 6

Attribution of Expert's Quotations:

1. Is the expert quote of the police killing pro-police or pro-community?
 Pro-Police = 1 Pro-Community = 2 Neutral or No Statement = 3
2. Is the expert quote of in the aftermath of police killing pro-police or pro-community?
 Pro-Police = 1 Pro-Community = 2 Neutral or No Statement = 3
3. Does the expert quote indicate that racial/social inequality is a problem in the city?
 Racial = 1 Social = 2 Both = 3 Neutral or No Statement = 4
4. Does the expert quote address additional police sensitivity training/interaction?
 Sensitivity training/interaction = 1 Future implementation = 2 Not mentioned=3
5. Does the quote indicate procedural fairness or police-community relations?
 Procedural fairness = 1 Police-community relations = 2 Both = 3 Not mentioned = 4
6. Does the expert quotation addressed procedural fairness/police legitimacy/or community trust for police?
 Positively = 1 Negatively = 2 Does not mention at all = 3
7. Does the quotation indicate that social factors/neighborhood context caused the incident?
 Social factors = 1 Neighborhood context = 2 Both = 3 Not mentioned = 4
8. Does the quotation indicate recommendations to reduce police killings of unarmed Black males or improving community relations?
 Reduce killings = 1 Improve relations = 2 Both = 3 Neither mentioned = 4

Date Completed: _____

Examiner: _____

Appendix D: List of News Articles and Author by Cities

**New York Times* (NYT)

**USA Today* (USAT)

Table 47: List of News Article and Authors by City (n=120)

<u>Date</u>	<u>News Source</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>Author/Reporter</u>
<u>Staten Island, New York</u>			
<i>New York Times</i>			
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS1	About 30 Arrest Bratton says	Andy Newman
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS2	A police effort lands with a thud	Andy Newman
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS3	Justice Department to launch investigation	Marc Santora
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS4	Believers in US should feel called to action	Andy Newman
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS5	Cuomo: federal inquiry may be appropriate	Andy Newman
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS6	We're not going to let up, Obama says	Mark Lander & Santora
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS7	Senator Gellibrand shocked	Mark Santora
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS8	NAACP legal fund calls decision horrific	Julie Hirschfield Davis
Dec. 3, 2014	NYTS9	De Blasio urges that protests be peaceful	Andy Newman
Dec. 4, 2014	NYTS10	Deadly force used did not fit crime	Baker & Chozick
Dec. 4, 2014	NYTS11	Deadly force used did not fit crime	Baker & Chozick
June 19, 2014	NYTS12	Complaints about choke hold focus of study	Goldstein & Schweber
Aug. 1, 2014	NYTS13	Staten Island man died from choke hold	Goldstein & Santora
Aug. 1, 2014	NYTS14	Staten Island man died from choke hold	Goldstein & Santora
July 15, 2015	NYTS15	Renewal projects down to the sidewalks	Michael Kimmelman
July 15, 2015	NYTS16	Renewal projects down to the sidewalks	Michael Kimmelman
July 15, 2015	NYTS17	Renewal projects down to the sidewalks	Michael Kimmelman
Aug. 10, 2015	NYTS18	Staten Island district attorney faces big test	Vivian Yee
Dec. 4, 2014	NYTS20	Deadly force used did not fit crime	Baker & Chozick
<i>USA Today</i>			
July 13, 2015	USATS1	New York City Settles Eric Garner case	Gregg Toppo
July 13, 2015	USATS2	New York City Settles Eric Garner case	Gregg Toppo
Jan. 12, 2015	USATS3	Garner prosecutor seeks Congress support	Catalina Camia
Jan. 12, 2015	USATS4	Garner prosecutor seeks Congress support	Catalina Camia
Mar. 19, 2015	USATS5	Judge won't release grand jury minutes	Yamiche Alcindor
Mar. 19, 2015	USATS6	Judge won't release grand jury minutes	Yamiche Alcindor
Mar. 19, 2015	USATS7	Judge won't release grand jury minutes	Yamiche Alcindor
Dec. 4, 2014	USATS8	Video could make difference in probe	Kevin Johnson
Dec. 4, 2014	USATS9	Video could make difference in probe	Kevin Johnson
Dec. 4, 2014	USATS10	Video could make difference in probe	Kevin Johnson
July 15, 2015	USATS11	Cuomo: Police shooting creates "distrust"	Jon Campbell
Aug. 1, 2014	USATS12	NYPD chokehold death ruled homicide	Michael Winter
May. 5, 2015	USATS13	Civil liberties group appeal grand jury	Yamiche Alcindor

April 29, 2015	USATS14	Clinton call for police body cameras	Martha Moore
Aug. 1, 2014	USATS15	NYPD chokehold death ruled homicide	Michael Winter
Mar. 2, 2015	USATS16	Obama task force urges independent probes	David Jackson
Dec. 4, 2014	USATS17	Officer's intent critical for grand jury	Donna Leinwand Leger
July 23, 2014	USATS18	Police express angry: chokehold reaction	Melanie Eversley
Feb. 5, 2015	USATS19	Lawyers seek Garner grand jury records	Yamiche Alcindor
July 18, 2014	USATS20	Death of NYC man after police chokehold	Melanie Eversley

Ferguson, Missouri

New York Times

Aug. 10, 2014	NYTF1	Grief & protest follow shooting of a teen	Bosman & Fitzsimons
Aug. 10, 2014	NYTF2	Grief & protest follow shooting of a teen	Bosman & Fitzsimons
Aug. 10, 2014	NYTF3	Grief & protest follow shooting of a teen	Bosman & Fitzsimons
Aug. 12, 2014	NYTF4	What happens when unarmed teen is killed	Jake Flanagan
Aug. 12, 2014	NYTF5	What happens when unarmed teen is killed	Jake Flanagan
Aug. 12, 2014	NYTF6	Police decline to identify Officer	Whitney Curtis
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF7	Michael Brown and Black men	Charles M. Blow
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF8	Michael Brown and Black men	Charles M. Blow
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF9	Michael Brown and Black men	Charles M. Blow
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF10	Michael Brown and Black men	Charles M. Blow
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF11	Anonymity in police shooting fuels anger	Bosman & Eckholm
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF12	Anonymity in police shooting fuels anger	Bosman & Eckholm
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF13	Anonymity in police shooting fuels anger	Bosman & Eckholm
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF14	Anonymity in police shooting fuels anger	Bosman & Eckholm
Aug. 13, 2014	NYTF15	Anonymity in police shooting fuels anger	Bosman & Eckholm
Aug. 15, 2014	NYTF16	Updates on police shooting in Missouri	Jennifer Preston
Aug. 16, 2014	NYTF17	Deep tensions rise to surface after Ferguson	Vega & Eligon
Aug. 16, 2014	NYTF18	Deep tensions rise to surface after Ferguson	Vega & Eligon
Aug. 16, 2014	NYTF19	Deep tensions rise to surface after Ferguson	Vega & Eligon
Aug. 19, 2014	NYTF20	Shooting accounts differ as Holder visits	Robles & Schmidt

USA Today

Dec. 21, 2014	USATF1	NYPD shooting suspect wanted revenge	Zoroya & Hughes
Aug. 28, 2014	USATF2	Year after death, residents start to heal	Yamiche Alcindor
Aug. 15, 2014	USATF3	Ferguson police chief Thomas Jackson	Yamiche & Madhani
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF4	Darren Wilson was quiet, gentle man	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF5	Darren Wilson was quiet, gentle man	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF6	Darren Wilson was quiet, gentle man	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 28, 2014	USATF7	Hillary Clinton: Nation can do better	Catalina Camia
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF8	Holder promise fair thorough investigation	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF9	Holder promise fair thorough investigation	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF10	Holder promise fair thorough investigation	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF11	Holder promise fair thorough investigation	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 16, 2014	USATF12	Holder promise fair thorough investigation	Laura Mandaro
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF13	DOJ, Ferguson remain in talks year after	Yamiche Alcindor
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF14	DOJ, Ferguson remain in talks year after	Yamiche Alcindor
July 30, 2015	USATF15	Ferguson preps for anniversary of death	Jennifer Meckles
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF16	Unrelenting Ferguson protest	Yamiche Alcindor
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF17	Unrelenting Ferguson protest	Yamiche Alcindor
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF18	Unrelenting Ferguson protest	Yamiche Alcindor
July 22, 2015	USATF19	Ferguson has new interim police chief	Martellaro & Stanglin
Aug. 9, 2014	USATF20	Unrelenting Ferguson protest	Martellaro & Stanglin

Baltimore City, Maryland

New York Times

Nov. 15, 2015	NYTB1	Baltimore homicide surpasses 300 this year	Associated Press
Nov. 16, 2015	NYTB2	Baltimore police assailed for response	Gately & Stolberg
Nov. 16, 2015	NYTB3	Baltimore announce 6.4 million settlement	Gately & Stolberg
Nov. 16, 2015	NYTB4	Baltimore announce 6.4 million settlement	Gately & Stolberg
Nov. 16, 2015	NYTB5	Study links Baltimore mortgage to race	Gately & Stolberg
Sept. 2, 2015	NYTB6	Baltimore Judge let officers charges stand	Sheryl Stolberg
Sept. 2, 2015	NYTB7	Freddie Gray in Baltimore: Another death	Sheryl Stolberg
April 21, 2015	NYTB8	Baltimore officers suspended over death	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB9	When Baltimore burned	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB10	When Baltimore burned	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB11	Hard but hopeful home to 'lot of Freddie's'	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB12	We came before Baltimore riots	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB13	W. Baltimore police presence drop	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB14	W. Baltimore police presence drop	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB15	W. Baltimore police presence drop	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB16	Baltimore riots are another scar on city	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB17	Baltimore riots are another scar on city	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB18	Baltimore riots are another scar on city	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB19	Freddie Gray's Injury & the police	Richard Perez-Pena
April 21, 2015	NYTB20	Freddie Gray's Injury & the police	Richard Perez-Pena

USA Today

June 24, 2015	USATB1	Freddie Gray died of high-energy injury	Melanie Eversley
Sept. 1, 2015	USATB2	Murder charge for son of Baltimore police	Melanie Eversley
Oct. 19, 2015	USATB3	Baltimore council Oks police chief	Jacob Bacon
April 30, 2015	USATB4	Thousands march in Baltimore and NYC	Yamiche Alcindor
Aug. 27, 2015	USATB5	Baltimore mayor on guns, gangs, homicides	Susan Page
Sept. 11, 2015	USATB6	Baltimore mayor won't seek re-election	WUSA-TV
Sept. 11, 2015	USATB7	Baltimore mayor won't seek re-election	WUSA-TV
Sept. 11, 2015	USATB8	Baltimore mayor won't seek re-election	WUSA-TV
Sept. 11, 2015	USATB9	Baltimore mayor won't seek re-election	WUSA-TV
Sept. 11, 2015	USATB10	Baltimore mayor won't seek re-election	WUSA-TV
May 1, 2015	USATB11	Baltimore residence say city struggled	Yamiche Alcindor
May 1, 2015	USATB12	Baltimore residence say city struggled	Yamiche Alcindor
May 1, 2015	USATB13	Baltimore residence say city struggled	Yamiche Alcindor
May 8, 2015	USATB14	Attorney launches investigation on police	Kevin Johnson
May 27, 2015	USATB15	Baltimore, other cities see violent holiday	Toppo & Madhani
May 11, 2015	USATB16	U.S. hears U.N. concerns: excessive force	Jane Onyanga-Omara
May 11, 2015	USATB17	Officers charged in Freddie Gray's death	Jane Onyanga-Omara
April 29, 2015	USATB18	Clinton calls for police body cameras	Martha t. Moore
Dec. 4, 2014	USATB19	Choke-hold sued in prior misconduct case	Kevin McCoy
Dec. 6, 2015	USATB20	How do we find the language to fit racism	Jessica Masulli Reyes

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