

6-27-2019

The Religion of Policing: Race, Riots, and the Killing of Alton Sterling

Landon Jay Douglas

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations

Recommended Citation

Douglas, Landon Jay, "The Religion of Policing: Race, Riots, and the Killing of Alton Sterling" (2019). *LSU Doctoral Dissertations*. 4997.

https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/4997

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized graduate school editor of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.

THE RELIGION OF POLICING: RACE, RIOTS, AND THE KILLING OF ALTON STERLING

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

Landon Jay Douglas
B.S., Southern University A&M, 2007
M.S., Southern University A&M, 2006
August 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several individuals that have motivated and supported me during the completion of graduate school and this dissertation. I am very appreciative for the guidance provided to me by my amazing and strong mother, Phyllis A. Bell. Thank you for the love, support, and prayers throughout this academic journey. I am forever grateful for my committee members, Drs. Lori Martin, Stephen Finley and Michael Barton, who provided me with insight, encouragement and their immense knowledge, which greatly assisted my research and my journey to becoming a Ph. D.

I also would like to thank my best friend and closest confidant, my sister Alicia L. Jones. You have been my rock and back bone since I was a young boy. You have always encouraged me and believed in me when others doubted me. For your love and faith, I am forever grateful. I would also like to thank my faithful and unwavering friend, cohort member, and colleague, Chandra L. Joseph for talking me into this crazy endeavor. Your support and friendship through this difficult process is unmatched. You allowed me to vent my frustrations, exhaustively discuss my ideas, and supported me when I had no one else. You are the true definition of a friend, and your kindness and support can never be repaid.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for the support and encouragement through my academic journey. I could not have achieved this great honor without your constant words of inspiration and love. When I stumbled, you all were there to lift me up and encourage me to continue my journey. Because of you, I have completed my journey. Thank You.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	iv
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Never-Ending Cycle.....	2
Chapter 2. Literature.....	21
2.1. The Creation of Race.....	21
2.2. Sociology of Race and Policing.....	33
2.3. Race, Religion, and the Deification of Law Enforcement Officials.....	49
Chapter 3. Data and Methods.....	62
3.1. Data.....	62
3.2. Methods.....	63
3.3. Limitations.....	66
3.4. Results.....	68
Chapter 4. Discussion and Conclusion.....	116
4.1. Discussion.....	116
4.2. Conclusion.....	135
References.....	140
Vita.....	151

ABSTRACT

Deadly force encounters with black people and law enforcement officials are far too numerous and encounters that result in the death of civilians do not always result in disciplinary actions against officers, many of whom are white. The high-profile killings of black people in America require an in-depth analysis of race, policing, and the origins of tactics used by law enforcement against black people, which is not merely data-driven, but also theory driven. In trying to understand the disparate treatment experienced by black people at the hands of law enforcement officials, and the extent to which many Americans, mostly white Americans, and the social institutions they control, especially the mass media, regard the state-as-god—virtuous, just, and infallible, and policing as religious. The 2016 killing of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge is an ideal case study for understanding how police are perceived and portrayed, particularly in the media given the local, regional, and national attention the killing received. Through a content analysis of articles published immediately following Sterling’s death and the firing of one of the white officers involved, this study addressed the following research questions: To what extent does media coverage of a black civilian and/or black man reflect the state-as-god perspective as outlined in the work of Finley and Gray and others? To what extent does the general public reflect an adherence to the state-as-god perspective as evidenced in opinion pieces, including letters to the editor, editorials, and op-ed pieces? To what extent does the media use latent or manifest language to vindicate the police officer’s use of deadly force, while also vilifying the alleged black offender? Does the media contribute racial tensions and/or racial discourse when police officers use deadly force against black citizens?

The following themes emerged from the analysis: The police officers involved in the death of Alton Sterling, and police officers more broadly, were viewed in complex ways. The theoretical and methodological implications of the study findings are presented, as are, directions for further research.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

If you're not careful the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed, and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.
--Malcolm X

Unarmed black men are dying at the hands of white police officers across the country. In a study conducted by *The Guardian* that tracks police killing in America, the *Guardian* found that police killed 258 black people in 2016 (Swaine and McCarthy 2016). Of the 258 black people killed by police, 34 were unarmed. *The Washington Post* found that 34 percent of the unarmed people killed in 2016 were black males, which is quite disproportionate since black men make up only 6 percent of the U.S. population (Kelly, Lowery, Rich, Tate, and Jenkins 2016). What seems like *open season* on black men in America may best be understood—in both historical and contemporary times—as a term I introduce here: *the religion of policing*. The religion of policing can best be described as an orientation whereby anti-black sentiments inform how police officers respond in encounters with black people they perceive as a threat and how members of the dominant racial group in America (white people) support—often uncritically—their actions. American social institutions like the mass media are complicit in communicating the *sacred* practice of policing black communities and black bodies, which reinforces ideas of white supremacy and black inferiority and the justification of state-sanctioned anti-black sentiments and anti-black violence. Despite the rising influence of social media platforms, traditional mass media sources, such as local newspapers, continue to have a big impact on where and how Americans get their news (Dawson 2018).

Evidence of the religion of policing is abundant and can be observed in recent cases involving Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and in the killing of Alton

Sterling. The study is situated within the school of critical criminology drawing on scholarly work regarding race, religion, and policing as a religion. Critical criminology helps frame this study because it allows scholars to examine the actions, culture, functions and critically analyze the state and the state's subsidiaries, specifically law enforcement (Arrigo and Takashi 2006). Through the lens of critical criminology, the study examines the motive behind the actions of law enforcement and how law enforcement agencies perceive alleged black suspects (Arrigo and Takashi 2006, Sykes 1974).

1.1. The Never-Ending Cycle

Unfortunately, the list of names of black people killed by white police officers is long and growing. From the deaths of people like Amadou Diallo in the 1990s to the killing of Alton Sterling in 2016, fatal encounters between white police officers and black people have seemed to become routine and improvements in technology have turned everyday people into amateur photographers, journalists, pundits, and the like (Cazenave 2017, Khan and McMahon 2015, Martinot 2014). Moreover, with use of social media, access to police body cameras, and the 24/7 news cycle, people all over the world can now view these unfortunate events via the internet. These technological advancements have illuminated what some characterize as white officers' aggressive behavior toward black citizens and others characterize as justified uses of force (Bonilla, and Rosa 2015). The killing of Eric Gardner is a good example; people were able to witness the murder of Eric Garner (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). A cell phone video of Eric Garner's death sent shock waves throughout America and around the world (Baker, Goodman, Mueller

2015, Bloom and Iman 2014). The video of Garner's death went viral, cauterizing the images of out of control police officers in the minds of many in the black community.

Garner's contact with Staten Island police officers was not just a coincidence, but a culmination of events that eventually turned catastrophic. Garner, 43 was a 6'3" 395-pound black man, married and a father of six (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Bloom and Iman 2014). Garner did have a criminal history consisting of several arrests, mostly for selling loose cigarettes. Garner was arrested several times for selling untaxed cigarettes that he acquired outside of the state for a cheaper price (Pennsylvania, Delaware, etc.). He then in turn would sell the cigarettes in New York, where cigarettes are heavily taxed, for a cheaper price (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). *The New York Times* interviewed Mr. Gjeshbitraj who lives on Bay Street. Mr. Gjeshbitraj filed a formal complaint on the New York Police Department (NYPD)'s online complaint website 311 to complain about men loitering outside his Staten Island apartment building (Sanchez 2014, Goldstien and Schwerber 2014). Gjeshbitraj complained that men would gather there to sell loose cigarettes which covered up something more sinister, the sale of illicit drugs. Garner was among the group of men that Gjeshbitraj complained about, many of the men were classified as middle aged black or Hispanic men who sold near the park. The NYPD created teams of officers tasked with combating these and other petty crimes in the Staten Island area (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015).

The commissioner of the NYPD at the time Garner was killed, William J. Bratton, touted the quality of life or "broken windows" (which targets low level offenses) policing ideology that he popularized during his first term as the NYPD commissioner in the mid-1990s (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). Broken Windows thesis holds that each

problem that goes unattended in a given environment affects people's attitude toward that environment and leads to more problems. Indeed, Bratton applied Wilson and Kelling's theory to the enforcement practices of the NYPD, aggressively targeting areas of the New York City that were plagued with petty crimes classified as crimes of disorder (Kamlu and Onyeozilli 2018) By applying the broken windows thesis to the enforcement practices of the NYPD, Bratton essentially began the age of Broken Windows Policing. Despite the fact that many police officers use this as a way to disparately target black men, a number of policing policies are still based upon this model (Kamlu and Onyeozilli 2018, Wilson and Kelling 1982). The location where Garner was approached by officers was already the site of least 98 arrests, 100 criminal court summons, and 646 calls to 911 and nine complaints to 311. Among the most detrimental complaints was Mr. Gjeshbitraj's complaint. Gjeshbitraj filed a complaint on 311 about an altercation with a group of men, who were selling drugs on his block. In the complaint Gjeshbitraj mentioned "Eric" (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). Police officials understood "Eric" to be Eric Garner. After Mr. Gjeshbitraj's complaint, arrests in the area spiked but nothing changed in the area (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015).

On July 17, 2014, several media reports stated, Lieutenant Christopher Bannon drove by Bay Street and observed several men standing on the sidewalk, which included Eric Garner (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). Bannon instructed officers Justin Damico, 26, a four-year veteran and officer Daniel Pantaleo, 30, an eight-year veteran, to go to Bay Street. Damico and Pantaleo circled the block twice observing Garner. Damico and Pantaleo eventually parked their unmarked police unit and approached Garner. As the officers approached Garner, Garner's close friend Mr. Orta began recording their

interaction with Garner. A verbal argument ensued between Garner and the two officers (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Bloom, and Iman 2014). During the verbal argument the officers tried to grab Garner's arms. Garner pulled away from Damico and Pantaleo and asked that Damico and Pantaleo not to touch him. Reports suggest that Pantaleo anticipating an arrest, called for backup before swinging one arm over Garner's shoulder and around his neck and the other arm under Garner's arm in attempts to twist Garner to the ground (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Bloom, and Iman 2014). By that time four uniformed officers arrived at the scene to assist Damico and Pantaleo with Garner's arrest. In the video footage of Garner's arrest, the uniformed officers Mark Ramos and Craig Furlani can be seen placing handcuffs on Garner while Pantaleo is still holding Garner in a choke hold. Witnesses at the scene testified that Sergeant Kizzy Adonis instructed Pantaleo "Let up, you got him already" (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015). Pantaleo looked up, but did not let go. Pantaleo eventually moved from the choke hold and began pressing Garner's head into the pavement. As the officers handcuffed Garner, he could be heard continuously repeating "I can't breathe" (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Bloom and Iman 2014).

Officers in the video did not respond to Garner's pleas (Bloom and Iman 2014). Eventually an ambulance was called for Garner. Official reports related to Garner's death stated the ambulance was called twice but was categorized as low priority. Multiple media sources report that the emergency medical crew that arrived on scene seemed unorganized and did not take Garner's condition seriously (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Goldstien and Schueber 2014). Witness accounts of the incident

stated that a member of the medical crew instructed Garner to wake up as if it was a ruse to avoid going to jail (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Iman and Bloom 2014). Official reports of Garner's initial medical treatment were anemic at best and there were no real attempts by NYPD or emergency medical services to render aid to Garner (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014). Garner was eventually transported to Richmond University Medical Center where he was declared dead at 4:43 p.m. on July 17, 2014. The cause of Garner's death was compression of the neck (choke hold), compression of the chest and prone positioning during physical restraint by police, as described in official reports by the Richmond County medical examiners (Iman and Bloom 2014). Garner's death was ruled a homicide (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014).

Eric Garner's death sparked protest throughout the United States. An in-depth investigation into his death revealed that in initial reports about the incident submitted to the NYPD leadership, Damico omitted the fact that he used a choke hold to subdue Garner. It was not until video surfaced showing Damico using a departmentally restricted choke hold on Garner, he admitted to choking Garner (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Goldstien and Schueber 2014). Subsequently, a further investigation into the medical attention Garner received at the scene revealed that the technicians and paramedics that arrived to render aid to him, were found to be negligent in their medical treatment. There were no criminal charges filed against Damico or the emergency medical services crew members for the death of Garner (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Goldstien and Schueber 2014). This became yet another example of how black people were treated as second-class citizens in the age of colorblindness. The black

community did not have time to fully process the death of Eric Garner before another black man was killed. Approximately three weeks later Michael Brown was killed during a controversial encounter with Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri (Baker, Goodman, Mueller 2015, Sanchez 2014, Goldstien and Schueber 2014).

On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown, 18, and Dorian Johnson, 22, were walking west along West Florissant Avenue in the middle of the street on Canfield Drive. While Brown and Johnson were walking in the middle of the street, Darren Wilson drove up and instructed them to “get out of the street” through his police cruiser’s window (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, Klien 2014, New York Times 2014). Darren Wilson stated, he drove ahead of Brown and Johnson and blocked the roadway with his police cruiser. Wilson stated that he blocked Brown and Johnson’s path because Brown fit the description of a robbery suspect that was recently dispatched to officers before he encountered Brown and Johnson on Canfield Drive (Klien 2014, New York Times 2014). Several eyewitness reports stated, an altercation between Brown and Wilson ensued at Wilson’s cruiser. Wilson reported that Brown punched him several times and then reached for his service weapon. Wilson stated that he fired two rounds at Brown from inside his police cruiser (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014). The first shot missed Brown; the second shot hit Brown on the inside of his right thumb. After Wilson fired the two shots, Brown and Johnson ran away from Wilson. Wilson exited his police cruiser and pursued Brown and Johnson. Some witnesses and Wilson testimony indicated, Brown stopped running away from Wilson. Brown turned toward Wilson and charged at him. Wilson fired ten shots at Brown, striking him six times fatally wounding Brown (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014).

Dorian Johnson's account of the incident completely contradicted Wilson's account of what happened that day. Johnson's account was that he and Brown were walking in the middle of the street when a white male officer pulled up to them and told them to "get the fuck on the sidewalk" (Klien 2014). Johnson and Brown replied to Wilson that they were very close to their destination and would be out of the roadway shortly (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, Klein 2014). Johnson stated that Wilson drove forward of him and Brown, stopped his police cruiser and backed up aggressively almost striking them. Johnson stated that Wilson's vehicle was so close to him and Brown, that when Wilson attempted to open the door it ricocheted off his and Brown's body and closed on Wilson (Klien 2014). Still in his car, Wilson grabbed Brown's neck and attempted to subdue Brown, but Brown pulled away (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014). Johnson stated as Wilson struggled to hold on to Brown, Wilson pulled his service weapon and threatened to shoot Brown. Johnson stated after Wilson threatened to shoot Brown, Wilson instantaneously fired his weapon hitting Brown (Klien 2014). Johnson stated that Brown broke free from Wilson's grasp, ran and attempted to take cover behind the first car he could find (Klien 2014). Johnson stated that Wilson exited his vehicle and fired at Brown again, possibly striking Brown a second time (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014). Johnson went on to say that Brown stood up with his hands in the air and informed Wilson that he was unarmed and asked Wilson to stop shooting. Johnson stated that Wilson ignored Brown's pleas and fired several more shots at Brown killing him. Wilson's actions were brought before a grand jury consisting of nine whites and three black people. The grand jury did not indict Wilson on any charges (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014).

Johnson's account of the incident struck a nerve with the black community in Ferguson, Missouri. A long history of mistreatment and overt racism from local police, the addition of Michael Brown's killing, and Wilson not getting indicted sent Ferguson into chaos (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014, Klien 2014). What started off as a peaceful protest of participants chanting "hands up don't shoot" turned into rioting and looting of local businesses in the area (Swaine 2014). Protest of Brown's death lasted for approximately two weeks before things were restored to normal order (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014, Klien 2014).

What is of importance in Michael Brown's killing is that Dorian Johnson's account of the incident was completely ignored and portrayed as a lie to the public due to Johnson's appearance and criminal history (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014). Several media outlets reported that after Brown was shot and killed his body lay in the street for hours without being covered. Not covering Brown's body was viewed by many as disrespectful and displayed a lack of care because Brown was a black man (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014, Klein 2014). Another thing that was troubling with Brown's killing was that a surveillance video recovered from a local store where Brown allegedly committed a strong-armed robbery was broadcasted on mainstream media platforms constantly. Attention was taken away from Brown's killing and focused on his actions before his encounter with Wilson. Brown was portrayed as a thug and a criminal, which justified Brown's death to many people outside of the black community (Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014). Wilson's grand jury testimony was eventually released to the inquiring public. According to the 2015 U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) report, Wilson constantly portrayed

Brown as a superhuman demonic creature, which he was powerless to stop. The national media assisted with the negative perception of Brown by constantly discussing Brown's size and stature along with his usage of marijuana. Wilson portrayed himself as helpless and dwarfed by Brown's size and strength (USDOJ 2015). By Wilson's account, the only way to quell this threat was to take Brown's life (USDOJ 2015, Brown 2014, McLaughlin 2014, New York Times 2014). His portrayal of Brown was consistent of how black males throughout history have been portrayed to justify violence against black males (Muhammad 2010, Dray 2002). The untimely deaths and circumstances of Garner's and Brown's deaths culminated to solidify the #BlackLivesMatter movement (Cazenave 2018). Stature and the appearance of black men in America would again take center stage when the encounter between Tamir Rice and Cleveland Police Officers would lead to Rice's death.

On November 22, 2014, twelve-year-old Tamir Rice was playing with an "airsoft" replica handgun that resembled a semiautomatic pistol at the Cudell Recreation Center in Cleveland, Ohio, on the westside of the city (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). An anonymous caller called 911 and informed an operator that "there's a guy in here with a pistol, pointing it at everybody". The caller informed the operator that the gun was possibly fake, but he was "scaring the shit out of people," the caller reiterated that the gun was probably fake (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). The caller described Tamir as a juvenile. The possibility of the gun being fake was never communicated to the responding officers (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014).

Minutes after the call came in, dispatchers communicated the situation to Cleveland Police Officers Timothy Loehmann, 26, and Frank Garmback, 46. Loehmann had been with the department since March of 2014 and Garmback was with the department since February 2008 (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). When the officers arrived at Tamir's location, Garmback was driving the police cruiser with Loehmann seated in the passenger seat of the of the cruiser (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). Loehmann and Garmback's report indicated that, he and Garmback drove up to the gazebo where Rice was sitting. Loehmann verbally instructed Rice to put his hands up where both officers could see them. Loehmann stated, Rice ignored his instruction and reached into his waistband (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). Loehmann fired two shots in Rice's direction, striking Rice once in the torso. Minutes after the shooting one of the officers radioed in that shots were fired, and that one black male was down, approximately 20 years of age (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). Within minutes of the shooting, two other officers arrive at the location and one of the officers performed first aid on Rice until emergency medical services arrived and transported Rice to the Metro Health Medical Center, where he later died from his wound (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014).

After Rice's death, national media platforms continuously discussed Rice's stature and consistently commented that Rice looked older than he was (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). The fact that Rice wore clothes that would fit an older man was brought to national attention and somehow used as justification for his death. Rice had no criminal history or history of unacceptable

behavior (Ali 2017, Ohleiser 2014, Heisig 2017, Ly and Hanna 2014). There was nothing to slander Rice's character other than Rice was big for his age. Since this time, there have been countless other slayings of black men and women by police officers. Unfortunately, Alton Sterling would be added to the seemingly never-ending list of black Americans that would be killed at the hands of police officers.

Alton Sterling, a 37-year-old father of five, became the 135th black person killed by police in 2016 (Washington Post 2016). On March 28, 2018, the Louisiana Department of Justice (LADOJ) released its final report on the shooting of Alton Sterling. The report is titled: The Final Report of the Investigation and Determination of Criminal Responsibility and Use of Force by Officers Blane Salamoni and Howard Lake of the Baton Rouge Police Department in the Officer Involved Death of Alton Sterling Occurring July 5, 2016. On page 6, section C., a timeline of events leading to Alton Sterling's death is thoroughly documented.

The LADOJ reports that, on July 5, 2016, at approximately 12:35 a.m., Dispatcher Dunder of the Baton Rouge Police Department received a 911 call from a person later identified as John Young. Young called 911 to report a person, later identified as Alton Sterling, selling CDs in front of the Triple S Food Mart after midnight. Young informed Dunder that Sterling was armed with a handgun and showed him the gun in a threatening manner. Young described Sterling as a black male wearing a red shirt, weighing 250 pounds. During the 911 call, Young reiterated several times that Sterling had a gun.

Several minutes later, Young called 911 again and spoke with Dispatcher Jordan. Young provided additional information and requested a plain-clothes officer come to the

location. Subsequently, while Young was on the phone with Jordan, Young informed Jordan that the police arrived at the location with Sterling.

In conjunction with the security footage from the Triple S Food Mart, officer's body camera footage, and enhanced videos generated by the United States Department of Justice, the following was deduced:

On July 5, 2016, at approximately 12:16 a.m., Alton Sterling is seen in front of the Triple S Food Mart selling CDs. At about this time, Sterling is observed walking to the corner of the store and threatening someone with what is later determined to be a firearm concealed in his front right pocket, presumably Young. After the confrontation, Sterling returned to his position in front of the store.

At approximately 12:42 a.m., Officers Howie Lake and Blane Salmoni arrived at the Triple S Food Mart to investigate the complaint made by Young. Officer Lake was the first officer to make contact with Sterling. Officer Lake arrived at the location in a fully marked Baton Rouge Police Department (BRPD) car, and a fully identifiable BRPD uniform. Lake appeared to immediately identify Sterling as the suspect, from the description given by Young. Sterling appeared to be in the middle of conducting a sales transaction with two females.

Officer Lake interrupted the transaction between Sterling and the females and gave Sterling verbal commands to place his hands on a near-by vehicle parked close to where Sterling was standing. Sterling is noticeably apprehensive. Officer Lake instructed Sterling to stop twice. Officer Lake then attempted to physically control Sterling's hands by placing Sterling's hands on a near-by vehicle. While Lake attempted to control Sterling's hands, Salamoni arrived to assist Lake. Officer Lake attempted to control

Sterling's left arm as Officer Salamoni attempted to control Sterling's right arm, all while giving Sterling verbal commands to place his hands on the vehicle.

During the struggle, Sterling asked, "What I did?", while actively resisting officers' commands. While officers struggle to control Sterling, Sterling spun around and pulled his right arm away from Officer Salamoni. Officer Salamoni drew his service weapon from the holster and told Sterling in a stern voice "Don't fucking move or I'll shoot you in your fucking head". Sterling seemed to comply and allowed Lake and Salamoni to direct him to a vehicle and attempt to place him in custody. Despite Officer Salamoni's escalated aggression and weapon being drawn, Sterling still resisted Officer Lake's attempts to control his left hand.

After Officer Lake's failed attempts of controlling Sterling, Salamoni stepped back away from Sterling and instructed Officer Lake to tase Sterling with his Taser. Officer Lake deployed the Taser into Sterling's back. The Taser appeared to work initially because Sterling fell to the ground. Officers then ordered Sterling to stay on the ground using strong verbal commands.

Sterling did not stay on the ground. Sterling got up and turned toward Lake and Salamoni. Salamoni instructed Lake to tase Sterling again, but the second activation was not effective. Sterling continued to face Lake and Salamoni. Salamoni holstered his service weapon and aggressively tackled Sterling into a parked car, eventually falling on the ground, and landing on top of Sterling chest to chest. A struggle ensued as Officer Salamoni attempted to control Sterling's right arm. Officer Lake knelt next to Salamoni and attempted to control Sterling's left arm. Officer Salamoni then removed his service weapon from the holster and told Sterling "if you move, I swear to God." The whole time

Lake and Salamoni were observed to be struggling to control Sterling's hands. After failing to control Sterling's hands, Salamoni loudly announced to Lake "he's got a gun" and verbally demanded that Sterling relinquish control of his right hand. Officer Salamoni also yelled "he going for his gun". Officer Salamoni then fired three rounds into Sterling's chest and rolled off of Sterling, simultaneously Lake stood up with his service weapon drawn, pointed at Sterling.

As Sterling sat up, Officer Lake yelled at Sterling to "get on the ground". Sterling appeared to roll to his left, away from Officer Salamoni; Officer Salamoni fired three rounds into Sterling's back. At that point Sterling laid back down after having been completely incapacitated by Salamoni's gunshots.

Officer Lake immediately notified BRPD dispatch of "shots fired and requested Emergency Medical Services for Sterling. Officer Lake then approached Sterling and removed a loaded .38 caliber handgun from Sterling's right front pocket. Officer Lake then secured Sterling's firearm in his vehicle.

Once emergency medical personnel arrived on scene to render aid to Sterling, they found Sterling to be unresponsive and no signs of life. Sterling was pronounced dead at the scene due to gunshot wounds to his chest and back.

After cell phone recordings of the incident surfaced, outrage from around the country poured into Baton Rouge. Protesters arrived in the vicinity of the Triple S Food Mart and began protesting the killing of Alton Sterling. Alton Sterling's killing began trending on every major social media site around the United States. Many protestors converged on Baton Rouge in the coming days. Prominent movements such as #Black

Lives Matter and local activists organized marches and road blockades around the Baton Rouge area to bring attention to Sterling's death.

In the coming days protesters clashed with Baton Rouge City and Louisiana State Police officers. In articles published by the Baton Rouge based newspaper, The Advocate, many protesters complained about the aggressive behavior and tactics of police officers used against protestors. Consistent with statements taken from many of the protestors, police officers displayed careless and overly aggressive behavior that so many in the black community had complained about for years.

Sterling was not the last black man to die after coming into contact with one or more white police officers. Sadly, by the conclusion of the current study, many more will likely die because the relationship between white police officers and the black citizens they have sworn to protect is in disarray with no repair in sight. High profile killings of black people by white police officers have exacerbated the contempt in the black community for white police officers because most state sanctioned killings go unpunished. Subsequently, because they are state-sanctioned and happen with impunity, it is police killings that most effectively reinforce the ideology of "black criminality" used to justify the violence (Cazenave 2018, Muhammad 2010). White police officers killing black people has been an issue in the United States since the creation of laws prohibiting the movements of black people in the American colonies (Kennedy 1997, Higginbotham, 1978, Jordan 1968). Police reform has been a topic of discussion for decades but has not been seriously considered until now. In 1968, the Kerner Commission addressed the disparate treatment of black people in the urban communities of America, outlining rampant abuse, corruption, and gratuitous violence against black

citizens happening at alarming rates. The Kerner Commission (Kerner et al., 1968) itself wrote about this aspect of policing:

The police are not merely a “spark” factor. To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism, and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a “double standard” of justice and protection – one for Negroes and one for whites (p. 5)

Approximately fifty years after the Kerner Commission released their assessment of police relations with the black community, scholars, police unions, social activists and government officials are still having the same conversation about the mistreatment of black citizens by white police officers that work within their communities.

Although attention to fatal police shootings by white officers involving mostly black men have seemingly increased over time, research on the subject matter is limited in important ways (Dabney, Teasdale, Ishoy, Gann, and Berry 2017). Research tends to be descriptive in nature and tends to lack a strong theoretical explanation regarding the causes, consequences, and implications (Logan, and Oakley 2017). In the proposed study I will examine the intersections of race, religion, and policing using a recent fatal police shooting as a case study—the killing of Alton Sterling. The Sterling case is significant because of the media attention it received, reaction from the general public, broadcast of the event on social media, and the killing of police officers in the aftermath which drew attention locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. The proposed study has the potential to serve as an intervention for studies on race and policing through the

introduction of religion, as understood by scholars, such as Charles Long (Finley and Gray 2015). Specifically, the study introduces the term *the religion of policing*, which provides a framework for examining the extent to which the state is deified, or viewed as God, particularly when involved in the killing a black man. More specifically, the study will examine some of the claims mentioned in the work of scholars, such as Finley and Gray (2015), specifically, their understanding of the police and the state as God.

Moreover, the proposed study will also identify how race and anti-black sentiments factor into a police officer's decision to use deadly force when encountering black people and executing arrest on black citizens from the perspective of the media and public sentiment of police officers working in a city where a high-profiled police involved shooting took place. This approach represents a departure from existing scholarly literature and mass media articles in that they tend to focus almost exclusively on the opinions of white respondents or black responses and their experiences with aggressive police tactics, experiences with racial profiling, and overall perspective on racism within policing (Kahn and Martin 2016, Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner 2016, Rojek, Rosenfeld, and Deker 2012, Drakulich and Crutchfield 2013). Furthermore, the study will also connect theory and practice with discussions about the theoretical, methodological, public policy, and policing policy implications of the study's findings.

It is my hope that the study changes the public and scholarly conversations about black deaths and the roles of white police officers and the complicity of many American social institutions, especially mass media, which serves as one of the primary conduits of myths about race and racism. To that end, the present study examines the following research questions:

1. To what extent does media coverage of a black civilian and/or black man reflect the state-as-god perspective as outlined in the work of Finley and Gray and others?

2. To what extent does the general public reflect an adherence to the state- as-god perspective as evidenced in opinion pieces, including letters to the editor, editorials, and op-ed pieces?

3. To what extent does the media use latent or manifest language to vindicate the police officer's use of deadly force, while also vilifying the alleged black offender?

4. Does the media contribute to racial tensions and/or racial discourse when police officers use deadly force against black citizens?

5. What are the theoretical, methodological, public policy, and policing implications of the study findings?

Chapter 1 of the study discussed the incessant killing of black men and how law enforcement has seemingly been weaponized to carry out anti-black violence in an effort to maintain the dominant societies' position at the top of the racial caste system. The deaths of countless black men at the hands of police officers is a symptom of a larger issue affecting the relationship between police officers and the black communities around the United States. Many scholars agree that the larger issue is race. The issue of race has been interjected into every facet of America with no amicable solution to be found. This is especially true when countless black men are being killed by police officers, specifically white police officers, who have sworn to protect the black citizens they gratuitously kill.

To fully understand the continuous deaths of black men at the hands of white police officers, and the characterization and classification of black people in the United States, one has to analyze this social phenomenon from an historical perspective. Black people's interactions with white people, specifically white law enforcement, have to be analyzed from the historical conceptualization of race and how the concept of race morphed into a sinister institution of violence. The violence was subsequently weaponized and created a system in which black people in the United States were classified, criminalized, propagandized, and killed to maintain the dominant society's racial caste system (Kendi 2016, Jordan 1968). In Chapter 2, I will discuss the conceptualization of race and how race ultimately became weaponized to police black people in the United States.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE

2.1. The Creation of Race

Race has been at the heart of much of the tension and violence that exists between black and white people in America (Anderson, 2012). Few discussions examine how race and religion are correlated. Even fewer studies link race, religion and policing, although there is evidence to suggest that each emerged in tandem with the other in both formal and informal ways. I begin with a discussion about the origins of race followed by a discussion of the sociology of race and policing. The discussion about race and policing is followed by an examination of race and policing as religious.

Contrary to what many in America believe, racism is not an ancient practice but a modern phenomenon that developed over time (Painter, 2010, Long, 1986, West, 1982). The idea of a superior race started from an opinion of what was viewed as beauty, that eventually morphed into a violent practice of dominance politically, educationally, economically, and physically (Anderson 2012).

The origins of race derived merely from the personal preference and the personal opinions of what was beautiful and what was deemed as ugly (West 1982). Aristotle, who lived from 384 to 322 BCE, concocted a climate theory to justify Greek superiority, exclaimed that extreme hot or cold climates produced intellectually, physically, and morally inferior people who were ugly and lacked the capacity for freedom and self-government (Kendi, 2016). Aristotle labeled Africans “burnt faces” – the original Greek meaning of “Ethiopian, viewed the “ugly” extremes of pale or dark skins as the effects of the extreme cold or hot climates (Kendi, 2016). In Kendi’s (2016) *Stamped From The Beginning*, Aristotle situated the Greeks, in their supreme, intermediate climate, as the

most beautifully endowed superior rulers and enslavers of the world. Kendi asserts that Aristotle believed that the world was divided into two: the masters and the slaves; or the Greeks and the Barbarians, those who have the right to command and those who have the right to obey.

By the birth of Christ and the start of the Common Era, Romans were justifying their slaveholding practices using Aristotle's climate theory, and soon the new found religion of Christianity began to contribute to these arguments (Kendi 2016, Long, 1986). For early Christian theologians, whom Puritans studied alongside Aristotle – God ordained the human hierarchy. Kendi asserts that in the first century St. Paul introduced a three-tiered hierarchy of slave relations – heavenly master (top), earthly master (middle), enslaved (bottom). “He who was free when called is a slave of Christ,” he testified in 1 Corinthians. “Slaves” were to “obey in everything those that your earthly masters, not with eyeservice as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing the Lord.” In a crucial caveat in Galatians 3:28, St. Paul equalized the souls of masters and slaves as “all one in Christ Jesus (p.17).” Kendi maintains that Puritans carried these biblical, scientific, and Aristotelian rationalizations of slavery and human hierarchy.

Aristotle's views on Grecian beauty and aesthetics would later be championed by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68). In *Prophesy Deliverance* (1982) Cornel West defined “normative gaze”, as an ideal to order and compare observations. This idea was drawn primarily from classical aesthetic values of beauty, proportion, human form, classical cultural standards of moderation, self-control, and harmony. West contends that these norms were consciously projected and promoted by many influential Enlightenment writers, artist, and scholars, of whom the most famous Johann Joachim Winckelmann. In

Winckelmann's widely read book, *History of Ancient Art*, Winckelmann portrayed ancient Greece as a world of beautiful bodies. Winckelmann identified guidelines – art and aesthetics that should govern the size of eyes and eyebrows, of collar bones, hands, feet, and especially the nose (West 1982).

In the *History of White People* (2010) Nell Painter addressed how the theology of whiteness as beauty originated and was perpetuated through the annals of time. Painter asserts that the architect and father of art history Johann Joachim Winckelmann inadvertently pioneered the concept of racial beauty. Painter contends, that while Winckelmann did not contribute directly to theories of race, he did play a large role in this history by passing along assumptions on the ideal form and color of human beauty that inspired much eighteenth and nineteenth century racial theorizing. The hard, pure, white aesthetic that Winckelmann popularized rested on the authority of the Renaissance, making issue of whiteness versus color more than simply a question of taste.

Painter maintains that Winckelmann's main thesis held that Greek art, the finest of all time, grew out of the freedom of its culture. Winckelmann advanced the notion that modern Westerners should embrace the Greek way of life and freedom, to achieve Greek excellence in art and, presumably, all culture. Painter asserts that Winckelmann developed this ideology of ancient Greek beauty based on his own gay male aesthetic. At the heart of Winckelmann's work were beautiful boys, themselves central to making ancient Greeks into timeless, universal paragons. Painter emphasizes that the fetishization of ancient Greek beauty is not Winckelmann's invention, but as the icon of cultural criticism, he quite easily deepened it. For example, Winckelmann declared the *Apollo Belvedere*, the most famous statue in Europe, the embodiment of perfect human beauty.

Painter posits, like many of Winckelmann's contemporaries, Winckelmann had to balance his Eurocentrism against certain cultural relativity. Winckelmann admitted that various groups of people display different body types, thus causing taste to vary. Painter contends that even though Winckelmann was trapped in his German-Italic aesthetic, he pronounced Chinese eyes "an offense against beauty" and Kalmucks' flat noses "an irregularity" equal to deformity. Painter states, in Winckelmann's final analysis, relativity loses out as Winckelmann adopts the Kantian notion of a single ideal figure for all humanity – "the Greek profile is the first character of great beauty in the formation of the visage". White skin, he adds, makes bodily appearance more beautiful (p. 61). Painter asserts that this ideology would be carved in stone as the statues that inspired them.

Painter contends that Anthropological charts featuring images of whiteness became very prevalent during the eighteenth century and many images of whiteness were borrowed from fine art. Painter, two of the best known illustrators, Petrus Camper (1722-89) of the Netherlands and Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801) of Switzerland intended their elaborately illustrated books for artists as well as natural scientists. Painter asserts that Camper's most famous chart created confusion and ambiguity. Camper's illustration depicted the "facial angles" of an orangutan (chimpanzee), a Negro, a Kalmuck, a European, and lastly *Apollo Belvedere*. Painter emphasizes that the one source of confusion lies in the use of frontal views to illustrate measurements reckoned in the profile. The angles shown are 58 degrees for the orangutan, whose mouth projects beyond his forehead; 70 degrees for both the Negro and the Kalmuck, whose faces are more vertical; 80 degrees for the European; and 100 degrees for a Greek god. Painter maintains that Camper's order introduced more ambiguity. Painter states that even though

Camper believed that all men are equal, the illustrations on his charts were used to perpetuate racialized ideology. Painter states that the facial angles consistent with Camper were meant to illustrate that Negro and Kalmuck were closer to the European than to the orangutan. Consequently, Camper's work would become the precursor and catalyst for pseudo-scientific ideologies that would become central schools of thought in Europe and the American colonies.

Though, numerous explanations were expounded upon, two major theories emerged and became prominent, the pre-Adamite and degenerate theories (Long 1986, Patterson 1982, Sussman 2014). These theories first centered on the question of whether Native Americans' origins were traceable to migrations of biblical people that had somehow become degenerate or were not descendants from the biblical world at all but had a separate origin (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996). In this theory, Native Americans were not descendants of Adam and Eve but had an independent, earlier origin, they were classified as pre-Adamite (Patterson 1982, Sussman 2014).

The conquistadores justified their maltreatment of Native Americans by claiming they were subhuman and incapable of having abstract ideas and of running their own world. They were also deemed incapable of morality and unable to become Christian (Long 1986, Hirschman 2004, Sussman 2014).

As the inhumane conquest of America continued, racial theories remained crucial in justifying the treatment of the local people, and a bit later, the enslavement of Africans who often were needed to replace the rapidly dying indigenous Americans as a work force exploiting the New World. The early Spanish debate was simply a preview of things to come (Zuberi 2001, Sussman 2014). The two main theories used to explain

human differences, pre-Adamite and degenerate, that the Spanish and Portuguese had proposed in the sixteenth century were later adopted by the English, Anglo-Americans, and French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their theories then provided the framework of racist thought regarding people of color (Zuberi 2001).

Although, the pre-Adamite or polygenic theory had a following throughout the period, the dominant theory in the mid-nineteenth century, the degeneration theory of race was the most accepted version in earlier times. Rather than challenging the biblical account of human origins, a generally unpopular approach, the degeneration theory assumed that all humans were created by God beginning with Adam and Eve (Sussman 2014). Nonwhites were thought to be inferior and needed guidance and need to be controlled by rational men (i.e. white European Christians). Nonwhites' condition was caused by some degenerative process that was related to climate conditions of life, isolation from Christian civilization, or some divine action explained in the Bible (Gould 1996). This school of thought ushered in a school of thought that made enslaving the African a justifiable action (Long, 1986).

One of the biggest proponents of the degeneration debates was John Locke. Locke was the seventeenth century architect of the English colonial policy who drafted the constitution of the Carolinas (Sussman 2014). He accepted the biblical account of human origins but believed that equality had to be applied because the American Indians were not using their land properly. He also believed that they should lose their liberty because they had unjustly opposed the Europeans. Locke justified the maltreatment and slavery of nonwhites based of what he considered their personal failures (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996).

In the eighteenth century, many of the early, well-known natural historians attempted to explain just why these people were such failures (Gould 1996). These to degeneration theorists attempted to explain factors that led some people to change from white skinned to dark involved ways of life that were far inferior to those of Europeans. The French nobleman, politician, and political philosopher of the Enlightenment period, Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755) was among the first to develop an elaborate climate theory (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996). He believed that climate and geography affected the temperaments and customs of a country's inhabitants and thus accounted for differences among humans and their cultures. However, these differences were not hereditary, and if one moved from one climate, one's temperament would change (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996).

The origins of race denoting primarily skin color was first employed as a means of classifying human bodies can be attributed to French physician François Bernier, in 1684 (West 1982). Bernier divided humankind into four races: Europeans, Africans, Orientals, and Lapps (West 1982). These categories were then aggregated by skin color. The first authoritative racial division is found in the influential *Natural System* (1735) written by Carolus Linnaeus (Gould 1996, Winthrop, 1968, West, 1982).

Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), was the founder of modern biology and the person who developed the system of zoological classification species still in use in today. Linnaeus classified all living organisms into names units in descending order of increasing distinctiveness and began the two-name classification of genus and species for the basic name of an organism (Gould 1996, Winthrop 1968). Thus, he devised the name *Homo sapiens* for human and considered all humans to be members of the same species.

Based on anatomical similarity, he positioned humans in the order Primates, along with apes and monkeys (Gould 1996, Winthrop 1968). Linnaeus then classified varieties of humans in relationship to their supposed education and climatic environment. Linnaeus classified, white Europeans as the superior human (Smith 2015, Sussman 2014).

Linnaeus classified the genus *Homo* into *Homo Sapiens* and *Homo Troglodyte* (ape), and further divided the single *Homo Sapiens* species into four varieties. At the pinnacle of his human classification he placed *Homo sapiens europaeus*: “Very smart, inventive.

Covered by tight clothing. Ruled by law”. Then the *Homo sapiens americanus* (“Ruled by custom”) and *Homo sapiens asiaticus* (“Ruled by opinion”). Lastly, he placed humanity’s nadir, *Homo sapiens afer* to the bottom, and labeled this group “sluggish, lazy, crafty, slow, careless. Covered by grease. Ruled by caprice”, describing, in particular, the “females with genital flap and elongated breast” (Kendi 2016). Linnaeus created a racial hierarchy that was further cemented in the annals of time by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach.

The German physician and anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), often thought of as the father of physical anthropology, was a disciple of Linnaeus (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996). Blumenbach asserted that there were not sharp distinctions between groups and that supposed racial characteristics graded continuously from one group of people to another (Sussman 2014, Painter 2010). He was among the first to refer to race but believed that divisions of human groups were somewhat arbitrary and were used for the convenience of the classifier. In 1775 Blumenbach published his dissertation, in which he stated that he had constructed his human racial classification simply as a

matter of convenience. This book became a standard beginning reference point for discussions about human race (Sussman 2014, Painter 2010, Winthrop 1968).

Blumenbach went on to specify first four and later five varieties of humans associated with major regions of the world. His five varieties-Caucasian, Mongoloid, Ethiopian, American, Malay, became widely accepted by the educated community of that time period (Painter 2010). First, he coined the term Caucasian to refer to people of European descent and in doing so defined Caucasians as the most beautiful, the closest image representing God's image, and the original humans from which other varieties degenerated. Blumenbach did not derive his beliefs through scientific means but merely through opinion and his views on aesthetics (Sussman 2014, Fuentes 2012, Hudson 2008, and Gould 1996). Blumenbach even went so far as to list the races in chronological order in keeping with his aesthetic lens. Blumenbach much like his predecessor, placed the Caucasian race at the top of the list believing it was the oldest variety of man. After white comes "the yellow, olive tinge". Third, "copper colour"; fourth, is "Tawny"; last, "the tawny-black" (Painter 2010). Blumenbach's hierarchical model of human races was a major factor in the creation of the modern racists' paradigm. The shift from geographical to a hierarchical ordering of human diversity marks a fateful transition in the history of Western science. For the next two centuries, those who attempted to classify human biological variations have inevitably built on the scheme proposed by Blumenbach (Sussman 2014, Fuentes 2012, and Gould 1996). Linnaeus' and Blumenbach's work cemented black people's position at the bottom of the world's racial caste system and justified the enslavement of Africans in colonial America (Fuentes 2012, Gould 1996).

The ideologies brought forth by Linnaeus and Blumenbach influenced the doctrines of Immanuel Kant.

Immanuel Kant pioneered the concept of the racism in the colonies of America (Sussman 2014). Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is considered the father of modern racism and scientific racism, Kant believed that God created all races but that the characteristics were dependent upon climate. This made his polygenic view more acceptable to biblical interpretations of humanity. Climate determined the natural predispositions or character of each race, and once the process toward each racial disposition had begun, it was irreversible (Smith 2015, Sussman 2014, Hudson 2008). Kant's theory of race corresponded to intellectual ability and limitation. Kant included the typical color-coded races of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Native America, differentiated by their degree of innate talent (Sussman 2014, Hudson 2008). In Kant's theory, the nature of the white race guarantees its ration and moral order, and they are in the highest moral position of all creatures, followed by the yellow, black, then the red (Sussman 2014). Nonwhites do have the capacity to realize reason and rational moral perfectibility through education. Kant posited that color is the evidence of unchanging and unchangeable moral quality and thus ultimately free will (Smith 2015, Sussman 2014, and Hudson 2008). Kant extrapolated that white Europeans have the necessary talent to be morally self-educating; Asians have some ability to do so but lack the ability to develop abstract concepts (Sussman 2014, Hudson 2008). Innately idle Africans can only be educated as servants (to follow orders) but must be kept in order by severe punishment. Native Americans are hopeless and cannot be educated at all. Furthermore, mixing of races should be avoided because it causes misfortune and damage (Sussman 2014, Hudson 2008).

By the end of the eighteenth century as controversy about slavery and the place of the Negro in nature and society was a critical topic. Charles White (1728-1813), an English physician, brought the focus back to question of whether the black Africans were products of the same act of creation as whites (Gould 1996, Haller 1970). White proposed that black Africans were inferior both physically and intellectually and were an intermediate form between true human (white Europeans) and apes, with other races intermediate between these extremes (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996). White saw each race as a separate species, the product of separate creation that was adapted for a particular geographic region. Whites teachings and opinion would influence the work for Dr. Samuel Morton, who viewed cranial as a determinant factor in the classification of race.

Samuel Morton (1799-1851), was a physician and paleontologist, well known for measuring the cranial capacity of human skulls by filling them with pepper seeds (Haller, 1970, Lurie, 1954). Morton and his followers reformulated or resurrected a powerful basis for pre-Adamism. Morton's argument went as follows: 1) the cranial size and characteristics of various human racial groups were fixed and remained the same through our recorded history, at least 3,000 years, as could be seen by skull measurements of Egyptian artwork; 2) the fixed cranial traits included a progressive decrease in cranial capacity from whites to Asians to Native Americans to African black people; 3) these fixed differences did not fit biblical chronology, and therefore the best explanation was a separate creation of the different types of mankind. This culmination of racialized thought assisted Josiah Nott in creating his celebrated work among slave owners and racist Americans (Sussman 2014, Gould 1996).

Josiah Nott (1804-1873), physician and surgeon became the main spokesperson in America for the American School of Anthropology. Josiah Nott and George R. Gliddon (1809-1857), an English businessman co-authored a textbook entitled “*Types of Mankind*” that was detrimental to already tumultuous race relations in the United States. The main purpose of the book was to demonstrate that the findings of science justified the institution of slavery (Weiner and Hough 2012, Sussman 2014, and Gould 1996). Using Morton’s data on fixity of skull size and shape and the historical approach of Nott and Louis Agassiz, its theme was that the human races had different origins and in fact were different in species. The book also stated that mixture between the races led to inferior people both biologically and intellectually, that the people of the white race were superior to other races and were the only truly civilized race, and that mixture of whites with other races was causing a deterioration of civilization and danger to the future (Sussman 2014, Haller 1970).

Whites' ideas of race and non-whites' place in Western culture took shape and galvanized black people as property and inferior people. Black people were named, given a western religion, enslaved, and signified (Long 1986). Charles Long (1986) asserts that this signification constituted a subordinate relationship of power expressed through customs and legal structures. On the one hand, the fact that signification represented an arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified meant that the relationship could be changed, while on the other hand, the very fact that the relationship was arbitrary was the source of its terror (Long 1986). This terror would be used as a control mechanism to perpetuate a racial caste system and to maintain racial slavery in the United States (Jordan 1968). To maintain the system of slavery and the racial caste system in the

United States, whites were deputized by state governments and compelled by laws and customs to participate in the informal policing of black bodies. Through this informal system of policing, “white” would ultimately become synonymous with law and order and “black” would become synonymous with crime. This informal system would be the genesis of state governments arming whites and making it their civic duties to whip, maim, and kill black people under the guise of law and order. The states’ actions spawned the formal racialized policing practices in the United States.

2.2. Sociology of Race and Policing

The origins of modern policing can be traced back to the slave catchers of the Caribbean in the early 1500s (Hadden, 2003). Many of the early slave catchers were privately paid men that lived and worked in Spanish colonies. It was not until 1661 that an actual law was enacted to control slaves’ movements in Barbados. The new law shifted the job of slave control firmly on the shoulders of all whites, not just the masters and overseers (Hadden, 2003). During the seventeenth century Barbadian planters came to rely heavily on a powerful alliance of the local militia to enforce stringent slave codes and quell any slave rebellions. Following Barbados’ example, American colonies followed suite and built upon the Barbadian slave codes. In 1669 tenets of racial domination and white supremacy was established in the Virginia Colony. African people were declared to be less than human, inherently inferior to Europeans, and were to be treated as chattel property (Higginbotham 1996). Notably, the Virginia House of Burgess was a 1669 law holding that the killing of a black slave by a white owner did not constitute murder, but rather a lawful disposition of property (Higginbotham 1996).

The first colony to enact slave codes was South Carolina, which was heavily populated by Barbadians. South Carolinians utilized Native Americans and white men to capture runaway slaves, but many colonists felt that there needed to be a more systematic way of capturing slaves (Spruill 2016, Higginbotham 1978). In 1690 South Carolina lawmakers enacted the “Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves”. The 1690 law was South Carolina’s first systematic attempt to control slaves’ behavior. This law made it the duty of any white person to capture and send home a slave without a ticket or pass from their master (Higginbotham 1978). The shift from voluntary effort to a mandated effort effectively turned the entire white population into a community police force (Hadden, 2003, Higginbotham 1978). In 1696, South Carolina law makers passed a more comprehensive approach to slave regulation.

South Carolina’s 1696 law moved to a more coercive system of private enforcement and was directed by the Charleston town watch. The law retained the pass system, mandating that slaves carry a ticket when away from their master’s plantation, and provisions for returning slaves to their owners or to the local jail (Hadden 2003, Higginbotham 1978). This law also mandated that all whites were required to apprehend bondsmen and give them a moderate whipping if they had no pass. The law protected any white person inspecting a ticket by declaring that if a slave resisted, he could be beaten, maimed, assaulted, or even killed if he resisted or took flight (Hadden 2003). A 1705 act in Virginia made it legal “for any person or persons whatsoever, to kill or destroy such slaves (i.e. runaways) without accusation or impeachment of any crime for the same” (Foner 2015, 1975). Indicative of the legislature’s attitude that vigilante powers be granted to whites to foster the implementation of slave laws, the 1712 statute obligated

every white person to whip slaves apprehended without a pass or ticket. If the white person did not apprehend the slave or failed to administer, whenever possible, such whipping, the white person “forfeited twenty shillings” (Higginbotham 2012).

Informal patrols would become inadequate and a more formal system was developed because black people were increasingly being labeled a dangerous class (Reichel, 1988). In their earliest stages, slave patrols were part of the colonial militias. Royal charters empowered governors to defend colonies and that defense took the form of a militia for coast and frontier defense (Osgood 1957, Reichel 1988). All able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 60 were required to be enrolled in the militia and had to provide their own weapons and equipment (Reichel 1988, Osgood 1957, Simmons 1976).

As early as 1721, South Carolina began shifting militia duty away from external defense to internal security. That year, the entire militia was made available for the surveillance of slaves (Reichel 1988, Osgood 1974). With much of the population being black and the increasing danger of slave revolts, South Carolina militia essentially became a local anti-slave police force and was rarely permitted to participate in military operations outside of its jurisdiction (Reichel 1988, Simmons 1976, Jordan 1968).

Each slave state had codes and laws for the regulation of slavery. The codes outlined the duties of the slave patrols. Some towns had their own slave patrols, they were more frequent in rural areas. The presence of constables and a more equal distribution of whites and black people made the need for the town patrols less immediate (Reichel, 1988, Hadden, 2003). In rural areas, however, the slaves were more easily able to participate in dangerous acts. Patrollers rode horses and walked the roads inspecting slave passes and questioning slaves who were outside of their master’s property. These

defenders of slavery confiscated items slaves were not permitted to have, such as guns and horses. Their objective was to protect and serve the ruling class in both rural and urban environments (Smith, 2012).

By the mid1720s slave patrols consisted mostly of free white men and some white women. Although the requirements varied over time and location, South Carolina slave patrols consisted of 10 people who were exempt from militia service. Fines were levied against patrollers who shirked their duties. Patrollers ranged from the lowest ranks of society to highest ranks of society (Hadden 2003). By 1730, South Carolina expanded the duties of slave patrollers to include authority over white indentured servants and initiated payments for those on patrol (Hadden 2003). Patrollers were also given the authority to enter the homes of black people or whites suspected of harboring slaves who were in any way violating the law. By 1740, the colonial assembly in South Carolina had developed specific rules and guidelines for patrol districts and specific duties of the slave patrols, which continued with only minor changes up to the Civil War (Hadden 2003). Scholars emphasize, the law of slavery and the patrollers' enforcement of slave codes became the precursor for modern policing (Tuner, Giacopassi, and Vander 2006). After black people were manumitted from slavery, whites in power created a system that would keep black people in a perpetual cycle of second class-citizenship that was punitive in nature. To maintain control of what whites deemed as an inferior race, white people deployed a culture of violence on black people to keep them in their place utilizing racial legislation (Pfeifer 2009). To maintain their white supremacist culture, whites created the Black Codes.

The era of Reconstruction created fear in the white community, fear of the hypersexual black man, political equality, economic equality, and human equality (Anderson 2012; Hodes 1993, Rushdy 2012, Pfeifer 2009). In theory, the end of the American Civil War signaled what seem to be the end of black enslavement and unprovoked violence against black people, however violence against black people escalated. Carol Anderson (2012) asserts that black people had been manumitted from slavery and placed back into a more punitive form of slavery. This had been done by several Confederate states creating Black Codes; a set of laws strictly to govern the lives of black people living in the postbellum South. The codes required that black people sign annual labor contracts with a plantation, mill, or mine owner. If black people refused or could not prove gainful employment, they would be charged with vagrancy, placed on an auction block, and their labor would be sold to the highest bidder (Blackmon 2009). The supposed contract was beyond binding. Black people were denied the right to seek better wages and tolerable working conditions. Black people were also denied the right to hold any other employment beside laborer or domestic servant. If black people violated any of the laws or provisions of the Black Codes, they were severely whipped or killed (Anderson 2012). Black people's lack of access to political power, education, economic power, and land cemented black people's place as second-class citizens. If blacks attempted to remove themselves from second-class citizenship, white vigilantes quickly reminded them that they had no power in America (Anderson 2012, Blackmon 2009).

To keep black people in their subservient positions around the country, whites resorted to terrorism and extreme acts of violence to maintain the racial caste system. Whites used vigilante violence, summary judgement, racial legislation, and lynching as

their primary tools to maintain power over black people (Pfeifer 2012). When the Black Codes were no longer a viable instrument, whites created vigilante groups to terrorize black people, most famously the Ku Klux Klan. There was continuation, then, from slavery to Reconstruction in both the existence of state legal apparatus that essentially controlled the life options of black people, and extralegal vigilantes who controlled black's lives.

Without slavery as an institution to control the mobility and labor of black people, the Ku Klux Klan became white societies' driving force to instill fear in black people to keep them from fighting for equality (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2008, Pfeifer 2009). Between May and June of 1866, The Ku Klux Klan was formed in Pulaski Tennessee by six Confederate Veterans as a social club (Dray 2002). Creating their name from the Greek word for circle, *kuklos* (Hodes 1993, Dray 2002). The activities of the club soon encompassed the harassment of freed black people (Rushdy 2012, Hodes 1993). The Klan's activities included the destruction of property, whipping and maiming, castration, rape, and murder. The Klan benefited from having an underground organization with no central command structure, which made it easy for members to deny responsibility for attacks (Chang 2010, Hodes 1993). Members also disguised themselves and attacked black people at night who lived in rural areas. Klan membership consisted of white men from all socioeconomic classes, but their leaders were chosen from the upper echelon of white society such as lawyers, businessmen, journalists, former governors, and future U.S. senators (Hodes 1993). In 1867, Klan groups from several Southern states convened in Nashville, Tennessee to divide the organization into realms, dominions, provinces, and dens (Dray 2002). The former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest became the

Klan's first Grand Wizard. Members of the Klan were motivated by the goal of white supremacy, anchored in white control of formal politics (Rushdy 2012, Hodes 1993).

As a male only organization, one of the Klan's stated purposes was the females, friends, widows, and their households will be protected. The Klan's protection of women only applied to white women because the Klan regularly assaulted and raped black women (Hodes 1993). However, Klansmen took offense when a black man acted in a manner they deemed insulting to a white woman. As said by historian Martha Hodes, in the minds of Klansmen and their sympathizers, the rape of white women was the logical extreme to which black men would go without the institution of slavery to restrain them.

The Klan then reorganized into a Conservative political terrorist group in the Spring of 1867 (Rushdy 2012, Hodes 1993). After countless acts of violence against black people and anyone that did not agree with their racist ideology, the federal government created the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 which only in theory disbanded the Klan (Rushdy, 2012; Hodes, 1993). At this point several organizations spawned from the original organization, like the Knights of Camelia, the Constitutional and Union Guards, The Pale Faces, the White Brotherhood, and the White League, and other paramilitary white supremacist organizations (Rushdy, 2012). These organization like the original perpetuated mob violence and terrorism in order to control elections and render black freedom meaningless. The Klan even governed black's sexual liaisons.

Klansmen targeted those who had sexual relationships across racial lines. There were also assaults for adultery and fornication between whites and black people. Klansmen and their sympathizers policed a range of sexual and social behaviors between white and black people (Hodes 2012). For southern whites, the racial hierarchy could

only be maintained primarily through a rigid color line. To maintain the rigid color line and to justify the violence waged against black men, black hypersexuality and depravity was perpetuated throughout America (Hodes 1993). Using racial propaganda whites hoped to solidify racial lines and halt the disintegration of the racial caste system, as well as political, economic, and social capital in the black community (Hodes 1993, Pfeifer 2009).

White fear of black political power and the hypersexuality of black men intensified through the next two decades; lynching reached its height in 1892 and continued into the early twentieth century (Hodes 1993, Dray 2002). In 1892, Ida B. Wells argued that lynching could be explained by white southern resentment at giving the Afro-American his freedom, the ballot box, and Civil Rights (Hodes 1993, Pfeifer 2009). Both Frederick Douglass and Wells maintained that the accusation of the rape of white women had been unknown to black men prior to emancipation. Douglass located the accusation with the advent of black political power. From the Reconstruction era on, white ideals about the black male sexuality reached precedent levels of virulence and brought with them, inevitable violence (Dray 2002). Summary executions and punishment became the primary form of policing black people in the form of lynching.

Several scholars contend that the origins of lynching started in the colonies of America. "Lynch law" started in the Virginia colony (Rushdy 2012 Waldrep 2006). Lynch law is defined as the practice of vigilante violence and is named after Colonel Charles Lynch (Rushdy 2012). In 1780, the militia of Bedford county Virginia led by Colonel Charles Lynch captured insurgent British Tories embedded in their camp. The militiamen whipped two of the Tories and hanged a third, all without a trial or military

tribunal. One of the militiamen justified the hanging by stating that all the men consented to the summary judgment of the Tories (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2006). Thomas Jefferson, the governor of Virginia, commended Lynch for his actions, but encouraged Lynch not to take the law into his own hands again. Lynch ignored Jefferson's warnings and continued his practices (Rushdy 2012). Two years after Lynch executed the Tories, Lynch began to use the phrase "Lynchs Law" to describe the form of justice he dispensed on those he deemed as enemies of the state (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2006, Dray 2002).

At the end of the Revolutionary War the terms "lynching" and "Lynch Law" had not been fully defined but would later come to represent the extralegal murder by a mob intent on upholding communal values, including white supremacy (Rushdy 2012,). Although Lynch law could be fatal, it was also manifested in nonlethal ways as it did for the Tories (Rushdy 2012). The term was used to describe a range of shaming rituals, such as whippings, tar and feathering, as well as execution-style mob activity (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2006).

The first newspaper to define lynching to the reading public was the *Vicksburg Register*, "a mode of punishment provided for such has become obnoxious in a manner which the law cannot reach." The Vicksburg Register would report on acts violence that would change the course of history and would be the catalyst for American lynching (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2006).

On July 4, 1835, in Vicksburg Mississippi, a fight almost occurred between an officer of the corps of Vicksburg volunteers and a gambler named Cabler at an Independence Day barbeque. The fight was averted when Cabler left the barbeque without incident. Cabler later returned and with a pistol, knife, and dagger. Cabler was

disarmed by members of the crowd and walked out to a wooded area and tied Cabler to a tree, then proceeded whip and then tar and feather him (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2006). Once the crowd was done punishing Cabler, he was instructed to leave the town within forty-eight hours (Rushdy 2012). The crowd fearing retribution from Cabler's associates formulated a plan that night to remove all other gamblers from their town. The citizens drafted a notice ordering all gamblers to leave the town within twenty-four hours. The next day the town citizens and members of the militia burst into a gambling house and attempted to remove those who failed to leave. During the skirmish, the remaining gamblers fired on the town mob, killing one of the citizens. The enraged mob captured the remaining five gamblers and executed them by hanging them from a scaffold (Rushdy 2012 Waldrep 2008, Dray 2002).

The *Vicksburg Register* defined the whipping and tar and feathering of Cabler as lynching not the hanging of the five gamblers without the benefit of trial (Rushdy 2012). Lynch law was now being used to describe a particular kind of civilian mob activity (Rushdy 2012, Waldrep 2008). In 1818 General Andrew Jackson established what scholars call a "model for lynchers" by hanging two Native American chiefs and two Englishmen while trying to annex the Spanish colony of Florida (Dray 2002). Waldrep (2008) asserts that newspapers regularly judged the legitimacy of lynchings based on the degree of community support. Waldrep contends that the volume of journalists' affirmations for lynching is extensive, but a few well known instances illustrate the point. Waldrep asserts, the *Vicksburg Register* pronounced the lynchings as legitimate because public support for the executions were so unanimous. Through most of the early to mid-nineteenth century, lynching was understood to exist in lieu of established systems of

justice, and observers, even those who advocated the practice, believed that it was a feature of frontier life and would soon be phased out. By 1905, lynching had come to almost exclusively represent the summary execution of black men and became the primary tool of social control over black people in America (Dray, 2002 Beers 1994).

Beers (1994) affirms that lynchings eventually became characterized by three commonalities. First, lynchings were distinguished by their public character. Murders are usually executed furtively, lynchings were conspicuous celebrations designed to teach black people the risk of breaking out their assigned places in the segregated caste system. They almost invariably culminated in a public display of the victim. Castration and other forms of mutilation were frequent (Jordan 1968, Beers 1994). Toes and fingers were often taken as keep-sakes. Dragging the victim across long stretches of road was also common. The murderous procession often came to rest where the black victim allegedly committed the offense. The disfigured victim was left hanging from a tree or lamp post as a public spectacle (Waldrep 2008, Dray 2002, Beers 1994).

A second feature of lynchings was the high level of community approval these crimes achieved. The identity of the lynchers usually was common knowledge of the residents and local law enforcement officers. Mob members were rarely indicted much less punished. Death “at the hands of parties unknown” became the classic verdict of grand juries that probed lynchings. Third, southern whites frequently sought to justify lynchings on the grounds that vigilantism was necessary to protect virtuous white women against the purported sexual prowess of the black man. The common rationale for lynchings was the judicial system was too slow (Pfeifer 2009, Dray 2002, Waldrep 2006). Many whites believed that the traditional criminal justice system, with its laborious

procedural safeguards, was ill-suited for meting out the swift punishment that whites felt was necessary to avenge sexual assaults by black men (Beer 1994). Not only did the ideology that saw black people as non-humans and dangerous justify lynchings; those lynchings, in turn, reaffirmed black people's lowly status and treatment (Cazenave 2018).

Over time, these racialized ideals and practices would be incorporated into organized police municipalities. In the late 1800s to early 1900s, most police agencies employed only white men (Hadden 2003, Myrdal 1944). In the mind of many whites, if black people were not controlled, they would revert to their African origins of savagery and barbarism (Hadden 2003). The narrative of the black rapist, thief, and murderer were constantly propagated to white Americans (Muhammad 2010). This belief system created the narrative of the black criminal that could not control his sexual urges and was a beastlike savage (Hadden 2003). This inflammatory propaganda that black people were savages struck fear and deep unrestrained hatred into whites calling for tougher penalties on black criminality (Muhammad 2010, Clegg 2010).

Armed with ideas of black criminality and inferiority, white police officers were called upon to police black communities. Consequently, many officers that policed black communities were indoctrinated with racialized ideals that black people were inferior, prone to violence, and had to be controlled (Muhammad 2010). This racially motivated treatment of black citizens by white officers would create a deep-seated and profound divide. The divide would grow exponentially with the proliferation of Jim Crow.

Jim Crow grew out of economic crisis, political opportunism, and alleged racial fear (Bass 2001, Packard 2002). After the failure of Reconstruction, white southerners were left to deal with black citizens which they deemed the reason for their ragged

position. White southerners diagnosed themselves with a “negro problem” that had to be immediately resolved (Myrdal 1944). In the 1890s, southern states experienced an economic depression that rivaled the Great Depression of the 1930s (Myrdal 1944). White solidarity was crucial for the continued economic dominance of the white population. Ensuring that black people did not vote was key to retaining power (Bass 2001). Political disenfranchisement of the black population flourished through views such as grandfather clauses, white-only primaries, literacy exams, civic exams, and intimidation and violence aimed at deterring black people from the polls (Packard 2002).

The intent of Jim Crow was to continually reaffirm and remind black people of their lesser status among the dominant white society. During this period black people were relegated to the worst conditions that each locale had to offer (Massey and Denton 1993). Black people were segregated into small dilapidated areas of northern and southern cities, which were spatially isolated from whites. These areas were deprived of any resources and were heavily policed to keep blacks from relocating outside of their racially designated area (Massey and Denton 1993). Indeed, legal rules did not fully represent the full spectrum of Jim Crowism in the south (Bass 2001). Practices often anticipated and exceeded the law. Since mostly every aspect of black life was regulated, and every white citizen regardless of their station was viewed as superior to black people, every white person was expected to participate in policing the racial lines (Woodward 1968, Myrdal 1944). According to Woodard (1968) Jim Crow laws put the authority of the state or city in the voice of the streetcar conductor, the railway brakeman, the bus driver, the theater user, and into the voice of the hoodlum, the public parks and playgrounds.

Black people essentially lived in a state sanctioned police state in which every aspect of blacks' lives was under constant surveillance. Formal police organizations were tasked with maintaining the formal and informal social order. The formal police in the South represented the repressive order of white supremacy overall (Bass 2001). Police brutality was frequently employed to punish insubordination and suspected criminals and was another means of "keeping the Negro in his place more generally" (Myrdal 1944). Police complicity in the violence against black people is heavily documented. In many incidences throughout history police participated in or sat idly by while white mobs summarily executed black citizens all over the United States (Anderson 2012). This behavior was clearly displayed in the slaughter of hundreds of black residents that lived in Greenwood Oklahoma in 1921. White police officers deputized a white mob and allowed them to execute hundreds of black residents because of a false accusation of rape by a white woman (Packard 2002). Police routinely accepted the narrative of the black rapist or murder without any proof of black guilt or innocence. These racialized views of black people as criminals not deserving of equal treatment and menaces to the social order were perpetuated throughout the 20th and into the 21st century. Racialized propaganda, the perpetuation of the black ghetto, racialized policing practices assisted in the social degeneration of black people and vindication for their murders. (Cazenave 2017, Anderson 2012, Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1987, Jordan 1968). These practices became identified as social controls, however, Noel Cazenave (2017) identifies these acts as Racial Control mechanisms in which police and vigilantes protected by whiteness carry out racialize executions of black men and women with impunity.

Cazenave's Racial Control mechanism theory is based on a dozen bodies of scholarship but fit three broad overlapping theoretical frameworks: social oppression theories; race relations; systematic racism and racial state theories; and intersection theories that explain interpersonal violence. For the purpose of this I will focus on Cazenave's Racial Control mechanism literature. Cazenave borrows from (e.g., ideology, ideological state apparatus, repressive state, neoliberalism, racial threat, systematic racism, systematic terror, racial state, dominative encounters, hypermasculinity, masculine attainment) or have created (e.g., the urban racial state, the racially oblivious, ameliorative, and repressive racial state; three levels and branches of the racial state, racial control system) that are relevant to his framework do not exist in isolation. Cazenave views the issue of police violence through a sociohistorical perspective.

Cazenave asserts that what seems, when viewed historically, to be a recent spate of highly racialized police and vigilante killings of African Americans that has been made very visible by technological advances such as smart phone camera and videos, social media, and twenty-four-hour cable news, can instead best be understood within the context of a long history of racial control systems and their violence-centered mechanisms, dating back to slavery. Cazenave contends that the violence against black people suggest that such violence and social division are fueled by racist notions such as the idea that black people are and should be treated as "dangerous black criminals". Cazenave's research suggests that the killings persist because they are supported directly or indirectly by each interrelated institutions of American society that collectively compromise its social system, beginning with the criminal justice system, which includes

racist police officers and vigilante attitudes and culture. That interpersonal/interaction centered on literature also stresses the importance of bringing highly racialized emotions to the center of these killings that involve struggles for dominance and respect, which often take the form of high-stakes battles to assert masculinity (Cazenave 2012).

Cazenave asserts that his definition of “racial control systems” and “mechanisms” does not assume that members of the racially dominant group intentionally create them for the purpose of racial control; although that may well be the case as historical evidence suggests was true for racial control systems such as slavery, debt peonage, and Jim Crow and their mechanisms such as lynchings, death penalty, mass incarceration, police and vigilante killings. Cazenave makes the distinction between racial control systems and their mechanisms. Social systems are large, highly institutionalized, and enduring social structures and processes such as slavery, debt peonage, Jim Crow, and contemporary systematic racism which encompasses smaller, less institutionalized, and less durable criminalization justified structures that function as their enforcement mechanisms.

Cazenave posits that such mechanisms, such as lynchings, the highly racialized death penalty, mass incarceration, and pervasive and disproportionate police killings of black people, are larger in scope than any individual or organization, but not as large, well structured, or enduring as the social institutions which collectively compromise a social system. Taking these several concepts into account, Cazenave deduces that just as police and vigilante violence in the past served as an enforcement mechanisms that have supported such overtly racist systems of oppression as slavery, peonage, and Jim Crow, today it is the criminalization – justified mechanism that serves similar economic, social status, and power functions for much more covert, and at times seemingly color-blind,

program of systemic racism. Cazenave asserts that much of the violence on blacks was and is supported by the “state” in some manner whether ostensibly or covertly, with the intentions of promoting the “religion of whiteness” and white supremacy.

2.3. Race, Religion, and the Deification of Law Enforcement Officials

Charles Long (1986) defined religion as an “orientation in the ultimate sense, that is how one comes to terms with one’s place in the world”. Long expounds on this concept and understanding of religion by stating, “the religion of any people in more than structure of thought; it is experience, expression, motivation, intentions, behaviors, styles, and rhythms. Long’s definition has a deeper connotation than the traditional use the term “religion” (Martin 2017). Based on Long’s definition, whiteness can be understood or defined as type of religion (Finley and Martin 2017). Like many mainstream religions, there is a supreme being, who is all knowing and all seeing governing the actions of its believers.

Finley and Gray (2015) define this all-powerful deity as the “state”. Extrapolating on William Jones’ (1998) seminal work *Is God A White Racist?* Finley and Gray assert that God is a white racist. In Finley and Gray’s, *God Is A White Racist: Immanent Atheism as Religious Response to Black Lives Matter and State-Sanctioned Anti-Black Violence*, Finley and Gray examine the nature of white supremacy as state violence in the wake of the rise of deaths of multiple unarmed black citizens in the United States. Finley and Gray argue that the vindication of police officers is a form of theodicy, one that protects the divine state from charges of justice and more bluntly evil. Finley and Gray examine does black lives matter juxtaposed to the rising death toll of black people at the hands of white police officers. Finley and Gray assert that the issue of black life

matterings has philosophical and theodicean implications. In phenomenological and poststructuralist philosophy, mattering is question of where and how something shows up, how something appears within the context of collective human existence (Finley and Gray 2015). Finley and Gray analyze” mattering” from the perspective of Judith Butler and Martin Heidegger, Butler and Heidegger assert “matter” is never a brute materiality, but rather a relation with something whose meaning is constituted out of that relation or set of relations – so much so that erasure, exclusion, or elimination of something is still a form of mattering (Finley and Gray 2015). Finley and Gray assert that black lives matter negatively within the context of our larger sociocultural world.

Finley and Gray contend that the world black people find themselves in is one that is described as antiblack in nature wherein the internal relations and lived experiences of black people are negated by resources to what their bodies can give (Gordon 2013). The reduction of black people to black bodies, then black skin, and subsequently to the meaning of black skin as that with is criminal, dangerous, and fear-inducing negates that inner workings of black social existence and experience and relegates the “mattering” of black life to matter that is to be comprehended, consumed, and eliminated.

Finley and Gray extend Williams Jones’s work and speak more to the immanent concern, the state functioning as *God*, who as the ultimate arbiter of guilt or innocence, wields the near-absolute power and authority to do imminent harm to Africana peoples. Finley and Gray argue that black life mattering negatively within the context of our sociopolitical life, emerging as always already guilty in the eyes of the state that sanctions black death as necessary to the maintenance of social order.

The present study draws in large part from Finley and Gray's (2015) argument that "ethnic suffering" – an intergenerational and enduring form of suffering directed toward and concentrated on one ethnic or racial group prompts reflection about the cause of suffering and death, which in turn raises questions concerning a person's (peoples) relationship to the divine – that is, how the divine perceives and relates to their presence; in other words, how they matter to the divine. Within their analysis Finley and Gray include Lewis Gordon's examination of the theodicean mode of rationalization, where the society itself or some system of treasured knowledge or values occupies the deific role. Finley and Gray emphasize that Gordon traced the theodicean line of questioning historically; he connects to the question of race, ultimately showing that race was about what was natural and what was outside the natural order. Blackness, as that which was supposed to be outside that natural order, fell out the purview of normativity, rendering it something to be eliminated. Finley and Gray assert that "Blackness is fundamental to the formation of European modernity as it is one that imagines itself legitimate and pure through the expurgation of Blackness; conversely, the theodicy of European modernity (Gordon 1973, 1998). As stated before, Finley and Gray assert that black life, has come to matter negatively with the context of our sociopolitical life, emerging as already guilty in the eyes of a state that sanctions black death as necessary to the maintenance of social order state: the state-as-god is a white racist. As stated in Finley and Gray's work, the state sees itself as omnipotent and the arbiter over life and death. The state is identified as structurally white, where police officers are an extension of the state and functions as the state's protector. Giving Jones, Gordon, Finley, and Gray's work fuller appropriation, I

examine specifically how police officers carry out the will of the state and assert that the state-as-god utilizes the police officers to enforce a racialized rule of law.

I assert that police acting as agents of the state, enforces the states' laws, doctrines, and ideologies of the state. Robert Bellah (1967) defines these phenomena as "civil religion". Bellah asserts that few have realized that there actually exists alongside of and rather clearly differentiated from the churches, an elaborate and well institutionalized civil religion in America. Bellah argues not only that there is such a thing, but also that this religion – or perhaps better, this religious dimension – has its own seriousness and integrity and requires the same care and understanding that any other religion does. Bellah posits that American civil religion, is situated in a religious dimension and is expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols, and rituals. Within the context of this study, anti-black sentiment, thin blue line flags, pro-police sentiments, and ritual killings of black citizens fall within the context of Bellah's perspective of American civil religion. This civil religion creates state laws, customs, traditions and ideologies. For this study, the state's laws, customs, traditions and ideologies will be labeled as racial control mechanisms (Cazenave 2018).

Noel Cazenaves' (2018) *Killing African Americans: Police and Vigilante Violence As A Racial Control Mechanism*, examines white police officer and vigilante violence against black people in America to maintain their physical and psychological dominance over black people. Cazenave labels the violent actions against black people as racial control mechanisms. Cazenave identifies three violence-centered racial control mechanisms as slavery, peonage, and Jim Crow and heavily criminalized racial control mechanisms are vigilantism, lynching, death penalty, and mass incarceration. Canzenave

argues that the main thing driving these state sanctioned institutions are hatred and fear. Cazenave asserts that African Americans have been stereotyped as dangerous beasts, that might do harm to the personhood, property, and way of life of their racial superiors; anger that black people refuse to stay in their racially designated place; and hatred of black people for little more than the fact they exist. Cazenave affirms that police and vigilante violence in America have both been legally sanctioned and otherwise used to enforce the laws and customs of the state. Every branch and level of the state, in its racial state capacity, has played a key role in solidifying black people's second-class citizenship and sanctioning their murders within the United States.

Combining Finley, Gray, and Cazenave's work, I argue that the state-as-god utilizes police officers to enforce divine laws specifically to govern and control the lives, movements, psyches and bodies of black citizens who dwell in his universe. I also argue that police officers acting as agents of state utilize state sanctioned violence against black citizens with impunity to perpetuate the states' racialized laws, customs, traditions, and to maintain the racial order. I postulate that due to a long history of racism, social inequality, and racialized stereotypes, white police officers consciously or unconsciously see black people in America as criminals no matter their socioeconomic position or social standing. Subsequently, through a racialized lens and concurrence of the state, black people are aggressively policed, abused and killed with impunity. This issue is then propagandized, racialized, and perpetuated through local and national media platforms under the guise of what Bonilla-Silva (2010) defines as color-blind racism. Colorblind ideology dominates print media discourse about the ongoing tensions between the police

and segments of the African American community. It perpetuates the myth of America as a post-racial society and is rarely critical of law enforcement (Dawson 2018).

Colorblind racism is the racial ideology that developed after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The ideology is characterized by covert practices of racism that are cloaked in civility (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Bonilla-Silva (2010) emphasizes, colorblind racism (or “new racism”) is the dominant racial ideology of “post-racial” America. Because of its invisible nature, colorblind racism allows for the maintenance of the current racial order through “seemingly non-racial” practices (Bonilla-Silva 2010). News coverage on controversial topics has supplicated colorblind frames that focus on the individual, rather than on the social structure. Colorblind journalistic practices fail to challenge the existing system and reinforce white supremacy (Dawson 2018).

Previous studies on how print media accounts for police-perpetrated homicide have focused on newspapers, because they shape public opinion (Dawson 2018). Researchers have relied on newspaper articles as the discourse unit. Findings from this scholarship indicate that news accounts typically echo the sentiments of the “official response” to police violence, which focuses on justifying police action (e.g. state-as-god) (Diversi 2016). Hirschfield and Simon (2010) found that newspaper articles generally framed police-perpetrated homicides as the reasonable outcome of officers being placed in dangerous situations. Furthermore, victims of police-perpetrated homicides are framed as lawless or troubled (Hirschfield and Simon 2010). Also, news articles often fail to critically engage racial disparities in police use of deadly force. Reporting on police-perpetrated homicide in this manner disregards the fact that police use of lethal force is racially stratified (Diversi 2016, Hadden, Tolliver, Snowden, and Brown-Manning,

2016). To my knowledge, no such study exists that explores policing and the protection of police by the dominant racial group as religious as demonstrated in both newspaper articles and opinion pieces focused upon a single case study involving the death of a black male citizen at the hands of two white officers, which was followed by the killing of officers unrelated to the case. The events that took place in Baton Rouge, Louisiana were not new or unheard of especially in the South. Baton Rouge has had a long and tumultuous history with racism, unequal treatment of its black citizens, and racialized policing.

Since Baton Rouge's inception in 1699, a racial hierarchy and racism was established through the institution of slavery and racialized police practices (Meyers 1976). Historian Rose Meyer (1976) asserts, by 1722 the land was being cultivated by thirty whites, twenty negroes and two Indian slaves. By 1765 the Baton Rouge economy was robust and thriving from the illegal smuggling of goods and the importation of African slaves (Meyers 1976). Due to the thriving agrarian society, the importation of African slaves became so prominent that the slave population eventually equaled the white population (Meyer 1976, Richter 1969). African slaves were an important minority of Baton Rouge's population. The attitude of white Baton Rougeans was typical of the South (Richter 1969). White Baton Rouge citizens thought African slaves to be child-like, inherently inferior, and in need of discipline (Richter 1969). In total numbers, the slave population grew from 266 in 1820 to 7,247 in 1860 to maintain the cyclical economy of cotton and sugar production (Richter 1969). The Civil War would signal the end of chattel slavery in Baton Rouge and begin a new form of slavery by the way of convict leasing.

After the Civil War, relations between black and white people would worsen with the establishment of the convict leasing program instituted by Louisiana politicians and businessmen at the Louisiana State Penitentiary located in Baton Rouge (Cardon 2017, Forret 2013, Derbes 2013). Lacking extensive in-state extractive industries and never amounting to more than a thousand prisoners, Louisiana's convicts were now used explicitly to supplement the state's labor force (Cardon 2017). Many convicts were not even used for sugar and cotton production. Many of the convicts, predominantly black males, were the exclusive property of a single conglomerate headed by Samuel Lawrence James (Cardon 2017).

From 1870 to 1901 Louisiana's convicts were put to work building and maintaining levees and building railroads by Lawrence and his associates (Cardon 2017). The convicts were worked in gangs and were often whipped by guards (Cardon 2017). The convict lease program differed from slavery in economic terms. Convict leasing reduced the prisoner to a commodity that, unlike slavery, had little value to the owner (Cardon 2017, Forret 2013, Derbes 2013). Convict Leasing along with other racial repressive systems like debt peonage, Jim Crow, and share cropping thrived in Baton Rouge cementing the racial caste system that thrived throughout the South (Cardon 2017). Racial tension, segregation, and inequality would persist in Baton Rouge through the mid-1900s.

In the 1950s racism and inequality was at its zenith throughout the United States. Between 1953 and 1963, Baton Rouge played a significant role in the battle for civil rights (Sinclair 1998, Taylor 1956). Baton Rouge was the site of the first successful bus boycott in the 1950s, establishing a model that would be followed by later, more

nationally known boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida (Sinclair 1998). Indeed, Baton Rouge like most southern cities practiced racial segregation and its white population harbored vitriol for their black neighbors (Sinclair 1956, Taylor 1955). Although, Baton Rouge thrived economically in the 1950's, many of the black residents did not share in its success (Sinclair 1998). Half of all black citizens in Baton Rouge lived at or below the poverty level; most black citizens held low-wage manual labor jobs. Baton Rouge's black population grew tired of their second-class citizenship and began to fight back (Sinclair 1998).

In 1953 Reverend T. J. Jemison, the pastor of one of the largest black churches in Baton Rouge, stood outside his church and watched black women who had labored all day in white people's homes having to stand up on the long ride home (Franklin 2003, Sinclair 1998). These black women had to stand because they were not allowed to sit in seats designated for white citizens (Franklin 2003, Sinclair 1998). Rev. Jemison and community leaders approached the Baton Rouge City Council and requested the council pass an ordinance allowing black citizens to fill up the bus from back to front and white citizens fill up the bus front to back on a first-come first-served basis (Sinclair 1998). Though the separation of races would persist, black bus riders would be able to sit down (Sinclair 1998). Unbeknownst to the white bus drivers, Mayor Jesse Webb and the council unanimously approved Ordinance 222 on March 11, 1953 (Sinclair 1998). White bus drivers would eventually strike from June 11th to the 19th, refusing to comply to the new ordinance. Louisiana Attorney General Fred LeBlanc ruled that the ordinance was unconstitutional because it did designate reserved seats for black and white bus riders (Sinclair 1998). To circumvent the strike, black community leaders organized a free ride

system that operated from 5:00 A.M to 12:00 A.M. that would rival the bus service (Sinclair 1998).

On June 24, 1953, the city passed Ordinance 251, which reserved the first two seats on the bus for white bus riders and the last two seats on the bus for black bus riders; in between these seats black citizens could sit anywhere they chose (Sinclair 1998). The bus company, which relied heavily on black passengers was losing thousands of dollars per day, eagerly accepted the deal (Sinclair 1998). For the black community, there was still some resentment that there were still reserved seats, however, after the deal was reached the boycott effectively ended (Sinclair 1998).

In 1954 Baton Rouge and throughout the South, the response of the white community to the *Brown v. The Board Education* decision and the growing call of freedom by black citizens, Louisiana responded by passing laws that utilized the state's police powers to mandate segregation (Sinclair 1998, Taylor 1955). Specifically, the Louisiana legislature gave new authority to local school districts to assign children to schools in the hope of staving off integration (Sinclair 1998 Franklin 2003). On January 17, 1956, the Baton Rouge Park Commission approved a resolution mandating the policy of segregation at all recreational activities by virtue of the police powers the state delegated to the city (Sinclair 1998). The resolution was interpreted to mean that blacks and whites were barred from competing on the same field. Civil rights for black citizens in Baton Rouge would move at a slow pace, this created deep frustrations in the black community. This would set the stage for the turbulent 1960s (Sinclair 1998).

In 1960, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) erected a chapter on the campus of Southern University, to fight against racial inequality in Baton Rouge (Franklin 2003,

Sinclair 1998). Throughout the 1960's students from Southern University would take center stage in the fight for equal rights in Baton Rouge (Franklin 2003, Sinclair 1998). Students would organize several sit-ins and picket lines at all white eateries, department stores, and municipal buildings demanding equal treatment and desegregation (Franklin 2003). Many of the students were arrested for criminal mischief and or threatened by the white community. Clashes between Southern University students and police officers would become a constant occurrence (Franklin 2003, Sinclair 1998). Southern University students would continue to fight for racial equality throughout the 60s, but only achieving small victories (Franklin 2003, Sinclair 1998). Tensions between black and white citizens would eventually become violent.

Historian Dean Sinclair (1998) affirmed, like other Southern cities, Baton Rouge could not escape white backlash or the escalating violence of the Civil Right Struggle. In 1964, there were continuing efforts to integrate public accommodations in the wake of the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Baton Rouge would eventually ascend into violence. After 1964 several businesses would be bombed, a major riot on Third Street in 1969, and the bombing of the state capitol in 1970. The violence was culminated in a shootout on a downtown street in 1972 where two black activists and two police officers were killed, and thirty-one people were wounded (Sinclair 1998). The racial tensions in Baton Rouge would persist for years without any major incidents. Baton Rouge would split along racial lines, where black people settled north of Florida Boulevard and white people would settle south of Florida Boulevard. Baton Rouge community quietly existed along racially segregated lines for years without any major racial incidents since the racial riots of 1972 (Sinclair 1998).

In 2016, Baton Rouge would again take the national stage, with the controversial killing of Alton Sterling (Fausset, Pena, and Campbell 2016). Baton Rouge would divide along racial lines because a black man was killed by two white Baton Rouge City police officers. Video of Sterling's killing was released on social media platforms and magnified what many in the black community had complained about for years, unequal treatment from police officers patrolling their communities (Fausset, Pena, and Campbell 2016). Three years before Sterling was killed Mayor Holden and former Baton Rouge City Police Chief Dewayne White held a public forum to address the reasons of White's firing (Davis 2013). Baton Rouge news agencies, WBRZ and WAFB (2013) reported that White stated: "Baton Rouge is one of only four departments in the country that are subject to the [Federal] consent decree. They [justice department] expressed grave concern that the department is not doing enough to recruit black employees and females." "We have a serious race relations problem between officers and the public we serve. I'm personally aware of racial insensitivities and so are you" (WAFB 2013, Davis 2013). White's words would become prophetic after racial tensions and aggressive police behavior took center stage during protests that followed Sterling's death (Mustain 2017). Clashes between the Baton City Rouge Police Department, Louisiana State Police, EBR Sheriff's deputies, and protestors would flood local and national media headlines (Brasted 2017, Canfield 2017). A community seething from racial unrest and distrust of the police would spiral into chaos again two weeks after Sterling's death.

On July 17, 2016, Gavin Long, a 29 year-old black male, traveled from Missouri to Baton Rouge to confront police officers after several controversial killings of black men around the United States (Stole 2017, Carrero, Fieldstadt, Gutierrez 2016, Rogers

2016). Long eventually came in contact with and killed two Baton City Rouge police officers, one East Baton Rouge Sheriff's Deputy, and wounded three other officers. Long was eventually killed in a shoot-out with several Baton Rouge City police officers (Stole 2017, Carrero, Fieldstadt, Gutierrez 2016, Rogers 2016). Several news sources reported that Long took issue with how black citizens were being treated by police officers (Stole 2017, Carrero, Fieldstadt, Gutierrez 2016, Rogers 2016). These events, although unfortunate, have situated Baton Rouge in a unique position to be analyzed and scrutinized through an academic lens. The 2016 killing of Alton Sterling, is an ideal case study for addressing the research questions outlined previously in the study.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND MENTHODS

3.1. Data

To quantify and analyze local and national media reports regarding the deification of the state in the wake of the Alton Sterling killing shooting, the Lexus-Nexus database was utilized for this study. The Lexus-Nexus database was searched from July 5, 2016 to April 30, 2018. Lexus-Nexus provided the most highly circulated newspaper and digital media sources. Search terms entered into the database were: *Alton Sterling* and *Alton Sterling Shooting*. At no point during the search did I place restrictive filters within the database. By not placing restriction on the search terms, the database yielded results that consisted of op-ed pieces, letters to the editors, and opinion pieces. This gave me insight into how independent writers and experts discussed the controversial shooting of Alton Sterling. The op-ed pieces were compared and contrasted against the more traditional articles produced by major media platforms. The search yielded total 431 total articles. The articles were downloaded, saved, and placed into an Excel spread sheet, where Excel was prograded to randomly selected 143 articles. 143 articles where selected because I felt it was a sufficient sample size of articles for the study and that I was the lone reviewer and coder. The sample size was also selected due to the exorbitant amount of time it took to review and analyze each article so that I could accurately analyze the manifest and latent themes of the articles. The articles were read page by page and analyzed for relevant content from February 1, 2019 to February 28, 2019. Articles that were classified as relevant, consisted of information specifically related to the altercation that occurred between Baton Rouge City police officers and Alton Sterling, and the events (e.g. protest, the ambush of Baton Rouge police officers, disciplinary actions taken

against Lake and Salamoni) that occurred in the days after Sterling's death. After reading and analyzing the articles, the articles that did not contain enough relevant content were removed. After removing the non-relevant articles (e.g. articles that mentioned Sterling only by name but did not go into detail about Sterling's death, and articles that did not discuss the events that transpired in Baton Rouge in the aftermath of Sterling's death), 113 articles remained, which were specifically about Alton Sterling and the aftermath of his death. The articles were taken from national and local Louisiana media platforms such as the Washington Post, CNN, New York Times, The Associated Press, Fox News, The Baton Rouge Advocate, and The New Orleans Times Picayune.

3.2. Methods

The dissertation empirically explored perspectives related to the theory of the state-as-god, (Finley and Gray 2015) and whether the United States' media contributes to the glorification of police officers. Specifically, the study addresses, to what extent does media coverage of a black civilian and/or black man reflect the state-as-god perspective as outlined in the work of Finley and Gray and others? To what extent does the general public reflect an adherence to the state-as-god perspective as evidenced in opinion pieces, including letters to the editor, editorials, and op-ed pieces? To what extent does the media use latent or manifest language to vindicate the police officer's use of deadly force, while also vilifying the alleged black offender? Does the media contribute to racial tensions and/or racial discourse when police officers use deadly force against black citizens? This study both builds upon and extends current research on race, religion, and policing by examining reporting of conflicts between black people and the officers that police them. Utilizing a quantitative method for this study would only have allowed me to give

particular data a numerical value, which would not fulfill the true objectives of the study. Using a survey method or linear regression would not have placed the study in the proper context. One of the main objectives of the study was to analyze the language used in media reports regarding Alton Sterling's death and how that language influenced consumers. Summative content analysis was utilized to accomplish the objectives of this study (Hsieh and Shannon 2005).

Summative content analysis begins with identifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content. This quantification is not to infer meaning but rather explore usage. Analyzing for the appearance of a particular word or content in textual material identified as manifest content (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). For this study, summative content analysis allowed me to analyze the rhetoric and the overall themes; a quantitative method would not have allowed for an in-depth analyzation rhetoric and overall themes of the data. Like other research methods, summative content analysis has both advantages and limitations. For example, one advantage of using summative content analysis is that it is considered unobtrusive, which limits the role of the researcher as influencing the unit of study, such as in the case of participant-observers (Babbie 2008). As stated by Weber (1990) one issue that arises when utilizing content analysis is the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or other coding rules. Despite the limitations, summative content analysis was chosen to flesh out all parts of the data (Babbie 2008).

Utilizing summative content analysis, the goal of the study was to identify manifest and latent text in news articles and op-ed pieces that show police officers in a deific manner (Babbie 2008). Summative content analysis allowed me to exam what

authors overtly stated and did not state in their writing. Specifically, summative content analysis allowed me to examine coded language and how the authors' perspective of a particular incident may influence readers' perceptions of law enforcement and their black victims.

Summative content analysis compels the researcher to examine manifest text, which includes the visible surface content, whereas, latent text includes the underlying meaning of text (Babbie 2008). Using a newspaper database, Lexus Nexus, I identified articles related to the Alton Sterling shooting published between early July 5, 2016—the day he was killed—through April 30, 2018—when the Baton Rouge Chief of Police, Murphy Paul, disciplined the officers involved in the fatal shooting of Sterling. The articles came from such sources as, *The Advocate*, *New Orleans Times Picayune*, *CNN*, *Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, *New York Times*, and *Fox News*. Consideration to the political leanings of the news sources were also considered. For example, *Fox News* has a representation of being more conservative and pro-law enforcement than other news outlets that might be more liberal. Probability sampling method was used to reduce any conscious or unconscious researcher bias (Lacey, Watson, Riffe, and Lovejoy 2015). The articles were placed in Microsoft Excel, whereby each article was assigned a number then randomly selected by the computer-generated program.

To empirically explain the perspective of the religion of policing, I analyzed the selected articles using inductive reasoning (Bengtsson 2016). Inductive reasoning is the process of developing conclusions from collected data by weaving together new information into theories. After reviewing the articles, the articles were coded according to the dominant manifest and latent themes presented in the articles (Babbie 2008). What

was of importance to the study was, how black bodies are aggressively policed and how officers are absolved when deadly force is used against black bodies. Also, how black victims are perceived in the media before and after deadly encounters with police officers. Within the same text, I looked for what is ostensibly racialized text (e.g. discussions of the victim's criminal history or lack thereof, discussion of the victim's drug use, the victim's appearance, etc.) and the villainization of the victim. Were the officers portrayed in the text as not having a choice other than to kill Sterling? What was also analyzed is how Alton Sterling was portrayed in the text. Was Sterling's character assassinated? Was apathy or empathy utilized when the events leading to Sterling's death were discussed in text? After I identified the dominant themes, the text was analyzed and categorized accordingly.

3.3. Limitations

As the only coder, this introduced the potential for validity and reliability issues regarding how the data was coded and analyzed (Lacy, Watson, Riffe, and Lovejoy 2015, Hsieh and Shannon 2005, Weber 1990). Commonly, studies utilizing content analysis would have more than one coder to assess and review data, which would allow the data to be thoroughly scrutinized thus giving more credence to the findings (Webber 1990, Babbie 2008). There are a number of ways to account for these challenges in which I chose the more simplistic approach to the validity and reliability issues. I mitigated these issues by using commonly accepted definitions in the academic literature for the selected categories (Weber 1990).

Another limitation was the sample size. A larger sample size would have produced a more generalizable data sample (Babbie 2008). The study was also only

limited to understanding deadly force encounters that occur between black victims and white police officers. The study did not give attention to deadly force encounters that occurred between black officers and white victims. The study was also limited to one case and one area of the country. Sterling's case may not be representative of all deadly force encounters between black people and white law enforcement officers. Perceptions may vary when other cases are involved. Also, articles related to Sterling's death are not representative of all articles regarding the deaths of black people killed by white police officers. Lastly, the articles that were used for this study were difficult to generalize to all articles related to officer involved shootings of black people. Each police shooting contains several variables that make each police shooting incident unique.

Table 3.1. *n*= Number of articles reviewed and analyzed from February 1 to February 28, 2019.

Washington Post	18		
Times Picayune	15		
Advocate	21		
New York Times	31		
Fox News	2		
CNN	7		
Associated Press	19	Total	113

3.4. Results

Articles were coded by the content the authors covered in their article, particularly how the authors addressed issues pertaining to the involved police officers, Alton Sterling, Alton Sterling’s community, protesters, the officers involved in Sterling’s death, and police officers working in communities throughout the United States. Specifically, the articles were analyzed for rhetoric that manifestly and latently discussed police in a deific manner and conversely discussed Alton Sterling negatively. The articles were also analyzed for rhetoric discussing police in a negative manner and rhetoric discussing Alton Sterling positively and events that occurred after Sterling’s death. Next, the articles were analyzed for divisive rhetoric that had manifest and/or latent racial undertones. Specifically, rhetoric that contributed to racial tensions and/or discourse in the aftermath of Sterling’s shooting. Lastly, op-eds, editorials and letters to the editor were analyzed to ascertain if they reflected an adherence to the viewpoint of police officers being viewed in deific perspective.

The articles were labeled according to the dominant themes the authors presented within their articles. A thorough review of the articles presented the possibility of several themes. Many of the authors presented content that could be placed into multiple categories. To simplify the labeling process, the dominant themes were utilized to classify the articles. The themes that emerged after careful examination were: Neutral, Blue Lives Matter, Black Lives Matter, Dirty Cops, Race and Death, All Lives Matter. These themes represented the over tone of the selected articles. For the context of this study, articles that illustrated the state-as-god and police officers carrying out the will of the state were articles and/or phrases within the articles that absolved police officers of any wrongdoing and lacked impartial rhetoric regarding police behavior.

Neutral articles were defined as articles that only presented the facts of what occurred on or after the death of Alton Sterling's death. Neutral articles were also devoid of opinion and rhetoric used to sway readers' opinions about the events that occurred during or after Sterling's death. This category included the death of the Baton Rouge Officers that occurred at the hands of Gavin Long and the disciplinary action taken against Salamoni and Lake by Chief Murphy Paul.

Blue Lives Matter were defined as articles that positively discussed content related to the officers involved in Sterling's death, the vilification of protestors, embellishments of the protest, the arrest of protestors, articles favorable to the officers that were killed by Gavin Long, and articles devoid of criticism of police officers. These articles also discussed content that softened the image of police officers and portrayed officers as victims or undeserving of punishment for aggressive behavior. These articles sought to directly or indirectly absolve police officers of abusive behavior further

perpetuating the culture and ideology of the religion of policing. These articles also excluded any negative information related to police officers.

Black Lives Matter articles were defined as content that presented information that portrayed Alton Sterling positively and/or discussed the plight of the black community enduring oppressive and abusive tactics utilized by many law enforcement agencies within the United States. This content utilized compassionate rhetoric towards the black victims, their families, and their communities. These articles portrayed the tension between the black community and the police officers from the perspective of the black community and offered a critique into their strained relationship.

Dirty Cops involved articles that discussed systemic racism and the abusive tactics utilized by police officers when interacting with black people that live in communities throughout the United States, and the abusive behavior exhibited by police officers. These articles also offered a critique of the aggressive behavior that police officers exhibit toward the black community and acknowledged that black people and white people are policed unequally.

Race and Death articles portrayed Alton Sterling, his community, and the black community negatively. This category included content that discussed Alton Sterling's criminal record, issues regarding his socioeconomic status, drug history, his neighborhood/community, his employment status, and any factors not directly related to his cause of death.

Lastly, All Lives Matter articles were defined as, articles that compassionately discussed issues regarding black citizen's plight with police officers from the black community's perspective. Conversely, these articles also discussed police

compassionately and the issues that police officers endured in the wake of several high-profile shootings. These articles articulated the perspectives of the community regarding the police and the perspectives of the police regarding the communities they police.

Table 3.2. Disaggregation of articles. Total number of articles contained 5 opinion pieces, 6 editorials, and one 1 letter to the editor. Table 2 consist of articles reviewed form February 1 to February 28, 2019.

Neutral	24
Blue Lives Matters	22
Black Lives Matter	18
Dirty Cops	14
Race and Death	19
All Lives Matter	16
Total = 113	

Table 3.3. Codes of themes that emerged from the articles reviewed from February 1 to February 28, 2019.

<p>Neutral Articles - articles that only presented the facts of what occurred on or after the death of Alton Sterling’s death. Neutral articles were also devoid of opinion and rhetoric used to sway readers opinions about the events that occurred during or after Sterling’s death. This category includes the death of the Baton Rouge Officers that occurred at the hands of Gavin Long and the disciplinary action taken against Salamoni and Lake by Chief Paul.</p>
<p>Blue Lives Matter - defined as articles that positively discussed content related to the officers involved in Sterling’s death, the vilification of protestors, embellishments of the protest, the arrest of protesters, articles favorable to the officers that were killed by Gavin Long, and articles devoid of criticism of police officers. These articles also discussed content that softened the image of police officer and portrayed officers as victims or undeserving of punishment for aggressive behavior. These articles seek to directly or indirectly absolve police officers of abusive behavior further perpetuating the culture and ideology of the religion of policing. These articles also excluded any negative information related to police officers.</p>
<p>Black Lives Matters - defined as content that presented information that portrayed Alton Sterling positively and/or discussed the plight of the black community enduring oppressive and abusive tactics utilized by many law enforcement agencies within the United States. This content utilized compassionate rhetoric towards the black victims, their families, and their communities. These articles portrayed the tension between the black community and the police officers from the perspective of the black community and offered a critique into their strained relationship.</p>
<p>Dirty Cops- involved articles that discussed systemic racism and the abusive tactics utilized by police officers when interacting with black people that live in communities throughout the United States, and the abusive behavior exhibited by police officers. These articles also offered a critique of the aggressive behavior that police offices exhibit toward the community and acknowledged that black people and white people are policed unequally.</p>
<p>Race and Death – consisted of articles that portrayed Alton Sterling, his community, and the black community negatively. This category included content that discussed Alton Sterling’s criminal record, issues regarding his socioeconomic status, drug history his neighborhood/community, his employment status, and any factors not directly related to this cause of death.</p>
<p>All Lives Matter - articles that compassionately discussed issues regarding black citizen’s plight with police officers from the black community’s perspective. Conversely, these articles also discussed police compassionately and the issues that police officers endured in the wake of several high-profile shootings. These articles articulated the perspectives of the community regarding the police and the perspectives of the police regarding the communities they police.</p>

The themes emerged after careful review and examination of the articles. The techniques used to inform the general public on matters related to a black people being killed by police or under the pretense of justice are not new. As stated before, to justify the summary killings of black people, subterfuge and confusion were the media's techniques of choice. Waldrep (2006) explored media reports of early 19th century newspapers and media correspondence of lynchings and mob killings, where black people were summarily executed. Waldrep chronicled how media outlets depicted blacks as criminals and portrayed the white lynch mobs as seekers of justice. This depiction of good (white people) versus bad (black people) are still used today by many media outlets that report on the killings of black people by white officers. The techniques may be more subtle and seemingly less racialized but are still just as effective. Contemporary research consistently highlights the differences in how black and white victims are portrayed in the media when killed by police officers (Neely 2015). Black people are portrayed as a deserving victims and white people are portrayed as the archetypal victims.

The study revealed that the depictions of black people and their deadly encounters with police officers portrayed in the media should be viewed with a more skeptical lens. The articles revealed that much of the language used today is more covert than overt. The articles revealed more complexities to the issue of black media characterization than previously assumed. The implications will be discussed later in the study.

Table 3.4. Percentage of articles within each corresponding category.

Neutral	29 %
Blue Lives Matter	24 %
Black Lives Matter	20 %
Dirty Cops	15 %
Race and Death	21 %
All Lives Matter	17 %
Total = 113	

The codes were analyzed and quantified (Lynch and Peer 2002, Saldana 2013).

Comparison was made among articles in regards of tone of the content within the article, the authorship.

After a thorough examination of the articles, there were no apparent word frequencies or word patterns in the articles. Many of the articles contained multiple perspectives and information obtained from human sources word frequencies and patterns were not observed. For this reason, manifest word frequencies or specific words were not counted or given a numerical value. However, manifest themes were present, and could be identified. Articles were then examined for latent content that the authors did not express ostensibly. After identifying the pertinent content within the articles, manifest and latent content were examined and contrasted with objectives and research questions of this study.

For the purposes of this study, manifest and latent themes were used to conceptualize the study. The articles were labeled and categorized by the content the articles contributed to the discussion of Alton Sterling's death and the events that took

place after his death. Neutral articles accounted for the largest portion of the articles at 29%. Blue Lives Matter comprised 24% of the material. Black Lives Matter constituted 20% of the articles. Dirty Cops comprised 15% of the material. Race and Death made up 21% of the articles examined and All Lives Matter articles comprised 17% of the articles examined respectively.

Neutral articles contained content that merely presented the events chronologically and the findings of the investigation into how Alton Sterling was killed. In accordance with the research questions, the neutral articles did not present any themes or persuasive content that was beneficial to how police officers or Alton Sterling were perceived. The Neutral Articles did not offer any critiques of the involved persons or the protest the events ensued in the aftermath of Sterling's death. In essence, these articles were classified as Neutral because the articles exhibited objective reporting.

Blue Lives Matter articles discussed content that portrayed police officers positively. These articles neglected to discuss abusive behaviors exhibited by police officers, neglected to discuss racialized policing, minimized negative police behavior, and ignored historical and contemporary issues between the black community and officers. These articles tended to villainize people that retaliated against police officers and absolve police officers of their abusive history regarding the black community, specifically in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. These articles tended to make racialized policing an afterthought once police officers were killed in Dallas, Texas, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. These articles also discussed Salamoni and Lake in an auspicious tone without critiquing Salamoni's overly aggressive behavior that escalated their altercation with Sterling. These articles personified "religion of policing" as defined earlier in the study,

again, not holding police officers accountable for their deadly abusive behavior toward the black community. For example, Laura McKnight's article "Only 1 of 2 officers fired a weapon in Alton Sterling shooting, TV station reports". The article was in reference to what transpired the night Blane Salamoni and Howie Lake's altercation occurred with Sterling. The article was published on July 7, 2016.

McKnight began her article with Salamoni's father's achievements with the Baton Rouge City Police Department. McKnight wrote, "Salamoni, a four-year veteran of the police force, comes from a family with a strong history in law enforcement. His father, Noel Salamoni, is a Baton Rouge police captain and one of six commanders directly under Baton Rouge Police Chief Carl Dabadie. A former president of the local police union, Salamoni was a finalist for chief in 2013. He lost to Dabadie." McKnight then referenced Blane Salamoni's mother. "Blane Salamoni's mother, Melissa Salamoni, is a retired Baton Rouge police captain who racked up 20 career commendations during her 32 years on the force. She commanded multiple investigative units and served as the first woman chief of staff." McKnight ended her article with an overview of the altercation that occurred with Alton Sterling the night he died.

McKnight's reference to Blane Salamoni parents' achievements in law enforcement is an attempt to illustrate that Salamoni came from parents that were exceptional police officers. After reading McKnight's article, one would assume that because Salamoni came from such a distinguished lineage, he would not have exhibited behavior of an undisciplined officer. The reader could presume, because Salamoni had two parents that worked in law enforcement he would have a profound knowledge of how to conduct himself professionally when interacting with the public. To the lay reader, this

representation of Salamoni's law enforcement heritage would create doubt that Salamoni acted irrationally on the night Sterling was killed. When the article is analyzed from perspective of this study, there is a central theme of exceptionalism regarding Salamoni's lineage in law enforcement.

The article attempts to place Salamoni in a privileged position because of his parents' accomplishments as Baton Rouge City Police officers. The article did not offer any critiques on Blane Salamoni's performance as a law enforcement officer or his behavior the night of Sterling's death. The article latently attempted to use the accomplishments of Salamoni's parents to encourage readers to view Salamoni positively. The article attempted to influence readers, because Salamoni came a distinguished law enforcement background, he most likely acted honorably the night he killed Sterling. By covering Salamoni's parents' illustrious history with the Baton Rouge City Police Department, the article shields Salamoni from the presumption of guilt.

This article tended to influence a positive perception of Salamoni and absolve the reader of the inclination that Salamoni's actions could have been racially motivated. The article attempted to minimize Salamoni's actions by introducing a positive perspective associated with his background. This article is indicative of how media platforms can sway how readers views of police officers by presenting a one-sided portrayal. The manifest language is overt and clear. The article seemingly vindicates Salamoni of wrongdoing the night Sterling was killed. The same theme can be observed in many of the articles that discussed police officers in a positive manner. The minimization of police actions was also observed in an article authored by Edward Colon in an op-ed piece written for the New York Times July 20, 2016.

Colon's article title "Why There Is No War on the Police". Colon, a retired New York police officer, opens his article with a discussion about the neighborhood that he worked in the South Bronx. Colon makes sure to mention that the neighborhood consists of poor African Americans. Colon informed readers that he was called all the time to fix a range of issues for the black people in the South Bronx neighborhood. Colon moves on from the pleasantries about the neighborhood that he worked in and went directly into discussing the events that took place around the U.S. where several civilians and police officers were killed due to the officer involved shootings of Philando Castile and Alton Sterling. Colon wrote that Wenjian Lui and Rafael Ramos' deaths mean more to him than Castile and Sterling's death. Colon exclaimed:

"No one can avoid a measure of unequal emotional identification with one death or another. Wenjian Lui and Rafael Ramos, two New York police officers who were killed, unprovoked, while sitting in their patrol car in 2014, will always mean more to me than Philando Castile and Alton Sterling, even as the pity and outrage many African-Americans feel for Mr. Castile and Mr. Sterling cannot and should not be denied".

Colon then gave readers his assessment of the dichotomous argument of how he viewed issues with police officers and the black citizens they police. Colon suggest why police officers treat blacks differently and he acutely critiques police officers within the same argument. Colon wrote:

"For the last two years -- 50, really -- the same circular argument has been going on. Do cops treat blacks differently because of racism, or because blacks commit a disproportionate number of violent crimes? The answer is yes. Yes, thousands of black men kill one another every year, and while many grieve, many do not protest. And yes,

police killings are different, because cops are sworn and paid to protect the public. The arguments don't cancel each other out, no matter how loudly they're shouted. But it's absurd to insist that police conduct is an entirely different subject from the context of policing. Race, racism and crime -- cause and effect, action and reaction -- are not separate histories or separate realities”.

Colon follows with an attempt to dispel any notions that there are deep issues between police officers and the black citizens they have sworn to protect. Colon writes:

“That's why I don't believe the “war against cops” is real, just as I know, with even more certainty, that the “open season on black men” claim is a lie. Everyone should look at the numbers, consider the facts and remember the names. No cry for justice should be ignored.”

Colon dismissed the notion that there is a war on police officers and black men in the United States. Colon presented a surface level argument for the deep seeded issue affecting the relationship between the black community and white police officers. There are several things that need to be addressed regarding Colon's assessment of black men killed by police officers.

The manifest language Colon used in the article is typical language used when pro-police ideologues want to justify violence against black people in the United States. In attempt to remove any bias or bigoted rhetoric from his article, Colon asked readers are black men treated differently because of racism, or because black men commit crime at a disproportionately higher rate. Colon answered his own question, yes. Colon asserted that thousands of black men kill one another every year, and while many grieve, many do not protest.

Ostensibly, Colon inferred that black men are policed differently because black men commit more violent crime than other groups. Colon dog whistled to pro-police proponents that black people suffer more casualties at the hands of police because they are more violent. Colon asserted that when black men kill one another, there are no protests. Colon's inference with this statement is that black people only protest officer involved shootings and not black people killing other black people.

Colon acknowledged that killings at the hands of police officers are different, because police officers have sworn to protect the public, but then went into an ambiguous diatribe that offered no critique of the deadly and abusive behavior exhibited toward the black community by many white police officers. To minimize the disproportionate killings of black men by white police officers, Colon used the premise that there is no war against police officers, then expressed there was no war against black men. Colon exclaimed that the war on black men is a lie. Colon referenced unsubstantiated numbers regarding the killing of black men by white police officers. Colon closed with one last telling argument. Colon stated:

“But no one should forget or deny that even at the most polarized moments in the most polarized places -- Ferguson, Mo., Baltimore, Baton Rouge, wherever -- people never stopped calling the police. Many calls came from the neighborhoods that activists claimed were where the police weren't wanted, weren't trusted, weren't needed. And the police kept coming, as they always will”.

What Colon expressed, no matter how bad the relationship between police officers and the black community became, black people will still need the police. Colon emphasized his perspective by referencing, Ferguson, Missouri, Baltimore, Maryland and

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the epicenters of three high profile shootings where a black man died at the hands of police officers. Colon's assessment of these communities is that they do not want police. Colon neglected to acknowledge that these communities did not want racist, abusive, and corrupt police officers. Many of the protests that occurred around the country were to bring attention to the growing number of black people being killed by police officers not to abolish the institution of policing.

Latently, Colon conveyed to readers that even though these communities protested police and at times had disdain for police officers, they will never stop calling the police. Colon inferred that these communities need the police because these communities are saturated with crime. Colon's article was really a critique of the black communities and their response to the abusive nature of law enforcement.

Throughout the article, Colon used subterfuge to distract readers from the true message of his article. Colon attempted to present an article that was unbiased and argued the black communities' and the white police officer's perspective of a divisive issue that plagues many communities throughout the United States. To accomplish his true goal, Colon used an endearing monologue to narrate his experience working in a black community in the South Bronx. Colon then covertly pushed a pro-police agenda, minimizing the black experience with police officers and asserts that even if black people's experiences have been negative, they will always need the police to protect them.

Colon's portrayal of police officers as heroes who work in communities that have disdain for them was his attempt at praising police officers. Colon's assessment of the tension between the black community and white officers is indicative of pro-police

proponents. Colon's assessment represented the opinions of many people that support police and their actions against members of the black community. Colon does not overtly promote violence against black people but does make a latent argument that no matter the level of disdain black people display toward police officers, black people will always need police officers to save them. Colon's opinions may not upset white readers, but it could be viewed as a contributor to the frustrations of black people who in turn view white police officers negatively. However, Colon does briefly mention the transgression of some police officers, but quickly dismissed their actions. Colon's evaluation of the persistent issues between black people and white police officers could be viewed as stoking the racial flames. The tone of Colon's article can be viewed as antagonistic and critical of the black community, which could create animosity toward the black community. Colon's article did attempt to create the perception of heroic police officers that serve in communities that do not want them.

Black Lives Matter, discussed Sterling, Sterling's community, and protestors positively. These articles highlighted Sterling's gentle nature, his qualities as a good father, a faithful friend, his contagious smile, and his generosity. These articles did not offer a negative critique of Sterling. If the articles did mention Sterling's past issues with law enforcement, the article framed them with compassion. These articles also covered the protests that ensued after Sterling's death. These articles portrayed the protestors fairly and impartially. The protestors' actions were not embellished or made to appear overly violent. These articles presented Sterling's community where he resided with an impartial tone.

In the article “Wrong must be corrected for black man killed by police” published on July 16, 2016, for the Associated Press, Authors Cain Burdeau and Rebecca Santana allowed Sterling’s family and friends to share their experiences with Sterling. The authors allowed the people who knew Sterling the best to reminiscence about what made Sterling special to them and his community. Burdeau and Santana covered Sterling’s funeral procession. They highlighted Abdullah Muflahi, the owner of the Triple S convenience store, where Sterling was killed. Muflahi stated Sterling wasn’t just a man who sold CDs in front of his store. Burdeau and Santana highlighted Muflahi’s appreciation for Sterling. Muflahi stated:

“He showed me a lot of love. He looked out for me. He was friendly. He was welcoming. He was truly the meaning of southern hospitality. We’re going to have an empty spot in front of the store”.

Burdeau and Santana also highlighted Sterling’s friend Darrell Jupiter’s statement. Jupiter stated that he and Sterling fished and played chess together. Jupiter stated:

“I have a big chunk missing. I’m lost.”

Burdeau and Santana allowed Sterling’s friends to humanize him and remove the stigma of a troubled man with a long criminal history. The same rhetoric was found in a CNN article written by Ray Sanchez. In Sanchez’s article titled, “Baton Rouge: A city’s been smoldering for years”, published July 7, 2016, allowed the members of Sterling’s community to verbalize the pain and suffering of the black community at the hands of Baton Rouge City police officers.

Sanchez's interview opened with a statement from Muflahi:

"The African American community is tired." "They don't know what is to lose a child."

Sanchez then explained the racial insensitivity that persisted in Baton Rouge.

Sanchez described that only a few months before Sterling's death, members of the Spanish Town Krewe mocked the deaths of black men at the hands of police. Sanchez explained that a float called "Pink Lives Matter" depicted a flamingo being beaten with a police baton. The flamingo wore a sign around its neck that read, "I can't breathe."

Sanchez at that point interviewed Dee Alexander, 67, about the racial tension that infected the Baton Rouge Community and insensitivity displayed at the parade. Dee Alexander stated:

"The pain in our community is not their pain". "They don't understand what it is to lose a child."

"I tell my grandbabies to be careful." "Being a black man in America, you're not treated fairly."

Sanchez then emphasized the distrust the black community had for Baton Rouge City police using the words of former Baton Rouge Police Chief Dewayne White from a WJBO interview in October 2011. White informed listeners that racial profiling within a predominantly white police force had led to distrust in the community. White stated:

"When the question is raised, with an African American congregation or a constituency, whether they trust the police department, no one raises their hand." "That, in itself, is indicative of a problem, and we have got to win the trust of the community."

“It’s become ingrained in their mind that they believe everybody they come across or most people they come across with that color of skin is probably a criminal.”

Many of these articles gave Sterling’s family and friends an opportunity to inform readers about the personal relationships they shared with Sterling. These articles also gave black people in the Baton Rouge community the opportunity to be heard and to express their feelings regarding a predominantly white Baton Rouge City police force. Members of the community were able to articulate a more positive image of Sterling and give readers a different perspective of Sterling other than his criminal history and toxicology report. Specifically, Sanchez’s article substantiated what many black people in Baton Rouge believed about police officers working in their communities. Former Baton Rouge City Police Chief Dewayne White, openly stated that there was an issue of racial profiling within the predominantly white department. Additionally, Chief White admitted that many of his white officers assumed that black people were inevitably criminals because of the color of their skin.

Within these articles, there was no ploy used to convey the authors’ message. The articles expressed what many in the black community were feeling and have experienced for a long time regarding white Baton Rouge City police officers. The article allowed black residents to express their opinions concerning the racialized policing that has plagued the black community for years. The black community was also able to articulate how black people are policed differently than their white counterparts. These articles presented a different side of the narrative of policing. The articles gave black people an opportunity to express that pain and anguish of losing a loved one. The articles sent a clear message to readers that black people are gratuitously killed at the hands of police

officers and that it has long been a problem that needs to be rectified. These articles did not positively discuss police officers and their tactics positively or vindicate them of their behavior. These articles attempted to expand the conversation on race and the state of aggressive policing.

Black Lives Matters consisted of articles that discussed police, their abusive behavior and questionable actions during and after deadly force encounters. This was evident in columnist Jarvis DeBerry's article published in the New Orleans Times Picayune on July 6, 2016. DeBerry's article began with a brief overview of what transpired on the night of Alton Sterling's death. After the overview, DeBerry began with his critique of the history of Baton Rouge City police officers and their history with the black community in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

DeBerry recalled what took place in Baton Rouge between black residents and officers of the Baton Rouge police department during Hurricane Katrina. DeBerry recounted that several law enforcement officers from around the U.S. came to Louisiana to assist law enforcement officers with the damage Hurricane Katrina caused. DeBerry informed readers that one state trooper from Michigan stated that Baton Rouge police attempted to thank him for his help by letting him "beat down" a prisoner. A trooper from New Mexico wrote a letter to the Baton Rouge police expressing the concerns of seven New Mexico troopers and five Michigan troopers regarding Baton Rouge police officers. The trooper stated:

"Baton Rouge police were engaging in racially motivated enforcement, that they were physically abusing prisoners and the public. Officers were stopping, questioning and searching people without any legal justification."

DeBerry emphasized that the people accusing Baton Rouge police of brutality and racism were other law enforcement officials. DeBerry asserted that the visiting troopers stated that Baton Rouge police officers informed them that they were under orders to be so hard on New Orleans evacuees that they would not want to settle in Baton Rouge. After complaints from the visiting troopers, the Baton Rouge Police Department conducted an internal investigation and found that there were no incidents of racism and abuse. DeBerry's article discussed more problematic behavior with officers. In 2014, Michael Elsbury a 15-year-veteran of the Baton Rouge police department was forced to resign after series of racist text messages. Elsbury who routinely patrolled the community around Southern University, called black people monkeys and expressed pleasure "in arresting those thugs with their saggy pants".

DeBerry recalled, in 2016, a video was released of a 22-year veteran of the Baton Rouge police department using excessive force. The video showed several officers holding a black teenager down while the veteran police officer punched the teen in the back of the head. DeBerry stressed that readers should not look at Sterling's death as an isolated incident. DeBerry wrote:

"We should be thankful that Baton Rouge police aren't going to be investigating the actions of Baton Rouge police. Like they investigated themselves and found themselves innocent of racism and brutality when outside officers who were deployed after Katrina expressed horror at what they saw."

DeBerry closed with a comparison of the Ferguson, Missouri, police department and the Baton Rouge City police department:

“When the Department of Justice looked into Ferguson, Missouri, they decided against charges for Darren Wilson, the police officer who killed unarmed teenager Michael Brown. At the same time, the Justice Department described a police force that blatantly and repeatedly harassed black people and put them in jail for made up reasons. Who knows what the feds will say about Sterling’s death? But if investigators thought the whole Ferguson department was rotten, they’re likely to reach a similar conclusion about the department in Baton Rouge.”

DeBerry’s article gave a scathing critique of the overt racism and abuse inflicted on the black community in Baton Rouge. His article arrayed several examples of the issues that black people encountered in Baton Rouge for decades. DeBerry’s article used an abundance of overt language and made it clear to readers what the objective of his article was. DeBerry made sure to inform readers that Baton Rouge City police officers were so racist and abusive toward black citizens that visiting law enforcement officers took issue with their tactics. DeBerry used multiple examples to raise awareness of the systemic issues within the Baton Rouge law enforcement agencies.

DeBerry’s article also discussed issues that visiting law enforcement officials witnessed and how they were communicated to the command staff at the Baton Rouge City police department. DeBerry made sure to mention that Baton Rouge police officials discredited the visiting officers’ claims. The dismissal of the officers’ claims is indicative of what many in the black community have experienced when they filed complaints about police abuse and racism. DeBerry recalled other instances of police brutality where specifically black citizens were abused or mistreated to underscore his perspective. This was done to remind readers that Sterling’s death was not an isolated incident, but that

Sterling's death was years in the making. DeBerry wanted readers to realize that the policing culture in Baton Rouge had long been rife with a history of unequal treatment and anti-black racism. It was a matter of time that Sterling or some other unsuspecting black citizen would be killed by Baton Rouge City police officers.

The concluding paragraph of DeBerry's article was very telling. DeBerry's comparison of the Ferguson, Missouri, police department and the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, police gave readers a clear and concise message. DeBerry informed readers that the Department of Justice (DOJ) found that the Ferguson police department blatantly and repeatedly harassed black people and put them in jail on fabricated charges. This was the same behavior displayed by Baton Rouge police after Hurricane Katrina. DeBerry speculated that if the DOJ found Ferguson rife with racism, the DOJ would find that the Baton Rouge city police would be infested with racism. DeBerry's critique of Baton Rouge police regarding Sterling's death, was an examination of the racial issues that persisted within Baton Rouge law enforcement before Sterling's death.

For a different perspective of police training and tactics, Michael Kunzelman's article was reviewed and analyzed. Michael Kunzelman's article, "Officers face discipline for poor tactics in deadly shooting" was published by the Associated Press on March 29, 2018. Kunzelman's article critiqued the tactics Salamoni and Lake used the night of Sterling's death. The article articulated what use of force experts observed in the video footage of Sterling's death, and what use of force experts defined as "poor tactics". Kunzelman's article started with the perspective of use of force experts. The use of force experts felt that blood shed could have been prevented in Sterling's death. The use of force experts believed that if Salamoni and Lake would have done more to defuse the

situation Sterling would not have been killed. The experts held that poor police tactics and techniques aggravated the volatile confrontation. To emphasize the use of force experts' opinions, Kunzelman quoted Seattle police Chief Norm Stamper:

“Sterling’s death fits a tragic pattern of utterly preventable police shootings and reinforces an urgent need for sweeping cultural changes in law enforcement training and procedures. The fatal shooting of an unarmed black man in Sacramento, California, last week appears to be the latest example of the persistent problem. These cops in Baton Rouge, in Sacramento, everywhere are doing what they’ve been taught to do. Most of these controversial shootings are the result of conditioning and training.”

Kunzelman affirmed Stamper’s opinion with perspectives from independent use of force consultants. The consultants concluded Salamoni and Lake, employed poor tactics. One of the consultants stated that “tactical problems” may have escalated the situation. The consultants ultimately concluded that Salamoni and Lake used “reasonable” force against Sterling according to Louisiana Attorney General Jeff Landry.

Kunzelman highlighted Charles Key Sr.’s opinion regarding the tactics used by Salamoni and Lake. Key was one of the consultants for federal investigators used for their expert opinion on the Sterling shooting. Key told federal investigators that the officers should have engaged Sterling at gunpoint from “a position of cover” instead of initially approaching him up close. Key surmised:

“Tactically, the officers didn’t handle it very well, their tactics put them at risk.”

Stamper affirmed Key’s assessment of the incident. Stamper stated, too many officers are trained to think they can’t back down from a fight and consider survival first. Stamper stated:

“It’s just critical that police officers start with the sanctity of human life.

Kunzelmen then discussed the perspective of Kenneth Sanders, the second federal use of force consultant that reviewed Sterling’s shooting. Sanders concluded that Salamoni deserved to be disciplined for pointing a gun at Sterling’s head and using profane language. Sanders also concluded that both officers incorrectly performed a stop frisk on Sterling because Salamoni had Lake in his line of sight while he was pointing his duty weapon at Sterling. Kunzelman discussed the examination of Salamoni and Lake’s tactics with Key’s final assessment of the tactics used by Salamoni and Lake. Key stated:

“The officers’ language may have exacerbated the situation. Tackling Sterling was the dumbest thing Salamoni did during the encounter because he exposed himself and left Lake with nothing but a stun gun to react.”

Kunzelman closed the article with a summation of what disciplinary actions will be taken by the command staff of the Baton Rouge police department and a general statement by Salamoni’s attorneys. Kunzelman’s article focused more on the tactics of Salamoni and Lake from the perspective of use of force experts; Kunzelman’s article critiqued what the officers did wrong on the night of Sterling’s death. Allowing the consultants to give their unique perspective on what took place on the night Sterling was killed dispelled the viewpoint that deadly force was the only option Salamoni had regarding Sterling. Kunzelman’s article pointed out several issues related to Salamoni and Lake that escalated the confrontation with Sterling. Allowing veteran law enforcement officials to give their perspective of the incident gave credence to what many in that black community believe – police officers police black people aggressively.

Chief Norm Stamper stated that Sterling's death fit a pattern of "utterly preventable" police shootings and reinforced an urgent need for sweeping cultural changes in law enforcement. By highlighting Stamper's opinion, Kunzelman was able to convey to readers that even a chief of police can see that there is a systemic problem with the growing number of black men being killed by police officers. Stamper pointed to a conditioning and training as the main culprits in the rise of deadly police shootings.

Kunzelman's article did not outwardly state that the conditioning Stamper referred to was racism, but one could assume that racism was a major issue in many police departments. A reader could assume that Stamper was referring to racism because many of the high-profile shootings that occurred during the time were of unarmed black men by white police officers. Kunzelman then discussed the opinions of two independent use of force experts that the federal government used to review the actions of Salamoni and Lake.

These two-independent use of force experts concluded that the officers used "poor tactics" that night Sterling was killed. One of the consultants, Charles Key Sr., stated Salamoni and Lake escalated the altercation. Key informed readers that Sterling's shooting could have been avoided and would have ended peacefully if the officers would have followed proper police procedure. Key also commented that the "dumbest" thing Salamoni did was tackle Sterling to the ground. Key stressed that Salamoni acted recklessly the night Sterling was killed. Kenneth Sanders the other use of force consultant, asserted that Salamoni deserved to be disciplined for pointing his gun at Sterling's head and using profane language. Sanders also criticized the officers for improperly conducting a "stop and frisk" on Sterling because Salamoni had Lake in his

line of sight while pointing his duty weapon at Sterling. Sanders' critique furthered the narrative of overly aggressive police tactics that exacerbate already volatile situations.

The introduction of the expert opinion exposed pro-police proponents who blindly support all police action to another side of the deadly force altercation. The use of force experts clarified several issues that a lay person or a person with no knowledge of law enforcement tactics would not observe in the videos of Sterling's death. The use of force experts expressed that some of the blame could be placed on the officers and there were things that that could have been done to defuse the deadly altercation. The objective of the article was apparent and exact. Kunzelman gave readers a different perspective of the Sterling shooting. Articulating the experts' viewpoints, Kunzelman was able to demonstrate that Sterling was not the sole reason for the deadly altercation. Many times, in deadly force altercations, the alleged suspect is often scrutinized more than the officers that did the shooting. Kunzelman's article did not glorify or vindicate Salamoni and Lake of their actions but offered an objective analysis of how police officers escalate altercations with members of the public. Latently, Kunzelman's article questioned if Salamoni and Lake truly feared for their lives because their actions on the night Sterling was killed did not display fear. Kunzelman's article is not a punitive critique of Salamoni and Lake but a constructive critique. The article gave an honest assessment of how Lake and Salamoni could have preserved Sterling's life, latently signaling to readers that Sterling could have survived the altercation. The article did not overtly discuss racial issues between the black community and white police officers, but it did illustrate to the black community that they are victims of ill-prepared and overly aggressive police officers. Kunzelman's article could contribute to the racial tension that already exists

between the black community and the police officers that patrol them. Kuzelman's article illustrated how police officers can escalate interactions into deadly altercations.

Race and Death were articles that discussed Sterling, Sterling's community, and/or protestor that converged on Baton Rouge after Sterling's death negatively. An example of the aforementioned characteristics can be found in a Baton Rouge Advocate article written by Jim Mustain published March 30, 2018. In the article, "Police records: Salamoni told investigators he was 'mad at Sterling for making him kill him', Mustain discussed the Sterling altercation from the perspective of Salamoni and Lake.

Mustain began his article with a brief overview of police records that contained testimony of Baton Rouge City police officers Blane Salamoni and Howie Lake. In the beginning of the article Mustain referenced a statement from Salamoni that defended his use of deadly force against Sterling. Salamoni stated that Sterling seemed determined to kill him and his colleague, Howie Lake. Mustain then informed readers that Salamoni offered a defense of his action in a compelled statement that he gave to internal affairs investigators. Salamoni stated that he had no choice but open fire to save the lives of Lake and other civilians. Salamoni credited God with saving his life. Salamoni claimed that Sterling had "100 percent" pointed a .38 caliber revolver at him while he and Sterling were wrestling on the ground. Salamoni stated that he used profanity during and after the encounter in part because he was "so mad at Sterling for making him kill him". Salamoni stated:

"If Sterling killed Officer Lake, me and Sterling would get in a gun battle and Sterling may kill all of the civilians behind him. Officer Salamoni stated that he and

Officer Lake knew that it was high probability that Sterling had a weapon in his pants, so they were scared”.

Mustain recalled that Lake and Salamoni portrayed Sterling as the aggressor, a claim that several experts who reviewed video of the encounter disputed even as they noted that Sterling clearly resisted arrest. Salamoni, who arrived at the store second after Lake, said his fellow officer “was trying to be nice and calm as possible while speaking to Sterling. Salamoni stated that Sterling became very violent and began pulling away from the officers, he also began elbowing and swinging. Lake recalled Sterling’s demeanor differently. Lake stated that he never saw Sterling point a gun. Lake stated that Sterling would not cooperate and listen to the commands that were given to him, he did not punch or kick.

Salamoni stated that he was “belly to belly” with Sterling at one point and saw Sterling pointing the weapon at him. Salamoni stated, Sterling was constantly going towards his front pocket with his hands. Salamoni stated that Sterling was actively trying to stand up and trying to keep me from taking him to the ground. Salamoni stated:

“Oh God, please don’t let this guy shoot me, I don’t want to die, “Salamoni recalled thinking as he sought to subdue Sterling. The way I was positioned, every shot that he would have taken would have hit me and killed me.”

Lake told internal affairs that he also saw Sterling reaching for his pocket and spotted a handgun sticking out about half an inch. “I have seen enough guns in my life to know what the butt end of a revolver looks like”. Lake stated that Salamoni had no other choice but to fire his gun, adding that he believed that Salamoni’s life was in danger. Lake was asked whether there was anything in their training that he felt Salamoni

could have used other than deadly force, Lake stated, “In the situation that we were in, no.”

Mustain directed readers to a 2016 interview that Salamoni participated in regarding his behavior during his altercation with Sterling. Salamoni stated, “he felt that if he started cursing Sterling, Sterling would realize that the police are here and we are not playing. Salamoni stated that his goal was to stop the incident, hoping that Sterling would just put his hands behind his back.” Salamoni stated:

“God was probably the only reason that Sterling did not shoot him because if he did, he would have shot him in his femoral arteries or groin, and he would be dead.” Salamoni stated that he doesn’t really remember much, but he did curse a lot due to an adrenaline dump and due to him not wanting to kill Sterling.”

Mustian’s article opened with a general overview of the altercation that transpired between Salamoni, Lake, and Sterling. Mustain’s article took snippets from interviews conducted by law enforcement officials investigating Sterling’s death. On the surface, Mustian’s article did not use pro-police rhetoric, but it gave a voice to the officers involved in Sterling’s death. Blane Salamoni’s statements referencing God saving his life and his justification for using profane language perpetuated the culture of victim blaming. Many of the officers involved shootings that have occurred put much of the onus on the victim and have not critiqued the actions of police officers. In many of the deadly force investigations police officers are exonerated even though many of the high-profile shootings have been questionable.

Mustain then focused on the fact that Salamoni and Lake portrayed Sterling as the aggressor in the deadly force encounter. Although Mustain’s article emphasized

Salamoni and Lake's portrayal of Sterling was refuted by investigators, investigators still found that Sterling resisted arrest. Though Mustain mentioned Lake and Salamoni's characterization of Sterling was refuted, the statement of Sterling resisting arrest justifies his killing to some pro-police proponents.

Mustain then discussed Salamoni and Lake's perceptions of what transpired in the altercation with Sterling. Salamoni stated when he arrived at the store seconds after Lake, Lake was speaking calmly to Sterling. Salamoni stated that Sterling became very violent and began pulling away. Salamoni added that Sterling began elbowing and swinging. Again, later videos refuted Salamoni's depiction of the altercation. Salamoni's statements create the perception that he had no other choice than to use deadly force to stop Sterling. Lake's recollection of Sterling's behavior contradicts Salamoni. Lake stated that Sterling would not cooperate with his commands, but he did not punch or kick. Lake stated that Sterling just tensed up and would not give up and give him and Salamoni his hands. Even though Lake's depiction contradicts Salamoni's account, Salamoni already depicted Sterling as violent and unruly which justified deadly force.

The article reaffirms Salamoni's account of what happened. Salamoni stated at one point he saw Sterling pointing a weapon. Salamoni stated that Sterling was constantly going towards his front pocket with his hands. Salamoni stated that Sterling was "actively trying to keep me from taking him to the ground". This statement justifies Salamoni's actions and gives readers the perception that there was no other recourse than to shoot Sterling. Mustain restates that video footage refutes Salamoni's statements, but Salamoni supporters blindly supported his behavior and actions regarding Sterling. Salamoni then recalled as he was attempting to subdue Sterling "Oh God, please don't let this guy shoot

me, I don't want to die." Salamoni stated, "the way I was positioned, every shot he would have taken would have hit me and killed me." This statement attempted to make Salamoni look helpless and attempted to eliminate the perception that Salamoni was overly aggressive the night he shot Sterling.

The article then discussed Lake's viewpoint. Lake stated that he also saw Sterling reaching for his pocket and spotted a handgun sticking out about half an inch. Lake affirmed, "I have seen enough guns in my life to know what the butt end of a revolver looks like". Lake's statement affirmed Salamoni's statement. Lake's affirmation of Salamoni's portrayal of the altercation could lead readers to think that Salamoni had no other alternative than to shoot Sterling. Lake agreeing to Salamoni's actions could have signaled to readers that there was no wrongdoing on his or Salamoni's part.

In the closing of the article Mustain directed readers' attention to Salamoni's interpretation of his behavior towards Sterling. Salamoni stated that he started using profanity towards Sterling because he wanted Sterling to know that the police were there, and they were not playing. To police proponents, this statement could be interpreted as Salamoni wanting to assert his dominance over Sterling, which is an appealing characteristic in law enforcement. Salamoni credited God for Sterling not shooting him. Salamoni's reference to God was attempt at softening his image and an attempt at convincing readers that he truly feared for his life. Mustain did not necessarily endorse Salamoni's behavior or introduce pro-police rhetoric, but the article only discussed Salamoni and Lake's perspective of the deadly force encounter, which could influence reader to side with Salamoni and Lake. Salamoni and Lake supporters could use the information that Mustain provided in the article and view the officers sympathetically.

The article presented the readers with the perception of Sterling that made him look unruly and deserving of his fate. Mustain does not use manifest language to disparage Sterling but allows the reader to form an opinion negative of Sterling. This perpetuates the stereotype of the aggressive black man, which is a foundation in police rhetoric regarding black people.

An example of an article that attempted to portray protesters as unruly was Julie O'Donoghue's, New Orleans Times Picayune article "7 arrested in clash with Baton Rouge police during Alton Sterling protest" published on July 5, 2017. O'Donoghue began her article with informing readers that seven people were arrested during a clash between Baton Rouge police and marchers commemorating the one-year anniversary of Alton Sterling's death outside Baton Rouge police headquarters. O'Donoghue then discussed the events with a Baton Rouge Department spokesman L'Jean Mckneely Jr.

Mckneely Jr. stated:

"A crowd of roughly 30 people, some of them members of the New Black Panther Party, were demonstrating and being filmed by a camera crew."

O'Donoghue informed readers that the New Black Panther Party is a separatist organization that has come under fire for making anti-Semitic statements and could not be reached for comment. O'Donoghue went on to inform readers that earlier that day, the New Black Panther Party protested in front of the Triple S Food Mart where Sterling, an African American man, was fatally shot by Baton Rouge Police Officer Blane Salamoni, a white man, a year ago. Sterling's aunt Veda Washington was among the protesters at the Triple S Food Mart and police headquarters but was not arrested.

O'Donoghue's article directed readers to the altercation outside of the police headquarters. Mckneely stated that protesters were repeatedly told to remain behind a barricade and were arrested after continuing to cross the barricade. Mckneely also confirmed that one officer fired a stun gun. Officers also used pepper ball guns on the crowd.

Mckneely stated:

“They were pushing through the barricade after being told multiple times to leave the area. A police officer was struck by a stun gun and suffered a minor injury on his left forearm. The officer was already up and walking around with a band-aid over the place that he had been hit less than an hour ago.”

O'Donoghue informed readers that it was unclear whether the officer was struck by a stun gun fired by the police or the protesters. The Baton Rouge Police Department has released a photo of one of the protesters holding what police say is a taser. Mckneely, in interviews, would not rule out that the officer was hit by one of their own in the police force. Officers spent over an hour after the scuffle outside the police headquarters trying to reconstruct the scene to figure out where the stun gun that hit the officer had been fired. Mckneely said between 20 and 30 police were present at the time. Those arrested, four men and three women, were taken into custody on misdemeanor charges of resisting arrest and entry remaining after forbidden. O'Donoghue ended her article with a summation of the events that occurred the night Sterling died.

What is of interest in O'Donoghue's article is that she used a snippet from Mckneely's interview to explicitly state that the New Black Panther Party was demonstrating in front of the police station. O'Donoghue's description of the New Black

Panther Party as a separatist group portrays the organization as troublesome. Most people that are familiar with civil rights history in the United States are aware that the Black Panther Party is a black militant organization that has historically fought police brutality. Adding that they recently made anti-Semitic remarks created the illusion that the group was intolerant of Jews, which would create a negative image of the all black organization. O'Donoghue's characterization of the New Black Panther Party racialized the altercation with the police. In the mind of readers, that "clash" could be seen as an altercation between black people and a predominantly white police force.

O'Donoghue directed readers to Mckneely's comments on the protestors going beyond the barricades and the use of pepper ball guns in an effort to perpetuate the perception of the unruly, angry, black mob. This characterization perpetuated the racial dynamics surrounding Sterling's death.

At that point, O'Donoghue informed readers that an officer was struck by a stun gun and suffered a minor injury of his left forearm. Mckneely stated, the officer was already up and walking around with a band-aid over the place where he was struck by the stun gun. O'Donoghue questioned if the officer was struck by a stun gun fired by the police or the protestors. O'Donoghue stated that the Baton Rouge Police Department released a photo showing what police believed to be a taser. O'Donoghue referencing Mckneely, stated that police would not rule out that the officer was tased by one of their own in the police force.

O'Donoghue's discussion about the stun gun incident justified the forced used against the protestors. The embellishment of the officer being struck by a stun would make readers speculate that the protestors went to the Baton Rouge City Police

Headquarters to harm police officers. O'Donoghue also inserted Mckneely's assumption that officers believed a protester was in possession of a taser during the altercation. Officers never confirmed a protester was in possession of a taser, it was only assumed. This assumption was carefully inserted by Mckneely to again portray the protesters as dangerous and to validate the level of force used against the protesters. To push the narrative of a protester possibly having a taser during the altercation, McKneely mentioned "police spent over an hour attempting to reconstruct what direction the stun gun was deployed that struck the officer". This was another attempt at the officers pushing the narrative of dangerous and unruly protesters, further justifying aggressive tactics. Allowing the police personnel to characterize the protest and the behavior of the protesters can lead readers to labeling the protesters as troublemakers. Additionally, particular rhetoric used in the article created the perception of aggressive protesters antagonizing police officers to the extent of deploying a taser on an officer. The incident was never confirmed by the officers, but officers wanted the idea implanted in the minds of the public. O'Donoghue did not overtly state in the article that she supported police, but she did allow McNeely to portray the black protesters as aggressive and violent. The portrayal of the protesters in the article fits the narrative of many police proponents. The article contributes to the racialized stereotypes of black people and creates a perception of police officers that are provoked into black people harm. Although the author uses the police officers' narrative of what occurred between them and the protesters the overall tone of article is clear. The article vilified the protesters to readers. The author solidified her position when she mentioned the New Black Panthers' anti-Semitic remarks and history of anti-Semitism. When the author discussed the anti-Semitic remarks, the author

racialized the article and directed readers attention away from the protest and called attention to the race of the people actually protesting.

All Lives Matter articles discussed several perspectives of the incidents that occurred in the aftermath of Alton Sterling's death. Also, these articles presented two or more themes regarding the events relating to Sterling's death and the black community. An example of this can be found in in Jack Healy and Nikole Hannah-Jones' New York Times article, "A Struggle for Common Ground, Amid Fears of a National Fracture" published on July 9, 2016.

The authors began their article with a perspective from, Shanel Berry. Long after her two sons were in bed, Shanel Berry kept vigil in front of the television at her home in Waterloo, Iowa, watching the week's horror unfold and obsessing over a single question: Was the gunman who killed five Dallas police officers black? Berry stated, "I just thought, Please, please don't let him be black," because if he was, she worried that police shootings of black men could become easy to justify. Ms. Berry, an elementary-school teacher, said she hurt for the officers and their families. But when the gunman was identified and his photo flashed on the screen, she sank even lower. Berry stated:

"I told my boys, Now, this will make it even harder."

The authors then discussed the perspective of David Moody a retired Las Vegas police officer. On Friday Moody woke up to fellow officers writing messages of anger and condolence on their Facebook pages, posting black-clad badges in solidarity with the Dallas Police Department. He had seethed at what he called the anti-police sentiment of protests over the deaths of two black men fatally shot by the police in Louisiana and Minnesota. And now this. Moody stated:

“The atmosphere that’s out there right now,”. “We don’t get up in the morning thinking how can we violate somebody’s rights today, how can we pick on this type of person. Every guy I know that’s out there working is getting up every day and thinking he’s going to make a difference.”

Healey and Hannah-Jones asserted, even as political leaders, protesters and law enforcement officials struggled to find common ground and lit candles of shared grief, there was an inescapable fear that the United States was being pulled further apart in its anger and anguish over back-to-back fatal shootings by police officers followed by a sniper attack by a military veteran who said he wanted to kill white police officers.

The authors detailed, just days after the United States celebrated its 240th birthday, people in interviews across the country said the nation increasingly felt mired in bloodshed and blame, and that despite pleas for compassion and unity, it was fracturing along racial and ideological lines into angry camps of liberals against conservatives, Black Lives Matter against Blue Lives Matter, protesters against the police. The authors posed the questions, whose side were you on? Which victims did you mourn? The authors detailed, during a televised interview, the executive director of the National Association of Police Organizations blamed President Obama for waging a “war on cops.” On social media, others confronted the discrepancies in the everyday lives of black and white Americans, hoping understanding would lead to conversations and action.

Healey and Hannah-Jones diverted readers back to the cautionary measures of the police. The authors informed readers that police departments across the country instructed officers to work in pairs or teams. The authors also illustrated that civilians were on alert from the police. Trey Jemmott, an incoming freshman at the University of

Nevada, Las Vegas, said his mother warned him to be careful before he left for the gym the other night. Jemmott stated:

“She always told me, being an African-American, you already have strikes against you.” “I just feel like something’s got to change. We thought we were over this.”

Healey and Hannah-Jones took readers through testimonials of the interviews that they conducted in the streets of New York City. At an outdoor food stand on the Strip, three co-workers – black, white and Asian – debated whether the bloodshed would lead to healing or deeper divisions as they talked about their own experiences with the police. Martin Clemons, 28, stated he and other black friends had been frisked for jaywalking across the Strip. Zach Luciano, 23, who is white, stated he had never been stopped or had a negative run-in with law enforcement, and had considered becoming a police officer.

Zach Luciano stated:

“There’s more good cops than bad cops.” “I wanted to be one of those good ones.”

The authors asserted the three co-workers shared a grim view that the country’s divides would not heal anytime soon. Zach Luciano stated:

“It’s sad, but this is what the world’s coming to.”

Healey and Hannah-Jones interviewed political activist, Monifa Bandele. Monifa Bandele spent the past 17 years working to get citizens to video record police interactions, yet as the Facebook Live recording of Philando Castile’s shooting in Minnesota coursed across social media on Wednesday night, she could not bring herself to watch. Bandele stated:

“I literally thought I would have a stroke. I could feel my blood pressure going up, I work day and night to end police brutality, and no matter how much responsibility I felt, I just couldn’t do it.”

The authors highlighted that Bandele and her husband, Lumumba, helped found Copwatch after the 1999 death of Amadou Diallo in a hail of bullets fired by New York City police officers who mistook a wallet in his hand for a gun. The authors informed readers that Bandele is frequently called upon to comment on police killings, and so watching these videos is part of her work. The night before the Castile video posted, Bandele had to watch the recording of a police officer in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, shooting Alton Sterling as he lay pinned to the ground. But the back-to-back videos, after what has felt like a constant cycle of videos of police killings of black Americans, proved too much. Bandele stated:

“It was just heart breaking. I have spoken to people who are broken, and they just can’t take any more. “Those images visit me at night. The impact is emotional, and it is physical.”

Bandele stated, she rushed upstairs to try to take the phones away from her two teenage daughters before they could watch the video. Bandele’s daughter, Naima, 17, met her on the stairs, distraught, her eyes filled with tears. After the authors discussed Bandele’s views, perceptions, and feelings regarding the shooting of Sterling and Castile, the authors directed readers back to David Moody’s viewpoint of the tension between the public and police officers. Moody stated that he spent much of his career patrolling the city on motorcycle, after all the turmoil, he came across a traffic stop or a police cruiser flashing its lights, he paused to watch out for the officers. Moody stated:

“You need citizens out there doing this kind of stuff, “because you never know what’s going to happen.”

The authors finalized their article with a testimonial from Shanel Berry, the schoolteacher from Iowa. Berry stated that she worked hard to raise her two boys, Dallas, 15, and Amari, 11, to make a good impression. Square your shoulders, look people in the eyes when they talk to you, and stand up for what is right. But that advice comes with a painful exception, do none of these things if stopped by the police. Berry stated:

“That is the hurting part, because that is the part that Dallas doesn’t quite get. Why are you telling me to comply if I am not doing anything wrong? I am trying to teach them to be men and stand up for themselves, but at the same time I am telling them to back down and not be who they are.”

The authors proclaimed the past week had only made that tightrope walk all the more difficult, trying to balance protecting her children’s innocence with preparing them for what feels like an eventuality. Berry sat down with her sons and watched the news coverage of the shootings and said she struggled with how to simultaneously caution her boys and comfort them. Berry stated that her son Dallas is about to turn 16, that age when the chests of teenage boys swell with bravado, when they obtain that quintessential American rite of passage, the driver’s license. Berry stated:

“This is something we should be celebrating, but I am terrified.”

Healy and Hannah-Jones presented a dual messaged article. The authors gave readers the perspectives of citizens within the New York community from several social and socioeconomic backgrounds. Healy and Hannah-Jones’ message in the article clearly conveyed to readers, the authors presented the black perspective and the perspective of

law enforcement during a time of unrest between the two groups. The authors illustrated how two worlds collide and the complexities of navigating those two worlds.

Healy and Hannah-Jones started the article from the perspective of Shanel Berry from Waterloo, Iowa. Berry expressed her feeling about a gunman that killed five police officers in Dallas. Berry expressed that she hoped that the gunman was not black. Berry stated:

“I just thought, “Please, please don’t let him be black”

The author extrapolated, Berry feared that if the gunman was black, it would make it even harder for black men to survive encounters with police officers. Berry also stated that she hurt for the officers and their families. The authors detailed, “when the gunman was identified and his photo flashed on the screen, she sank even lower”. Berry stated:

“I told my boys, “Now, this will make it even harder.”

The statement taken from Berry illustrated the authors’ desire to inform readers about the black people’s state of mind regarding police officers. The authors attempted to portray Berry empathetically. The authors depicted Berry as someone relatable and sympathetic to families of the slain police officers, therefore inferring that members of the black community did not blindly hate police officers. The authors also wanted to illustrate that members of the black community did not want individuals within the black community to harming police officers and that it was a shameful act. After the authors conveyed Berry’s sentiments about the tumultuous events that occurred with Sterling and Castile.

Healy and Hannah-Jones introduced the viewpoint of a retired white Las Vegas police officer, David Moody.

Moody's response to the deaths of Sterling and Castile echoed what many police proponents believed about police and public interactions. Moody's perspective gave readers an opportunity to understand emotions officers experienced when fellow officers are killed. The authors allowed Moody to express his viewpoint of the what he called anti- police sentiment. The authors stated that "he seethed at what he called anti police sentiment of protest over the deaths of two black men fatally shot in Louisiana and Minnesota". Moody stated:

"The atmosphere that's out there right now," he said. "We don't get up in the morning thinking how can we violate somebody's rights today, how can we pick on this type of person. Every guy I know that's out there working is getting up every day and thinking he's going to make a difference."

Moody attempted to soften the image of police with his statement regarding police interaction with the public. Specifically, when Moody stated that police "don't get up in the morning thinking how we can violate somebody's rights today, how can we pick on this type of person". Moody stated, "Every guy I know that's out there working is getting up every day and thinking he's going to make a difference". The authors imputing Moody's statement into the article was an attempt to portray police officers positively. The statement was an attempt to alleviate anti-police sentiment and to make police officers relatable to the general public. After discussing contrasting views, the authors inserted their point of view into the discussion.

Healy and Hannah-Jones underscored how political leaders, protesters and law enforcement official struggled to find common ground and lit candles of shared grief. The authors asserted, “there was an inescapable fear that the United States was being pulled further apart in its anger and anguish over back-to-back fatal shootings by police officers followed by a sniper attack by a military veteran who said he wanted to kill white police officers”. Healy and Hannah-Jones’ assessment of the social climate attempted to enlighten readers of how political leader, protesters, and law enforcement officials were attempting to find commonalities beyond the racial tension that persisted. The authors wanted to demonstrate that all entities of the public at large were hurting and were attempting to find common ground, regardless of the orchestrated attacks on police officers.

Healy and Hannah-Jones asserted, that “just days after the United States celebrated its 240th birthday, people in interviews across the country said that the nation increasingly mired by bloodshed and blame, and despite pleas for compassion and unity, it was fracturing along racial and ideological lines into angry camps of liberals against conservatives, Black Lives Matter against Blues Live Matter, protesters against police. Whose side were you on? Which victims did you mourn?” Healy and Hannah-Jones’ intentions were clear with this interpretation of the social environment reeling from weeks of violence. Healy and Hannah-Jones reference to the 240th birthday of the United States to create the perception that America was united until Sterling and Castile’s deaths fractured the country. The authors neglected the long history of racialized policing and racial violence that has persisted in the United States since its creation. Healy and Hannah-Jones failed to acknowledge that Castile and Sterling’s deaths were apart of

larger problem that persists within law enforcement and the way they police officers police the black community. Healy and Hannah-Jones postulated, after Sterling and Castile's death dissention spread among ideological lines, political groups, and between the public and law enforcement. The authors again attempted to portray the United States as a unified country and that the recent deaths of Castile and Sterling somehow started the country on a downward spiral. Yet again, Healy and Hannah-Jones attempted to sway readers that there was no tension between the black community and law enforcement, but there were several controversial shootings before Castile and Sterling's untimely deaths.

Healy and Hannah-Jones highlighted that the executive of the National Association of Police Organizations who blamed President Obama for "waging war on cops." On social media, others confronted the discrepancies in the everyday lives of black and white Americans, hoping understanding would lead to conversation and action. Healy and Hannah-Jones reaffirmed their position, emphasizing to readers that "things were spiraling out of control in the United States and that something needed to be done before things got worse".

To demonstrate how bad things had gotten, the authors referenced anti-police criticism aimed at President Obama. The authors also made sure to mention the stark differences in black and white people's lives and encouraged a deep and meaningful conversation about the issues that persist. Healy and Hannah-Jones seemed to give credence to the persistent racial issues that occurred throughout the United States and wanted to encourage their audience to come together and resolve those issues.

Healey and Hannah-Jones introduced a dichotomous perspective of police officers and young black people trying to navigate their emotions and fears in the wake of recent

events. The authors informed readers that police officers were ordered to double up in their patrol cruisers and to work in pairs. To illustrate public sentiment, the authors detailed that the public took the same cautions as police officers. To give readers the perspective of a black man, the authors used the testimonial of Trey Jemmott. Jemmott stated that “his mother warned him to be careful before he left for the gym”. Jemmott’s mother told him “being an African-American, he already had strikes against him”. Jemmott stated that he felt something needed to change and he thought we were over this. The authors presented readers with both perspectives of the ongoing issues with police officers and members of the black community. Healey and Hannah-Jones illustrated that police officers and black citizens feared reprisal from one another and that they both shared a sense of caution in the aftermath of the violence that took place in Dallas, Texas and Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The authors continued with comparing and contrasting views of a black man, Martin Clemons, and his white co-worker, Zach Luciano describing their interactions with law enforcement. Clemons described his interactions with law enforcement as negative while Luciano described his interactions with law enforcement as positive. Luciano stated there were more good cops than bad cops and even described his desire to be “one of the good ones”. The authors outwardly stated their intentions when they concluded the interview with the co-workers. The authors illustrated how differently black and white people interacted with police officers. Healey and Hannah-Jones plainly conveyed that the men shared a grim view that the country’s divide and that divide would be mended anytime soon. The authors wanted readers to truly understand that race was a major issue in the United States, with no visible signs of changing.

Healey and Hannah-Jones used Monifa Bandele's emotions and perspective to capture the pain and anguish the black community felt when they witnessed the shootings of Castile and Sterling. The authors emphasized Bandele's raw emotion related to the videos of Castile and Sterling's death. Even though Bandele is self-identified activist and views police videos constantly, it was still difficult for her to view Castile and Sterling's killings. This raw emotion was also captured when Bandele described seeing how distraught her daughter was after viewing the video of Sterling's death. Healy and Hannah-Jones used the raw emotions of Bandele's 17-year-old daughter to emphasize the effects that these shootings have on the black community. To demonstrate the fear police officers felt, the authors used Moody's perception of the violence that occurred between police officers and the community.

Healy and Hannah-Jones informed readers that Moody represented the reverse side of vigilance. Moody stated when he came across police officers on a traffic stop, he would pause and watch out for the officers. Moody stated:

“You need citizens out there doing that kind of stuff because you never know what was going to happen”.

The authors presented the pro-police side of the issue. Moody's interview signaled that police need to be watched over just as much as the public does. In essence, police need to be protected because police interact with dangerous people. Moody's interview softened police officers' images and seemingly encouraged citizens to sympathize with officers. Healey and Hannah-Jones ended with a testimonial from Ms. Berry giving readers an understanding of a black mother's experience with law enforcement and challenges of raising black sons.

The authors used Berry's interview to give readers a look inside the minds of black mothers and complexities teaching young black men how to interact with law enforcement. Berry's statement about teaching her sons "Dallas, 15, and Amari, 11, to square their shoulders, to look people in the eyes when they talk to you and stand up for what is right". Berry stated:

"Do none of these things if stopped by police"

At the same time Berry stated that she was telling her sons to back down and not be who they are. The authors captured one of the main issues that black mothers have to contend with when their children interact with police officers. The authors underscored the fact that black mothers teach their children to be strong, except when encountering police officers. Using Berry's statement, the authors informed readers that black men have to display a docile and humbled attitude when interacting with law enforcement or face deadly consequences. Healey and Hannah-Jones accentuated their point by asserting that the events made it more difficult to protect the innocence of her children. Berry stated she watched the news coverage of the shootings with her boy and stated she struggled with how to simultaneously caution her boys and comfort them.

The authors again demonstrated the complex issues of being a black mother and informed readers of what members of the black community have to endure. The authors ended their article with a final statement from Berry that personifies the fears of many black mothers. Berry stated that a milestone "such as a child getting a driver's license is important to most teenagers, but it is a terrifying event to a black mother". Healey and Hannah-Jones used Berry's statement to inform readers that a black teen getting a driver's license increased the chances of them encountering police officers, which

increased the chances of them being killed. The authors used Berry's statement to stress that black families have to cope with issues that white families do not have to.

Throughout their article, Healey and Hannah-Jones alternated back and forth between the issues and concerns of black citizens and police officers. The authors' intent for the article was apparent, they presented both sides of the tumultuous relationship between the police and black citizens. Healey and Hannah-Jones wanted readers to understand the plight of black people in America regarding their interactions with police. The authors also wanted readers to relate to the predicament of being a law enforcement in the aftermath of two separate events where officers were killed. The authors attempted to use their article as a conduit to encourage civil discourse about the tension plaguing the nation and to encourage law enforcement and everyday citizens to come together in peace. These articles used rhetoric that sympathetically portrayed police officers while conversely presenting the opposing argument of police brutality. These articles did not explicitly support one argument or utilize overt language related to racial tensions. These articles used testimonials to support black communities while simultaneously supporting presenting a multi-pronged message.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

4.1. Discussion

The study sought to understand the extent to which white owned media outlets regard the state-as-god and how the states' agents, police officers, are portrayed in the media juxtaposed to how their black victims are portrayed. Using the shooting of Alton Sterling as the foundation of the study and understanding the racial dynamics of Baton Rouge, I expected a larger percentage of the data to support law enforcement. My assumption was correct. I expected a larger portion of the data to support law enforcement because police officers are revered as heroes in American culture, specifically white culture. Although there were articles that criticized law enforcement, the majority of the articles praised law enforcement or neglected to negatively critique law enforcement. I characterized the lack of criticism as indirect support. From analyzing the data, I found that there were more articles that neglected to discuss or excused the divisive behavior of law enforcement officers who patrol black communities.

Since the widely known deaths of Tamir Rice, Philando Castile, Freddie Gray, Laquan McDonald, Walter Scott, Alton Sterling, and many others, many more black people have been killed by white police officers under questionable circumstances. In these controversial shootings there is one glaring consistency, the victims are black, and the police officers are white. With the long-standing history of racism and negative characterization of black people in America, it is difficult not to assert that many police officers harbor anti-black sentiments. In the aftermath of deadly force incidents, officers are rarely held responsible for the deaths of their black victims. Indeed, there have been some police officers convicted of murder in the cases of Laquan McDonald and Walter

Scott, but in both cases, there was overwhelming evidence that misconduct took place. In McDonald and Scott's deaths, there was overwhelming video evidence that assisted with the convictions of both police officers. Also, in both cases, the officers lied about being in fear for their lives and mischaracterized their victims as aggressive. Law enforcement proponents contend that these questionable shootings are isolated incidents. After police proponents argue that the deadly force encounters are isolated, police proponents will then cite statistics regarding the number of police encounters with black people compared to how many shooting deaths occur. Indeed, there are thousands of law enforcement encounters that take place every day in the United States, and the majority of the encounters end peacefully with no harm to the officer or alleged suspect. However, scholars have been resolute on the fact that black people have been arrested, imprisoned, and killed more than any other racial minority in America (Davis, Russel-Brown, Tigar, Saltzburg, Capra 2018, Alexander 2010). It is hard to refute the historical and contemporary facts that black people have been policed more harshly than any other racial group in the United States.

The religion of policing, race, riots, and the killing of Alton Sterling, was an outgrowth of racism, propaganda, and unchecked power that culminated on July 5, 2016. The practice of racism, anti-black laws, anti-black media propaganda, and racialized policing combined to create an atmosphere where police can kill black people hardly consequences. In several cases where police officers have killed black people under questionable circumstances, the police officers are rarely held responsible (Bernasconi 2014). As discussed in Chapter 2 of this study, race and racism have been constants in the discussion of why black people are policed more aggressively than white people.

Race and racism are concepts ingrained in the fabric of American culture. From black people's characterization as objects only useful for manual labor to their characterization as criminals has been to maintain racial supremacy over black people. Before white people could develop a meaningful relationship with black people, black people were labeled and characterized sight unseen (Kendi 2016, Feagin 2013, Jordan 2012, Anderson 2012). The conceptualization of race by white society set a dangerous precedent for blacks brought to the Americas under the system of chattel slavery. Within the system of chattel slavery, white society used black people's skin color to mark them for a lifetime servitude. The fear of black revolution of black people prompted white people to create a system of policing that encompassed extreme violence. White society's fear of insurrection prompted early white media outlets to use propaganda to instill fear in white society (Muhammad 2010). Early media outlets and white propaganda gave rise to the racial stereotype of black men, which were labeled as "brutes" (Smiley and Fakunle 2018, Kendi 2012, Muhammad 2010). Media outlets circulated the negative stereotypes of black people, causing those stereotypes to be accepted as truth. Hawkins (1998) asserted that the image making machine in the U.S., the mass media (TV, print, and cinema), has historically functioned and currently operates to maintain a system of white supremacy through the repetitive display of cultural norms and values which eventually become seen as simple truths.

The media has played an important role in how black people are viewed, perceived, and treated in the United States. Once blacks were manumitted from slavery, the dominant consensus of white America was to maintain control of black people's movements by creating a system of laws to sustain their racial superiority. Specifically,

racialized policing and laws allowed southern whites to use punitive tactics to control black people's progress throughout the United States. During the era of reconstruction, the media played a vital role in circulating stereotypes and myths of the black men and their hypersexual behavior (Kendi 2016, Muhammad 2010, Higginbotham 1977, Jordan 1968). The constant media portrayal of the hypersexual black brute, motivated white mobs to attack and eventually kill black men in the guise of protecting white women's virtue. White society relied on the fact that they had the legal right to police and punish black people to maintain their dominance over black bodies. In retrospect, the white community, media, and law enforcement worked together to perpetuate the perception of the black criminal. The media's role in the characterization of black people has been detrimental to how black people were characterized throughout time. With the assistance of early media, black people were labeled nationally as "brutes" then "niggers" and ultimately "thugs" (Hawkins 1998, Smiley and Fakunle 2016). The epithets used to identify black people in the dominant white society have become interchangeable when characterizing black people in the media (Hawkins 1998). Much of the information white Americans receive about black people, and black criminality comes from the media, which ultimately shapes white Americans' views about black people (Oliver 2003, Russel 1995). Since many of the highly circulated media outlets are operated and controlled by white people, society's framing of black criminality has remained constant.

Joe Feagin (2013) defined this characterization of black people by white people as white racial framing. Feagin asserted that the U.S. media productions make substantial use of racially stereotyped conceptions, understandings, and images. Feagin emphasized

that many of the world's people likely encounter regularly some important elements of white racial framing – including negative images of black people (Feagin 2013).

Feagin's concept of framing is evident in the media reporting of Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and Alton Sterling. After Brown, Rice, and Sterling's deaths, there were continuous media reports about the deceased's stature, criminal history, and drug use.

In Brown's case, there was a constant discussion of his height, weight, and use of marijuana. After Brown's and Darren Wilson's altercation, Wilson reportedly said that Brown had super-human strength and made him feel like he was child fighting a man. Wilson also stated to media outlets that Brown charged him with a crazed look in his eyes, that is why he shot and killed him. The media took Wilson's depiction of Brown and circulated it throughout the nation. The media broadcasted an alleged edited video recording with no audio of Brown allegedly having a verbal altercation with a store clerk minutes before he encountered Wilson. The media used the video recording of Brown and created the narrative that he committed a strong-armed robbery, where he stole a pack of cigarillo cigars. When Wilson encountered Brown, Wilson did not know Brown was involved in an altercation at the store. The media would later use the narrative that Brown had a violent temperament to vindicate Wilson.

In the case of Tamir Rice's death, Rice had a pellet gun that resembled a real handgun. The police did not know at the time it was not real when they encountered Rice. After Rice was killed, the media consistently discussed his stature saying, he was big for a 12-year old. The media brought up the fact that Rice wore clothing beyond his years or clothing big enough to fit a man. The media created the narrative that it was understandable if police mistook Rice for a 20-year old man. The media asked, how were

police to know that Rice was only 12-years old? This characterization is mainly used when black people are involved and used as a reason to vindicate police officers.

Sterling's death was almost certainly justified in the media due to Sterling having a .38 caliber revolver, which was found on him after being killed by Salamoni. Once the media fully identified Sterling, several media reports circulated that included his criminal history and the fact that he was a felon in possession of a firearm. After the Louisiana Attorney General's Office released their findings regarding Sterling's toxicology screening from his autopsy, reports revealed that he had several drugs in his system during his altercation with Lake and Salamoni. In the days after Sterling's toxicology reports were released, media reports on his drug usage were constant. In Brown, Rice, and Sterling's deaths, the media outlets used negative aspects of each victim's background to rationalize their deaths or to place blame on the victims for their deaths.

Victim blaming has become the common practice among the media and law enforcement across the United States when the victim is black (Dukes and Gaither 2017). Victim blaming places police officers in a unique position of being hailed as heroes and their black victims portrayed as menaces. Research has repeatedly shown that black people are overrepresented as criminals or perpetrators compared to their white counterparts, but also that media bias promotes public hostility towards black people (Duke and Gaither 2017, Chiricos and Eschholz 2002, Dixon and Linz 2000, Entman 1992, Russel 1998). Although black people are identified as the victims of police violence, black victims are often dehumanized, demonized, and criminalized to rationalize the violence used against them (Dukes and Gaither 2017).

The media's characterization of black people as evidenced in this study and prior studies affects how black people are viewed and perceived as criminals (Oliver 2003). The negative perceptions of black people equate to how their lives have come to "matter" as theorized by Finley, Gray, and others. Finley and Gray asserted that black peoples' lives have come to matter negatively. Finley and Gray asserted that the state-as-god had unequivocal power over the lives and bodies of black people. Finley and Gray also state that black life, has come to matter negatively with the context of our sociopolitical life, emerging as already guilty in the eyes of a state that sanctions black death as necessary to the maintenance of social order state: the state-as-god is a white racist. To maintain order, the state-as-god uses police officers to do its bidding in the pretext of law and order, which maintains that racial hierarchy in America.

Some of the key takeaways from the study are the articles that pushed particular narratives and used their national or local platforms to dispense their interpretation of the events to their consumers. The author's race was significant in reporting deadly force encounters where white police officers and black victims were involved. Many of the articles were not inclined to explicitly criticize police officers for aggressive or deadly behavior when white police officers killed a black person. Articles neglected historical tensions between law enforcement and members of the black community, and op-ed and opinion pieces reflected attempted to sway consumers to see the author's point of view.

The study's findings supported Finley and Gray's theoretical assessment but not directly in the case of media representations of an officer involved shooting involving a black man and white officers. The articles used covert techniques to support law enforcement with the most significant representation were Neutral Articles and Blue

Lives Matters. Neutral articles minimized deadly force encounters where black people were killed by white police officers and articles favorable to a police officers were the second largest category, which praised or supported police officers. Neutral Articles, which represented 29% of the data, offered no critique of police officers' behavior exhibited or discussed issues related to police officers' behavior.

Many of the articles that were classified as neutral appeared to write very objective and impartial articles. Neutral articles did not explicitly discuss police officers' abusive history with the black community or use negative rhetoric to discuss victims. Neutral articles appeared disconnected from the seriousness of the countless number of police shootings that seemed to be happening more frequently, and the growing trend of black people dying at the hands of police officers. The shootings have become so common that the media reflects this by indifferently reporting on the deadly force encounters. These articles did demonstrate how easy it is to devalue human life and become desensitized to such a pervasive issue. Black people killed by police officers have become such a common occurrence that it is reported with little to no concern. A persistent issue and neutral articles seem to have become the standard practice of many news media outlets. By giving consumers short-sided reports, ostensibly normalized the issue. The normalization of the shootings is problematic because, when the shootings occur there is little to no public concern for what actually happened that led to the victim's death.

Blue Lives Matter made up 24% of the data. This category aligns with the theoretical assumptions of Finley's, Gray's, and others' assumptions of the deification of the state and the disregard for black life. Many of the articles that were represented in this

category praised negative police behavior and their aggressive tactics and illustrated little concern for the people most affected. These articles minimized the killings of Sterling and others, and focused on the criminal history, stature of the victim, socioeconomic status, toxicology, and family dynamic to rationalize the killings. The articles failed to criticize police actions and villainized the deceased ultimately vindicating the involved police officers.

Blue Lives Matter articles consistently highlighted the positive things that police officers did in the community and omitted the negative behavior exhibited toward black people. To appear impartial, these articles would give little attention to questionable police behavior and focused heavily on the victim's behavior. By focusing on the victim's perceived unruly behavior or actions, the victims' death can be viewed justifiable. The justification of the victims' deaths personified how the media perpetuates the religion of policing, which in turn allows racialized policing to persist. Unfortunately, many of the shootings are widely publicized where black people were killed by white officers. The media has played a vital role in framing many deadly force encounters as heroic white officers acting against a troubled black criminal.

In many of the shootings, police officers did not know who they were encountering or know their criminal background, only that they were black. After deadly force encounters involving black people, the media consistently called into question the criminal histories placing blame solely on the victim. Specifically, Louisiana Attorney General Landry blamed Alton's noncompliance to police officers on his drug consumption. Landry asserted that the various drugs found in Sterling's system at the time of his death most likely contributed to him resisting arrest and ultimately being

killed. Although Landry's report did cover the tactics and language used by Lake and Salamoni, Landry ultimately blamed Sterling for his own death. Smiley and Fakunle (2016) defined this as posthumous demonization and criminalization. Smiley and Fakunle asserted that, rather than focusing on the deeper issues of racism and racialized policing practices, the media focuses on the victim. The media focuses on the behavior, appearance, location, and lifestyle of the victim (Smiley and Fakunle 2016). Landry did not equate the officers' actions or behavior as contributors to Sterling's death. Landry also neglected to give attention to the Blane Salamoni's threats to kill Sterling within seconds of encountering Sterling. As stated before, focusing directly on the victim's perceived crime or behavior perpetuates the criminalization of black people. These same methods are found in the category I classified as Race and Death.

Race and Death represented 21% of the data reviewed and represented the third largest category. These articles focused on Sterling's criminal and impoverished background, drug history, and the fact that he was armed at the time of his death. The articles used overt language to portray Sterling as a troubled man with a history and propensity for violence. This was a reoccurring theme with the articles that portrayed Sterling unfavorably. The reports that negatively portrayed Sterling also negatively portrayed members of the black community and the protestors that gathered after Sterling's death.

Many of the articles in this category embellished the Baton Rouge protest and correlated the protest with the Ferguson, Missouri protest where public property and police cars were destroyed. Related articles reported on the individuals protesting as if they expected them to act violently toward police officers. The articles used police officer

testimonials to address the potential threat of violence and protestors destroying public property or becoming violent. Even though the protests in Baton Rouge were relatively peaceful, the local media reported on the protest as if they wanted or were expecting violence. This expectation of violence is evident in a long history of black stereotypes and labeling of black people in the United States (Alexander 2010, Muhammad 2010). History has demonstrated that blackness and criminality are synonymous, which articles related to the protest made abundantly clear. The articles related to the Baton Rouge protest did not evoke concern or safety for all parties involved. Rather than focusing on how peaceful the protest had been and how many of the skirmishes with police officers were instigated by law enforcement, the articles focused directly on the actions of the protestors and their actions. It can be assumed that because many of the protestors were black, there was an expectation of violence and the destruction of public property.

Race and Death also encompassed reports related to the violent altercation with Baton Rouge City Police Officers and gunman Gavin Long. The articles addressed Gavin Long's deadly encounter with Baton Rouge Police City police officers and East Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff's Deputies, where Long killed three officers before he was killed in a shootout. Articles related to the deadly incident used testimonials of people who came in contact with Long who portrayed him as irrational and out of touch with reality. The articles depicted Long as a former soldier that grew disgruntled with police officers over the increase in police shootings of black men. The articles neglected to address the underlined cause of why Long attacked Baton Rouge, police officers. The articles depicted law enforcement as merely victims, and not as the antagonist to the black community. The articles failed to address that Long's reality was constant media

coverage of black men dying at the hands of police officers. By neglecting to discuss abusive police behavior, the articles created a heroic perception of law enforcement.

Contrasting Long's deadly actions with the heroic actions of the police officers, further created the perception of police as victims of an anti-law enforcement agenda. Manifest language played a major role in Blue Lives Matter, and Race and Death articles. The materials framed and shaped the argument pitting the black community against police officers. The language and themes in pieces created a perception that police brutality and racialized policing were isolated incidents, and the abusive behavior were anomalies. One thing remained constant in Blue Lives Matter articles, was the continuous minimalization of the deadly force used against black people. As I stated before, minimalization is an old and enduring tactic used to validate the actions taken against black people. The media's portrayal and perpetual negative perceptions of specifically black men have stigmatized the entire diaspora and have perpetuated negative stereotypes of black people (Dukes and Gaither 2017, Smiley and Fakunle 2016, Joe Feagin 2013, Anderson 2012).

The fourth largest category, Black Lives Matter, comprised 20% of the data. This category encompassed pieces that used testimonials from Sterling's family and friends to construct a positive image of him. The articles also covered the tumultuous history between police officers and the black community. The materials attempted to give readers a glimpse into Sterling's life and people who love him. One of the functions of these articles was to dispel the negative stigma placed on Sterling from the multiple reports of his criminal history. Many of the articles used testimonials from members of the black community to give readers a real-world perspective of what happens when

black people interact with law enforcement in predominantly black areas. One apparent of the themes in the articles that were favorable to Sterling was the lack of criticism of police officers and their apparent aggressiveness towards the black community by white people.

Many of articles utilized neutral rhetoric when matters of racism and the unequal treatment of black people were discussed from members of Sterling's community. There were hardly any non-black voices other than former Baton Rouge City Police Chief Dewayne White's polarizing admission of his department's mistreatment and racial profiling of black people. This observation is very telling because it speaks to the fact that white society and other non-black people's perception of enforcement is that there is no problem, or they are unconcerned of how black people are treated by law enforcement. Only hearing from black voices on the issue of police brutality and deadly force encounters gives credence to the ongoing problem of fatal police shootings. The people living in Sterling's community were already stigmatized as criminals due to their low socioeconomic standing, race, and the area of town they reside in (Kendi 2016, Jordan 1968, Myrdal 1944). Though the articles used testimonials to portray Sterling in a positive light, the reports neglected to discuss police behavior critically. Ignoring police behavior can be perceived as supporting police tactics and actions within the black community. Black people being stigmatized as criminals does not give merit to their complaints, which is evident in black peoples' long, painful history in America. The articles failure to address the more pervasive issue of racism and unequal treatment of black people by police promote the aggressive tactics used to police and ultimately kill black people under the guise of fear.

The lack of criticism for police officers was also exhibited in All Lives Matter articles, which encompassed 17% of the data analyzed. The materials discussed police tensions and issues regarding the black community but would also interject support or offer a defense of law enforcement's actions and behavior. The articles utilized framing and counter-framing techniques to capture both sides of the argument related to deadly force incidents involving black people (Feagin 2013). Framing and counter-framing were utilized by allowing members of the black community to give personal and passionate accounts of the tribulations they endured regarding their strained and contentious relationship with law enforcement officers. The articles would then use counter-framing to interject law enforcement officials accounts of the fall-out they faced from the black community in the aftermath of several questionable shooting deaths of black people. These articles put a perplexing spin on the issue on the black communities' concerns with white police exhibiting aggressive and deadly behavior towards their communities. Many of the articles began with testimonials from a member of the black community critiquing police officers' behaviors and tactics, which were described as detriments to black people.

The articles would then present a counterargument from a police officer or police proponent who articulated the feelings and fears of the police in the era of so many polarizing shootings. The articles seemingly argued for black people to be seen as victims of a dangerous police culture while simultaneously arguing for the black community to show compassion towards the police officers that cause them so much grief. The compositions of these article nullified the message regarding the persistent issue of police misconduct. All Lives Matter articles mainly discussed the issue of police shootings;

there was, at times, some critique of the police, and that was immediately followed by a statement from police almost justifying their behavior. Again, the articles did not illustrate a complete lack of care for black life, but by continually interjecting pro-police testimonials throughout, the articles demonstrated support for the police. By nullifying the black communities' issues with police officers, the articles inadvertently perpetuated the idea that much of police behavior is isolated and not part of the more significant problem. The reports did not explicitly vindicate officers of their behavior but did allow officers to offer reasons for their behavior, which can sway the general public viewing things from a law enforcement perspective.

Lastly, the Dirty Cop category made up 15% of the data which encompassed articles that gave in-depth critiques of overly aggressive tactics and unruly behavior exhibited towards black people. Specifically, the articles criticized the violent history, behavior, and aggressive tactics of the Baton Rouge police department. The articles did not praise or excuse police officers' violent behavior. The articles highlighted the atrocities police officers inflicted on black individuals and gave attention to several issues the black community has complained about for centuries. More specifically, the articles demonstrated how highlighting the pervasive problem of police behavior negatively affected the law enforcement community and the black community. For example, negative reports about police officers and the questionable shootings of Castile and Sterling were the alleged reasons Long engaged Baton Rouge police in a shootout. Long watched and read so many reports of the black men being killed by police that he wanted to bring a stop to the killings by inflicting violence on white police officers. Long stated killing police officers was a necessary evil because of the destruction bad cops continued

to inflict upon his people (Blinder 2017). Dirty Cop articles also garnered negative response from police officers. The unabashed criticism garnered an adverse reaction from police officers, especially when it encompassed policing black communities and interacting with black people.

Law enforcement's response to criticism was to callously police black neighborhoods for fear of backlash. The callousness leads to what scholars have defined as the Ferguson effect. The Ferguson Effect refers to a hypothesized chain of events where (in the most popular version of the argument) public anger at police mistreatment of African Americans would lead police officers to be more circumspect in their behaviors in high-crime neighborhoods with large black populations (Gross and Mann 2017). The Ferguson Effect became popularized by police officers as an excuse to ignore the black community and exert their power (Gross and Mann 2017). The scathing criticism and testimonials in the articles illuminated what black people have been complaining about since the origins of policing in America. The articles sought to dispel the normalcy of glorifying police officers and only portraying them as heroes who have to make a split-second decision. The articles' objectives were to hold police officers accountable for their behavior and bring attention to the ugly history shared by law enforcement and the black community.

Although this category contained the least amount of data, it was very revealing within the context of the study. The small number of articles utilizing explicit language to critique law enforcement illustrated how media outlets and some authors struggle with negatively portraying officers to their consumers. America has created a perception of police officers as heroes who are morally and ethically superior. This personification of

what defines a hero is due to the origins of the policing in America. As mentioned in Chapter 2, policing in America was a profession created by white society to police bondmen and ultimately police freedmen (Hadden 2001). The criminalization of black people in America has created a divide where police officers are perceived as fighting a pervasive menace (Davis, Russell Brown, Tigar, Saltzburg and Capra 2018). This perception has been so ingrained in the fabric of America that when deadly encounters between police officers and black people occur, police officers are viewed as the blameless party no matter how questionable their tactics or behavior is during the encounter (Davis 2018, Kendi 2016). The quantity of articles overtly critiquing police officers is very telling within the context of Finley and Gray's theory. It is precisely the lack of articles criticizing police officers for demonstrating negative behavior that there is little concern for black lives in America.

The study found that the media played a significant role in how the general public views deadly force encounters, specifically between white police officers and an alleged black suspect. The media plays a vital role in shaping the perception of the police officers as the hero or minimizing the behavior of police officers involved in questionable shootings. The same is true for the black victims. The media can positively or negatively influence the characterization and image of the black victims as we have seen in the deaths of several high-profile shootings. As the data illustrated, there is far more support for police officers than for the people that criticize police officers. After a close analyzation of the data, the media has not changed much over the years other than utilizing explicitly racist rhetoric. Media outlets have maintained their support for law

enforcement and are still far less likely to bring attention to the issue of police violence that targets black people.

Research has shown that the media's criminal characterization of black people has influenced how general public and ultimately, law enforcement perceive black people (Dukes and Gaither 2017, Smiley and Fakunle 2016, Oliver 2003). The widespread and persistent stereotyping of black people as criminals or threatening has influenced how black people are policed (Olive 2003). The media's characterization of black people and how the general public perceives them affects the way their deaths are reported. Due to black people being viewed as criminals or residing in crime infested areas, black people's deaths are viewed as common occurrences. The media then reflects this through reporting on the black victims of law enforcement as a common occurrence (Neely 2015). If compassion and empathy are shown for black victims, the authors are often black or non-white (Neely 2015). The author's race and attitudes were evident in how they reported law enforcement issues affecting the black people. The authors did not use explicit racialized language, but in many cases, shrouded their true intentions by indirectly discussing their real agendas. In essence, with the growth of social media and people around the world having access to U.S. media platforms, black people are at a higher risk of being perceived as criminals or threats (Oliver 2003). The constant negative characterization of black people by the media will continue to introduce new generations to longstanding stereotypes of the black community.

It is important to note that so-called reporting on the news is a multi-billion-dollar business. Consequently, it may be hard to discern the extent to which the representations of news stories about Alton Sterling and others represent the writers', editorial board's

view of black people, advertisers, and police officer' view of black people. It is fair to say that consumers of mass media need be aware of both the latent and manifest content of reports.

This research contributes to the existing body of literature on race, policing, and how the media influences the perceptions of law enforcement when they use deadly force against black people. Moreover, my research exposes how the creation of race morphed from an idea to a physical and toxic culture in the United States. My perspective as both a law enforcement officer and as a researcher provides me with unique insights. I have been involved in investigations where black people have been abused and killed by white police officers. I view my experience as a strength because it gives me insider access to a protected class. I have had the privilege to be law enforcement officer at the state and federal level and have had access to “shoot-don’t-shoot” training scenarios and have witnessed the neglect of de-escalation training. Shoot-don’t-shoot and de-escalation training should be given more attention in order to have better outcomes with the black community.

Law enforcement agencies should also address how implicit bias training effects the outcomes of deadly enforce encounters between white police officers and members of the black community. The onus should not only be on law enforcement, the mass media also has a responsibility to dispense impartial narratives regarding incidents regarding police officers and black people. There are important implications to consider for researchers seeking to further this research. If this study is conducted on a larger scale, future researchers should consider conducting qualitative interviews with a black and

white officer regarding gaining a deeper understanding of how police officers view and perceive communities different from the race or ethnicity of the officer.

4.2. Conclusion

Examining the boisterous history between black and white citizens in America, it is difficult not to point to the fact that race is a determinant factor in the tensions that plague black and white relations. After the election of a black president, it appeared to some that the country was taking a progressive turn toward unity and equality for all races. Several demographic factors showed that the plight of black people did not improve as a whole during the Obama Administration, and the killings of black men by white police officers provide some of the best evidence of the continuing significance of race in America. The killings of black men by white police officers over time point to what I defined as the religion of policing.

From a unique viewpoint, this study focused on an area of the country in the aftermath of the nationally known and controversial killing of Alton Sterling. Analyzing media articles produced in an area that was and is still racially divided over the events that led to Sterling's death, illuminated patterns and themes that contributed to the larger conversation of the faultless police officer. Finley and Gray's theoretical perspective gave new insight into an old and prevalent issue in America.

This study attempted to quantify Finley and Gray's work and assist future researchers in gaining a unique perspective of the divisive relationship that persists between law enforcement and the black community in America. The study revealed that the media does contribute to racial tensions, perpetuates black stereotypes, and promotes the perception of good versus evil. Since I began this study, several black men and

women have been killed under questionable circumstances. Most notably, Botham Jean, a black man, killed by a white Dallas police officer, Amber Guyger in his apartment. Allegedly, Guyger entered what she thought was her apartment and thought Jean was an intruder. Guyger then shot and killed Jean. After Guyger shot Jean, Guyger allegedly realized that she entered Jean's apartment and killed him (Mclaughlin 2018). Jean's death is unique because Jean was educated, gainfully employed, had no criminal record, and did not have a history of drug abuse. However, the media did report that police discovered marijuana in Jean's apartment while searching for evidence for the case (Mclaughlin 2018). The marijuana had nothing to do with Guyger killing Jean, but the media reported it as if it was relevant to the case. This is just one example among many to vindicate an officer and stain the character of the deceased.

It is important to understand the religion of policing because law enforcement alone cannot maintain the racial caste system constructed in America. As agents of the state, law enforcement officers require consistent support and protection to carry out the mission of the state. This support comes from a system that contains, anti-black sentiment, the media, and racialized laws that only protect white people (Feagin 2013). The system was designed to benefit the dominant group. Historical and contemporary research has demonstrated that in America, a person's race can elevate them socially, economically, and educationally. Research has also shown in the cases of black Americans; race can decrease your chances of a gainful existence.

The study demonstrated just how important race is in America and how it metastasized and contaminated every institution in America. To solve the issue of white police officers harming black people there needs to be a more concerted effort from law

enforcement, academia, government, and the media on how they portray, and approach issues related to the black community. Surface discussions and meaningless policy will not work to repair what has been broken for centuries. How black people are perceived, treated, and killed by police seem to be getting worse in the era of alleged color blindness.

Future research should address how negative stereotypes of black people influence white vigilantes to attack and ultimately kill black people. With the rise of stand your ground laws in Florida and other states, many of the victims of stand your ground laws have been black people, most notably Trayvon Martin. Other research should also address if gender is a significant factor in white police officers' decisions to use deadly force against black people. Many victims of police shootings have overwhelmingly been black men. Researchers should seek to identify if race or gender is a determining factor during deadly force altercations involving police officers. Research should also examine the dynamics of police shootings when the officers is black, and the victim is white. Researchers have thoroughly examined the racial dynamics of white police officers and their black victims. Research should address how black officers are viewed or characterized by the mass media when they kill a white civilian. Finally, future research should address if black peoples' profession effect how black people are perceived and treated by white police officers. This is important, in light of how Henry Louis Gates was treated by law enforcement at his own home. Gates, a renowned Harvard professor and scholar was arrested in 2010 for allegedly breaking into his own home by a white police officer. Even though Gates produced identification which displayed his address, officers treated Gates like a suspected burglar. This incident

dispels the notion that hip-hop clothing, tattoos, and hair styles are significant indicators of criminal behavior. Gates' arrest made it very evident that race is the foundation of the many issues black people have with law enforcement. To combat racism in law enforcement, many agencies have focused their efforts on police reform.

Police reform has been the topic of many discussions related to officer involved shootings involving black people. Race has been one of the salient issues that has remained constant. There has been a recent push for law enforcement agencies to put an emphasis on racial sensitivity training, de-escalation techniques, and racial bias (Davis, Russell-Brown, Tigar Saltzburg, Capra 2017). Results of these major reforms are yet to be assessed. One might ask then, "Can law enforcement successfully train racism and racial bias out of recruits and new police officers?" It is difficult to say because many people who harbor racist views do not outwardly display them in an era where there are consequences. This has not been the case with white police officers and their black victims. Law enforcement is not the only entity that has to change its culture, the mass media has to become more responsible in its coverage and characterization of black citizens. The media's negative coverage of black people perpetuates stereotypes that influence aggressive policing and the misconception that black people should be labeled collectively as criminals. As I stated before, police officers have been able to continue to kill black people under questionable circumstances because of the saints vs. sinners' culture of policing that has endured in America for centuries. This culture has normalized the mistreatment and sustained the killings of black people. The culture persists because law enforcement and the state has been viewed structurally as a white. The antithesis of the self-identified white state is the black community. These two entities have been in a

state of constant conflict and have not found a way to co-exist for obvious reasons. To create a meaningful dialogue, we must be able critique the actions of law enforcement.

We must be able to criticize the people who have sworn to protect all citizens regardless of their race and ethnicity. Police proponents view police criticism as attacks or as the public not wanting police officers to do their jobs. Police criticism should be viewed as something positive. American citizens criticize police because, Americans expect a certain level of professionalism and restraint when police officers interact with their communities. Law enforcement's understanding of the black communities' frustrations and criticism will assist law enforcement in taking a different approach toward black people and build a more substantive relationship with the black community. Until race is removed from how black people are policed, black people killed by police officers will persist. The only race that should matter when police officers set out to patrol communities is the human race.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.
- Ali, Safia, Samee. 2017. *Tamir Rice Shooting: Newly Released Interviews Reveal Cop's Shifting Story*. Retrieved October 2, 2018. (<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/newly-released-interview-footage-reveal-shifting-stories-officers-who-shot-n751401>)
- Anderson, Carol. 2016. *White Rage*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc: New York.
- Arrigo, Bruce A., and Yoshiko Takahashi. 2006. Re-communalization of The Disenfranchised: A Theoretical and Critical Criminological Inquiry. *Theoretical Criminology* 10 (3) 307-336.
- Baker, Al, David Goodman, and Benjamin Mueller. 2015. *Beyond The Chokehold: The Path To Eric Garner's*. Retrieved Septemr 12, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/14/nyregion/eric-garner-police-chokehold-staten-island.html>)
- Bass, Sandra. 2001. Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions. *Social Justice* 28 (1) 155-176.
- Beer, Paul G. 1994. The Wythe County Lynching of Raymond Bird: Progressivism vs. Mob Violence in the '20s. *Appalachian Journal* 22 (1) 34-59.
- Bellah, Robert N. 1988. Civil Religion in America. The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences 17 (3) 97-118.
- Bengtsson, Mariette. 2016. How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis. *NursingPlus Open* (2016) 8-14.
- Bernasconi, Robert. 2014. When Police Violence is More Than Violent Policing. *The New Centennial Review* 14(2) 145-152.
- Blackmon, Douglas. 2009. *Slavery By Another Name*. Anchor Publishing: New York, New York.
- Brasted, Chelsea. 2016. *Protests in Baton Rouge of Alton Sterling shooting continue: What happened this weekend*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (https://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2016/07/baton_rouge_alton_sterling_sho_1.html).
- Bloom, Deborah, and Jareem Iman. 2014. New York man dies after chokehold by police. Retrieved on December 26, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2014/07/20/justice/ny-chokehold-death/index.html>).

- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2014. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Landham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bonilla, Yarimar, Johnathan Rosa. 2015. #Ferguson: Digital Protest, hashtag ethnography, and racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist* 42 (1) 4-17.
- Brown, Emily. 2014. Timeline: *Michael Brown Shooting in Ferguson, MO*. Retrieved August 10, 2018. (<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/08/14/michael-brown-ferguson-missouri-timeline/14051827/>).
- Blinder, Alan. 2017. *Gunman Called Police Shooting a "Necessary Evil" in a Suicide Note*. Retrieved August 10, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/30/us/gavin-long-suicide-note-baton-rouge.html>).
- Canfield, Sabrina. 2017. *New Lawsuits Allege Police Violence During Alton Sterling Protests*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<https://www.courthousenews.com/new-lawsuits-allege-police-violence-alton-sterling-protests/>).
- Cardon, Nathan. 2017. "Less than Mayhem" Louisiana's Convict Lease, 1865-1901. *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 58 (4) 417-441.
- Carrero, Jacquella, Elisha Fieldstadt, Gabe Gutierrez. 2016. *Three Baton Rouge Officers Killed, Three Injured in 'Ambush'*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/baton-rouge-police-ambush/three-baton-rouge-officers-killed-three-injured-ambush-n611101>).
- Cazenave, Noel A. 2018. *Killing African Americans: Police and Vigilante Violence as a Racial Control Mechanism*. Routledge: NY
- Colon, Edward. 2016. *Why There is No War on Police*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<https://advance-lexis-com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/bisacademicresearchhome?crid=789f4623-3363-479f-a638-439082b74a82&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true>).
- Chang, David. 2010. *The Color of the Land*. Chapter 6. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, NC.
- Chiricos, T, and S. Eschholz. 2002. The Racial and Ethnic Typification Crime and The Criminal Typification of Race and Ethnicity In Local Television News. *Journal of Research On Crime and Delinquency* 39(4) 400-420.
- Clegg, Claude. 2010. *Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South*. University of Illinois Press: IL.

- Dabney, A. Dean, Brent Teasdale, Glen A. Ishoy, Taylor Gann, and Bonnie Berry. 2017. Policing in a Largely Minority Jurisdiction: The Influence of Appearance Characteristics Associated With Hip Hop Culture on Police Decision-Making. *Justice Quarterly* 34 (7) 1310-1338.
- Davis, Angela J., Katheryn Russell-Brown, Michael E. Tigar, Stephen A. Saltzburg, Daniel J. Capra. 2018. *Policing the Black Man: Arrest, Prosecution, and Imprisonment*. Vintage Books: New York, New York.
- Davis, Kristy. 2013. *Fired police chief: race issue in dept*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<http://www.wbrz.com/news/fired-police-chief-race-issue-in-dept/>).
- Dawson, Akiv. 2018. A space for countering colorblind discourse: constructions of police-perpetrated homicides of African-American males. *Criminal Studies in Media Communications*. 35(3) 300-313.
- Deberry, Jarvis. 2016. Before killing Sterling, Baton Rouge police has a history of brutality complaints. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (https://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2016/07/baton_rouge_police_brutality.html).
- Derbes, Brett Josef. 2013. "Secret Horrors": Enslaved Women and Children in Louisiana State Penitentiary, 1833-1862. *The Journal of African American History* 98 (2) 277-290.
- Drakulich, Kevin M., Crutchfield, Robert D. 2013. The Role of Perceptions of the Police in Informal Social Control: Implications for the Racial Stratification of Crime and Control. *Social Problems* 60 (3) 383-407.
- Dray, Philip. 2003. *At The Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America*. The Modern Library. New York, New York.
- Diversi, M. (2016). The ever-shifting excuses for demonizing black people in America. *Cultural Studies and Critical Methodologies* 16(3) 245-252.
- Dixon, T. L, and D. Linz. 2000. Overrepresentation and Underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as Lawbreakers on Television News. *Journal of Communication* 50(2) 131-154.
- Dubois, W.E.B. 1903. *Souls of Black Folks*. Fine Creative Media Inc.: New York, NY.
- Dukes, Kristin Nicole, and Sarah E. Gaither 2017. Black Racial Stereotypes and Victim Blaming: Implications for Media Coverage and Criminal Proceedings in Cases of Police Violence Against Racial and Ethnic Minorities. *Journal of Social Issues* 73(4) 789-807.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism Without Racist: Color-Blind Racism and Inequality in Contemporary America*. Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Lanham, Maryland.

- Entman, R.M. 1992. Blacks In The News: Television, Modern Racism, and Cultural Change. *Journalism Quarterly* 69(2) 341-361.
- Esposito, Luigi, and Victor Romano. 2016. Benevolent Racism and the Co-optation of the Black Lives Matter Movement 40 (3) 161-173.
- Fausset, Richard, Richard Perez-Pena, and Campbell Robertson. 2016. *Alton Sterling Shooting in Baton Rouge Prompts Justice Dept. Investigation*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/06/us/alton-sterling-baton-rouge-shooting.html>).
- Feagin, Joe R. 2013. *White Racial Framing: Centuries Of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. Routledge, New York, New York.
- Finley Stephen C., and Biko Mandela Gray. 2015. God Is A White Racist: Immanent Atheism as a Religious Response to Black Lives Matter and State-Sanctioned Anti-Black Violence. *Journal of Africana Religions* 3 (4) 443-453.
- Foner, Eric. 1975. *Reconstruction*. Harper Perennials: New York, New York.
- Forret, Jeff. 2013. Before Angola: Enslaved Prisoners in the Louisiana State Penitentiary. *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 54 (2) 133-171.
- Franklin, V. P. 2003. Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Universities in the United States and South Africa. *Journal of African American History* 88(2) 204-217.
- Fuentes, Augustin. 2012. *Race, Monogamy, and Other Lies They Told You: Busting Myths About Human Nature*, Chapter 4. University of California Press: CA.
- Goldstein, Joseph, and Nate Schweber. 2014. *Man's Death After Chokehold Raises Old Issue*. Retrieved September 2, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/19/nyregion/staten-island-man-dies-after-he-is-put-in-chokehold-during-arrest.html>).
- Gordon, Lewis. 2013. "Race, Theodicy, and Normative Emancipatory Challenges of Blackness". *South Atlantic Quarterly* 112 (4) 728-729.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. 1996. *The Mismeasure of Man*. W.W. Norton & Company. New York, New York.
- Gross, Niel and Marcus Mann. 2017. Is There a "Ferguson Effect?" Google Searches, Concern about Police Violence, and Crime in U.S. Cities, 2014–2016. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* Volume (3) 1–16
- Hadden, Sally E. 2001. *Slave Patrols: Law And Violence In Virginia and the Carolinas*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts.

- Hadden, B., W. Tolliver, F. Snowden, R. Brown-Manning, 2016. An Authentic Discourse: Recentring race and Racism As Factors That Contribute To Police Violence Against Unarmed Black Or African American Men. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 26(3-4) 336-349.
- Haller, John S. Jr. 1970. The Species Problem: Nineteenth-Century Concepts of Racial Inferiority in the Origin of Man Controversy. *American Anthropologist* 72 (6) 1319-1329.
- Haller, John S. Jr. 1970. Concepts of Race Inferiority in Nineteenth-Century Anthropology. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 25 (1) 40-51.
- Hawkins, Billy. 1998. The Supremacy Continuum of Images For Black Men. *Journal of African American Men* 3(3) 7-18.
- Hayle, Steven, Worley, Scot, Tanner, Julian. 2016. Race, Street Life, and Policing: Implications for Racial Profiling. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 58 (3) 1-32.
- Healy, Jack, and Nikole Hannah-Jones. 2016. *A Struggle for Common Ground, Amid Fears of National Fracture*. Retrieved on December 30, 2018. ([https://advance-lexis-com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=789f4623-3363-479f-a638-439082b74a82&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true](https://advance.lexis-com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=789f4623-3363-479f-a638-439082b74a82&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true)).
- Heisig, Eric. 2017. *Tamir Rice Shooting: A Breakdown Of The Events That Led to the 12 Years Old Death*. Retrieved on December 26, 2018. (https://www.cleveland.com/court-justice/index.ssf/2017/01/tamir_rice_shooting_a_breakdow.html).
- Higginbotham, A. Leon Jr. 1978. *In the Matter of Color: Race And The American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Hirschfield, P., and Simon, D. 2010. Legitimizing police violence: Newspaper narratives of deadly force. *Theoretical Criminology* 14(2) 155–182.
- Hirschman, Charles. 2004. The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race. *Population and Development Review* 30 (3) 385-415.
- Hodes, Martha. 1993. The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War. *Journal of History of Sexuality* 3 (3) Special Issue: African American Culture and Sexuality 402-417.
- Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, Saharah E. Shannon. 2005. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*. 15 (9) 1277-1288.
- Hudson, Nicholas. 2008. The “Hottentots Venus,” Sexuality, and the Changing Aesthetics of Race, 1650-1850. *An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 41 (1) 19-41.

- Heussler, Lowry. 2010. *Nightmare On Ware Street*. Retrieved on May 22, 2019. (<https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2010/08/the-arrest-of-henry-louis-gates/61365/>).
- Jordan, Winthrop. 1968. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward The Negro*. The University of North Carolina Press: NC.
- Jones, William. 1973. *Is God A White Racist? A Preamble to Black Theology*. Beacon Press: MA.
- Kahn, Kimberly B., Karin D. Martin. 2016. Policing and Race: Disparate Treatment, Perceptions, and Policy Responses. *Social Issues and Policy Review* 10 (1) 82-21.
- Kamalu, Ngozi C., Emmanuel Onyeozilli 2018. A Critical Analysis of the ‘Broken Windows’ Policing in New York City and Its Impact: Implications for the Criminal Justice System and the African American Community. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies* 11 (1) 71-94.
- Khan, Kimberly Barsamian and Jean M. McMahon. 2015. Shooting Deaths of Unarmed Racial Minorities: Understanding the Role of Racial Stereotypes on Decisions to Shoot. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science* 1 (4) 310-320.
- Kelly, Kimbriell, Wesley Lowery, Steven Rich, Julie Tate, Jennifer Jenkins. 2016. *Fatal shootings by police remain relatively unchanged after two years*. Retrieved December 26, 2018. (https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/fatal-shootings-by-police-remain-relatively-unchanged-after-two-years/2016/12/30/fc807596-c3ca-11e6-9578-0054287507db_story.html?utm_term=.33e9fe2192e7).
- Kendi, Ibram X. 2016. *Stamped From The Beginning*. Nation Books: New York, NY.
- Kennedy, Randall. 1997. *Race, Crime and the Law*. Harvard University: Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Kernner, Otto, et al. 1967. *Report Of The National Advisory Commission Of Civil Disorder*. Retrieved October 2, 2018. (<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/8073NCJRS.pdf>).
- Klien, Ezra. 2014. *Michael Brown spent his last day with his Dorian Johnson. Here’s what Johnson saw*. Retrieved on December 29, 2018. (<https://www.vox.com/2014/11/25/7287443/dorian-johnson-story>).
- Kunzelman, Michael. 2018. Officers face discipline for poor tactics in deadly shooting. Retrieved October 2, 2018. ([https://advance-lexis-com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=789f4623-3363-479f-a638-439082b74a82&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true](https://advance.lexis-com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=789f4623-3363-479f-a638-439082b74a82&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true)).

- Lacy Stephen, Brenden R. Watson, Daniel Riffe, Jennette Lovejoy. 2015. Issues and Best Practices in Content Analysis. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 92(4) 791-811.
- Lieberman, Donna, and Kara Dansky. 2015. The Degradation of Civil Society and Hyper-Aggressive Policing in Communities of Color In New York. *Cardozo Law Review* 37 955-972.
- Logan, John R., Deidre Oakley. 2017. Black Lives and Policing: The Larger Context of Ghettoization. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 39 (8) 1031-1046.
- Long, Charles H. 1986. *Significations: Signs, Symbols and Images in the Interpretation of Religion*. Fortress Press: Minneapolis, MN.
- Lurie, Edward. 1954. Louis Agassiz and the Races of Man. *Isis* 45 (3) 227-242.
- Louisiana Department of Justice. 2018. The Final Report of the Investigation and Determination of Criminal Responsibility and Use of Force by Officers Blane Salamoni and Howard Lake of the Baton Rouge Police Department in the Officer Involved Death of Alton Sterling Occurring July 5, 2016.
- Ly, Laura, and Jason Hanna. 2014. *Cleveland police's fatal shooting of Tamir Rice ruled a homicide*. Retrieved December 29, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2014/12/12/justice/cleveland-tamir-rice/index.html>).
- Lynch, Stacy, and Limor Peer. 2002. *Analyzing Newspaper Content: A How-To Guide. Including National Comparison for U. S. Daily Newspapers: Readership Institute, Media Management Center*. Northwestern University. Retrieved March 23, 2019. (<https://www.orau.gov/cdcynergy/erc/content/activeinformation/resources/NewspaperContentAnalysis.pdf>).
- Sussman, Robert W. 2014. *"The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence Of An Unscientific Idea."* Harvard University Press: MA.
- Martin, Lori L. 2017. American (Un) Civil Religion, the Defense of the White Worker and Response to NFL Protest. African American Studies, Department of Sociology, Louisiana State University. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Martinot, Steve. 2014. On the Epidemic of Police Killings. *Social Justice* 39 (4) 52-75.
- Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Harvard University Press: MA.
- Mcknight, Laura. 2016. *Only 1 of 2 officers fired weapon in Alton Sterling shooting, TV station reports*. Retrieved September 5, 2018. (https://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2016/07/only_one_officer_fired_shots_i.html).

- McLaughlin, Elliot C. 2018. "I thought it was my apartment," Dallas officer says 19 times in tearful 911 call after shooting Botham Jean. Retrieved May 18, 2019. (<https://www.cnn.com/2019/04/30/us/dallas-botham-jean-911-police-officer-amber-guyger/index.html>).
- McLaughlin, Elliot C. 2014. *What We Know About Michael Brown's Shooting*. Retrieved September 5, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2014/08/11/us/missouri-ferguson-michael-brown-what-we-know/index.html>).
- McLaughlin, Elliot C. 2014. *Despite discrepancies, Dorian Johnson consistent in accounts of Brown shooting*. Retrieved December 27, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2014/12/14/justice/ferguson-dorian-johnson-statements/index.html>).
- Muhammad, Khalil G. 2010. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race Crime, and the making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Mustain, Jim. 2017. *Alton Sterling protesters treated 'like animals' in Baton Rouge prison, advocacy group claims*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/crime_police/article_83d4ec44-626c-11e7-86ae-dbcc39e06536.html).
- Mustain, Jim. 2017. *Police Records: Salamoni told investigators he was "mad at Sterling for making him kill him"*. Retrieved December 27, 2018. (https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/alton_sterling/article_0eb9aaba-347d-11e8-bd2f-e3fd165b7b19.html).
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma: Volume I The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick.
- Neely, Cheryl L. 2015. *You're Dead – So What?: Media Police, and the Invisibility of Black Women as Victims of Homicide*. Michigan University Press, MI.
- New York Times. *What Happened in Ferguson?* Retrieved October 12, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/us/ferguson-missouri-town-under-siege-after-police-shooting.html>).
- O'Donoghue, Julia. 2017. *7 arrested in clash with Baton Rouge police during Alton Sterling protest*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (https://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2017/07/5_arrested_in_clash_with_baton.html).
- Ohlheiser, Abby. 2014. *Death of Tamir Rice, 12-Year-Old Shot By Cleveland Police, Ruled a Homicide*. Retrieved August 14, 2018. (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2014/12/12/death-of-tamir-rice-12-year-old-shot-by-cleveland-police-ruled-a-homicide/?utm_term=.4082a9c08749).

- Oliver, Mary Beth. 2003. African American Men as “Criminals and Dangerous”: Implications of Media Portrayals of Crime on the “Criminalization” of African American Men. *Journal of African American Studies* 7(2) 3-18.
- Osgood, Herbert L. 1957. *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, Volume I*. Peter Smith: Gloucester, MA.
- Patterson, Orlando. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Packard, Jerrold M. 2002. *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow*. St Martin’s Griffin: New York, New York.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. 2010. *The History of White People*. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.: New York, New York.
- Pfeifer, Michael J. 2010. The Northern United States and the Genesis of Racial Lynching: The Lynching of African Americans in the Civil War Era. *The Journal of American History* 97 (3) 621-635.
- Reichel, Phillip L. 1988. Southern Slave Patrols as a Transitional Police Type. *American Journal of Policing* (7) 51-77.
- Ritcher, William L. 1969. Slavery in Baton Rouge, 1820-1860. *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 10 (2) 125-145.
- Rogers, Katie. 2016. *Baton Rouge Police Shooting: What We Know*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/18/us/baton-rouge-police-shooting-what-we-know-and-do-not-know.html>).
- Rojek, Jeff, Richard Rosenfeld, and Scott Decker. 2012. Policing Race: The Racial Stratification of Searches in Police Traffic Stops. *American Society of Criminology* 50 (4) 993-1024.
- Rushdy, Ashraf H. A. 2012. Chapter Title: *The Rise of Lynching*. Yale University Press: CT.
- Rushdy, Ashraf H. A. 2012. Chapter Title: *The Race of Lynching*. Yale University Press: CT.
- Russel, C. 1995. True Crime. *American Demographics* (17) 22-31.
- Russel, K. K. 1998. *The Color of Crime: Racial Hoaxes, White Fear, Black Protectionism, Police Harassment, and Other Macroaggression*. New York University Press: New York, New York.
- Saldana, Johnny. 2013. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Sage Publishing. Newbury Park: CA.

- Sanchez, Ray. 2014. *Choke Hold By Cop Killed NY Man, Medical Examiner Say*. Retrieved October 10, 2018. (<https://www.cnn.com/2014/08/01/justice/new-york-choke-hold-death/index.html>).
- Simmons, R.C. 1976. *The American Colonies*. McKay: New York, New York.
- Sinclair, Dean. Equal in All Places: The Civil Rights Struggle in Baton Rouge, 1953-1963. *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 39 (3) 347-366.
- Smiley, Calvin John and David Fakunle. 2016. From “brute” to “thug:” The Demonization and Criminalization of Unarmed Black Male Victims in America. *Journal of Human Behavior* 26 (3-4) 350-366.
- Smith, Justin E. H. 2015. *Nature, Human Nature, and Human Difference: Race in Early Modern Philosophy*. Princeton University Press: NJ.
- Spruill, Larry H. 2016. Slave Patrols, “Packs of Negro Dogs” and Policing Black Communities. *Phylon* 53 (1) 42-66.
- Stole, Bryan. 2017. *Major, new details about Baton Rouge officer ambush in 2016: Gunman's suicide note, more*. Retrieved December 31, 2018. (https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/baton_rouge_officer_shooting/article_17f95cea-5d43-11e7-af76-63850fcfdc79.html).
- Swaine, Jon, and Ciara McCarthy. 2017. *Young Black Men Again Face Highest Rate of US Police Killings in 2016*. Retrieved September 2, 2018. (<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/08/the-counted-police-killings-2016-young-black-men>).
- Swaine, Jon. 2014. Michael Brown Shooting: “They Killed another young black man in America”. Retrieved December 29, 2018. (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/12/ferguson-missouri-shooting-michael-brown-civil-rights-police-brutality>).
- Sykes, Gresham M. 1974. The of Critical Criminology. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 65 (2) 206-213.
- Taylor, Joseph T. 1955. Desegregation in Louisiana – One Year After. *The Journal of Negro Education* 24 (3) 258-274.
- Turner, K. B. David Giacompassi, and Margret Vandiver. 2006. Ignoring the Past: Coverage of Slavery and Slave Patrols in Criminal Justice Text. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 17 (1) 181-195.
- United States Department of Justice. 2015. REGARDING THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE SHOOTING DEATH OF MICHAEL BROWN BY FERGUSON, MISSOURI POLICE OFFICER DARREN WILSON.

- WAFB Staff. 2013. *Mayor fires police chief after heated public hearing*. (<http://www.wafb.com/story/21230871/mayor-and-police-chief-face-each-other-in-public-hearing/>). Retrieved January 1, 2019.
- Waldrep, Christopher. 2008. National Policing, Lynching, and Constitutional Change. *The Journal of Southern History* 74 (3) 589-626.
- Washington Post 2018. *Fatal Force Database*. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-2016/>). Retrieved March 12, 2019.
- Weber, Philip Robert. 1990. *Basic Content Analysis*. Sage University Paper: Newbury, CA.
- Weiner, Marli F., and Mazie Hough 2012. *Sex, Sickness, and Slavery*, Chapter 1. University of Illinois Press: IL
- West, Cornel. 1982. *Prophesy Deliverance!* Chapter 2. The Westminster Press: PA.
- Wilson, James Q., and George L. Kelling. 1982. *Broken Windows*. *The Atlantic Magazine*. Retrieved on December 28, 2018. (<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/>).
- Woodward, Vann C. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Oxford University Press: New York, New York.
- Zuberi, Tukufu. 2001. *Thicker Than Blood: How Racial Statistics Lie*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, MN.

VITA

Landon J. Douglas graduated from East St. John High School in Reserve, Louisiana in 2000. After graduating from high school, Landon enrolled in Southern University A&M in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice in 2006. Upon graduating with his bachelor's degree, Landon enrolled in Southern University A&M graduate school for Criminal Justice. Landon graduated with a Master of Science in Criminal Justice in the summer of 2007. Landon expects to earn his Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Sociology with a concentration in criminology from Louisiana State University in August of 2019. Landon is a mixed method sociologist with interests in crime, race and inequality.