# Police Legitimacy and Citizen Coproduction: How does publicized police brutality impact calling the police?

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**Abstract**

Because citizen reports are the primary means that police learn of crimes, calling the police has been called the most important decision in the criminal justice system. One view of citizen-police cooperation contends that citizens report crimes to the police because they perceive the police to be legitimate. How, then, do shocks to institutional legitimacy shape the demand for police services? Analyzing 25 well-publicized cases of police brutality across 22 US cities using difference-in-differences analyses and random permutation tests, I find little evidence that police brutality incidents reduce willingness to call 911 to report crimes overall or in Black neighborhoods, contrary to previous empirical work and some theories of citizen-police cooperation. Analyses of google search trends in impacted areas indicate substantial interest in local brutality events, media reports and public opinion data indicate these events reduced police trust, and many incidents resulted in sustained protests and concrete changes in laws and policies about policing. However, demand for policing services – measured by 911 calls reporting assault, burglary, theft, and gunshots – remained remarkably steady. Robustness tests compare acoustic measures of gunshots with citizen reports of shots fired and examine the racial composition of crime reporters before and after brutality events, providing additional evidence of no effect. In the absence of alternatives, citizens continue to call on police intervention to manage crime despite damaged police legitimacy.

Replication Materials Link

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# 1 Introduction

The brutal death of George Floyd began with a telephone call: a 16 year-old convenience store employee called the police to report that Floyd may have used a counterfeit $20 bill. A responding officer knelt on Floyd's neck for nine minutes, while other officers watched and did nothing. Floyd's death ignited an unprecedented social and political reaction, but in many ways it was highly typical. The fatal shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson began when a store clerk called 911 to report Brown for shoplifting. The police killing of Stephon Clark in Sacramento began with a 911 call reporting theft from an automobile (the caller later told journalists that the incident makes him never want to call 911 again). And the same for many other of the approximately one thousand annual killings by police in the US, where about 60% of fatal police encounters resulted from 911 calls (Frankham 2017).

These considerations illustrate how citizens are not solely recipients of policing, but also play active roles in its provision – what Ostrom (1978) and others have termed the "citizen-coproduction" of policing. Reporting crime to the police is a consequential and common instance of co-production; an estimated 17 million US residents did so in 2015 alone (Davis et al. 2015). Citizen inputs via crime reporting, in turn, shape where and when (if not how) police resources are deployed. Moskos (2008, 92) pointedly notes that "More than any tactical strategy or mandate from the police administration, citizen's telephone calls control the majority of police services."[1] For race and class subjugated communities in particular, how citizens choose to "exercise their power to mobilize the police" (Reiss 1971, 67) is thus a central question of governance (Soss & Weaver 2017). At the same time, a large portion of even very serious crimes are never reported to the police, a phenomenon attributed in part to cynicism towards "the law and its agents" (Sampson & Bartusch 1998). In recent years, well-publicized police violence and brutality, especially of African Americans by White police officers, have antagonized elements of the public and galvanized major protests by civil rights organizations affiliated with Black Lives Matter (Williamson et al. 2018), bringing "worldwide attention to the contemporary crisis of police legitimacy" in the United States (Peyton et al. 2019). How have these local shocks to police trust and legitimacy affected citizen cooperation and engagement with the police?

Police brutality is bureaucratic sabotage: "an exceptional case of defection—defection against the public, against the law, against simple decency" (Brehm & Gates 1997, 149) and a significant political and public policy problem. Scholars have investigated the impact of well-publicized police brutality and police killings on outcomes ranging from mental health (Bor et al. 2018) to political participation and public opinion (Williamson et al. 2018, Enos et al. 2019), police trust and legitimacy (Jefferis et al. 1997, Sigelman et al. 1997, Lasley 1994, Tuch & Weitzer 1997, Weitzer 2002, White et al. 2018, Kochel 2019), and an important

[1] See also Reiss (1971, 11, 69-70). Moreover, deployment of police patrols for proactive policing activities typically target "hotspots" with high 911 call volumes (Gaines & Kappeler 2011, 188).

behavioral manifestation of citizen-police cooperation: citizen crime reporting (Desmond et al. 2016, Cohen et al. 2019, Zoorob 2020). This paper analyzes the impact of police brutality stories on citizen crime reporting – operationalized through 911 calls for common property and violent crimes – moving beyond existing studies of single cases by incorporating administrative data from 22 cities which experienced 25 prominent police brutality incidents since 2012. This paper further explores the effects of brutality incidents across crime types and neighborhood characteristics by spatially joining 911 calls to Census Block Groups (CBGs).

Consistent with other scholarship, I find that well-publicized police brutality incidents have substantial impacts on nearby residents. Analyses of search trends indicate substantial interest in local brutality events, media reports and public opinion data confirm these events caused substantial reductions in police trust, and many of these incidents resulted in large protests and concrete changes in policing laws and policies. However, daily demand for policing services remained remarkably steady. Two robustness tests – first, comparing gunshot incidents from acoustic sensors with citizen reports of shots fired and second, examining the racial composition of crime reporters – provide evidence consistent with these null results. These results suggest that, in the absence of alternatives, managing crime and disorder drives citizens to demand police services despite damaged police legitimacy (Hagan et al. 2018), a process facilitated by strategies of "situational trust" (Bell 2019). Moreover, in contexts of already high legal cynicism where demand for police services are high, a well-publicized brutality incident may not reduce demand for police services because residents already have well-formed beliefs about the police, who are highly visible in their neighborhoods (Prowse et al. 2019). Instead, routine interactions – voluntary and frequently involuntary – may inform attitudes towards and structure demand for policing (Lerman & Weaver 2014).

## 2 Police legitimacy and crime reporting

Many scholars call citizen crime reporting "the most influential decision in the criminal justice system" (Warner 1992, 72).[2] Citizen reporting is the primary channel through which crimes become known to the police (Reiss 1971), making citizens the "gatekeepers" to the criminal justice system (Gottfredson & Gottfredson 1987). Most police work is produced by citizens calling the police, with smaller shares from officer-initiated activities like traffic stops (Gaines & Kappeler 2011, 201). About 97% of police investigations of crime result from citizen notification, usually by crime victims (Greenberg & Ruback 2012, 7). About 90% of police mobilizations are initiated by citizen crime reports, almost always originating from telephone

[2] Abt & Stuart (1979, 109) write "Of the many roles that citizens perform in the relation to the criminal justice system, none is more important than that of notifying the authorities of a crime. It is no exaggeration to state that without citizen notification, the criminal justice system will become ineffective in preventing and controlling crime." Reiss (1971, 69-70) writes that "Citizens exercise considerable control over the policing of everyday life through their discretionary decisions to call or not to call the police."

calls (Reiss 1971, 11). Policing practitioners similarly stress the importance of citizen crime reporting and cooperation. Talking to the *Boston Globe* about declining homicides, William Gross, the Police Commissioner in Boston, "stressed that city residents have shown a willingness to immediately call 911 and cooperate with police in the aftermath of violent crime" (Anderson & Vaccaro 2019). Because of its importance to the operation of the criminal justice apparatus, deployment of policing resources, and legitimating police intervention, an extensive literature explores the conditions under which citizens report crimes to the police (Reiss 1971, Skogan 1976, 1984, Warner 1992, Slocum 2018).

One thread in this large literature maintains that those perceiving "the police as more legitimate were more willing to cooperate with them both by reporting crimes or identifying criminals..." (Tyler 2004, 89).[3] A Weberian concept, legitimacy is a characteristic of authorities which command voluntary compliance or cooperation independently of sanction or incentive. Social scientists typically operationalize police legitimacy through survey-based measures about the obligation to obey the police and police directives, trust and confidence in the police, and identification with the police (Tyler & Fagan 2008, 246). Survey data indicate that those who ascribe higher levels of legitimacy to the police are more likely to say they would obey the law (Tyler 2006), support police patrols in their neighborhoods (Mummolo 2018*a*), cooperate with a police investigation, and report a crime to the police (Sunshine & Tyler 2003, Tyler & Fagan 2008, Tolsma et al. 2012, Tyler & Jackson 2014).[4] This literature contends that police legitimacy is the central determinant of cooperation. Sunshine & Tyler (2003) emphasizes that citizen evaluations of the police, willingness to cooperate with the police, and willingness to support policies that empower the police are not tied to instrumental beliefs that police are effective in fighting crime or distribute resources properly, but are instead driven by beliefs that police share their values and treat people fairly ("procedural fairness"). Tyler & Fagan (2008, 240) argues that "people cooperate [with the police] because they feel it is the right thing to do, not because of material gains and losses."

Consistent with this view, individuals who have had negative prior interactions with the police are less likely to report crime (Slocum 2018, Kwak et al. 2019) and ascribe less legitimacy to the police as an institution (Tyler et al. 2014). Other research indicates that vicarious experiences – hearing of another's bad experiences with the police – can similarly damage police legitimacy (Browning et al. 1994, Rosenbaum et al. 2005). Some evidence from Latin America indicates that observers of police violence are less willing to report crime (Gingerich & Oliveros 2018), though no effect was found in a study of police shootings in Los Angeles (Cohen et al. 2019). The absence of police legitimacy has been termed legal cynicism, a

[3]This forms part of a larger literature documenting the salutary effects of legitimacy (or what Easton (1965, 1975) calls "diffuse support") on a variety of outcomes including compliance with the law Tyler (2006) and acceptance of unpopular court decisions (Gibson et al. 1998, Gibson & Nelson 2015).

[4]But see Davis & Henderson (2003), Goudriaan et al. (2005), Warner (2007), and Kääriäinen & Sirén (2011).

cultural orientation of antagonism and distrust in the law and its agents (Sampson & Bartusch 1998, Kirk & Papachristos 2011). Negative personal encounters with police foster cynicism (Nivette et al. 2015) and are associated with making fewer 911 and 311 calls (Lerman & Weaver 2014), perhaps because refraining to report crimes serves to "limit the power of the police in everyday life" (Reiss 1971, 67).[5] Conversely, positive interactions with police in nonenforcement settings has been shown to increase reported willingness to cooperate with police (Peyton et al. 2019).

In addition to personal or vicarious experiences, media coverage of brutality incidents decreases beliefs that police use force appropriately (Jefferis et al. 1997, Sigelman et al. 1997) or treat people fairly (Lasley 1994) and reduces overall trust in police (Tuch & Weitzer 1997, Weitzer 2002, Kochel 2019).[6] Those who consume more local news programming believe that police misconduct is more frequent, an effect that is more pronounced among racial minorities (Dowler & Zawilski 2007). Negative publicity of the police can even reduce the self-perceived legitimacy of police officers (Nix & Wolfe 2017). Empirically, Desmond et al. (2016) finds that when news of a Milwaukee police beating broke out, 911 calls in the city declined, especially in Black neighborhoods, which they attribute to increased legal cynicism, though Zoorob (2020) questions whether the data support these conclusions. In summary, previous research suggests that (1) lower levels of police trust are associated with less crime reporting, (2) media incidents of brutality can reduce police trust, and (3) a brutality incident substantially reduced 911 calls in one city. This motivates the following "legitimacy shock" hypothesis:

**H1:** 911 calls will decline after brutality incidents.

For several reasons, the effect of brutality incidents on citizen crime reporting to the police might vary across racial groups – and be particularly pronounced among Blacks (Desmond et al. 2016). Some studies have found that the negative impact of brutality incidents on perceptions of police is greater among Blacks (Lasley 1994, Tuch & Weitzer 1997, Kochel 2019) and nearby police killings have been shown to adversely impact nearby residents' mental health, but only among Blacks (Bor et al. 2018). Blacks are much more likely to be killed by police than whites (Streeter 2019) and are much more likely to report they are "personally worried" about becoming a victim of police brutality–about 64% of Blacks, compared to 37% of Hispanics and 12% of Whites (Malloy & Smith 2018). Zimring (2017, 138) writes that police killings may "have a substantial and mostly negative impact... particularly in minority community areas and among people who feel at risk" on "attitudes towards police including trust, willingness to provide information or other types of cooperation, and responses to other types of interactions with police." The dampening effects of negative

[5] One ethnographic work examining legal cynicism in Philadelphia is aptly titled "We never call the cops, and here's why" (Carr et al. 2007).

[6] Similarly, in legislative contexts, publicized scandals of individual legislators damage the perceived legitimacy of legislative institutions (Bowler & Karp 2004).

police-interactions on crime reporting are higher for Blacks than whites (Slocum 2018). Blacks also tend to follow news about police brutality more closely than Whites and Hispanics; 50% of Black respondents stated they followed the news coverage of Freddie Gray's death "very closely" compared to 32% of Whites and 22% of Hispanics. Similarly, 54% of Black respondents stated they followed coverage of Michael Brown's death "very closely", compared to 25% of Whites and just 18% of Hispanics (Dohert & Rachel 2015). Race also structures the kinds of information people seek out to learn about police brutality incidents, with Black Americans much more likely than Whites to seek out coverage sympathetic to the civilian rather than police (Jefferson et al. 2020). The greater salience of police brutality incidents among Blacks – who are objectively more likely to experience such incidents and express greater fear of becoming victims of police brutality – generates the race moderator hypothesis:

**H2:** Decreases in 911 calls after brutality incidents will be steeper for Blacks than Whites.

## 3 Context and case selection

I test these hypotheses by examining changes in crime reporting in 22 cities across the United States after 25 well-publicized police brutality events in their communities, using police 911 call data from Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Dallas, Detroit, Fort Worth, Hartford, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Nashville, New Orleans, Phoenix, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, Santa Rosa, Seattle, St. Louis, Tempe, and Vallejo and using, in robustness checks, granular police incident data about reported crime victims from Dallas and New York City (police incident reports are a slightly different data source from 911 calls that provide the races of individual victims who reported crimes to police).[7] The incidents of police brutality are, chronologically, listed in Figure 1 and described in detail in Appendix Section B. All but two incidents involved fatal uses of force and all garnered significant media attention and led to protests (Williamson et al. 2018).

Studying the impact of *local* police brutality on nearby crime reporting behavior is important as Americans recognize that different police departments – with varying quality of responsiveness – operate in different geographic boundaries (Bell 2020, 948) and city-level context structures variation in police trust (Sharp & Johnson 2009). To the best of my knowledge, these cities comprise the set of cities which both experienced well-publicized brutality incidents since 2012 and for which police calls for services or granular crime reports were accessible.[8]

[7] I study two incidents that took place in Sacramento: the police killings of Joseph Mann and Stephon Clark. Minneapolis data is used to study the impact of three incidents: Jamar Clark and Justine Damond, who were killed by Minneapolis police officers, and Phillando Castile, who was killed in the nearby suburb of Falcon Heights. St. Louis 911 call data is used to study the impact of the Michael Brown killing in Ferguson, a nearby suburb.

[8] Call data for Chicago, Fort Worth, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Santa Rosa in part, Sacramento in part, and Vallejo in part were obtained by public records request; all other cities' data were downloaded from digital Open Data platforms. I also submitted public records

Figure 1: Incidents of police brutality analyzed in this study, arranged chronologically (city of incident in parenthesis).

| | |
|---|---|
| March 7, 2012 | Fatal police shooting of Wendell Allen (New Orleans) |
| October 22, 2013 | Fatal police shooting of Andy Lopez (Santa Rosa, CA) |
| July 17, 2014 | Death of Eric Garner from police chokehold (New York City) |
| August 9, 2014 | Fatal police shooting of Michael Brown (Ferguson, MO) |
| August 11, 2014 | Fatal police shooting of Ezell Ford (Los Angeles) |
| April 19, 2015 | Death of Freddie Gray from arrest injuries (Baltimore) |
| July 9, 2015 | Fatal police shooting of Samuel DuBose (Cincinnati). |
| October 5, 2015 | Police beating of Ricardo Perez and Emilio Diaz (Hartford) |
| November 15, 2015 | Fatal police shooting of Jamar Clark (Minneapolis) |
| November 24, 2015 | Dashcam footage of fatal police shooting of Laquan McDonald (Chicago). |
| May 19, 2016 | Fatal police shooting of Jessica Williams (San Francisco) |
| July 6, 2016 | Fatal police shooting of Philando Castile (Falcon Heights, MN) |
| September 16, 2016 | Fatal police shooting of Terrence Crutcher (Tulsa) |
| September 20, 2016 | Fatal police shooting of Joseph Mann (Sacramento) |
| February 10, 2017 | Fatal police shooting of Jocques Clemmons (Nashville) |
| June 18, 2017 | Fatal police shooting of Charleena Lyles (Seattle) |
| July 15, 2017 | Fatal police shooting of Justine Damond (Minneapolis) |
| August 13, 2017 | Fatal police shooting of Patrick Harmon (Salt Lake City) |
| August 26, 2017 | Death of Damon Grimes in police pursuit (Detroit) |
| March 18, 2018 | Fatal police shooting of Stephon Clark (Sacramento). |
| September 6, 2018 | Fatal shooting of Botham Jean by off-duty police officer (Dallas) |
| January 15, 2019 | Fatal police shooting of Antonio Arce (Tempe, AZ) |
| February 9, 2019 | Fatal police shooting of Willie McCoy (Vallejo, CA) |
| June 11, 2019 | Excessive force against Dravon Ames, Iesha Harper, and daughters (Phoenix) |
| October 12, 2019 | Fatal police shooting of Atatiana Jefferson (Ft. Worth) |

The cases studied are well-publicized incidents of police brutality; they are not "typical" officer-involved shootings or uses of force – of which there are thousands each year (Zimring 2017, Cohen et al. 2019) – they are "high-profile cases of excessive police force" which "constitute a severe breach in the social contract that exists between citizens and the criminal justice system" (Desmond et al. 2016, 871).[9] These incidents also differ in important ways, such as the demographics of the impacted city, the nature of the brutality incident, the legal and political response to the incident, and the context and history of community-police relations in the city. In Appendix B, I detail each brutality incident and its aftermath to provide a richer understanding of "the treatment" – experiencing a well-publicized police brutality incident – in the quantitative analyses which follow.

Here, I review a few important features shared by all of these instances of police brutality. First, each incident, notwithstanding differences in degree, was a well-publicized and politically salient shock to the legitimacy of the police in the local community, sparking significant protest and unrest (Williamson et al. 2018). The starkest examples of protest among my cases are in Baltimore – where the unrest which followed Freddie Gray's funeral included looting of businesses and activation of the National Guard – and Ferguson, Missouri.[10] But sharp community reactions are pervasive. After the killing of Jamar Clark in Minneapolis, protesters camped out of a nearby police precinct for 18 days; in numerous other instances, protesters interrupted city council meetings or disrupted traffic. Second, officers were typically White and victims were overwhelmingly – in 22 of the 25 cases – Black (in two cases – Antonio Arce and Andy Lopez – victims were non-Black Latinos. In only one case in my study – Justine Damond in Minneapolis – was the victim non-Hispanic White). Consequently, these incidents often inflamed racial tensions. For example, the *New Orleans Picayune* described the killing of Wendell Allen as a "bruising chapter" for the police department that "raised racial tensions" (Mustian 2015). Third, 911 calls played a major role in several brutality incidents (Ames, Brown, Clark, Crutcher, Damond, Lyle, MacDonald, Mann, McCoy) as the channel through which the police came to encounter the victimized citizens. Fourth, in many cases these incidents sparked major political or policy changes, including firing or forcing resignation of the police chief (Michael Brown's death in Ferguson, Laquan McDonald's death in Chicago, Jessica Williams death in San Francisco, Justine Damond's death in Minneapolis), adopting a new use of force policy (Joseph Mann's death in Sacramento), providing officers with de-escalation training (Ezell Ford's death in Los Angeles), distributing body cameras (Jocques

requests to local police departments or emergency management agencies in Baton Rouge, Cleveland, North Charleston, Oakland, and Allegheny County to examine the impacts of the Alton Sterling, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Oscar Grant, and Antwon Rose Jr. brutality incidents, but I was unable to obtain responsive records. I submitted requests to the San Francisco police department for earlier 911 call records (to study the impact of the fatal police shooting of Mario Woods) and did not receive responsive records.

[9] "That breach is so sudden and violent when unarmed black men are beaten or killed that virtually no institutional response, from public apologies to sanctioning offending officers, can swiftly repair it" (Desmond et al. 2016, 871).

[10] Of course, police violence has sparked urban unrest in various cities during the 1960s (Kerner 1968, 68-70), in Los Angeles in 1992 (Enos et al. 2019), and across the United States in 2020.

Clemmon's death in Nashville, the "Dollar Tree Incident" in Phoenix), changing police jurisdiction (Damon Grimes death in Detroit led to the city terminating the Michigan State Police's patrol of certain neighborhoods), mediation from the Department of Justice (Willie McCoy's death in Vallejo), and even sparking state legislation to change use of force rules (Stephon Clark's death in Sacramento led to "Stephon Clark's law").

Finally, in some, but not all, incidents, there was considerable lag between the incident itself and its becoming a major political issue (for example, the City of Chicago under Mayor Rahm Emmanuel stifled news of the Laquan MacDonald shooting for months, probably to protect Emmanuel's re-election prospects (Glawe 2016), until a judge ordered the release of dashcam footage) or the salience of the issue may have waxed and waned with major events, such as indictment decisions,which reignite and intensify anger towards the police. Often"the outrage at the police action seems always to be redoubled when there are failures to arrest, to charge, to convict and to criminally punish the police who cause injuries and death" (Zimring 2017, 166).

# 4 Media coverage and defining the treatment period

The occasional discrepancy between an event of police brutality and its publicity raises the issue of how to measure when the treatment occurred, since the brutality event and its diffusion to the public are not necessarily coterminous (Desmond et al. 2016). Moreover, the duration of the impact is not obvious; when a scandal occurs, for how long is legitimacy most heavily impacted, and how quickly do effects dissipate?[11] To provide a principled answer to the question of treatment duration, I examined the landscape of online search interest and media coverage for some prominent police brutality incidents. The logic is that police legitimacy is most damaged – and an effect is most likely evident – during and just following periods where scandal is salient.

To measure and track the salience of brutality incidents, I collected data on Google Searches for the names of police brutality victims using Google Trends in the media markets where these events occurred. Google Trends provides a relative metric of how often individuals are searching for words or phrases overall and in specific geographic media markets. However, it does not provide absolute measures of interest, instead scaling to 100 the week and term during the search period with the most interest and re-scaling all other days as a percentage of the maximum item (Google Trends n.d.). Hence, to measure interest in police brutality incidents, I benchmark searches related to the brutality incident with searches for the President and a local or state political leader.

To validate Google Trends in the impacted metropolitan area as a sensible metric of salience, I bench-

[11] Previous scholarship provides one upper-bound for the duration of impact. African Americans in St Louis county reported reduced police legitimacy just after the death of Michael Brown, but attitudes bounced back to approximately prior levels in the subsequent wave of the survey, six-months later (Kochel 2015).

marked it to television coverage and digital media coverage in the Stephon Clark case. To do this, I hand collected digital media coverage of the killing of Stephon Clark from the the newspaper of record *Sacramento Bee* and websites of each of the major local news channels: abc10.com, sacramento.cbslocal.com, and krcrtv.com. I also obtained local television coverage data in the greater San Francisco market from GDELT's Television Explorer, which obtains captions from TV broadcasts saved on the Internet Archives Television News Archive.(GDELT n.d.)[12] These three metrics of salience are shown in Figure 2. The top panel shows Google Trend search interest in Stephon Clark in the Sacramento-Stockton-Modesto media market alongside search interest in Donald Trump and then-mayor of Sacramento Darrell Steinberg. The middle plot shows mentions of Stephon Clark in the San Francisco media market's four major local television news stations (local affiliates of ABC, CBS, FOX), showing the same patterns. I draw two inferences from this; first, Google search interest, television coverage, and the publication dates of digital news stories about the Stephon Clark incident are highly interrelated. Second, at its peak, salience was quite high, with search interest equaling about quadruple that of search interest in President Donald Trump. Third, salience of the event peaked 1-2 weeks after Clark's death and decayed very quickly thereafter (reaching near-zero by 5 weeks), though there was an aftershock of interest following the non-indictment of the officer who killed Clark.

Having established Google Trends as a reasonable metric, I present Google search trends for six additional brutality incidents (Figure 3). These are (1) Terrence Cruthcer (top left), (2) Atatiana Jefferson (top right), (3) Freddie Gray (middle left), (4) Philando Castile (middle right), (5) Laquan Mcdonald (bottom left), and (6) Mike Brown (bottom right). As with the Stephon Clark case, each incident sharply peaked in the first one or two weeks just following the incident becoming public, and coverage declined substantially shortly thereafter–falling to near-zero within four or five weeks of news becoming public. In Laquan McDonald's case, search interest abruptly spiked when dashcam footage was released (which is when news of the incident first became widespread) and dissipated within about four weeks. For some incidents (Philando Castile, Michael Brown), a second wave of interest followed a salient legal event (a failure to hold the perpetrator accountable), while others showed no such bi-modality.

The takeaways from these analyses are that the brutality incidents studied are salient events, but their presence in the media is relatively short–on the order of 3-6 weeks following the incident's first coming to light. This period of high salience is the period when any effect on behavior is most likely. In all instances, peak salience occurred in the weeks just after the brutality event came to light. In several instances, interest was multimodal, with renewed interest and search activity following particular legal events, typically non-indictments and acquittals. Consequently, for three major incidents where search interest shows clear bimodality after the judicial system fails to punish the officers involved in the incidents – the fatal shootings

[12]Unfortunately, these data did not contain TV coverage from the Sacramento local television markets during the relevant time period.

Figure 2: Search interest, digital media, and television coverage of the police killing of Stephon Clark.

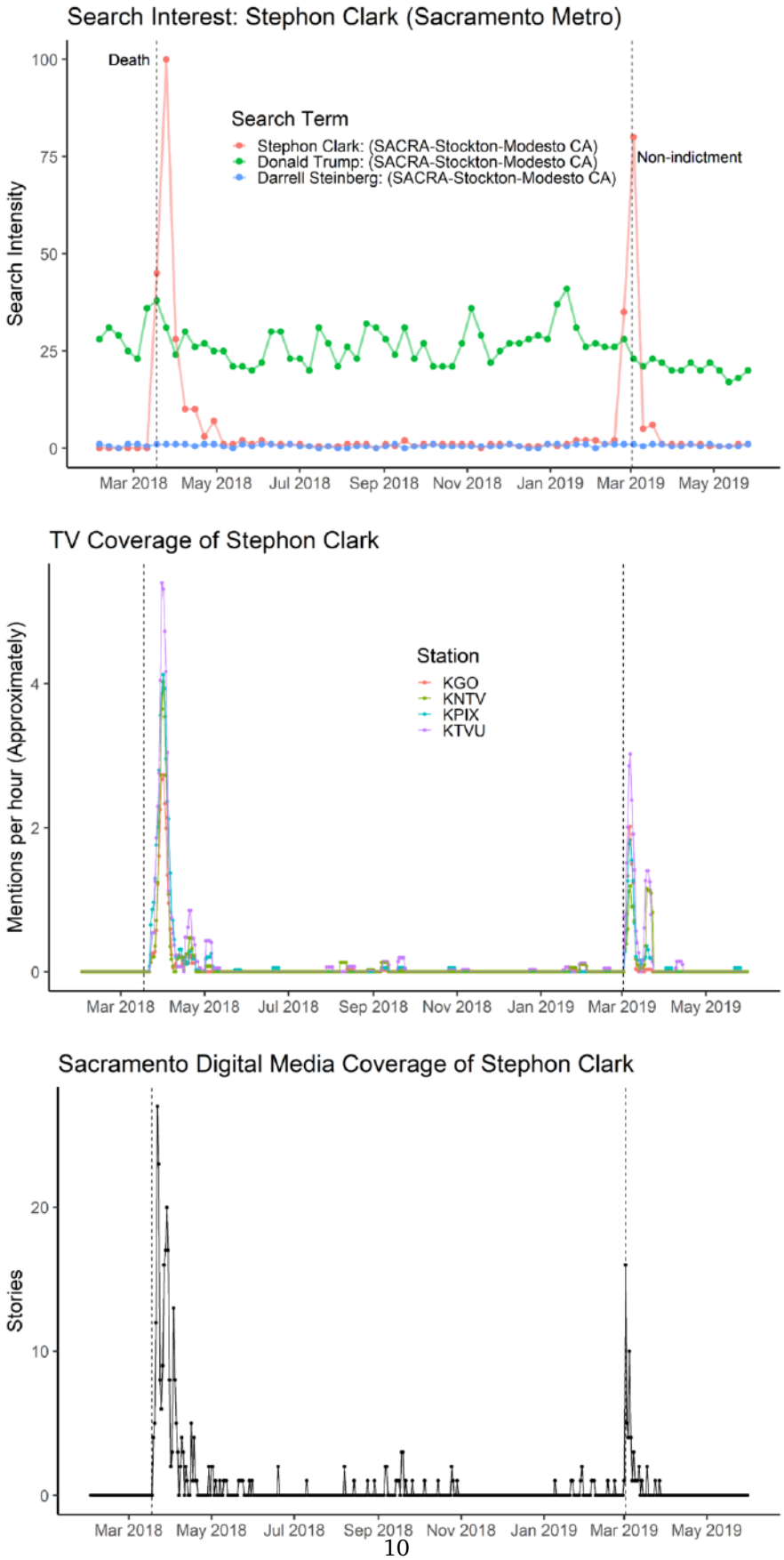
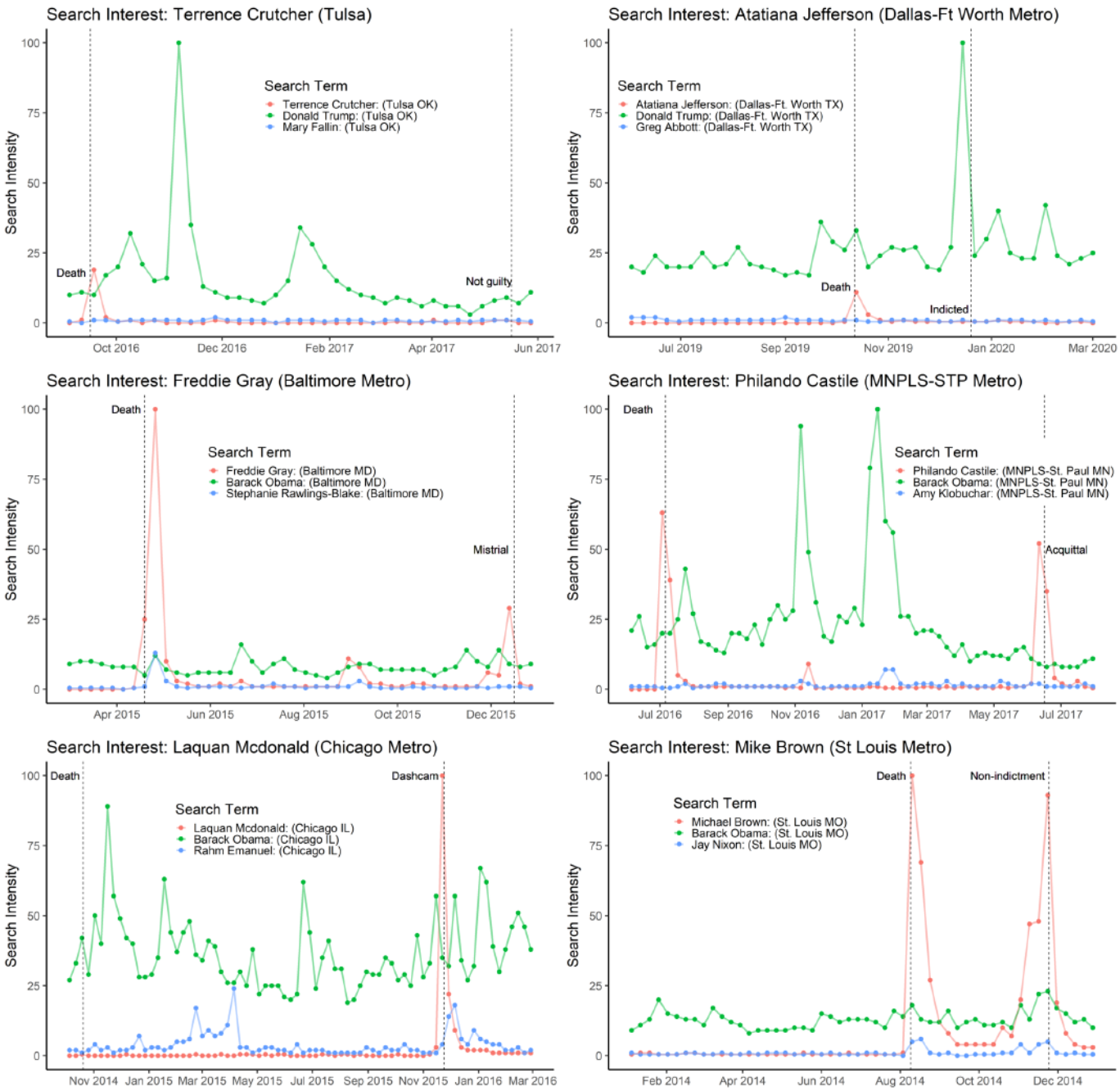


Figure 3: Search interest and media coverage of incidents.



of Michael Brown, Philando Castile, and Stephon Clark – I include both the date that news of the incident became public as a treatment date, and separately include the date of the major event of the criminal justice system, effectively treating these non-indictments (in the Brown and Clark cases) or acquittal (in the Philando Castile case) as separate, additional incidents. This decision does not substantively change any conclusions.

# 5 Do 911 calls decline after brutality incidents?

I now turn to the central question of this paper: do well-publicized brutality incidents cause citizen crime reporting to decrease? Complicating these analyses, 911 call data is messy and heterogeneous, with the bulk of calls stemming from non-emergencies, non-crimes, and accidents (Antunes & Scott 1981). Cities also vary widely in the manner and detail of data reporting. To boost comparability across cities and hone-in on citizen crime reporting, main analyses focus on four common citizen initiated call types: assault, burglary, theft, and gunshots.[13] These call types have desirable properties. First, they track the key concept of citizen crime reporting – they are crimes which typically become known to police via reporting initiated by citizens (rather than discovered by police). Second, they are sufficiently common to allow statistical analyses. Assault is the most common violent crime, theft is the most common property crime, and burglary is the second most common property crime. Finally, theft, assault and burglary are crime types of low to medium severity crimes and fall in the medium-range of crime reporting, as offense severity is a strong predictor of crime reporting (Skogan 1976). In 2018, 29% of thefts, 43% of assaults and 48% of burglaries were reported to the police (Morgan & Oudekerk 2019).[14] Consequently, theft, burglary, and assault are crimes where movement after brutality incidents is likely. In addition to being fairly common and substantively important, gunshot calls provide a unique analytic opportunity to benchmark changes in citizen reports against acoustic measures of shots fired (Carr & Doleac 2016, Renda & Zhang 2019). Plots of the daily 911 calls for each crime type before and after each incident are shown in Appendix Figures A1 — A4.

Where possible, I spatially join calls to their 2010 Census Block Group (CBG) to estimate heterogeneous effects by the racial composition of neighborhoods. Following Desmond et al. (2016), I categorize a CBG as a White or Black neighborhood if more than 65% of residents belong to that racial group in the 2010 Census.[15] For Seattle and Los Angeles, the most precise geolocation in the call data was police precincts, so the centroid coordinates of police precincts were used as call locations. For the other cities, call data

[13] See Appendix Table A1 for a detailed breakdown of the call categories used in each city.

[14] This compares with 63% of robberies, and 80% of motor vehicle thefts (Morgan & Oudekerk 2019).

[15] Salt Lake City, Sacramento, Santa Rosa, Seattle, Tempe, Phoenix, and Vallejo do not have any Black neighborhoods by this definition. Minneapolis has just 4 Black neighborhoods out of 420 CBGs, so I do not estimate separate effects for Black neighborhoods in Minneapolis.

included latitude and longitude coordinates, spatial coordinates from a projected coordinate system which I could transform into latitude and longitude coordinates, or (in the cases of Santa Rosa and Vallejo for some years and Fort Worth, Phoenix, San Francisco, and Tulsa for all years) address data which I geocoded to geographic coordinates using the ArcMap "USA_LocalComposite" Geocoder.

## 5.1 Evidence from parametric regression

Next, I estimate a set of panel regression models – separately for assault, burglary, larceny, and gunshot calls – to test whether calls changed in the weeks following the brutality incidents compared to a placebo series of weeks in that city from a different year.[16] I estimate the model on subsets of days ranging from 2 weeks (14 days) to 8 weeks (56 days) before and after the brutality event date in both the "treated" year and "control" year. For the analysis of all neighborhoods, all 25 city-incidents are included. Analyses subset to Black neighborhoods include only those incidents in Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Fort Worth, Hartford, Los Angeles, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Tulsa. The model is specified as follows:

$$\log(\text{Calls} + 1)_{ij} = \alpha_j + \beta_{1j}\text{After}_{ij} + \beta_{2j}\text{Treated}_{ij} + \tau\text{Treated} \cdot \text{After} + \epsilon_j$$

where *i* indexes day and *j* indexes city-incident. The dependent variable $\log(\text{Calls} + 1)_{ij}$ is the natural logarithm, plus one, of calls on day *i* for city-incident*j*. I use the natural logarithm because the raw number of calls differs significantly between cities of different sizes, while the logged scales are more comparable (logarithmic scales also allow expression of treatment effects in terms of percentage changes). $\alpha_j$ represents a city-incident level "fixed-effect", $\beta_1 j$ is a vector of coefficients representing the average change in log calls after the treated date (in any year), $\beta_2 j$ is a city-incident vector of coefficients representing the average change in log calls during the treated year (compared to the control year), and $\tau$ is the quantity of interest representing the average change in calls after. Standard errors are clustered by incident.[17] This is a straightforward test that 911 crime reporting calls decline after brutality incidents. If the $\tau$ parameter is negative and statistically reliable, that is evidence in favor of **H1**. Otherwise, the evidence is not consistent with **H1**.

I first present the results using 5 weeks (35 days) before and after each incident in both the control and treated years (Table 1). This results in 3640 observations: 140 days (70 treated, 70 control) for each of 26 incidents (including non-indictments) for which I have 911 call data. For each of calls for assault, burglary, larceny and gunshots, the estimate for changes in log calls after the brutality incident relative to the placebo

[16] Typically the previous year, though in San Francisco (Jessica Williams case) it is the subsequent year because I do not have 911 calls from the previous year. I thank Wesley Skogan for suggesting the idea of a "control year." Sullivan & O'Keeffe (2017) uses a similar empirical strategy to study the 2014-2015 work stoppage by New York City police officers.

[17] Implemented via the *felm* function in R's *lfe* package.

Table 1: Difference-in-Differences Estimate at 5 Weeks in all neighborhoods (Incidents/Events = 26)

| | *Dependent variable:* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | log(Calls + 1) | | | |
| | Assault | Burglary | Larceny | Gunshots |
| Treated · After | 0.01 | 0.07* | 0.02 | −0.04 |
| | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Observations | 3,640 | 3,640 | 3,640 | 3,640 |
| Adjusted $R^2$ | 0.89 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.72 |
| Residual Std. Error (df = 3611) | 0.32 | 0.36 | 0.32 | 0.53 |
| *Note:* | | | | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

year is not statistically distinguishable from zero. For assault, it is a narrowly estimated zero. Point estimates for other crime types hover around zero, with the point estimate for burglary calls slightly above zero. Figure 4 plots the difference-in-differences estimator over varying subsets of weeks around the date of the incident: from 2 weeks to 8 weeks. For all crime types, point estimates hover around zero, and none are statistically significantly below zero. Moreover, relatively precise estimates suggest that the data is not consistent with large declines in calls. For assault and larceny calls, confidence intervals at most date intervals rule out any declines exceeding about 5%; for burglary calls – with point estimates consistently above zero, though not statistically significantly above zero – confidence intervals rule out any declines exceeding about 3% of calls. Gunshot calls are estimated somewhat less precisely (there are fewer of such calls), and confidence intervals rule out any declines exceeding about 10% of calls. Overall, these estimates do not support **H1**, as there is not evidence of an average decline in crime reporting for any crime type in the weeks following salient brutality events.[18]

However, the effect of brutality events could be heterogeneous by neighborhood characteristics. I explore this possibility by estimating the same models separately for Black neighborhoods (Census Block Groups with $> 65\%$ Black populations). This analysis has less statistical power than the overall estimates, because many cities that experienced brutality incidents do not have any Black neighborhoods according to this definition, as indicated previously.[19] Estimates and confidence intervals for the change in calls in Black neighborhoods are shown in Figure 5. As with previous estimates among all neighborhoods in all cities, there is little evidence of a large decline in 911 calls in Black neighborhoods; indeed, for no week or crime type was there a statistically significant decline in calls. For assault and burglary calls in Black neighborhoods, estimates

[18] I also estimate a random slopes model using the same differences-in-differences design, with results reported in Appendix Figures A5 and A6. This allows the impact of brutality events to vary across cities and cases. The overall effect is clustered around zero (Figure A5), though there is some heterogeneity across incidents (Figure A6). One consistent pattern is increased calls, across all crime types, in Baltimore relative to the average incident.

[19] Consequently, there are only 12 city-incidents subset to Black neighborhoods: Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Fort Worth, Hartford, Nashville, Los Angeles, New Orleans, St Louis (death of Michael Brown), St Louis (nonindictment of Officer Darrell Wilson), Tulsa, and Detroit.

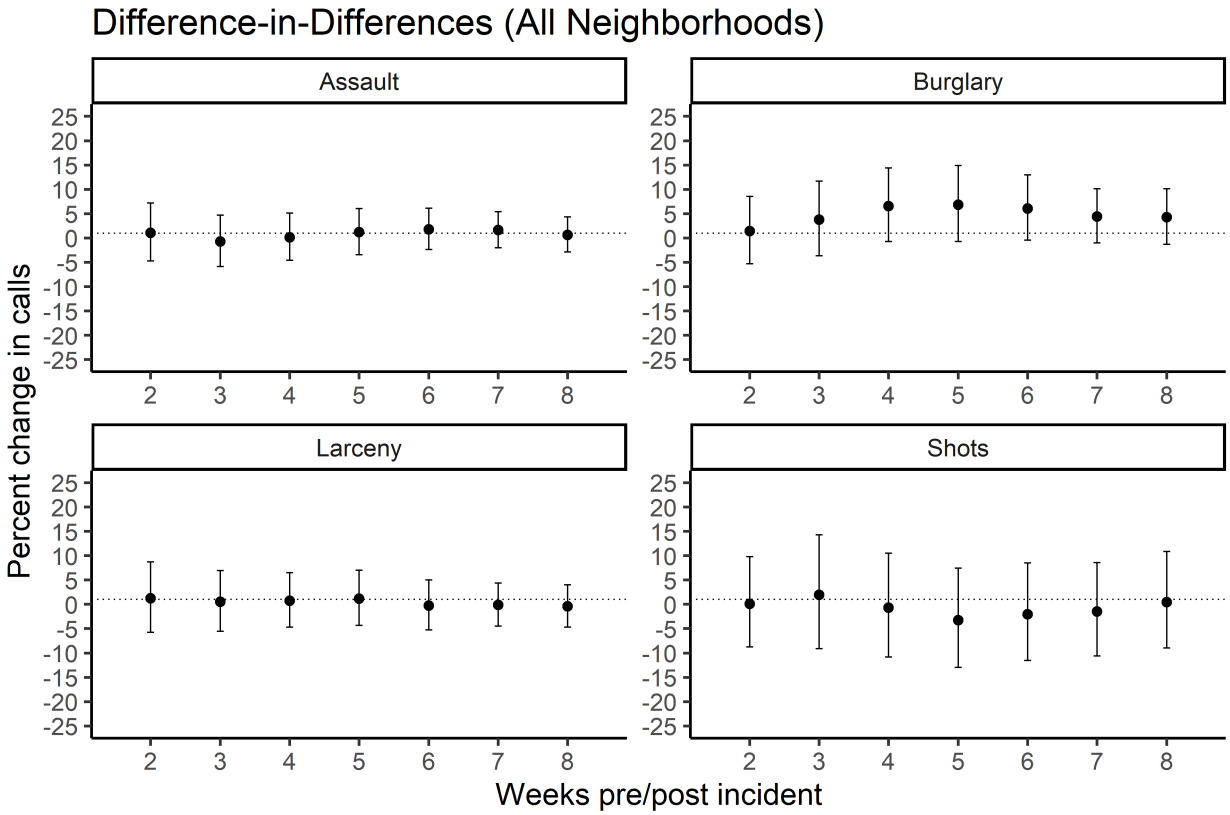



Figure 4: Difference-in-difference estimates from Equation 1 are shown, with 95% confidence intervals, from separate regressions varying the call type and the number of weeks pre/post incident. Coefficients are transformed to express percentage changes in calls $(1 - exp(\tau))$

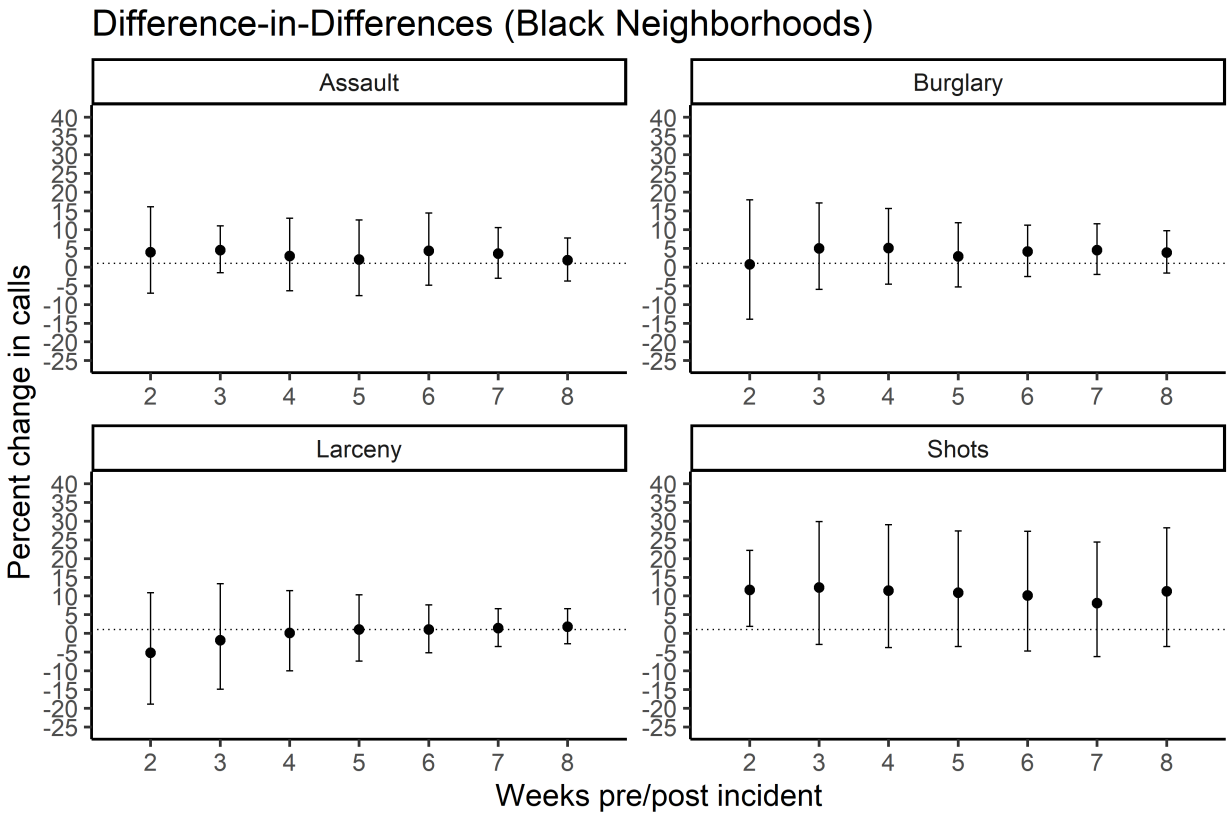



Figure 5: Difference-in-difference estimates from Equation 1 are shown, with 95% confidence intervals, from separate regressions varying the call type and the number of weeks pre/post incident. These estimates are subset to Black neighborhoods (Census Block Groups with $> 65\%$ residents). Coefficients are transformed to percentage changes.

tended to be positive but not statistically different from zero. For larceny calls, at very narrow bandwidths (2-3 weeks), estimates were negative, but they converged to near-zero after 5 weeks. Gunshot calls again had more uncertainty, but point estimates consistently exceeded zero and were statistically significant at 2 weeks. Generalizing across all crimes and date bandwiths, the lower bound on the confidence intervals for these estimates tend to rule out declines of more than 5%. Overall, these estimates do not support the hypothesis that 911 calls declined in Black neighborhoods after salient brutality events, contrary both to **H1** and **H2**.[20]

## 5.2 Evidence from randomization inference

The second set of statistical analyses consist of random permutation tests. Intuitively, these tests compare the change in 911 calls in the days following brutality incidents with the change in calls following all other

[20]Appendix Figure A10 shows results subset to White neighborhoods only, finding no evidence of decreased calls for any subset of crime type or week. Estimates including 2-3 weeks pre/post incident show statistically significant increases in gunshot calls in White neighborhoods, though estimates center around zero as additional weeks are included.

dates for which I have call data. Randomization inferences provide distribution-free "exact inferences" about the hypotheses under consideration; that is, they do not appeal to asymptotic properties or references to hypothetical distributions. Instead, the reference point for a "statistically significant" difference comes from the data. In addition to these general properties, randomization inference has particular advantages in this context. First, it preserves the temporal clustering of treatment, which necessarily involves a series of consecutive days that may be correlated with one another in a complex way (e.g. crime sprees) (Cooperman 2017). Second, it is more robust than asymptotic methods to "leverage" from a few influential observations that contribute to greater than nominal rejection rates (Young 2019) and outliers have loomed large in the study of brutality incidents on citizen crime reporting (Zoorob 2020). Another advantage of this approach is that allows the impact of brutality incidents on calls to vary across incidents (heterogenous treatment effects).

I start by analyzing each brutality incident and crime type separately to obtain unit-level inferences for the "sharp-null" of no effect of each brutality incident on each crime type. This hypothesis implies that that the change in calls after brutality incidents would have been exactly the same had no brutality incident occurred, and, conversely, the the change in calls on all other days would have been the same had any brutality incident occurred. If the data make this strong "sharp-null" hypothesis surprising or unlikely, there is evidence of an effect on 911 calls.

As Rosenbaum et al. (2002) suggests, I first adjust the data on observable covariates. Specifically, I control for seasonality and day of week, which both could plausibly impact call trends. To do this, I subtract the total calls observed on each day by the predicted call counts from a negative binomial regression with only month dummies and day of the week dummies. Then, I estimate an ordinary least squares regression as follows:

$$\text{Calls}_i = \tau \text{After} + \beta \text{Day of Week} + \epsilon \tag{1}$$

with $i$ indexing days and data ranging from 30 days before and after the brutality incident and Calls representing the residualized daily call data.[21] Next, I estimate this same equation labeling as treated all feasible dates for which I have call data; this generates a reference distribution of the change in calls with which to compare $\tau_{brutality}$. I use this reference distribution to estimate whether the change in calls observed after brutality incidents stands out from ordinary days–and, in particular, whether the change in calls stands out as a decrease relative to the distribution of days. Because the hypotheses are uni-directional, I choose

[21] Because the de-seasonalized call counts can be negative, I cannot estimate negative binomial regressions on the de-seasonalized data. In robustness tests, I estimate these models with bandwidths of 15 days and 45 days. In other robustness tests, I do not deseasonalize the data and run negative binomial regressions on the raw count data. Substantive conclusions are the same.

to use a one-tailed hypothesis test, where an observed change in calls below the 10th percentile provides evidence in favor of **H1**. I carry out this process for each brutality incident and type of crime (burglary, assault, and gunshots).

To illustrate this procedure, I first present the results for one city and crime type: burglary 911 calls in New Orleans after the shooting of Wendell Allen (Figure 6). The randomization procedure obtains a distribution of placebo treatment effects which I compare with the actual change in calls after the brutality event. The dashed red line – indicating the coefficient representing the change in calls after the event date ($\tau_{brutality}$) – falls just above the median day, indicating that the change in burglary calls was not atypical.

Using the same procedure, I calculate the estimated effects, and parametric 95% confidence intervals (plus/minus two standard deviations), for all brutality incidents and crime types, plotted in Figure 7. The vast majority of incidents and crime types are clustered around no effect. In Baltimore, there is a large and statistically significant increase in assault, burglary, and gunshot 911 calls (but not larceny calls). For just 4 the of 104 incidents and crime types is the estimate negative and confidently different from zero. Overall, this analysis does not provide evidence consistent with **H1**.

By treating each brutality incident as a sample from a superpopulation of brutality incidents (Imbens 2004, 6), I use the information from this sample of brutality incidents to make inferences about the average impact of brutality incidents. I plot the exact one-tailed p-value for each crime type in Figure 8, with estimates sorted by magnitude. Under the null hypothesis, the treatment effects are expected to follow a standard uniform distribution (indicated by the dashed diagonal line). If **H1** is correct, unit treatment effect should tend to fall below the diagonal line. However, this is not the observed pattern; most points are close to the line and, if anything, there is a kink above the line, suggesting an increase in calls.[22] I used the Kolmogorov–Smirnov test to formally estimate whether the observed distribution of p-values includes smaller values than would be expected from a uniform distribution. The test does not find evidence of this ($D^+ \approx 0.02$, $p \approx 0.93$).[23]

An alternative estimation strategy avoids asymptotic inferences and uses a simulated reference distribution of standard uniform distributions with the same number of observations as randomization tests (in this case 4 times 26 incidents/non-indictments, or 104). Simulating from 1 million standard uniform distributions, I calculated the proportion of observations that were less than 0.1 – or statistically significant at the one-tailed $\alpha = 0.1$ level used above. This provides a reference distribution with which to compare the ob-

[22] As I detail later, the spike in 911 calls during the Baltimore unrest following Freddie Gray's funeral explains some of the upward tendency.

[23] Implemented using the *ks.test*(x, "punif", "greater") function from the *stats* package in R. Formally, this tests the alternative hypothesis that the cumulative distribution function (CDF) for the distribution of the p-values is greater than (lies above) the CDF of a standard uniform distribution. Other goodness of fit tests yield the same conclusion (e.g. Wilk-Shapiro test for Uniform [0, 1] distribution in the *EnvStats* package.)

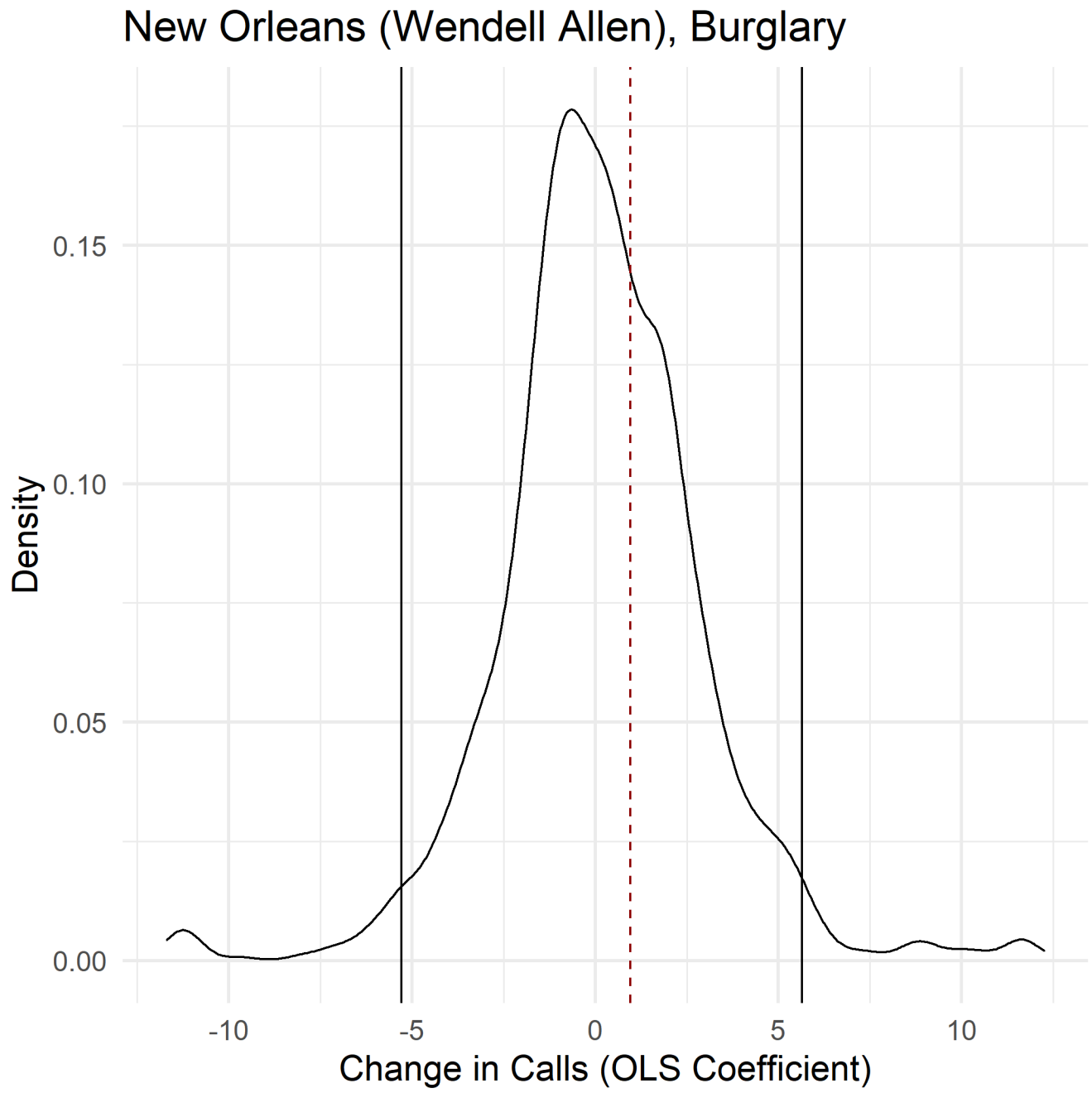



Figure 6: This plot shows the reference distribution of treatment effects. The red vertical line indicates the change in calls on the day of Allen's death. Black lines indicate the 2.5% and 97.5% of coefficients.

Figure 7: This plot shows the randomization distribution point estimates and parametric confidence intervals for analyses of all neighborhoods. Each point and confidence interval corresponds to a city-incident and crime type. The vast majority of incidents cluster around zero, consistent with no effect. Baltimore's burglary, assault, and gunshot calls appear to have increased.

Figure 8: Each point estimate represents a treatment effect estimate p-value from the randomization inference procedure. If police brutality incidents have no effect on citizen 911 calls, this distribution of treatment effects will be uniformly distributed (approximately along the diagonal line); if incidents decrease 911 calls, points will fall below the line. This figure is inspired by a similar figure in Ho & Imai (2006).

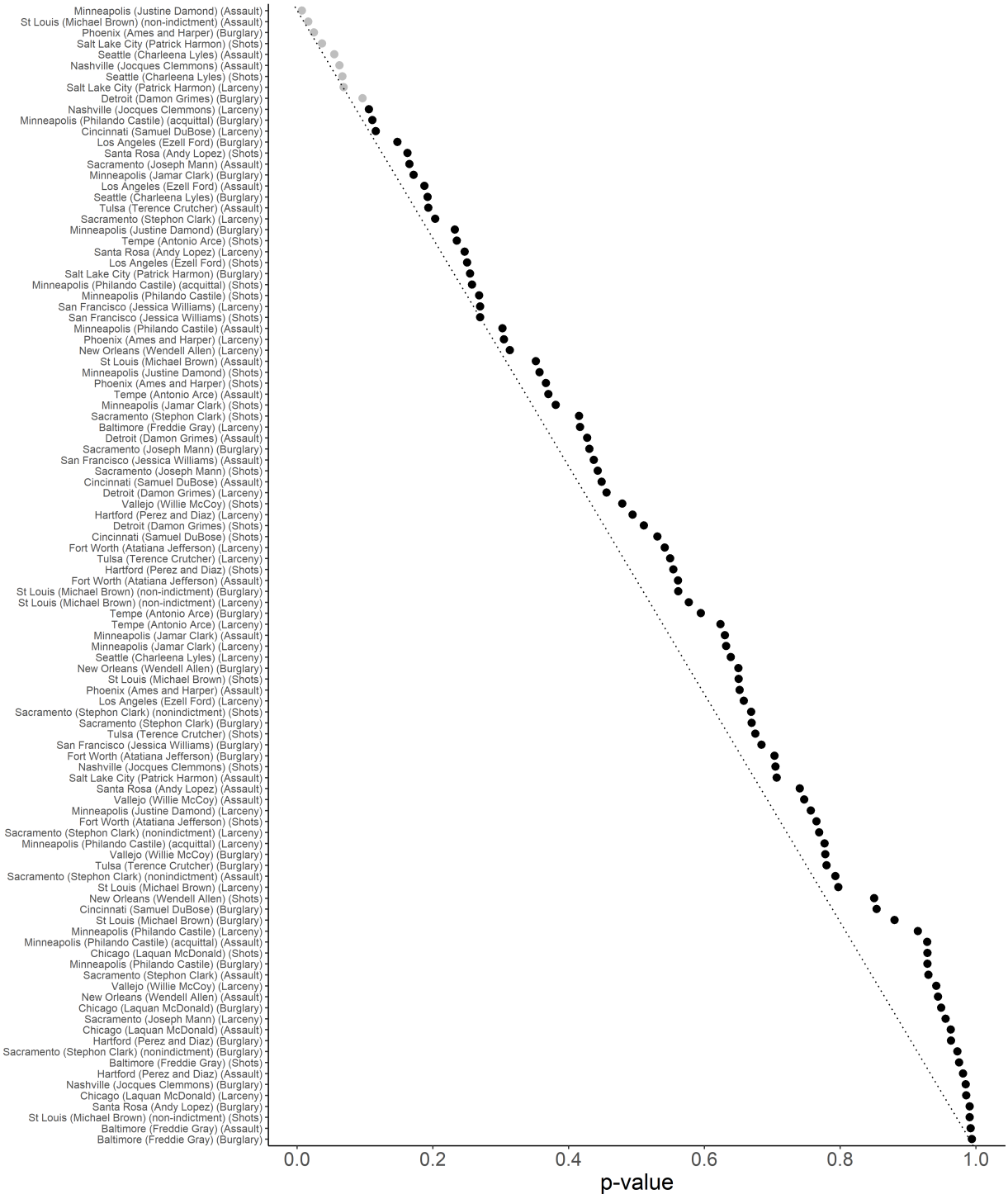
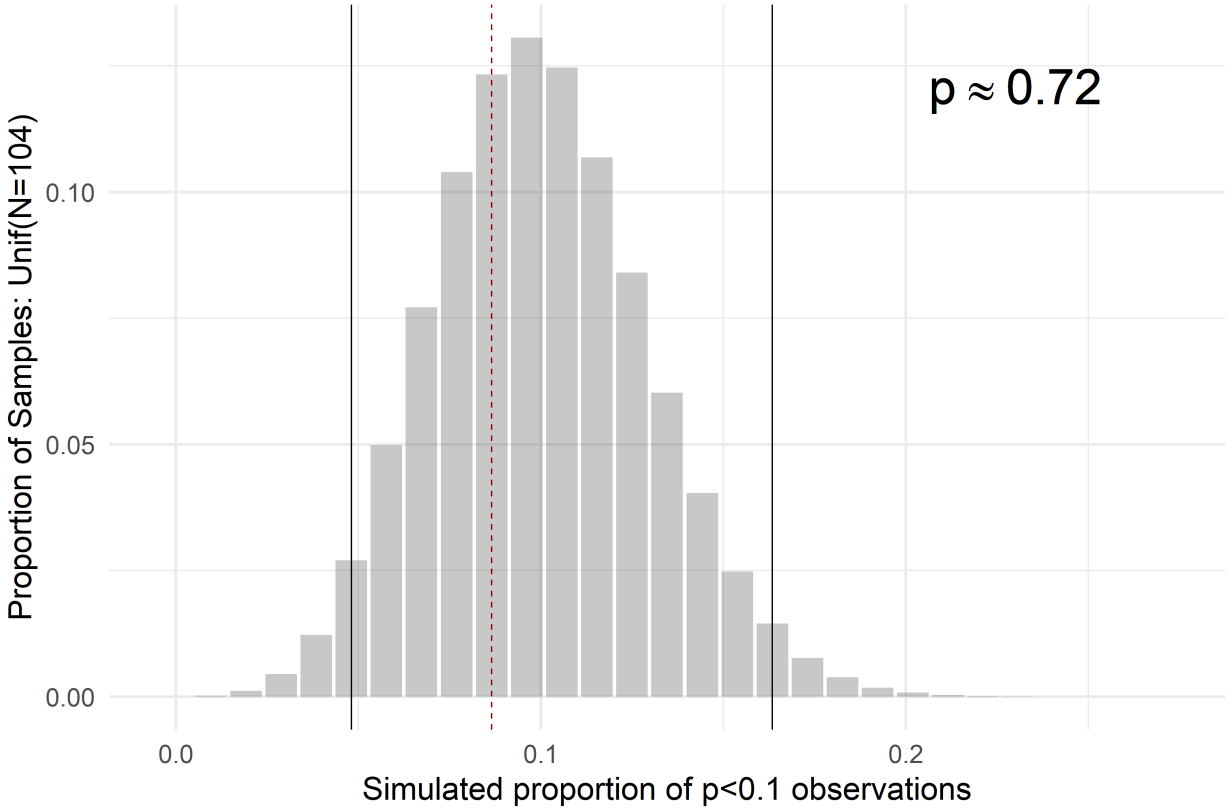


Figure 9: The histogram shows the density of the proportion of statistically significant observations for one-million simulated standard uniform distributions, with solid black vertical lines denoting the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles. The dashed, red vertical line indicates the observed proportion of statistically significant brutality incidents in this sample. The observed value falls clearly in the center of the distribution, indicating that the results are consistent with no effect of brutality incidents on changes in seasonally-adjusted 911 calls (0.68 of samples have at least as many statistically significant observations as the observed).




served sample of statistically significant observations. Intuitively, some proportion of draws from a standard uniform distribution will, by chance, be less than $< 0.1$–in expectation, 10% of them. If the observed share of statistically significant observations exceeds expectations from chance, that provides evidence in favor of **H1**. However, as Figure 9 shows, the proportion of statistically significant observations in this sample falls within what would be expected by chance, with 72% of simulated distributions having at least as many statistically significant observations as observed. There is also no evidence of a decrease in calls at other timescales; using 15-day or 45-day bandwidths, the share of simulated distributions having at least as many statistically significant observations as observed is 83% and again 72%, respectively.

As before, I perform the same randomization inference analysis subset to Black neighborhoods. Figure 10 shows the coefficients, and 95% parametric confidence intervals, for the changes in calls in Black neighborhoods. The vast majority of coefficients cluster around zero, consistent with no effect. Again, Baltimore

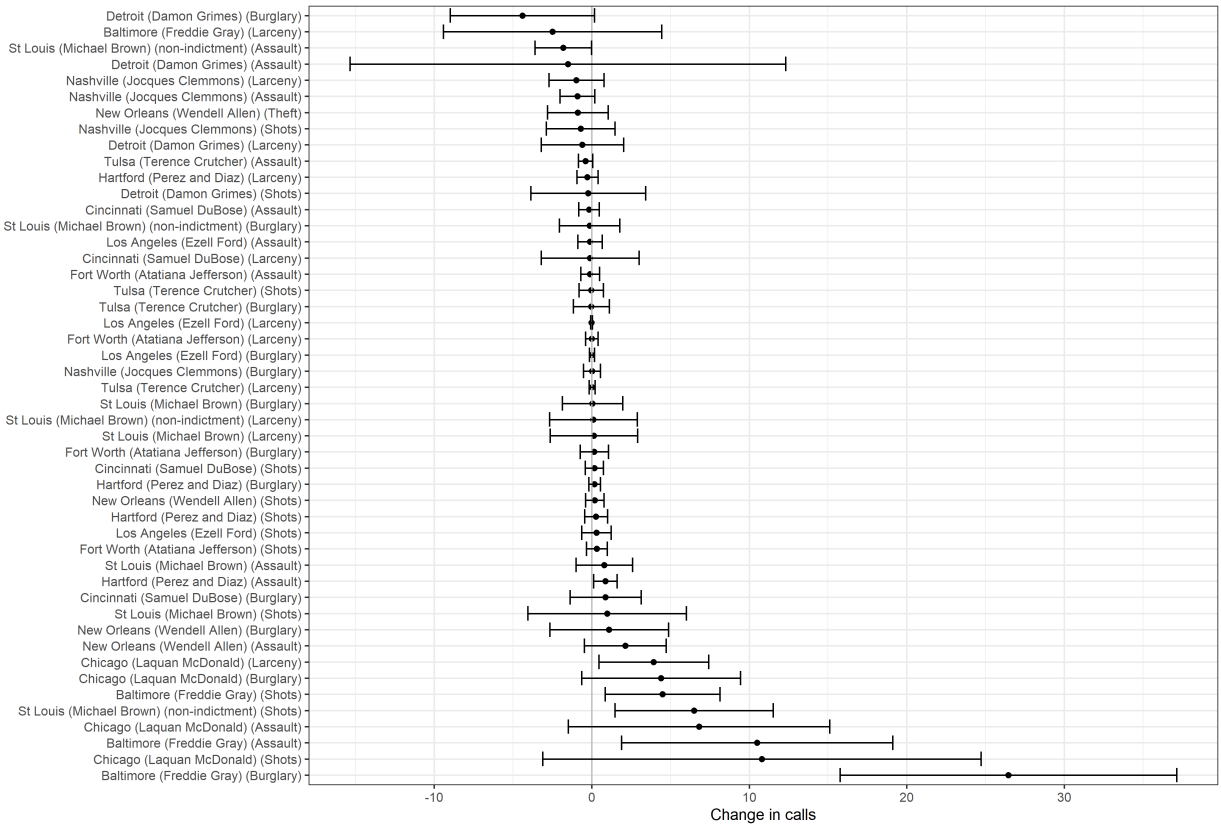



Figure 10: This plot shows the randomization distribution point estimates and parametric confidence intervals for analyses subset to Black neighborhoods, defined as Census Block Groups with Black residents exceeding 65% of the population. Each point and confidence interval corresponds to a city-incident and crime type. The vast majority of incidents cluster around zero, consistent with no effect. Most estimates hover around zero; Baltimore's burglary, assault, and gunshot calls appear to have increased.

has a large increase burglary calls. This analysis provides little support for **H1** or **H2**.

## 5.3 Evidence from police incidents

As an additional robustness check, I explore how the number and demographics of people who report crime to the police changes after brutality incidents, using granular crime reporting data from Dallas (analyzing the impact of the September 6, 2018 killing of Botham Jean, a Black man, in his apartment by an off-duty police officer) and New York City (analyzing the impacts of the July 17, 2014 fatal choking of Eric Garner by NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo and the December 3, 2014 non-indictment of Pantaleo). These incident data contain the date of the report, demographic information about crime victims, and the circumstances which led them to report their crimes to the police. Because the data are at the individual-level, this analysis is immune to any ecologic biases that may hinder inference in the previous analyses. For example, even within a Census Block Group that is 75% African American, it is possible that many 911 calls are made

by non-Black individuals. This could introduce bias if, for example, the impact of brutality incidents on 911 calling behavior is mediated by racial context (perhaps non-Black individuals in predominantly Black neighborhoods are much more likely to call 911 after brutality incidents). However, these data have their own limitations; namely, they are limited to just two cities and to crime victims whose calls to the police led to a police incident report.

**H1** and **H2** predict, respectively, that citizen-reported crimes to the police will decline after brutality incidents and that these declines will be steeper for Blacks than Whites. I test this for each of crime victims who reported assaults, burglaries, and thefts.[24] First I inspect plots showing the 7-day moving averages of the number of crime reporters who are categorized as White, Black, or Hispanic. Appendix Figure A11 shows the composition of crime reporters for Dallas (left) and New York City (right) after the respective brutality incidents, with the death of Eric Garner and the nonindictment of Pantaleo each indicated. Across almost all racial groups and crime types, there do not appear to be substantial changes in the number of reported crimes around the time of these incidents. In Dallas, there is a decline in assault reports for Black victims in the days following the death of Botham Jean, but declines of similar magnitudes are apparent in many other parts of the time-series.[25]

I formally test whether reports of crimes to the police declined after these incidents using the permutation test approach elaborated in Section 5.2. That is, I first de-seasonalize the daily count data by regressing daily incident count on month dummies in a negative binomial regression. Then I estimate the change in de-seasonalized crime reports thirty days after the brutality incident compared to thirty days before, and compare this change in calls with the distribution of coefficients for all other dates. I use this procedure separately for each crime type (larceny, assault, and burglary) and separately for White victims, Black victims Hispanic victims, and overall.

Results are shown in Figure 11 and also in Appendix Table A2. Across all races of crime victims, and across all crime types, there is no statistically significant evidence that crime reports declined more after brutality incidents in comparison with the changes observed on other days. This is consistent with the previous results from 911 calls. That the results using individual-level crime victim data are consistent with the previous results serves to mollify concerns of ecological bias.

[24] New York City distinguishes between Hispanic Blacks and Hispanic Whites; I categorize both as Hispanic. In New York City, I omit reported crimes of assaults against police officers as these are substantively different from citizen crime reports.

[25] As plotted in Appendix Figure A12, the age and gender composition of crime reporters also do not seem to change after these incidents.

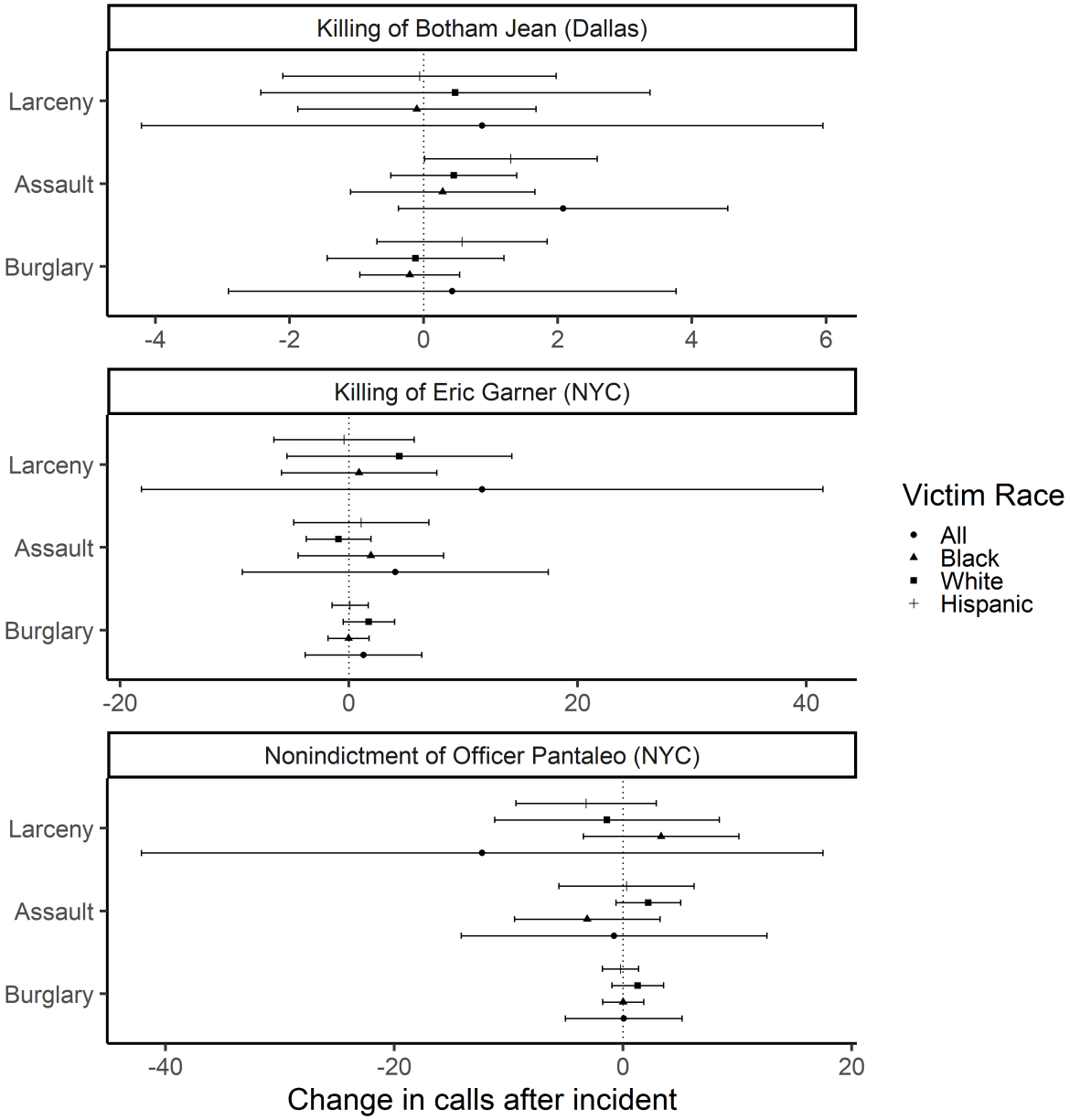



Figure 11: This plot illustrates the results from the randomization inference procedure using individual-level police incident data. Point estimates represent the change in deseasonalized crime reports 30 days after the incident, compared to 30 days before, with 95% asymptoptic confidence intervals.

## 5.4 Evidence from Shotspotter sensors

Measuring objective crime incidence is challenging because crimes generally become known to the police only when citizens choose to report them (Reiss 1971). One potential threat to inference is that the revelation of police brutality incidents causes an abrupt increase in crime. If this is the case, the general null-findings I have reported could be concealing a decrease in the proportion of crimes reported. To investigate this possibility, I compare objective reports of gunshots from acoustic sensors to citizen 911 call reports for gunshots before and after brutality incidents using Shotspotter incident data shared by the Justice Technology Lab.[26] This analysis provides a direct test of whether citizen crime reporting and objective crime incidence diverges after brutality incidents. However, it has two major limitations. First, the analysis is necessarily limited to gunshot reporting, and decisions about reporting gunshots may operate differently from reporting other crimes (like burglary and assault). Second, the accuracy of Shotspotter data has been questioned (Fraga 2018).

This analysis requires a sample of cities which have experienced a recent brutality incident, report police calls for services data, and employed Shotspotter technology during the weeks around the brutality incident. These cities are Sacramento (the related incident being the killing of Stephon Clark), St. Louis (Mike Brown), and Minneapolis (Jamar Clark, Philando Castile, and Justin Damond). For each city, I first plot the daily difference between gunshot 911 calls and Shotspot incidents 30 days and 90 days before and after the brutality incident. Then, for each city, I estimate an interrupted time-series model regressing gunshot 911 calls on Shotspotter gunshot incidents. This is a day-level negative binomial regression with the linear part of the model specified as follows:

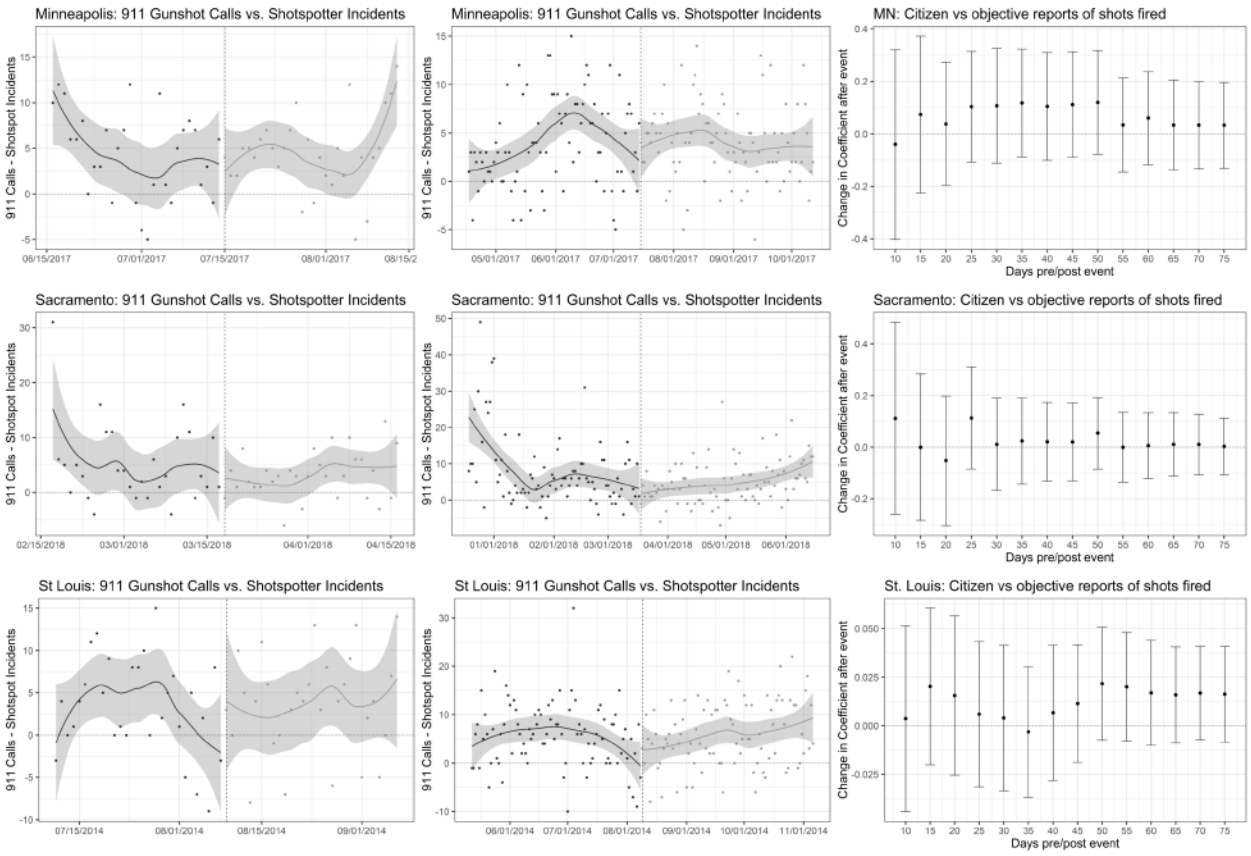
$$\text{Gunshot Calls}_i = \beta_0 + \gamma \text{Shotspot}_i + \beta_1 \text{After}_i + \tau \text{After}_i \cdot \text{Shotspot}_i + \epsilon \tag{2}$$

where $\beta_0$ is an intercept representing the predicted daily number of gunshot calls prior to the brutality incident, $\gamma$ represents the association between Shotspotter incidents Gunshot 911 Calls on day $i$ for days prior to the brutality incident, $\beta_1$ represents the average change in Gunshot 911 Calls after the brutality incident, and $\tau$ represents the change in the association between Shotspotter incidents and gunshot 911 calls after the incident. The quantity of interest is $\tau$; if $\tau$ is negative, it indicates that there are fewer gunshot 911 calls per gunshot event after the brutality incident.

Figure 12 shows the results of these analyses. Plots on the left show loess-smoothed curves of the daily difference between 911 gunshot calls and Shotspot incidents estimated 30 days before/after the brutality

[26] Available for download at http://justicetechlab.org/shotspotter-data/. Shotspotter is an acoustic sensor technology which detects the sound of gunshots used by many city police departments. These data have been used by scholars to explore the effect of juvenile curfews on gun violence (Carr & Doleac 2018).

Figure 12: Left column shows a loess smoothed plot of the daily differences between 911 gunshot calls and Shotspotter incidents over the previous and subsequent 30 days; middle columns shows the same for 90 days pre/post. Right column shows plots of the coefficient $\tau$ representing the change in association between Shotspotter incidents and gunshot 911 calls at varying bandwidths (a negative binomial regression coefficient and 95% confidence interval).



event, and plots in the middle column show this over a 90 day period before and after. There do not appear to be any substantial changes after the brutality incident. Plots on the right show the negative binomial coefficients and 95% confidence intervals for $\tau$ from equation 2 in separate regressions including data from between 10 and 75 days before-and-after the incident. The estimates hover around zero and are never statistically distinguishable from zero, indicating that the association between citizen-reported and objective measures of shots fired did not change after the brutality incident.

Next, as in Section 5.2, I use a randomization inference procedure to assess whether citizen 911 calls for gunshots declined after brutality incidents by comparing it with the changes in 911 calls observed after all other dates. However, I also adjust for daily Shotspot incidents. That is, I estimate the following regression equation, with $i$ indexing 30 days before and 30 days after each incident, for all feasible dates of overlap between the Shotspot data and police 911 call data:

$$\text{Calls}_i = \tau \text{After}_i + \beta \text{Shotspots}_i + \epsilon \tag{3}$$

As before, I attempt to make the data more comparable before performing the randomization inference (Rosenbaum et al. 2002). I do this by first using a negative binomial regression to regress 911 gunshot calls on indicators for the day of week, month, and three holidays that Carr & Doleac (2016) notes have an outsized number of gunshot 911 calls and Shotspot incidents in the US: New Year's Eve (December 31), New Year's Day (January 1), and American Independence Day (July 4). However, the adjusted results were often numerically unstable, with very large standard errors. Consequently, I estimate the permutation test for changes in daily gunshot 911 calls conditional on daily Shotspot incidents both with and without the adjustments on observables (month and day of week). These results are shown in Table 2, with results shown first without adjustments for seasonality and day of week (i.e., controlling for daily shotspots only) and, below, after adjusting for seasonality, day of the week, and the three holidays. Unadjusted results are reported in terms of incident rate ratios (obtained through negative binomial regression), while results adjusted for covariates are in units of raw calls (and estimated by OLS). The results are generally consistent with no effect at conventional statistical levels. Using the de-seasonalized approach only, the randomization inference p-value for the impact of Philando Castile's death on 911 gunshot calls is negative and marginally significant (one-tailed $p \approx 0.07$).

Table 2: Results from the permutation test procedure on changes in gunshot 911 calls, conditional on Shotspot incidents. In parenthesis is the city providing the 911 call and Shotspot data used in these analyses (note that Darrel Wilson killed Michael Brown in nearby Ferguson and Jeronimo Yanez killed Philando Castile in nearby Falcon Heights). Tau represents the change in calls (if not de-seasonalized) or incident rate ratio (if de-seasonalized) for 30 days after the incident, compared to 30 days before, controlling for Shotspot incidents. $p$ is a one-tailed randomization p-value equal to the percentile of the treatment effect within the distribution of placebo treatment effects.

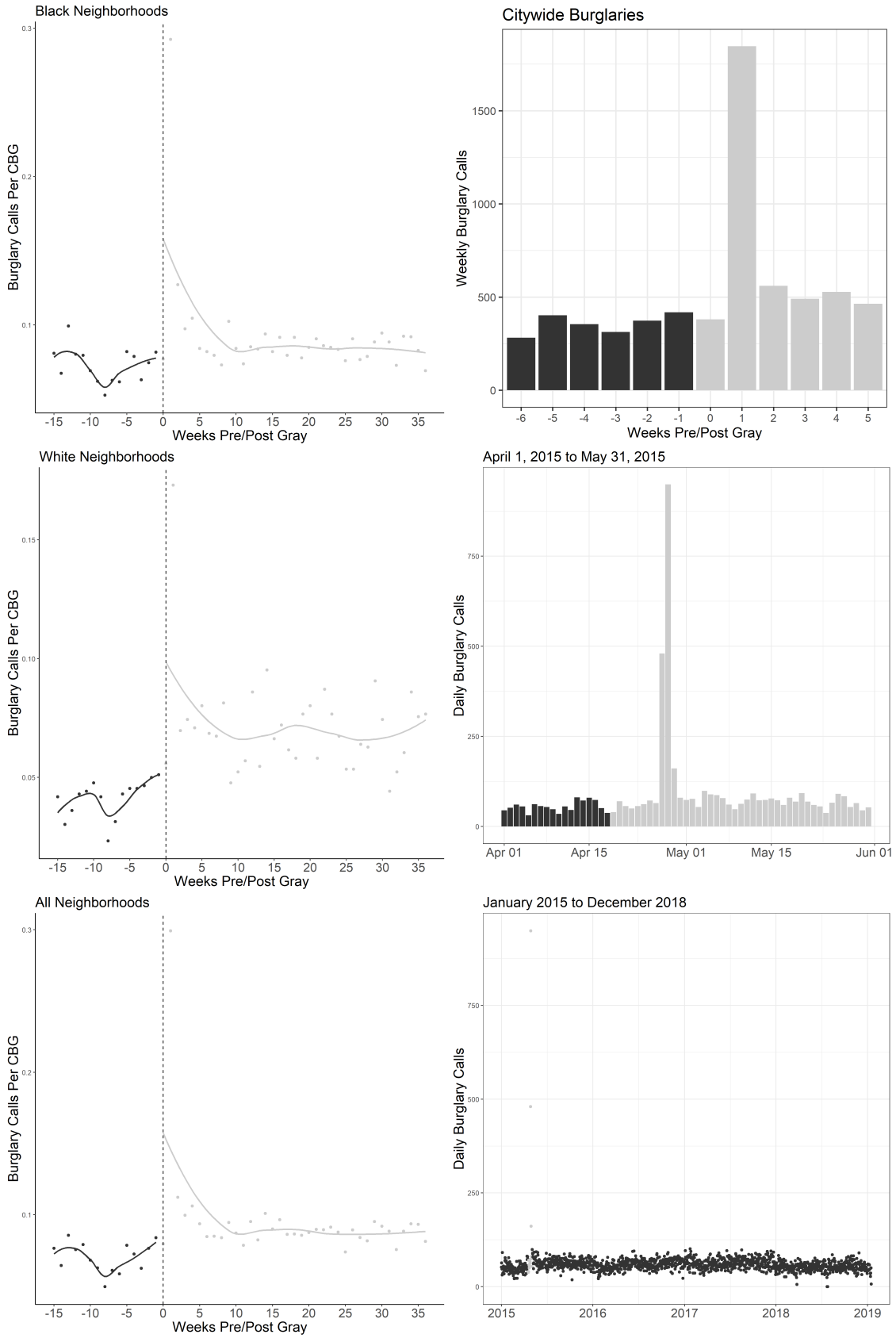
| Incident | Date | Tau | $p$ (one-tailed) | Deseasonalized |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Death of Philando Castile (Minneapolis) | 2016-07-06 | 0.82 | 0.26 | No |
| Death of Justine Damond (Minneapolis) | 2017-07-16 | 0.82 | 0.26 | No |
| Death of Stephon Clark (Sacramento) | 2018-03-18 | 0.88 | 0.32 | No |
| Death of Joseph Mann (Sacramento) | 2016-09-20 | 0.92 | 0.37 | No |
| Death of Jamar Clark (Minneapolis) | 2015-12-15 | 0.98 | 0.51 | No |
| Philando Castile, acquittal of Jeronimo Yanez (Minneapolis) | 2017-06-16 | 1.00 | 0.54 | No |
| Death of Michael Brown (St Louis) | 2014-08-09 | 1.10 | 0.67 | No |
| Michael Brown, non-indictment of Darren Wilson (St Louis) | 2014-11-24 | 1.13 | 0.74 | No |
| Death of Philando Castile (Minneapolis) | 2016-07-06 | -6.55 | 0.07 | Yes |
| Death of Jamar Clark (Minneapolis) | 2015-12-15 | -4.88 | 0.10 | Yes |
| Death of Stephon Clark (Sacramento) | 2018-03-18 | -0.08 | 0.46 | Yes |
| Death of Michael Brown (St Louis) | 2014-08-09 | 0.90 | 0.58 | Yes |
| Death of Joseph Mann (Sacramento) | 2016-09-20 | 0.70 | 0.58 | Yes |
| Michael Brown, non-indictment of Darren Wilson (St Louis) | 2014-11-24 | 1.66 | 0.63 | Yes |
| Death of Justine Damond (Minneapolis) | 2017-07-16 | 0.80 | 0.66 | Yes |
| Philando Castile, acquittal of Jeronimo Yanez (Minneapolis) | 2017-06-16 | 1.68 | 0.75 | Yes |

## 5.5 Civil unrest and the case of Baltimore

Baltimore – the killing of Freddie Gray – stands out relative to other incidents because of a consistent increase in calls, especially burglary calls, across all methodological approaches and kinds of neighborhoods. This appears to be because of the unrest that followed Gray's funeral, culminating in a state of emergency, curfew, and activation of the Maryland National Guard. Mass demonstrations and rioting sparked by his death from injuries sustained during police custody resulted in a surge of 911 calls that strained the city's dispatch resources (Links et al. 2015). Figure 13 illustrates this unprecedented but short-lived spike in calls at the end of April 2015 across neighborhoods in Baltimore. Levels of burglary calls at the end of April 2015 far exceed volumes of calls during any other period between January 2015 and December 2018. After three days of extremely high levels of burglary calls at the height of unrest, however, call volumes returned to normal. Appendix Figure A13 illustrates this jump using the randomization inference approach: the weekend of Freddie Gray's funeral corresponds with an unprecedented (relative to any other period in Baltimore) increase in 911 calls for assault and burglary calls. This likely represents a brief period of elevated changes in crime incidence, not crime reporting conditional on crime incidence.[27] That a brutality incident provoked

[27] Section 5.4 explores this distinction in more detail by analyzing citizen gunshot 911 calls alongside acoustic sensor measures of gunshot incidence for a subset of cities. I find little evidence that the share of gunshot incidents that are reported to police changes after brutality incidents.

Figure 13: Changes in burglary calls in Baltimore after Freddie Gray.



changes in crime victimization (and especially looting) may not be an idiosyncratic event, as police violence has long been known to precipitate unrest (Kerner 1968, 68-70). Hence, while 911 calls tend not to change after brutality incidents, the case of Baltimore illustrates that a substantial minority of cases may experience increases in citizen crime reporting during periods of resulting unrest. Indeed, many cities experienced surges of 911 calls during unrest following the killing of George Floyd in May 2020. In Chicago, police received 65,000 911 calls (Goudie 2020) – 50,000 more 911 calls than a typical day – during heavy protests on Sunday May 31, with "well over 10,000 calls for looting" (Spielman 2020). In Long Beach, California, daily calls more than tripled from an average 1,700 calls per day to 4,700 calls on May 31st (Puente 2020). In Philadelphia, "Police have been getting thousands of more 911 calls in recent days, many for burglaries, looting, vandalism and large crowds" (Martinez-Ville & Stamm 2020).

## 6 What does no effect reveal about citizen crime reporting?

Contrary to theoretical and empirical expectations, citizen crime reporting did not decline after brutality incidents. I review two potential explanations for these null findings: (1) that instrumental considerations drive reliance on police independent of their legitimacy and (2) ceiling effects on legal cynicism.

First, instrumental concerns may supersede police legitimacy in the decision to report crime. Costs and benefits play an important role in choosing to mobilize the police (Skogan 1984); "When citizens call the police, they are often seeking personal gain" (Reiss 1971, 69). Disadvantaged individuals who disproportionately experience crime victimization and call 911 "may have few places to turn for assistance aside from the police...rendering perceptions of the police less relevant" in the decision to report crime (Slocum 2018, 538). Consistent with this, residents of racially-segregated, economically disadvantaged neighborhoods where negative encounters with the police – and especially women in these neighborhoods (Desmond & Valdez 2013) – produce disproportionate numbers of 911 calls (Hagan et al. 2018). Distrust of law enforcement can coexist alongside demands for police protection from crime (Carr et al. 2007, Fortner 2015, Bell 2016*b*, Hagan et al. 2018) and willingness to report crime (Davis & Henderson 2003, Bobo & Thompson 2006). In the aftermath of two high-profile brutality incidents against Black people in New York City in the late 1990s, Black residents in that city were more likely to report certain crimes to the police than immigrant groups and residents of Italian ancestry, while at the same time reporting much higher fears of police mistreatment (Davis & Henderson 2003). Bobo & Thompson (2006, 463) indicate that both Black and White Americans overwhelmingly say that they would report a hypothetical burglary to the police, even though Black respondents were much less likely to believe the police would take their report seriously. Even among marginalized youths in inner-cities, police distrust coexists with beliefs that more police are needed to reduce crime (Carr

et al. 2007). Dante Quick, an African American pastor in Vallejo, California and an organizer of local protests against the police killing of George Floyd, said that "I've said it over and over again: Black people call the police. It's not about not wanting or needing the police. It's about knowing that if I call the police to my home, they won't shoot me. We want good policing" (Jamison 2020).

Recent surveys reinforce the view that crime reporting and willingness to cooperate with the police frequently coexist with very high levels of police distrust. A survey of residents of low-income, high-crime street segments in six cities (La Vigne 2017) found that while just 24% of respondents thought the local police were honest, 71% would call the police to report a crime and 69% would report suspicious behavior near their home to the police. Bell (2016*a*, 2099) characterizes this view as "legal estrangement" – typified by an interviewee who "thinks that it is good to help police officers, and... appreciates that her mother would stealthily report crime" while also harboring "a deep sense of alienation about police" grounded in personal mistreatment, family and community socialization, and well-publicized police scandals. In the absence of alternatives, individuals continue to call upon the police in an attempt to manage crime. Among Chicago residents of "fragile communities" – a population with high levels of violence – just 5% of respondents said that people in their area viewed the police "very positively" – compared to 61% of respondents nationwide – but 68% of Chicago "fragile community" respondents wanted the police to spend *more* time in their communities, compared to just 29% of respondents nationwide (Crabtree 2019). In Baltimore, neighborhood meetings in disadvantaged, predominantly African American neighborhoods after Freddie Gray's death often included calls for more police officers to provide safety from crime and disorder: for example, "we're all bolted in our homes, we're locked down. All any of us want is equal protection" (MacGillis 2019).[28]

Reliance on calling the police is likely conditioned by other characteristics, such as gender and age (Goldstein 2019). Wilson (1975, 97) observed "one night spent in a ghetto police precinct will provide graphic evidence of the extent to which the older black residents, especially women, regularly turn to the police for help." Ethnographic evidence details how "mothers in particular sometimes exact social control over partners and children through police notification" (Bell 2016*b*) and administrative records suggest that Black victims comprise a disproportionate share of intimate partner violence 911 calls (Houry et al. 2004). Reconciling general distrust of police with occasional reliance on police is enabled by processes of "situational trust" (Bell 2016*b*). Drawing upon interviews with Black mothers living in subsidized housing, Bell (2016*b*) finds that despite skepticism of police, many of these individuals have personal relationships with individual police officers that they trust ("officer exceptionalism") or mobilize the police to resolve particular problems

[28]There is substantial and long-running documentation that police and courts have failed to take crime against Black Americans seriously (Kennedy 1997) and one promise of the Civil Rights Movement was to "provide police protection to a community [African Americans] so long denied it" (Forman Jr 2017, 73). Combined with aggressive and racially disproportionate policing practices and arrests for minor offenses, this dichotomy is termed the "overpoliced-underprotected" paradox. The police are perceived to be "everywhere when surveilling people's everyday activity and nowhere if called upon to respond to serious harm" (Prowse et al. 2019).

("domain specificity") especially when they think police involvement has "therapeutic consequences" (e.g. calling the police on a family member with an addiction to get them treatment). Ethnographic work in other contexts documents the ways in which police are regularly called upon by disadvantaged residents to resolve relatively minor issues "such as disputes, bullying, harassment, and vandalism" (Rios 2011, 55), to disrupt apparent drug selling (Moskos 2008, 102-103), or to deal with violence (Campeau et al. 2020, 9-10) (all of these accounts emphasize that the police responses to these problems are inadequate).

In Easton (1975)'s terms of "specific" and "diffuse" support, this analysis suggests that emergency crime reporting invokes the police's effectiveness in resolving problems ("specific support") not generalized trust in police or belief in police legitimacy ("diffuse support"). Brutality incidents clearly impact the latter, by undermining beliefs that the police are legitimate, but they may not impact the former. This is consistent with some previous research that has argued that positive feelings towards the police are not necessary for meaningful citizen-police cooperation (Reisig & Giacomazzi 1998) and may matter only in a limited set of neighborhoods (Jackson et al. 2020). This by no means suggests, however, that damaged diffuse support is benign. Comparative scholars of regime changes note that the absence of diffuse support can spark "sudden outbreaks of aggressive anti-system behavior" (Muller et al. 1982, 240). And, indeed, police violence has triggered substantial unrest in the United States – in various cities throughout the 1960s (Wasow 2020), in Los Angeles in 1992 (Enos et al. 2019), the St. Louis area in 2014, Baltimore in 2015, and again across the United States in 2020. However, in the absence of social services or other support networks, disadvantaged residents may have "no one else to call *but* the police ... when their children engaged in criminal activity and when friends and family members robbed them in order to fuel a drug habit" (Hinton 2016, 8).[29] Many residents of race and class subjugated communities are left having to rely upon a system from which they are estranged (Bell 2019).

A second reason that well-publicized brutality incidents may not substantially impact 911 calls is that legal cynicism may already be quite high – and attitudes towards police well-formed by prior experiences – in communities where police violence and crime are prevalent. Charges of police mistreatment, particularly against African Americans, have a long history in the United States (Civil Rights Congress 1952). Writing well-before the most recent "viral-video" period of well-publicized police violence, Anderson (2000, 321) describes a code of conduct among African Americans living in inner cities of declining to report crime to the police except in dire emergencies, rooted in distrust that the police will take complaints seriously or treat callers fairly. Decades before that, Hahn (1971) surveyed disadvantaged African American residents in Detroit just after the 1967 police riots and finds that large share of residents – disproportionately those

[29] Ta-Nehisi Coates made a similar point in a recent interview: "[For a] large swath to a majority of black people in this country, the police are illegitimate... Often times, you see black people resorting to the police because they have no other option, but they're not seen with the level of trust that maybe Americans in other communities bestow upon the police..."

who believed that the police did not provide equal protection to Blacks – would not call the police to report a crime. In Baltimore, a city with a long history of antagonistic police-community relations, Black residents surveyed just before and after the 2015 police killing of Freddie Gray held similar beliefs about police trust and legitimacy, procedural justice, and obligation to follow the law (White et al. 2018). Similar findings emerged from surveys of Indianapolis residents following a brutality incident in the early 2000s (Chermak et al. 2006) and Cincinnati residents in the 1990s (Kaminski & Jefferis 1998). When attitudes towards police do decline after brutality incidents, they often return to baselines rather quickly (Tuch & Weitzer 1997, Kochel 2019).

The persistence of attitudes after brutality incidents suggests the relative importance of direct encounters (Feagin 1991, Tyler et al. 2014) and one's social network (Rosenbaum et al. 2005, Wolfe et al. 2016) in forming attitudes about street-level institutions. Repeated encounters with law enforcement – taking the form of street-frisks (Haldipur 2018, Mummolo 2018*b*), traffic stops (Baumgartner et al. 2018), and petty arrests (White 2019) – are extremely common among many Americans, particularly low-income, Black, and Latino adolescents and young men (Soss & Weaver 2017). These lived experiences provide substantial opportunities to learn about and form opinions of the police (Weaver et al. 2019, Prowse et al. 2019), reducing the reliance on media cues to inform opinions. Consistent with this, media effects on perceptions of police are smaller among those with personal experiences with the legal system (Callanan & Rosenberger 2011). Similarly, interviews of urban poor residents reveal frequent complaints about unfair police treatment focused on personal, and often involuntary, encounters with police rather than recent, well-publicized brutality incidents (Lawless & Fox 2001, Weaver et al. 2019).[30] Viewed alongside research documenting the effects of personal encounters with police on civic engagement and police trust (Feagin 1991, Tyler et al. 2014, Lerman & Weaver 2014, Slocum 2018, Laniyonu 2019), these null findings suggest that crime reporting decisions may be rooted in "sticky-priors" built over routine interactions with police.

These findings also provide a reminder that activists react to and interpret information differently from the mass public (Converse 1964). Recent police brutality incidents have resulted in widespread protests (Williamson et al. 2018). As detailed in the Appendix B, these incidents not only led to sustained and numerous protests, they also galvanized several substantial efforts towards political change and policing reform. The killing of Laquan MacDoanald and the city's lack of transparency about the case led to calls for mayor Rahm Emmanuel to resign and the attorney general is thought to have lost her reelection bid because of her response to the case. The killing of Stephon Clark in Sacramento led to new state legislation restricting

[30] Lawless & Fox (2001, 376) explicitly notes "...[S]ome of our research [among New York City residents] occurred during the highly publicized atmosphere surrounding two charges of police misconduct against the New York Police Department... Originally, we were concerned that the high profile nature of these cases might skew citizens' attitudes toward the police, more so than would any direct contact the respondents had with the police. In the course of our interviews, however, respondents made very little mention of either case; rather, they tended to recount specific incidents they had with the police..."

police use of force. The killing of Jocques Clemmons in Nashville galvanized a 2018 ballot initiative to create a civilian oversight agency. More broadly, Zimring (2017, 238) notes how well-publicized cases of police violence can reshape the priorities of local politics: "... Chicago, Cleveland, and Baltimore were in 2016 places where the politics of big-city policing has changed, perhaps permanently, as killings by police became the single most important concern of substantial African American electorates." Despite this, and despite substantial media coverage and search interest in these brutality events, daily demand for policing services remained unchanged.

# 7 Conclusion

These results provide systematic evidence across a large number of cities, incidents, and analytic strategies that well-publicized brutality incidents do not reduce 911 calls to report common property or violent crimes. This is an important substantive finding both because crime reporting is central to crime management and because responding to 911 calls structures the deployment of police resources (Reiss 1971, Moskos 2008). It also contradicts prior conclusions that well-publicized brutality events reduce 911 calls (Desmond et al. 2016, Zoorob 2020). Moreover, these results provide theoretical insight into why citizens engage with street-level bureaucrats and how their beliefs in the reliability of bureaucrats are formed (Lipsky 1983). First, they suggest the relative importance of instrumental, rather than civic, motivations for crime reporting. Second, they suggest the relative importance of routine interactions – rather than sporadic, well-publicized media events – in structuring engagement with street-level bureaucrats like the police.

The acts of police violence studied here are (obviously) abhorrent regardless of their impact on people's willingness to call 911. But this absence of a response strikes me as further normatively troubling, because it suggests that citizens continue to call upon a system that they are deeply distrustful of – and which is so often predatory and abusive – because they have few alternative options. In this way, these results speak to the challenges of accountability at the street-level (Hupe & Hill 2007). In electoral contexts, voters punish poor performing incumbents by voting for the opposition (Dunn 1999, 299), with the presence of challengers allowing voters to "discipline" poorly behaving incumbents (Ferejohn 1986). Media can facilitate this accountability by publicizing bad behavior (Larreguy et al. 2014). In contrast, there is no widespread alternative to the police that citizens can turn to; instead, they are left only with the option of withdrawing and refusing to cooperate. While elected officials like mayors have some control over police through their supervision of police administrators, their power is constrained by police unions. Accountability in the policing realm is thus always hindered by the absence of viable challengers. These circumstances complicate

improvements to policing.[31]

Future research on citizen engagement with the police might examine cooperative behaviors like witness testimony or participation in police-community organizations, as these more intensive and persistent behaviors might operate differently from crime reporting. Alternatively, residents – especially race and class subjected communities – may show their resistance in other ways (Scott 1985), such as showing less deference to police officers in routine interactions like traffic stops after police brutality scandals. After the killing of George Floyd in 2020, reports suggest increased public hostility towards police officers responding to crime reports in Minneapolis (Hassanzadeh 2020) and in cities across the United States (Phan 2020, WBZ4 2020, O'Leary 2020). More broadly, researchers might consider the implications of accountability for scandals in other street-level contexts, such as in the public education system and social workers. Most engagement with the state is through street-level agents, and how citizens reward or punish these street-level agents – both for scandals and otherwise – remains largely uncharted territory.

[31] Other street-level institutions, like schools, may differ from police because private substitutes do exist, though income moderates access to these substitutes.

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# Online Appendix

## A Online Appendix: Supplementary tables and figures

| | City | Call Types |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Baltimore | BURGLARY Burglary |
| 2 | Cincinnati | NRBURG RBURG |
| 3 | Nashville | Burglary - Residence Burglary - Non-Residence |
| 4 | Seattle | –BURGLARY - UNOCC STRUC ON RESN PROP, –BURGLARY - NON RESIDENTIAL/COMMERCIAL, –B |
| 5 | Los Angeles | CODE 30 RINGER, BURGLARY, BURGLARY RECREATED F |
| 6 | Sacramento | BURGLARY-CSI, BURGLARY-REPORT REFERRAL, BURGLARY-LESS THAN 5 AGO, BURGLARY-IN PRO |
| 7 | New Orleans | RESIDENCE BURGLARY, BUSINESS BURGLARY, SIMPLE BURGLARY, AGGRAVATED BURGLARY, SIM |
| 8 | Hartford | BREAKING AND ENTERING, BURGLARY |
| 9 | Chicxpago | BURGRT, BURGIP, BURGJO, BURG |
| 10 | Salt Lake City | BURGLARY, BURGLARY INVESTIGATION, BURGLARY W/ KNIFE, BURGLARY - FORCED ENTRY NON |
| 11 | St Louis | BURG, BURGIN, BURGATT |
| 12 | Minneapolis | Burglary Dwlng - Report (P), Burglary Business - Report (P), Burglary Dwlng In Progress (P), Burglar |
| 13 | Vallejo | 459, 459J, 459P, 459V, 459VJ, 459VP |

Table A1: Call Types

| | City | Call Types |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Baltimore | COMMON ASSAULT, Common Assault |
| 2 | Cincinnati | LARGE GROUP ASSAULT, ASSAULT J/O-NO INJS, ASSAULT IN PROGRESS, ASSAULT WITH INJURI |
| 3 | Nashville | Fight / Assault |
| 4 | Seattle | –ASSAULTS, OTHER, –ASSAULTS - HARASSMENT, THREATS, –ASSAULTS - TELEPHONE, WRITING, |
| 5 | Los Angeles | MAN ASSLTG WMN, FIGHT, WMN ASSLTG MAN, GROUP FIGHT, BATTERY INVEST, AMB FIGHT, MA |
| 6 | Sacramento | FELONY ASSAULT-IN PROGRESS, MISDEMEANOR ASSAULT-IN PROGRESS, FELONY ASSAULT-LESS |
| 7 | New Orleans | SIMPLE BATTERY, SIMPLE BATTERY DOMES, AGGRAVATED BATTERY, AGGRAVATED BATTERY B, A |
| 8 | Hartford | ASSAULT/FIGHT, ASSAULTS–MINOR, ASSAULT–SERIOUS, SERIOUS ASSAULT |
| 9 | Chicago | ASLTIP, ASLTJO, ASLTRT, ASSLT |
| 10 | Salt Lake City | ASSAULT (INDIVIDUAL OR SMALL GROUP), SEXUAL ASSAULT ON ADULT, ASSAULT INVESTIGATIO |
| 11 | St Louis | ASLT |
| 12 | Minneapolis | Assault in Progress (P), Assault Report Only (P) |
| 13 | Vallejo | 242, 242I, 242J, 242P, 245, 245I, 245J, 245P, F242I, F245I |

Figure A1: Daily burglary 911 calls across cities 56 days before/after respective brutality incidents

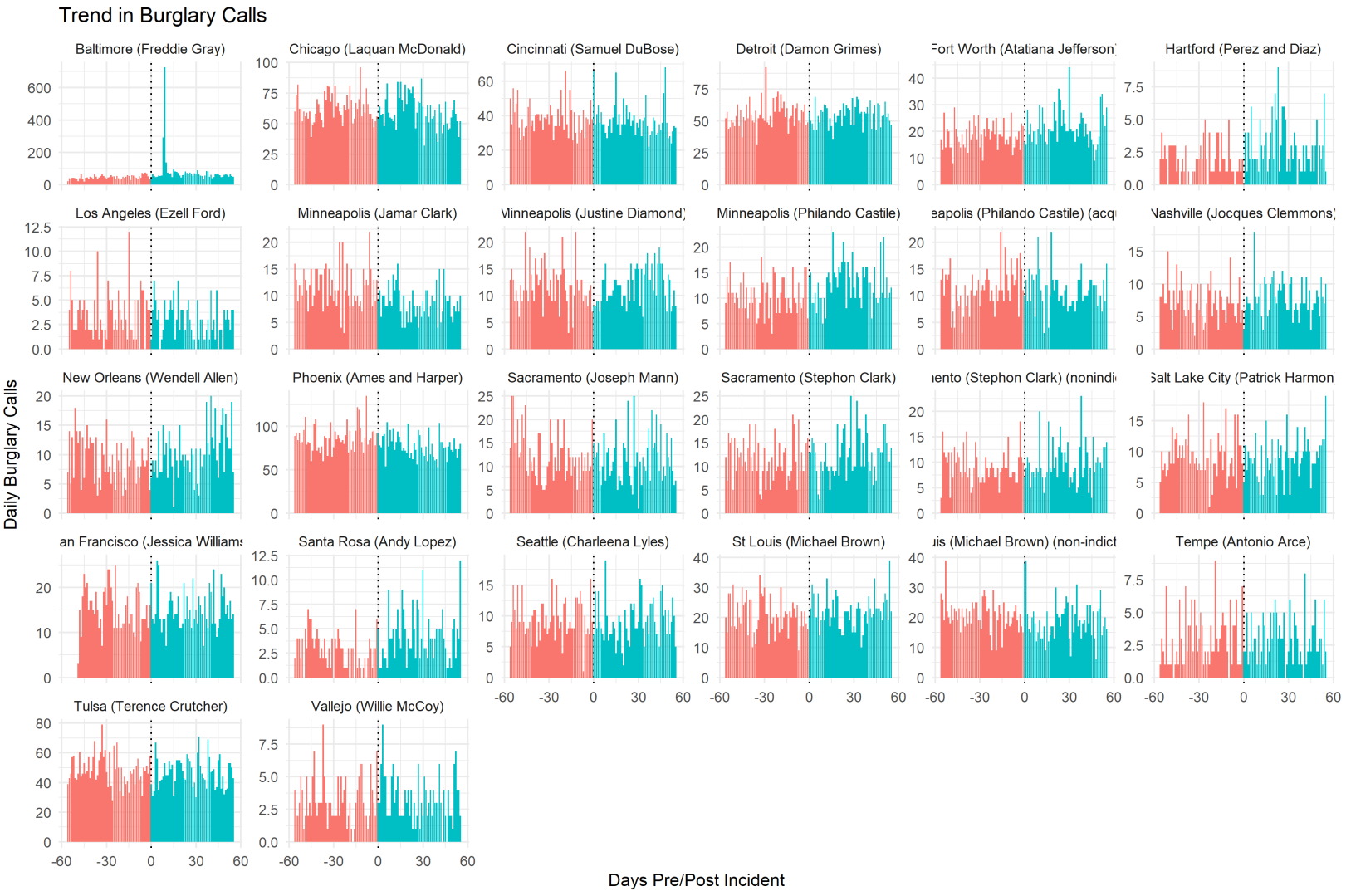


Figure A2: Daily assault 911 calls across cities 56 days before/after respective brutality incidents

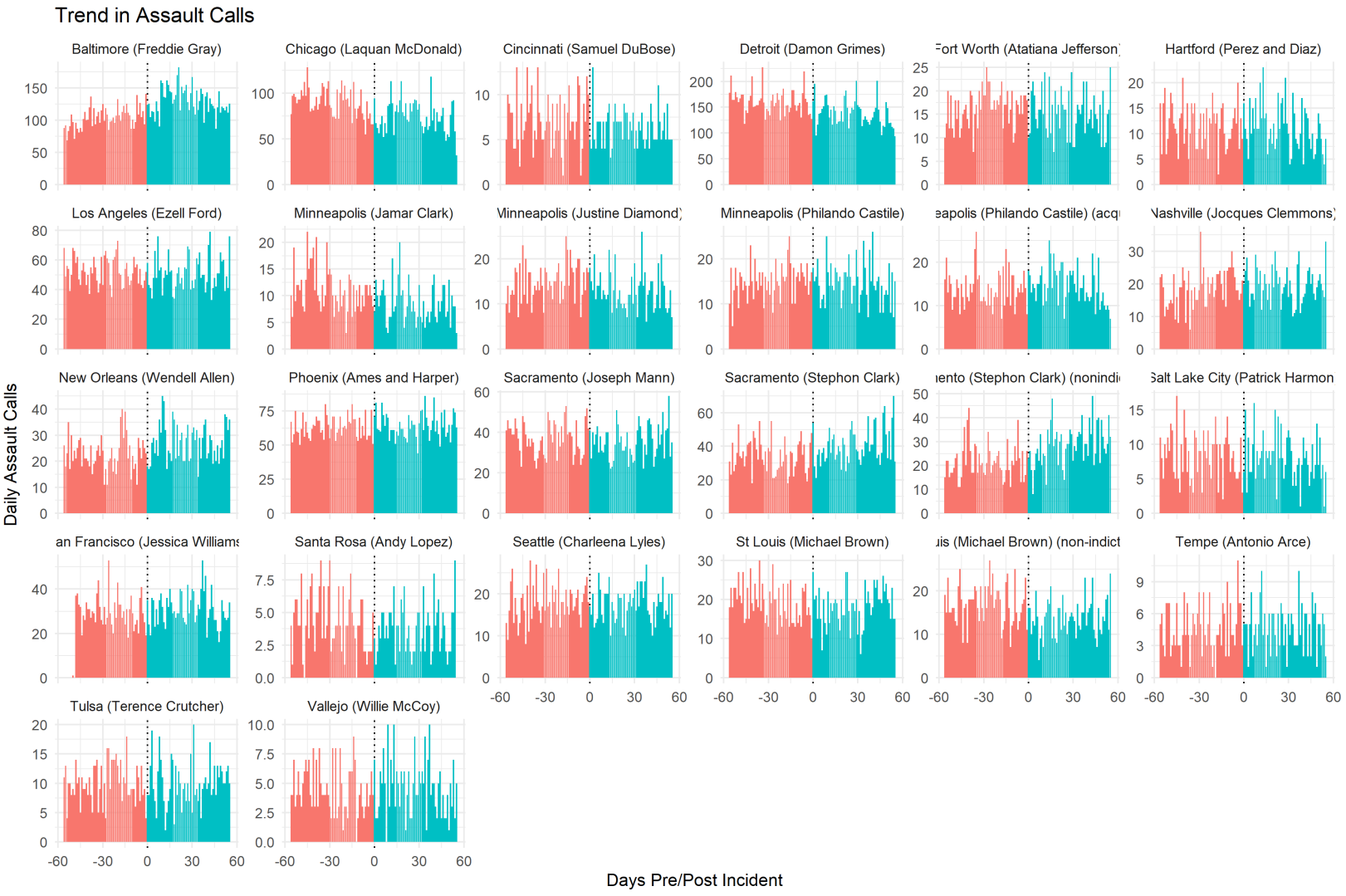


Figure A3: Daily larceny 911 calls across cities 56 days before/after respective brutality incidents

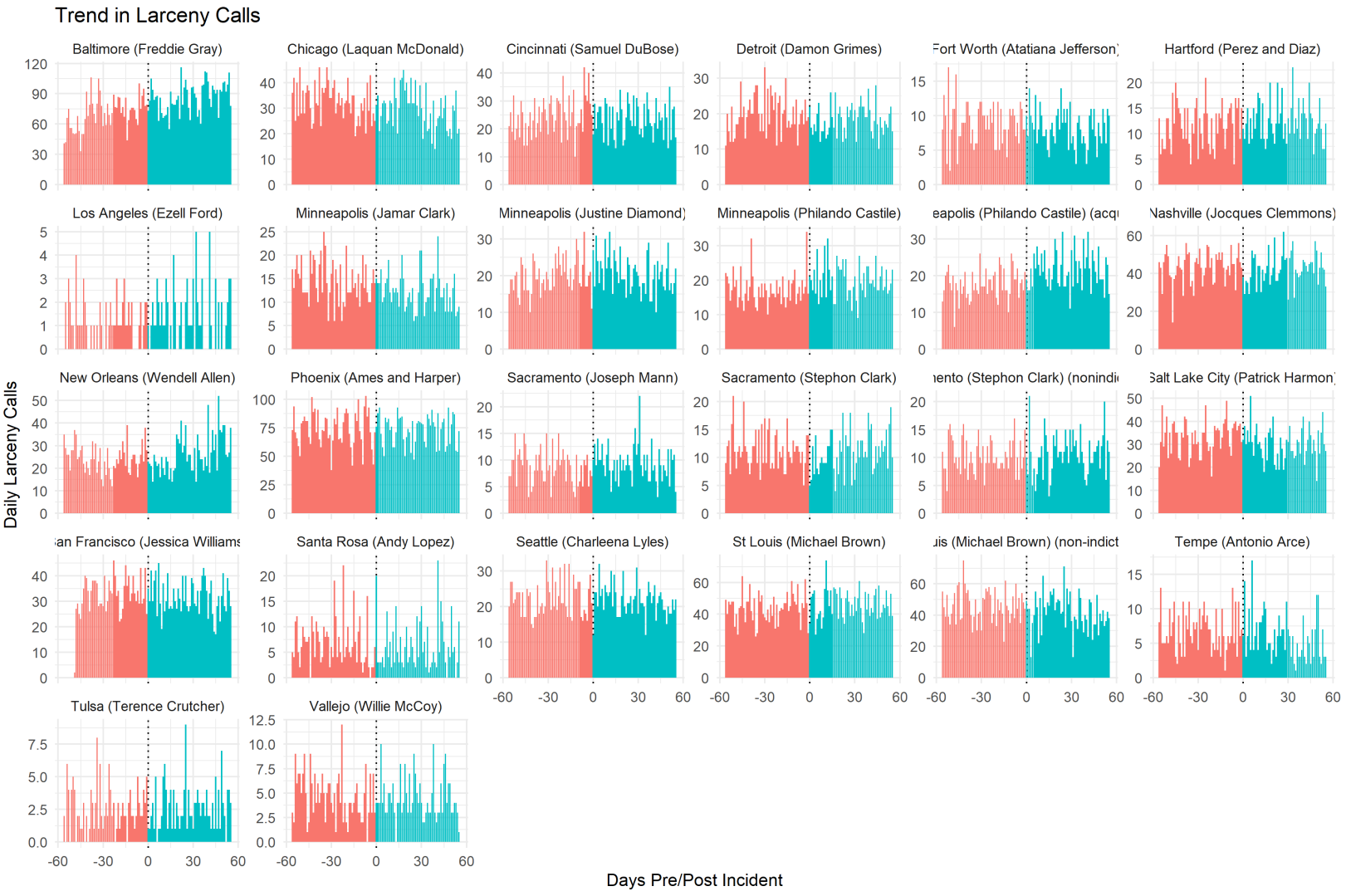


Figure A4: Daily gunshot 911 calls across cities 56 days before/after respective brutality incidents

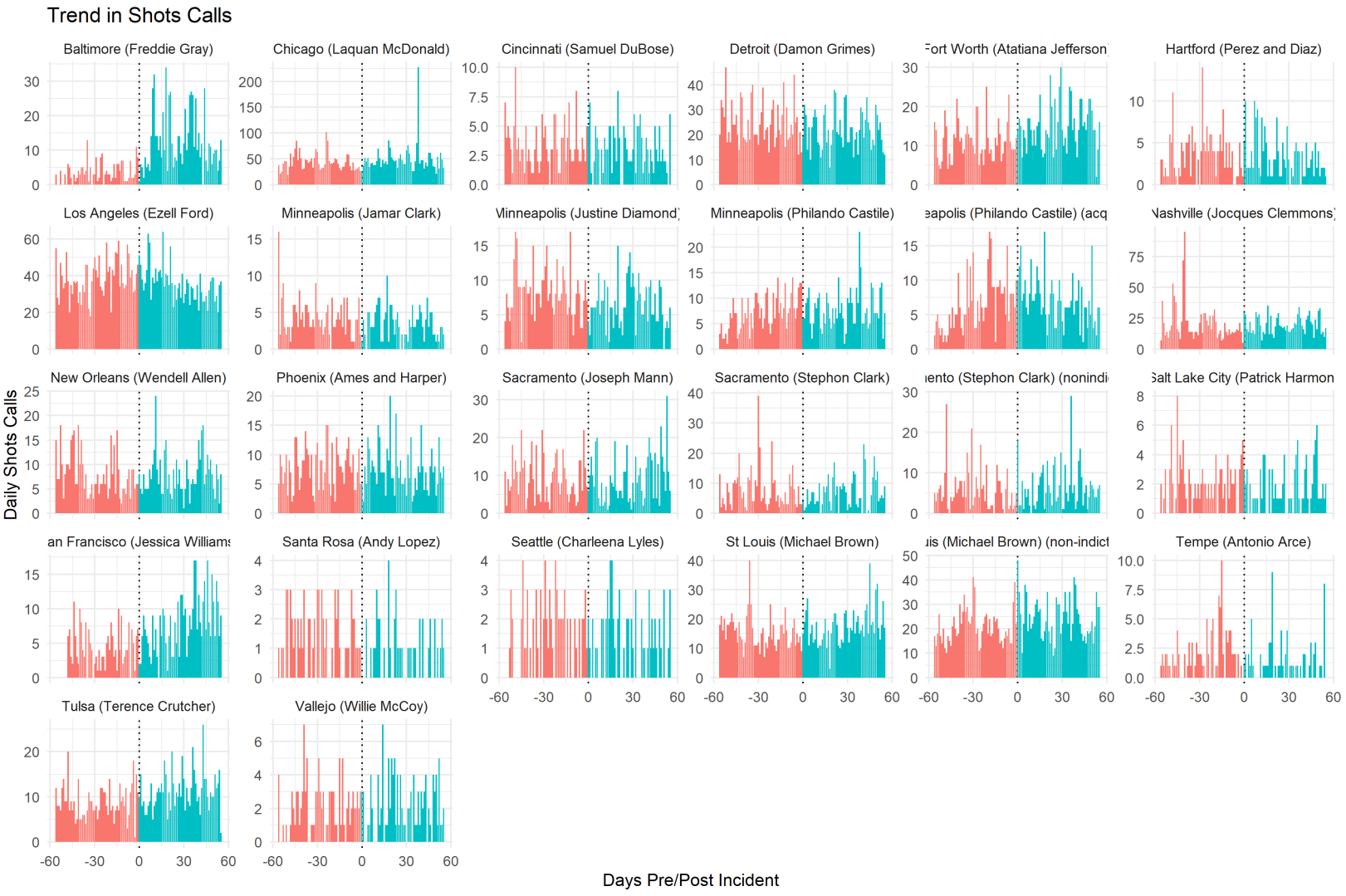


Figure A5: This plot shows the overall "fixed-effects" random slope estimates of changes in 911 calls after brutality incidents for each crime type. Data include, for each city, 56 days (8 weeks) of call data before and after brutality incidents. Models have the following form: lmer(logcalls Treated$_Year * AfterDate + (1 + Treated_Year : AfterDate|City), data = holder[Crime == CRIMENeighborhood == "All"])

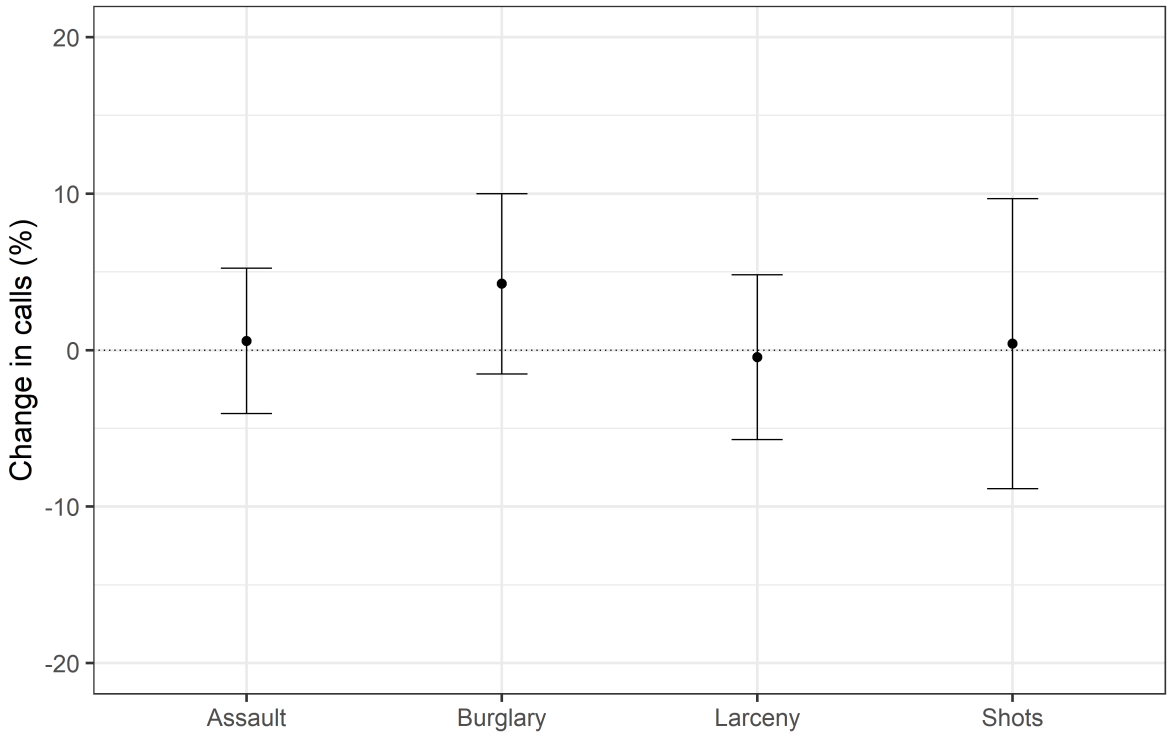
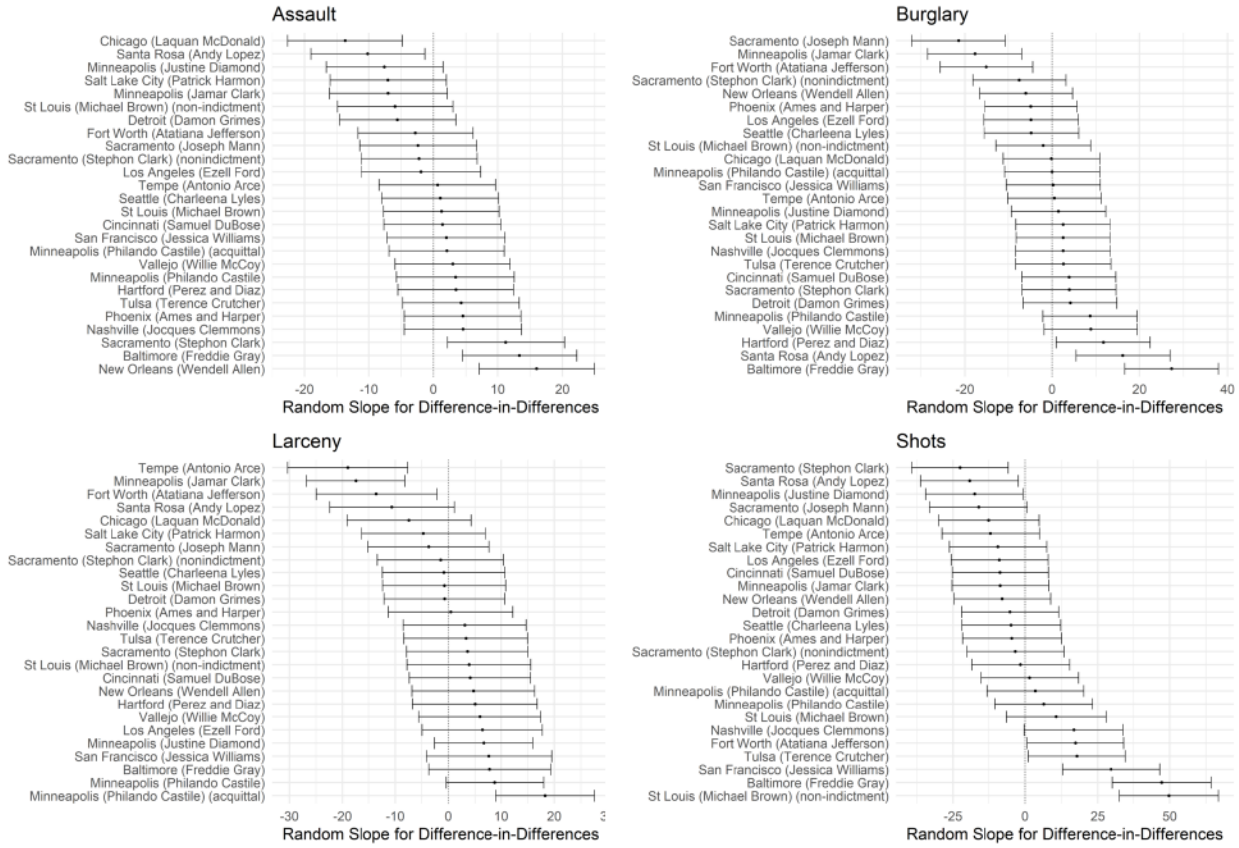


Figure A6: This plot shows random slope estimates of changes in 911 calls after brutality incidents across cities and crime types. Data include, for each city, 56 days (8 weeks) of call data before and after brutality incidents.



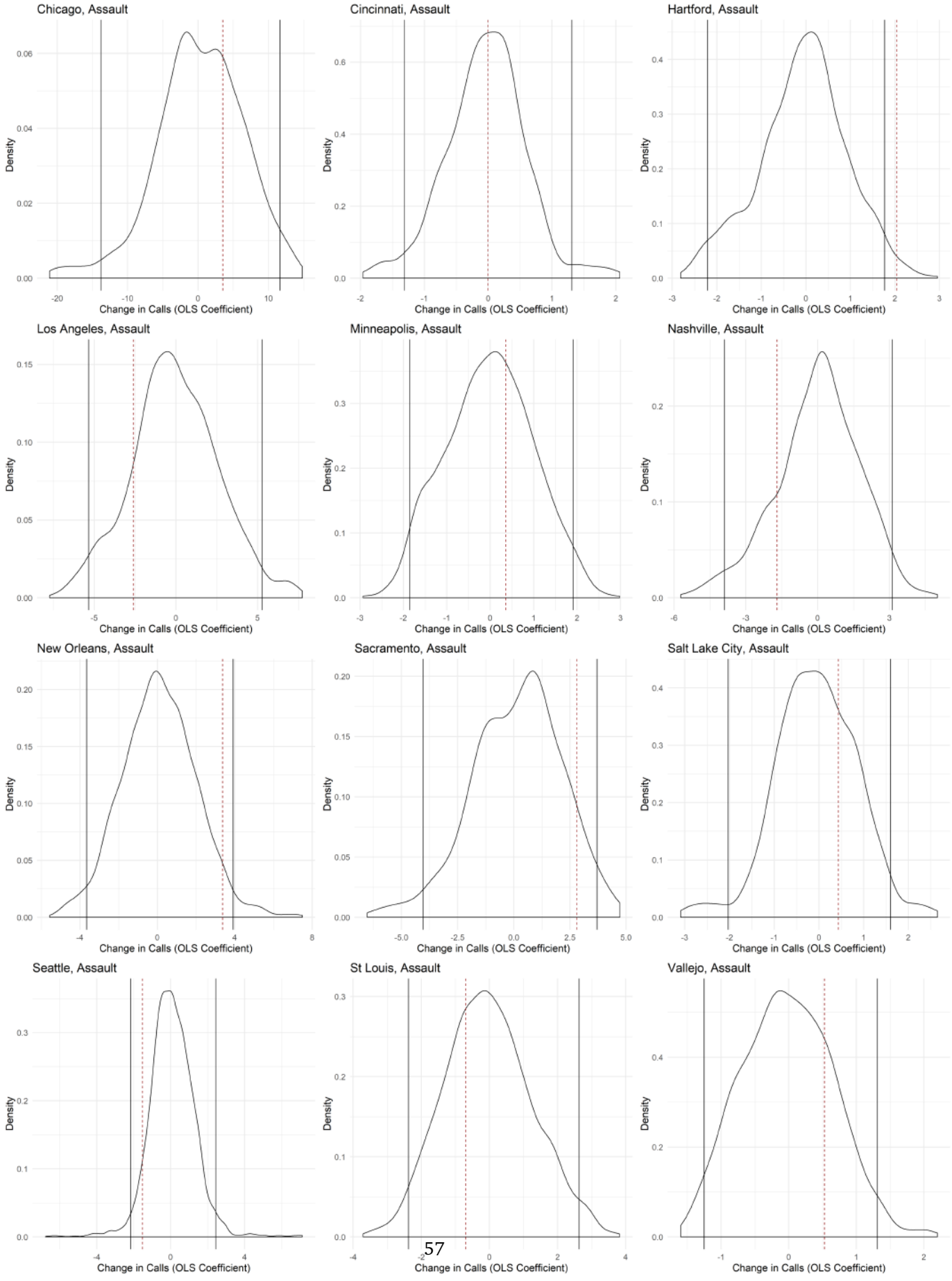





Figure A7: Each plot shows the distribution of changes in calls for assault over 30 day intervals. Dashed red lines indicate the change in calls observed after the brutality incident. Solid lines indicate the 2.5 and 97.5

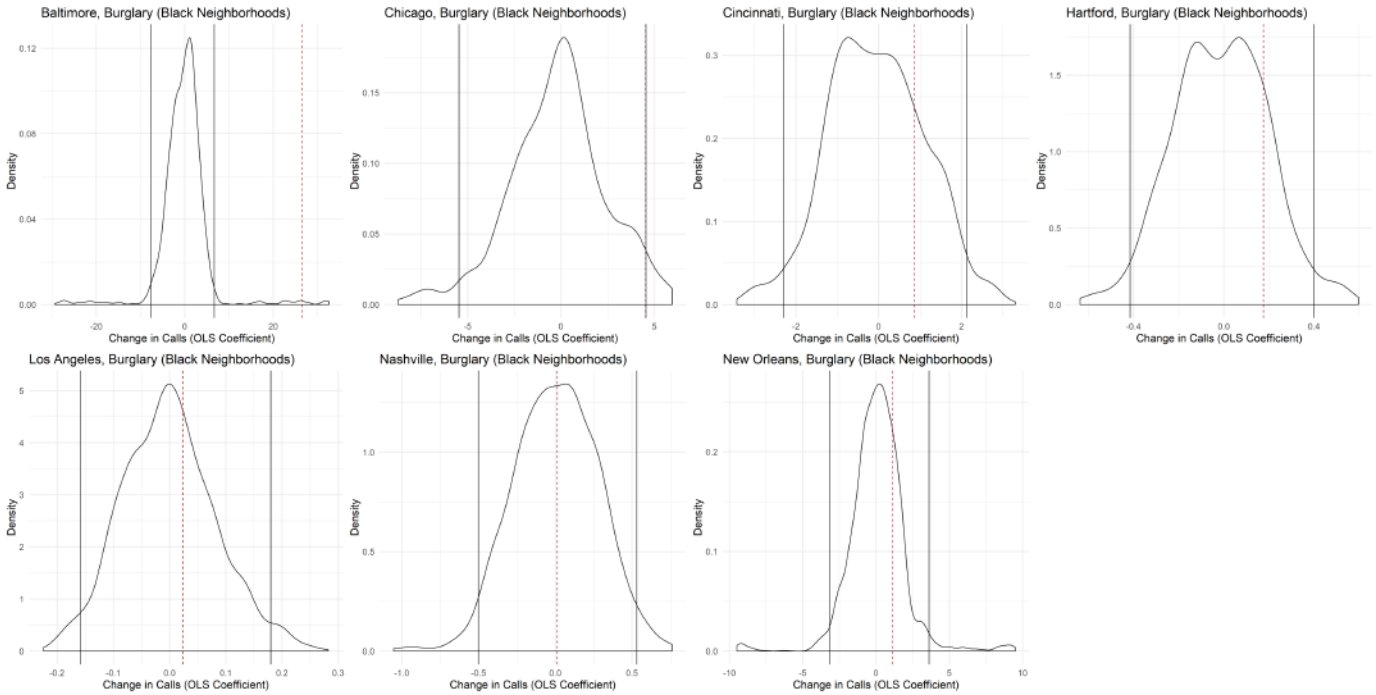



Figure A8: Each plot shows the distribution of changes in calls for burglary over 30 day intervals in CBGs with more than 65% Black populations. Dashed red lines indicate the change in calls observed after the brutality incident. Solid lines indicate the 2.5 and 97.5 percentile of days.

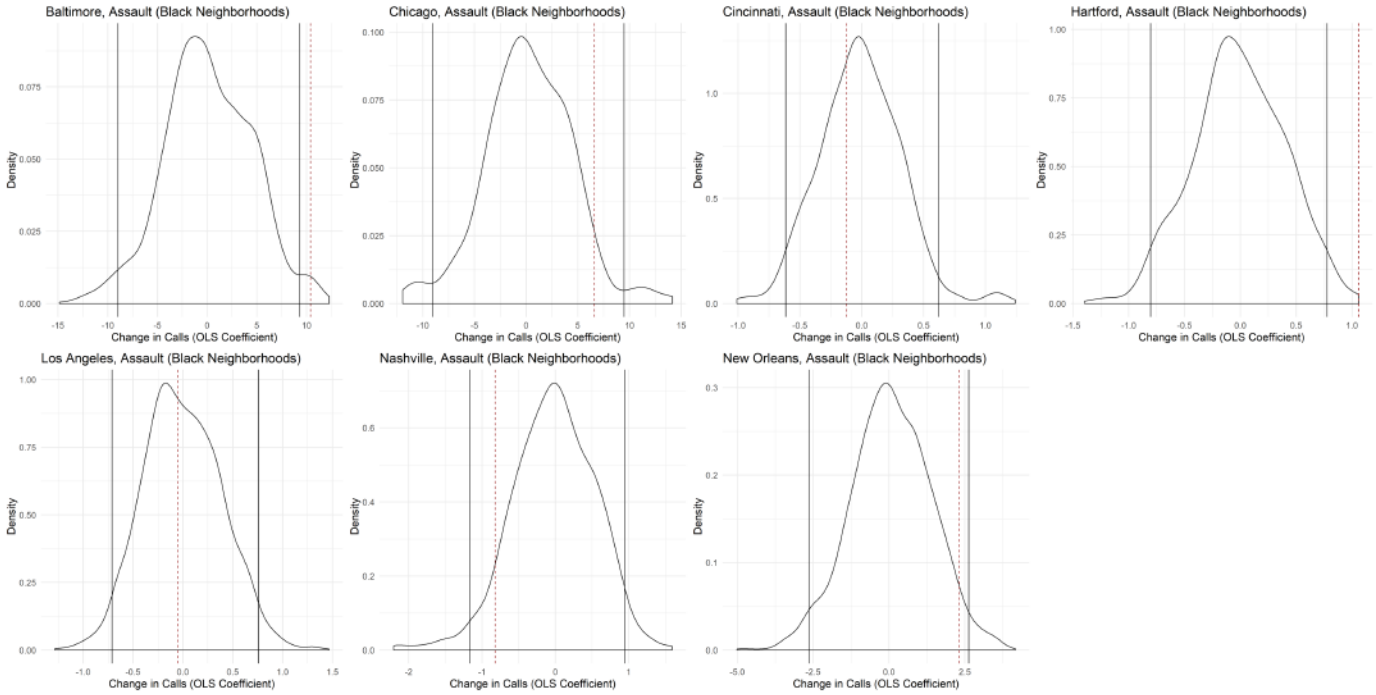



Figure A9: Each plot shows the distribution of changes in calls for burglary over 30 day intervals in CBGs with more than 65% Black populations. Dashed red lines indicate the change in calls observed after the brutality incident. Solid lines indicate the 2.5 and 97.5 percentile of days.

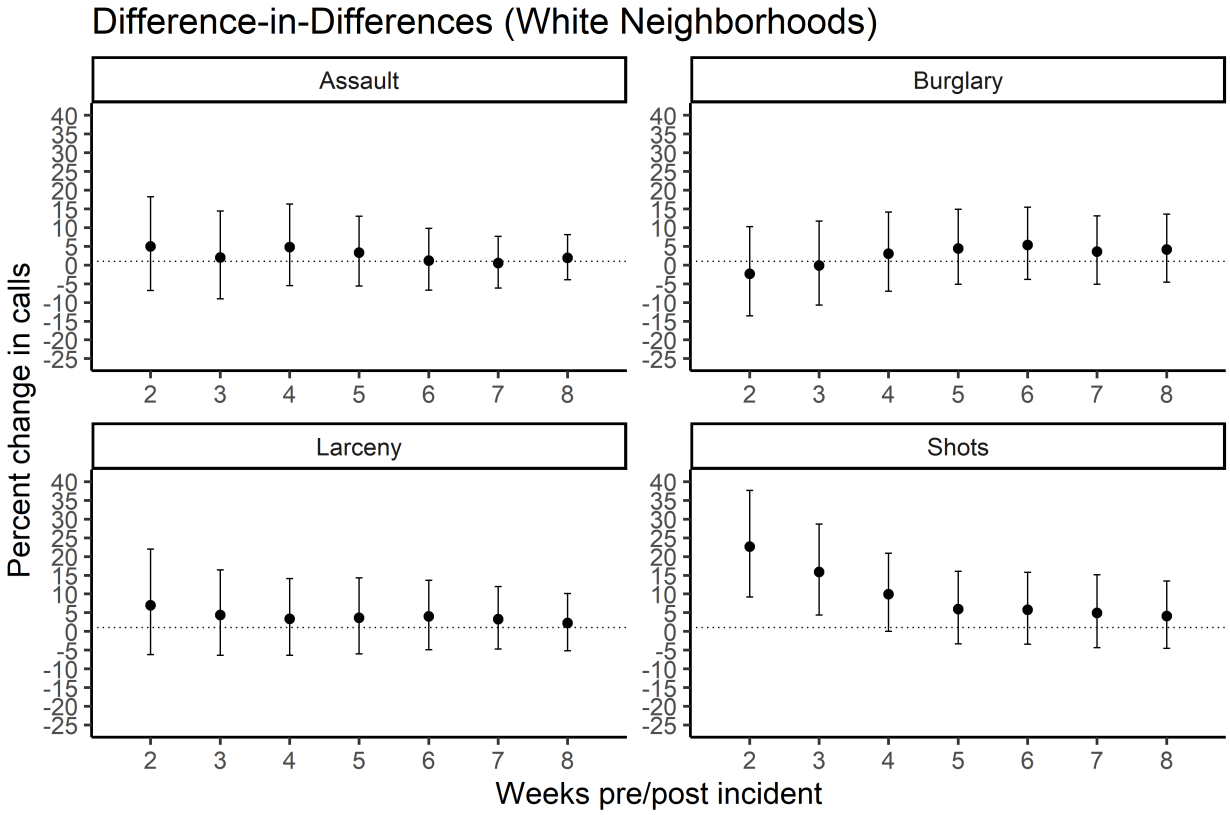



Figure A10: Difference-in-difference estimates from Equation 1 are shown, with 95% confidence intervals, from separate regressions varying the call type and the number of weeks pre/post incident. These estimates are subset to White neighborhoods (Census Block Groups with $> 65\%$ residents). Coefficients are transformed to percentage changes.

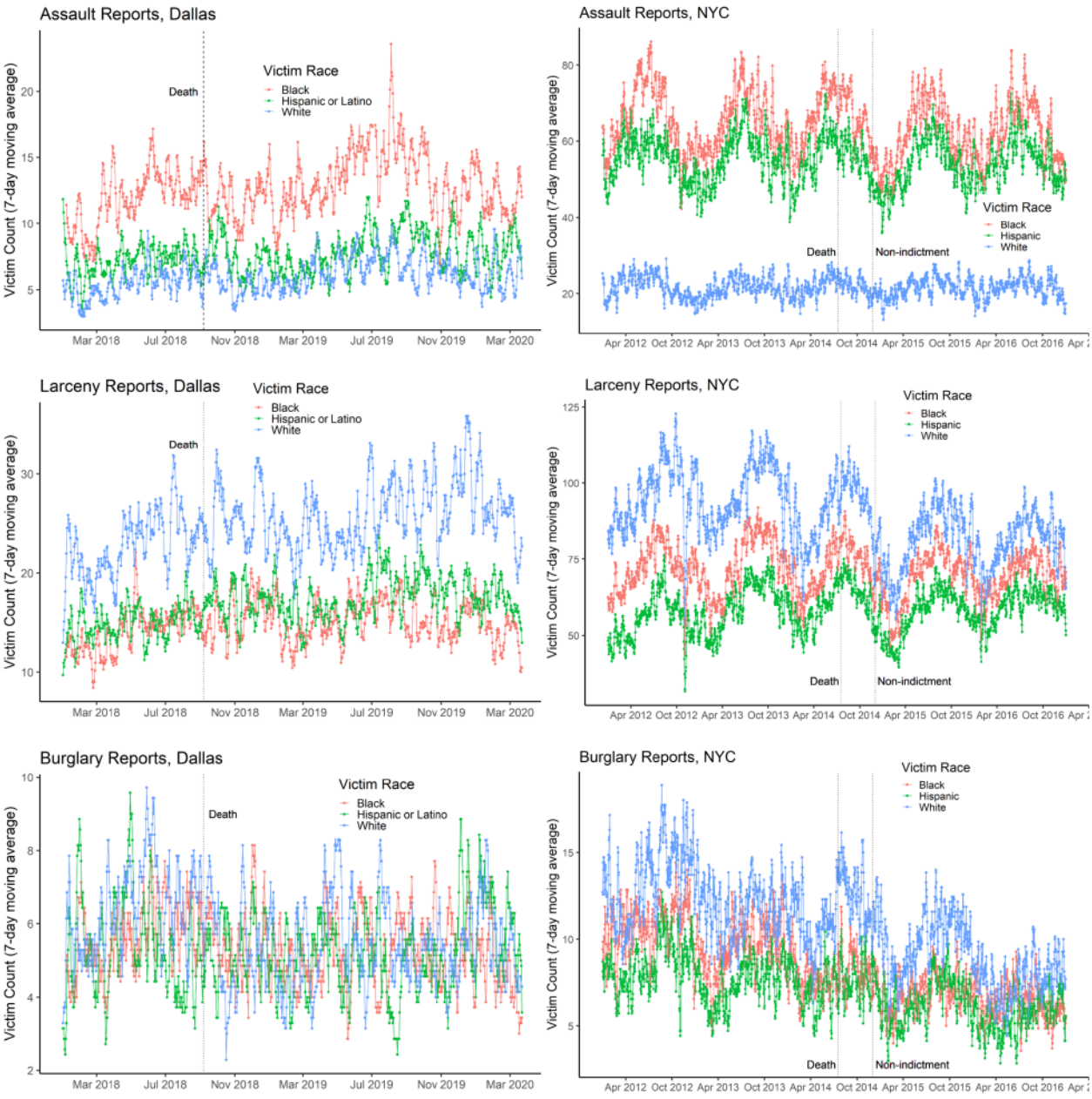
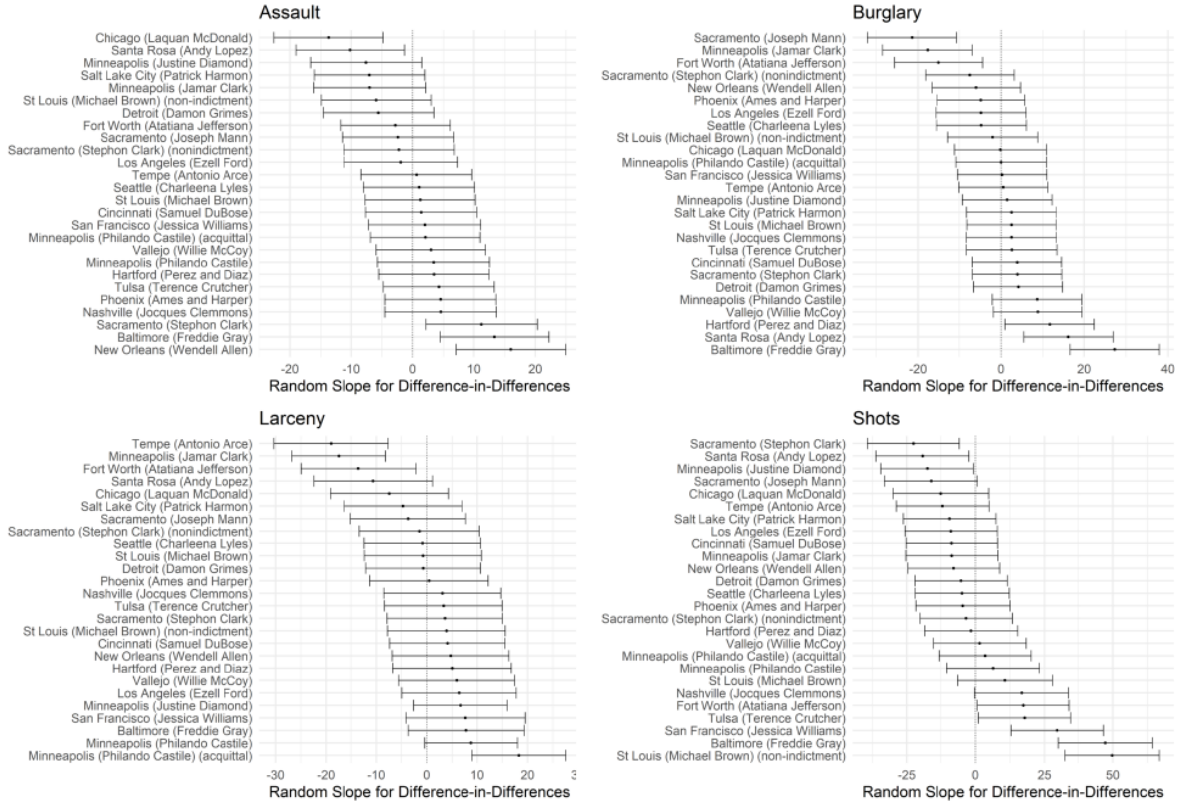



Figure A11: Individual-level crime reporting data showing the seven-day moving average of counts for each crime category.

Figure A12: This figure shows the daily average age and proportion female of crime victims who report to the police in Dallas and New York City.



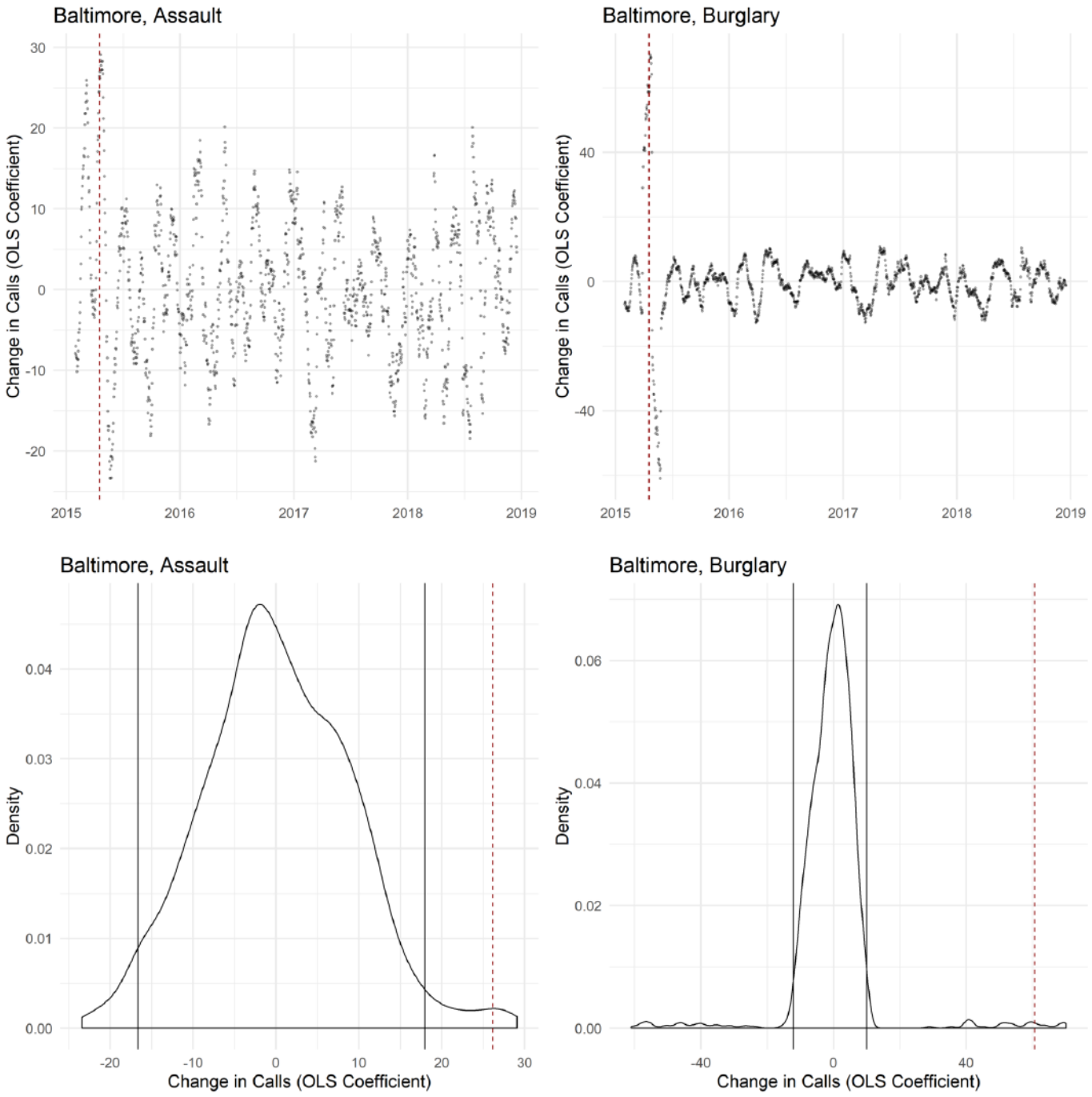



Figure A13: In the top row, plots show the permutation test estimate for each date over the sample in Baltimore, with the dashed red line indicating the change in calls on the day Freddie Gray died. In the bottom row, each plot shows the distribution of changes in calls for burglary over 30 day intervals. Dashed red lines indicate the change in calls observed after the brutality incident. Solid lines indicate the 2.5 and 97.5 percentile of days.

Table A2: This table shows the results of the randomization test analysis of whether crime reports declined in the 30 days following brutality incidents, compared to 30 days prior. There are two cities which report these granular crime reporting data. Results are shown for each category of race of victim and crime type.

| Incident | Crime | Victim Race | Tau | $p$ (one-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Burglary | All | -0.33 | 0.43 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Burglary | Black | 0.34 | 0.74 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Burglary | White | -0.06 | 0.48 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Burglary | Hispanic | -0.26 | 0.38 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Assault | All | 2.90 | 0.96 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Assault | Black | 0.39 | 0.60 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Assault | White | 0.73 | 0.89 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Assault | Hispanic | 1.70 | 0.98 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Larceny | All | 1.64 | 0.68 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Larceny | Black | 0.54 | 0.66 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Larceny | White | 0.34 | 0.55 |
| Killing of Botham Jean (Dallas) | Larceny | Hispanic | 0.56 | 0.64 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Burglary | All | 1.27 | 0.72 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Burglary | Black | -0.03 | 0.50 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Burglary | White | 1.74 | 0.94 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Burglary | Hispanic | 0.10 | 0.58 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Assault | All | 4.05 | 0.72 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Assault | Black | 1.91 | 0.73 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Assault | White | -0.91 | 0.26 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Assault | Hispanic | 1.08 | 0.64 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Larceny | All | 11.65 | 0.83 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Larceny | Black | 0.88 | 0.63 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Larceny | White | 4.41 | 0.85 |
| Killing of Eric Garner (NYC) | Larceny | Hispanic | -0.43 | 0.44 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Burglary | All | 0.06 | 0.52 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Burglary | Black | -0.00 | 0.51 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Burglary | White | 1.27 | 0.89 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Burglary | Hispanic | -0.23 | 0.41 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Assault | All | -0.79 | 0.47 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Assault | Black | -3.14 | 0.18 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Assault | White | 2.21 | 0.94 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Assault | Hispanic | 0.29 | 0.55 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Larceny | All | -12.32 | 0.17 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Larceny | Black | 3.32 | 0.84 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Larceny | White | -1.40 | 0.39 |
| Nonindictment of Officer Pantaleo (NYC) | Larceny | Hispanic | -3.24 | 0.14 |

# B Online Appendix: Descriptions of incidents studied

## B.1 Wendell Allen (New Orleans)

Police officer Joshua Colclough shot and killed 20 year-old Wendell Allen, an unarmed college student, on March 7, 2012 in the stairwell of his family's home in the Gently neighborhood of New Orleans (Times-Picayune Staff 2012, Williams 2012). The shooting occurred during the execution of a narcotic search warrant that did not involve Allen. Officers approached the home and knocked on the door; when no one answered the door, they forced entrance into the house. During the drug raid, which seized a few ounces of marijuana and a scale, Colclough shot Allen one time in the chest, puncturing his aorta and killing him. News of the killing broke almost immediately as police chief Serpa announced the incident in a brief press conference. Allen's family, community organizers, and civil rights lawyers protested the killing (McCarthy 2012*a*, Maldonado 2012).

Allen's death was the second – and far more controversial – fatal police shooting in less than a week. After the previous shooting, in which officers exchanged gunfire with a suspect during a traffic stop, officials praised the police officers, calling them "heroic." Following Allen's death, the official response included apologies to Allen's family and a promise of a thorough investigation (McCarthy 2012*b*). Colclough ultimately plead guilty to manslaughter and received a 4-year prison sentence (Freund 2012); after the guilty plea, the district attorney released footage from the drug raid and stated "It was clear there was no justification for the shooting" (Hutson 2014, 13). Before pleading guilty, Colclough resigned from the police department and apologized to Allen's family (DeBerry 2013). In 2015, The city paid $250,000 to Allen's family to settle a civil rights lawsuit, ending a "bruising chapter" for the police department that "raised racial tensions" (Mustian 2015).

## B.2 Andy Lopez (Santa Rosa)

On October 22, 2013 Sonoma County sheriff deputy Erick Gelhaus fatally shot Andy Lopez, a 13 year-old boy, in Santa Rosa, California. Lopez was carrying an airsoft gun. Two deputies saw Lopez wearing a hoodie and carrying what appeared to be a weapon and confronted him, ordering him to drop the weapon. Witnesses confirmed that one deputy twice said "drop the gun" (CBS San Francisco 2013). According to deputy Gelhaus, Lopez turned around and raised the airsoft gun, which lacked the orange-colored tip that typically distinguishes pellet guns from firearms. Gelhaus shot Lopez 8 times; seven bullets struck Lopez, two fatally according to the autopsy (Wilkisson 2013). Just ten seconds elapsed between the officers reporting a suspicious person to dispatch and reporting shots fired (CBS San Francisco 2013) (the other deputy did

not fire his weapon). Lopez, who had recently transferred to a new middle school, was the youngest person ever killed by police in Sonoma County (Wilkisson 2013) and was returning the airsoft gun to a friend (Lee 2013). The Santa Rosa Police Department initially declined to identify the two deputies present during the shooting, citing death threats (Wilkisson 2013). Sheriff Steve Freitas called the incident a "tragedy" (Lee 2013).

The incident "spurred a groundswell of community reaction, fueling daily marches and vigils, and [has] drawn national and international attention, including the interest of the Mexican government" (Lopez was the son of Mexican immigrants) (Wilkisson 2013) and "spark[ed] protests that revealed deep distrust of law enforcement among some residents, especially those in the Latino community" (Johnson 2014). Repeated protests featuring large numbers of middle and high school students called for District Attorney Jill Ravitch to charge the deputy who killed Lopez; they began the day after Lopez died with a march of "hundreds of community members" from city hall to the field where Gelhaus shot him (CBS San Francisco 2013). Protesters questioned whether officers racially profiled Lopez and whether they should have realized the gun was fake (Alexander 2013) and called Gelhaus "trigger happy" (Lee 2013). On October 29, as many as 1500 people marched through Santa Rosa, including many middle and high school students (Moore 2013). On November 9, rallies against police violence took place in Santa Rosa and several other California cities as part of "The National Day of Action for Andy Lopez" organized by a coalition of community, labor, and anti-racism groups (CBS San Francisco 2013). Protests in Santa Rosa on November 26 led to one arrest and several citations for obstructing traffic after some of the 80 protesters remained in the street after several requests by police officers to return to the sidewalk. While police had cleared the roadway for several previous demonstrations regarding Lopez's death, on this occasion they decided to prevent demonstrators from occupying the roadway because of citizen complaints about the traffic obstruction (Espinoza 2013*b*). After officers cited twelve protesters for remaining in the street, "the crowd surrounded the officers, yelling profanities" according to a police spokesman (Espinoza 2013*b*). The individual who was arrested told a journalist that "It is ridiculous that I was arrested for marching when Gelhaus is still out free. We have the right to march in the street for justice. Gelhaus does not have a right to be free" (Espinoza 2013*b*). Protesters also picketed a campaign fundraiser for District Attorney Ravitch on December 3rd (Espinoza 2013*a*) and shut down a highway after her office declined to charge Gelhaus in July 2014 (CBS SF 2014). He resumed normal patrol duty the following month (Johnson 2014).

The Santa Rosa Police Department, Sonoma County Sheriff's Office, and the FBI conducted investigations into the shooting (Wilkisson 2013). None found sufficient evidence of wrongdoing. After a lengthy litigation process, in December 2018 Sonoma County paid a $3 million settlement to Lopez's family to settle civil rights claims (they sued on November 4, 2013), the largest settlement in county history (Chavez 2018). The

US Supreme Court declined to hear the case, letting stand a lower court ruling that Lopez did not pose a threat to officers because he was carrying a pellet gun. The family's attorney said "That precedent is going to be on the books forever, and for them [his family], through that, Andy is living forever." In June 2018, a park commemorating Lopez (called Andy's Unity Park) opened in the vacant lot where Gelhaus shot Lopez (Chavez 2018).

### B.3 Eric Garner (New York City)

On July 17, 2014 NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo fatally choked Eric Garner, a 43 year-old Black man, in Staten Island. A cell-phone video captures the incident, in which Garner states "I can't breath" 11 times while lying down on the sidewalk, a phrase which "became a national rallying cry" in protests of police violence against African Americans (Goodman 2015). Multiple other officers watched Pantaleo choke Eric Garner and did not intervene (Dorsey 2014) Furthermore, though the New York City Police Department had banned chokeholds since 1993, the department maintained that Pantaleo did not use a chokehold; he used a Department-sanctioned "takedown" maneuver (NBC 2014).

Two days after Garner's death, Rev. Al Shaprton and Garner's family held a crowded rally in Harlem; later that day, they led a protest against the killing at the 120th police precinct in Staten Island (Queally 2014). On December 3, 2014, a jury declined to indict Officer Pantaleo, further inflaming tensions and sparking protests in New York City and across the country (Eversley & James 2014) – at least 62 demonstrations (Robinson 2015). In New York, protests took place "almost nightly" between the non-indictment of Darrell Wilson (the officer who killed Michael Brown in Ferguson) and the end of the year, with Pantaelo's non-indictment reigniting tensions. On December 20th, a gunman shot and killed two police officers before killing himself; hours earlier, he cited as motivation police killings of Brown and Garner (Holley 2014).

In June 2015, Garner's family received a $5.9 million settlement from the city (Goodman 2015). In July 2019, Attorney General William Barr announced that Pantaleo would not face civil rights charges, ending a years-long debate within the Department about whether charges were appropriate. The decision led to some protests in New York City, where Rev. Al Sharpton commented that "Five years ago, Eric Garner was choked to death; today the federal government choked Lady Justice, and that is why we are outraged." (Benner 2019).

### B.4 Michael Brown (Ferguson, St Louis County)

On August 9, 2014, a 28-year old White police officer Darren Wilson fatally shot Michael Brown, an 18-year old Black man in Ferguson, Missouri (a suburb of St. Louis). Wilson encountered Brown as a suspect in

a shoplifting incident at a nearby convenience store reported via 911 call by an employee (Department of Justice 2015, 26). The encounter resulted in a prolonged altercation between Wilson and Brown, which culminated in Wilson shooting Brown six times. Brown's dead body remained in the street for several hours, angering bystanders (Tobin 2015). Following a vigil the following day, protesters looted several buildings in Ferguson (Associated Press 2014).

On November 5, 2014, a St Louis County jury consisting of 9 White and 3 Black members declined to indict Darrell Wilson (BBC 2014). The non-indictment resulted in larger and more aggressive protests than those following Brown's death in August. St. Louis Police Chief Jon Belmar commented "What I've seen tonight is probably worse than the worst night we had in August." Protesters faced a heavily militarized police response – including tear gas and armored vehicles – and burned and looted more than 25 buildings and damaged police vehicles. Police arrested 61 protesters in Ferguson and 21 in St. Louis (Tobin 2015).

The death of Michael Brown, non-indictment of Officer Wilson, and the aftermath attracted national attention. In a national poll, 54% of respondents stated that they have heard or read a lot about events going on in Ferguson and another 24% said they have heard or read some (Dutton & Backus 2014). Protests of the non-indictment took place in Oakland, Los Angeles, and New York City (BBC 2015).

The Department of Justice separately investigated whether Darrell Wilson committed a crime. While the Department of Justice investigation into Brown's death did not conclude that Wilson violated Brown's civil rights (Eckholm & Apuzzo 2015), Brown's death sparked renewed interest into problems of systemic racism and police violence, including national recognition of the "Black Lives Matter" slogan and movement (Day 2015). The incident led to a separate Department of Justice investigation into the conduct of the Ferguson Police Department more broadly which found systemic patterns of racial discrimination by the Ferguson Police Department against Black residents (Lopez 2015). Following the report, the police chief, city manager, and municipal judge in Ferguson resigned (NBC News 2015).

### B.5 Ezell Ford (Los Angeles)

On August 11, 2014, two police officers – Sharlton Wampler (who is White) and Antonio Villegas (who is Latino) – stopped and questioned Ezell Ford, a 25 year-old Black man, in Los Angeles's Florence neighborhood (LA Times 2014). In a resulting altercation, the officers shot Ford, who died at a nearby hospital (Pamer 2014). Ford, who had been diagnosed with bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, was unarmed (Bloom & Wynter 2014). Officers allege that Ford attempted to seize one of the officer's handguns (Pamer 2014). Family members and eyewitnesses say that Ford complied with officer instructions and was on the ground when officers shot him in the back (Moreno 2014, LA Times 2014).

Many observers connected this incident to the killing of Michael Brown a few days earlier (Moreno 2014, LA Times 2014). On August 14, about 100 protesters marched to the LAPD's 77th Division police station (near the incident) chanting "no justice, no peace" (Bloom & Nash 2015). Another protest took place the following day (Kandel 2014). On August 17, another protest took place at the LAPD Headquarters, demanding an investigation into the shooting (Mecham 2014). On August 20, about 200 people gathered at a church to air their grievances with the police chief Charlie Beck; one speaker announced, to applause, "We feel like prisoners in our own community... They approach black men assuming that every black male is in a gang" (Stolze 2015*a*).

In September, Ford's family filed a 75$ million lawsuit against the city, alleging wrongful death and racial profiling. Announcing the suit at a press conference, the family's attorney stated that Ford died "for no other reason than that these officers were bored on a Monday night" (Bloom & Wynter 2014). The suit eventually settled for $1.5 million (KABC 2017). In June 2015, the police chief announced that the officers did not engage in wrongdoing (Jamison 2015), while the civilian-controlled Los Angeles Police Commission found fault with some of the officers' behavior, especially Wampler's drawing his gun early in the encounter with Ford (LA Times 2015). Protesters confronted the Mayor over these findings (Jamison 2015). In July, the LAPD announced that all officers would receive de-escalation training and guidance on approaching people with mental illness (Stolze 2015*b*).

In 2016, the officers sued the LAPD for racial discrimination, saying they were denied promotions and kept on desk duty because of the incident (Dobuzinskis 2016). Oddly, the lawsuit states Wampler is White, while department records state he is Asian Dobuzinskis (2016). In January 2017, the District Attorney announced that they would not pursue charges against the officers, finding that the evidence supported the officer's account "that Ford was on top of Wampler, struggling to obtain Wampler's primary service weapon and posing an immediate threat to his safety and his partner's safety" and they acted in lawful self-defense (LADA 2014).

## B.6 Freddie Gray (Baltimore)

On April 19, 2015, 25 year-old Freddie Gray died from injuries to his spinal chord sustained during a police encounter in Baltimore one week earlier. On April 12, two police officers confronted Gray because they claim he fled when he saw officers. They arrested him for carrying a knife (though the knife was not actually illegal). Indications from police reports and bystander video suggest that officers did not use significant force against Gray (who did not resist) during the arrest (though his leg may have been injured and he requested, but did not receive, his inhaler) (BBC 2016). However, during the 30 minute ride in a police van ending at

the police station, Gray suffered severe damage to his spinal chord in what media reports suggest may have been an illegal "rough ride" (Donovan 2015). Contrary to departmental policy, Gray was not strapped into the van (Campbell & Fenton 2015). A week later, and after falling into a coma, he died from complications of his damaged spinal chord. The day after Gray's death, Baltimore suspended the two officers plus four other officers involved in transporting Gray pending investigation (Stolberg 2015*c*).

Demonstrations began shortly following Gray's death, with protests at the West District police station where "angry residents confronted a phalanx of officers, roughly half of them black, demanding to know why Mr. Gray had not been given medical help sooner" (Stolberg 2015*c*) and demonstrators blocking intersections and rallying at city hall (Schoichet 2015). On April 23, two protesters were arrested amid large and peaceful protests (Yan & Fantz 2015). On April 25, a few protesters "scuffled" with police officers amid largely peaceful protests (Stolberg 2015*b*). However, after Gray's funeral on April 27, protests intensified, bringing with it "more devastating and profound" violence which included the burning of a CVS, vandalism, and theft from many stores (Stolberg 2015*b*). The events strained the city's dispatch resources (Links et al. 2015) and police were unable to keep up with calls for their assistance to protect property across the city (Stolberg 2015*b*). The city initiated a curfew and Governor of Maryland Larry Hogan mobilized the National Guard (just months after Ferguson protests, making this the second time in months that a state mobilized the Guard following police violence). On May 5, the National Guard left Baltimore and the city ended its curfew (Dance 2015).

In September 2015, the city announced a $6.4 million settlement with Gray's family prior to Gray's family bringing a lawsuit against the city (Stolberg 2015*a*). Of the six officers involved in and facing charges over the death (three were White and three Black), none were ultimately convicted. On July 27, 2016, Attorney Mosby dropped charges against the remaining thee officers, citing the unlikeliness of securing convictions. That day, she visited the neighborhood where Gray was arrested to explain the decision and decried the lack of cooperation of the Baltimore Police Department as a source of difficulty in prosecuting the cases. She also stated that "For those that believe I'm anti-police, it's simply not the case. I'm anti-police brutality" (Rector 2016). On September 12, 2017, the U.S. Department of Justice announced that the officers would not face charges (Linderman 2017).

## B.7 Samuel DuBose (Cincinnati)

On July 19, 2015, University of Cincinnati police officer Ray Tensing who is White, fatally shot Samuel DuBose, a 42 year old Black man, in the head during a traffic stop (DuBose was unarmed). Officer Tensing initiated the stop because DuBose did not have a front license plate; after a brief conversation about whether

DuBose had a suspended driver's license (DuBose states that he has a driver's license but does not have it with him), DuBose said "I didn't do nothing" and turned his key in the ignition. A few seconds later, Tensing fired a shot, hitting DuBose in the head and killing him. The car crashed into a nearby pole (Coolidge & Horn 2015).

Body camera footage from the officer's perspective gained national attention (Thomas 2015). The same day the footage was released, Hamilton County attorney Joseph Deters indicted DuBose on murder charges, calling the shooting "senseless." He also called for the disbandment of the University of Cincinnati's police force (Richard 2015). Prior to releasing the footage, the city took precautions in case the footage triggered a riot (as had occurred following a local police brutality incident – the killing of Timothy Thomas – in 2001); state troopers were available and the University of Cincinnati cancelled classes and civic and religious leaders urged calm (Coolidge & Horn 2015, Richard 2015). The availability of body camera footage loomed large in the coverage of the case as essential to the prosecution of Officer Tensing. DuBose's sister told the New York Times "Every day now, I'm going to be marching for video cams" (Richard 2015).

Within ten days of DuBose's death, Black Lives Matter organizers held three different rallies; at the third march, attended by about 300 people, police arrested six individuals for disorderly conduct (WLWT 2015). On September 19, two months after the incident, DuBose's family organized a rally at the University of Cincinnati Police Headquarters, alongside the families of other victims of brutality – John Crawford, Samantha Ramsey and Tamir Rice (Fox19 2015). In early 2016, the University of Cincinnati settled with DuBose's family, giving $4.85 million to his family, agreeing to provide free education to DuBose's children, and agreeing to create a memorial for him on campus, but without admitting liability (Stolberg 2016).

Initially, there was some optimism among family members and civil rights leaders that Tensing would be convicted because the incident was captured on video, even though a murder charge is exceptional for police killings (Coolidge & Horn 2015). However, after two jury trials each ended in mistrials, County Prosecutor Deters announced that he would not hold a third trial and would drop charges against Officer Tensing in July 2017 (Sewell 2017). This decision prompted a protest of about one hundred people, shutting down traffic; a local Black Lives Matter leader called the failure to achieve a conviction "systemic racism to the core" and called for federal charges (Curnutte 2017).

In March 2018, The University of Cincinnati entered into a settlement of about $350,000 with Officer Tensing in exchange for his agreeing not to sue the institution related to a grievance raised by his union – the Fraternal Order of Police – regarding the institution's decision to fire him in July 2015. DaShonda Reid, DuBose's fiancee at the time of his death, called Tensing a "paid assassin" and said that "[DuBose's] blood is not only on Tensing's hands (and) the justice system, it's now on UC's hands" (Murphy & Curnutte 2017). Bobby Hilton, a local civil rights leader, commented that "After sitting through the trial of Ray Tensing with

the family of Samuel DuBose and witnessing lies and blatant acts of racism, the news of Ray Tensing getting a financial settlement is like a nail in the heart" (Murphy & Curnutte 2017).

## B.8 Ricardo Perez and Emilio Diaz (Hartford)

On October 5, 2016, police released dashcam footage showing excessive police force against Ricardo Perez, who is 35, and Emilio Diaz, who is 38, including one officer (Sean Spell) stomping on Diaz's head while he was handcuffed and lying prone on the ground (Baltimore Sun Editorial Team 2016). Commenting on the release of the footage, the Hartford deputy police chief stated "We've seen nationally this has caused great distrust in the community" (Hardmon 2016). Annette Shack of the Harford NAACP called the footage "troubling" and "heatbreaking" and said that "more work needs to be done to maintain the fragile relationship between the community and police" (Hardmon 2016). The footage from the incident is from June 4, 2016 at the end of a car chase involving police officers from the Hartford Police Department and West Hartford Police Department; Diaz and Perez, who were intoxicated, led police on a car chase in a vehicle that Perez had stolen. According to Diaz, he did not know the vehicle Perez picked him up in was stolen, saying, "I went out to hang out; I didn't expect this to go down: Police beat me up, I get arrested" (Vella 2016).

Mug shots of Diaz and Perez show severe gashes on their faces and heads, which prompted a state attorney investigation (Baltimore Sun Editorial Team 2016). Ultimately, the Hartford Police Department announced that five officers involved would face disciplinary measures (Roberts 2017). Sean Spell, another officer who retired after the incident, pled guilty to third-degree assault for excessive force against Diaz and received a one-year suspended jail sentence and two years probation. (Vella & Owens 2017).

## B.9 Jamar Clark (Minneapolis)

On November 15, 2015, two officers responding to an assault call shot 24 year-old Jamar Clark, who was unarmed. The call stemmed from an altercation between Clark's girlfriend and others at a party. The killing "triggered mass protests" (Associated Press 2019) including an 18-day "occupation" (a protest encampment) just outside the police precinct near where Clark was shot. One protest shut down a freeway, resulting in 51 arrests (Woolf 2015*a*). Individuals from a white supremacist group shot several protesters at the encampment, wounding 5 (Eligon & Southall 2015). When protesters rushed into the police precinct to ask for help, one protester reported that an officer "looked at me and he said: 'Call 911... This is what you guys wanted.'" Later, police officers maced protesters who were tending to those shot, according to *The Guardian* (Woolf 2015*b*).

In March 2016, Hennepin County Attorney Michael Freeman announced that the officers would not be

charged, as there was no evidence that the shooting was improper: Clark was not handcuffed and Clark's DNA was present on one of the officer's firearms; an audience member at the press conference announced "If the city burns, it is on your hands" (Woolf 2016). There are conflicting accounts of how the events unfolded (some bystanders say Clark was shot from behind "execution style" while on the ground) and there was no comprehensive footage of the incident (Nelson 2015). In 2019, a $200,000 settlement was reached between his family and the city; their lawyer commented "What this family really wanted wasn't money, they would like to see some accountability" (Associated Press 2019).

## B.10 Laquan Mcdonald (Chicago)

On October 20, 2014, Rudy Barillas, a Latino truck driver and business owner, called 911 requesting police assistance, saying "I need a cop over here on 41 and Kildare... I have parking lot for the trucks, and I have a guy right here that stolen the radios" (Crepau 2016). Officer John Van Dyke, one of the responding officers, shot 17-year old Laquan Mcdonald 16-times, killing him. Though Officer Van Dyke killed McDonald in October 2014, news of the shooting did not become widespread until release, by court order, of the dashcam footage on November 23, 2015, fifteen months later. Hours before the city released the footage, Cook County Attorney Anita Alvarez charged Van Dyke with first degree murder. Dashcam footage showed McDonald walking away from officers when Officer John Van Dyke shot him and does not show officers attempt to assist McDonald after Van Dyke shot him (Schoichet 2015). Protests followed the release of dashcam footage, shutting down traffic for several hours and resulting in 3 arrests for minor charges. One week after the footage came out, and amid protests, Mayor Rahm Emmanual fired police superintendent Garry McCarthy, calling his tenure "a distraction" and advocating for new leadership to restore lost trust in the police department (ABC7 2015). Illinois Attorney General Lisa Madigan appealed for a Department of Justice investigation into the incident, saying "trust in the Chicago Police Department is broken" (Slevin & Eilperin 2015). The City's Police Accountability Task Force called McDonald's death – and false statements by police officers about the incident – a "tipping point" in police-community relations (CPATF 2016).

The murder of Laquan McDonald and its aftermath loomed over Chicago politics, casting a pall over the tenures of Mayor Emmanuel and State Attorney Anita Alvarez. A week after Emmanuel was re-elected in a runoff in April 2015, the city paid McDonald's family a $5 million settlement, with portions of the settlement agreement restricting circulation of the dashcam footage finalized the day after the election (Glawe 2016). 75% of residents did not believe the Mayor's explanation of how he learned about the McDonald shooting, and 68% believe he should not have withheld video of the shooting. About 40% of Chicago residents – and half of Black and Hispanic residents – believed that Emmanuel should resign over the shooting, one demand

of the protesters (Pearson & Ruthhart 2016). Alvarez lost re-election to challenger Kim Foxx, a candidate running on a criminal justice reform message, in a race colored by fallout from the McDonald case (Uetricht 2016). Van Dyke was charged and ultimately convicted of second degree murder, the first murder conviction of an officer for on-duty behavior in Chicago in 50 years (Crepau 2019). Charges against three other officers accused of covering up the shooting were dropped, though four officers were fired (Smith 2019).

### B.11 Jessica Williams (San Francisco)

On May 19, 2016, San Francisco police sergeant Justin Erb, who is White, fatally shot Jessica Williams, a 29 year-old homeless women who is Black while she attempted to flee in a stolen motor vehicle (Schultz 2016). Erb and another officer working in a motor vehicle theft division identified the vehicle as reported to the police as stolen; when they approached the vehicle and knocked on the window, Williams drove the vehicle into a utility pole, backed up, and then drove forward towards Erb. Erb then shot once into the vehicle, hitting Williams, who subsequently died at the hospital. The incident, described as a "last straw" in a series of fatal police violence against people of color in San Francisco, prompted Mayor Ed Lee to fire police chief Greg Suhr, who resigned just hours later, and added further fuel to protests against police violence in the city (Schultz 2016, Lachenal 2017). The San Francisco District Attorney cleared Erb of wrongdoing, finding that he reasonably feared for his life from a vehicle accelerating in his direction (KTVU 2017).

### B.12 Philando Castile (Twin Cities suburb)

On July 6, 2016, two police officers stopped Philando Castile, a 32-year-old Black man, for a broken tail light in the Twin-Cities suburb of Falcon Height. Castile's girlfriend Diamond Reynolds and their 4-year-old daughter were also in the vehicle. Seconds after Castile told Officer Jeronimo Yanez of the St. Anthony Police Department, which patroled Falcon Heights, that he had a weapon, Yanez shot Castile in the chest, killing him. Reynolds livestreamed the aftermath of the shooting (in which Castile is unresponsive and visibly bleeding heavily) in a Facebook video that, within hours, went viral and attracted national attention (Miller 2017). By the next day, the video has received "millions" of views (Chappell 2016*b*). In the video, Reynolds says that Yanez shot her boyfriend "for no apparent reason, no reason at all" just after Castile told Yanez that he would retrieve his license from his wallet in his pocket, and that he had a legally-owned firearm on his person; Yanezis heard saying "I told him not to reach for it. I told him to get his hand out" (Pheifer 2016). Reynolds later explained that she filmed the aftermath because "I wanted everyone across America ... to know that our people, our police, who are supposed to serve and protect us, are the ones that are killing us" (MPR 2016*a*).

Outrage and protests began within "minutes" of the incident (Smith 2017*b*). About 200 protesters gathered at the site of the shooting that day, and an overnight protest took place at the Governor's house (MPR 2016*a*). At the protest, Minneapolis NAACP President Nakima Levy-Pounds called for accountability, saying "We trust our government, at least we're supposed to, to be able to hire these people who are supposed to protect and serve us and when they kill one of us without just cause, there should be accountability" (MPR 2016*a*). The next day, Castile's mother Valerie told CNN that her son always tried to "do the right thing and live accordingly by the law" but "he was killed by the law" (Chappell 2016*b*). The killing, which took place on a Friday just days after a similar killing of Alteron Sterling in Baton Rouge and a few weeks after prosecutors declined to bring charges against the Minneapolis police officers who killed Jamar Clark (MPR 2016*a*), "sent shock waves through the African-American community" with accusations of racial bias by officer Yanez, who is Mexican-American (KARE 2017). At a press conference the next day, Minnesota Governor Mark Dayton called the incident "disturbing" and said "Would this have happened if those passengers, the driver were white? I don't think it would have. So I'm forced to confront, and I think all of us in Minnesota are forced to confront, that this kind of racism exists" (Etehad 2017).

The day after Castile's death, the *New York Times* described the Minneapolis-St. Paul region as experiencing "almost nonstop" protests that were "large, spirited and almost entirely peaceful" (Smith & Furber 2016). Peaceful protests continued Saturday at the Governor's residence in St. Paul and in Downtown Minneapolis. That night, hundreds of protesters shut down the interstate in St. Paul in a violent and lengthy confrontation with about 200 police officers. In total there were about 100 arrests – 50 from an encounter with police on the interstate (the "freeway riot"), and another 50 arrests several hours later in a different encounter (at 4AM), allegedly for throwing objects at police officers. 21 officer injuries, were reported. The St. Paul Mayor, Governor of Minnesota, and President Obama criticized violence against police officers (Walsh 2016). Further protests occurred Sunday (Walsh 2016) and throughout the month of July, with 41 arrests for a protest disrupting a highway on July 13th (MPR 2016*b*). On July 20th, hundreds of protesters from local teachers unions and civil rights activists marched through Minneapolis, resulting in 21 arrests (Sawyer 2016). On July 26th, almost 50 arrests occurred when police cleared a protest encampment outside the Governor's Mansion (MPR 2016*b*). In November 2016, the Ramsey County Attorney announced that Officer Yanez would face a charge of second-degree manslaughter and two charges of dangerous discharge of a firearm (one for each of the passengers in the car), apparently "the first time an officer has been charged for a fatal shooting in Minnesota" (Nelson 2016).

On June 16, 2017, after five days of deliberation, a jury acquitted officer Yanez of all charges (2 of the twelve jurors were Black). Just after the decision, Castile's mother Valerie commented that "My son loved this city, and this city killed my son. And a murderer gets away. Are you kidding me right now? The system

in this country continues to fail black people and will continue to fail us" (Smith 2017*a*). Attorneys for Castile and Reynolds and civil rights activists also denounced the verdict "a big blow" (Smith 2017*a*). The City of St. Anthony fired Yanez just after his acquittal (Joles 2017). Ten days later, the City of St. Anthony and Castile's family reached a $3 million settlement (Smith 2017*b*). In November, Reynolds received an $800,000 settlement (Allen 2017).

A small group of protesters gathered at the courthouse following the acquittal. Later that day, about 1500 protesters rallied at the state capitol in St. Paul (Smith 2017*a*). Hundreds of protesters subsequently disrupted traffic and occupied the interstate for about 90 minutes before dispersing peacefully (Etehad 2017). Protesters interrupted the gay pride parade in Minneapolis two days later (Smith 2017*b*). In November 2017, the city of Falcon Heights terminated its policing contract with the St. Anthony Police Department (KARE 2017).

### B.13 Terrence Crutcher (Tulsa)

On September 16, 2016 Tulsa Police officers responded to two 911 calls reporting an abandoned vehicle; one of the callers told the dispatcher that a man stated his vehicle was about to blow up and "took off running", adding that "I think he's smoking something." Four police officers arrived on the scene. One of them–Betsy Shelby, a White woman who had been dispatched for an unrelated domestic violence 911 call but spotted the abandoned vehicle–fatally shot Terrence Crutcher, an unarmed 40 year-old Black man, an incident captured by both dash cameras and helicopter video (one officer states that Crutcher looks like a "bad dude" just before Shelby shoots him) (Chappell 2016*a*, Vicent & Jones 2016). Tulsa police met with Crutcher's family, pastors, and community leaders on September 18th, and protests by Fall for Justice, a local Black Lives Matter affiliate, began the following day (Davis 2016). About 60 community members attended a news conference hosted by Crutcher's family, which included calls for "peaceful" protest (Pickard 2016). In footage released by the police, Crutcher can be seen raising his hands (Stack 2016). Police Chief Chuck Jordan called the incident "very disturbing", confirmed there was no gun on Crutcher or in his vehicle, and contacted the US attorney, explaining "We will achieve justice in this case" (Chappell 2016*a*). The incident led to national news attention, including from then-candidate Donald Trump, and protests in Tulsa (Stanley-Becker 2018).

In 2017, a jury found officer Shelby not guilty of manslaughter, sparking protests from groups affiliated with Black Lives Matter (Lucero 2017). After the verdict, the Tulsa Police put Shelby on desk duty; she resigned and began teaching classes to law enforcement audiences on "surviving such events" (Stanley-Becker 2018).

## B.14 Joseph Mann (Sacramento)

On July 11, 2016, two 911 callers reported seeing an individual – later identified as Joseph Mann, a 51 year-old Black homeless man with mental illness – behaving erratically and waving a knife. One caller told the dispatcher that Mann also had a gun, though he was unarmed (Lindelof 2016). Five police cars responded to the incident (St. John & Winton 2016). Two of the Sacramento police officers who responded in one of the patrol cars – Randy Lozoya, who is Latino, and John Tennis, who is White – attempted to run Joseph Mann over with their cars and then fatally shot him, firing 18 times and hitting him 14 times (Wootson 2016, Yuhas 2016). Though the city initially refused to share footage of the event, on September 20th the Sacramento Bee released video of the event obtained from a nearby surveillance camera. Later that day, the city released dashcam footage at a quickly-organized press conference at which the Mayor promised police reform (Chabria 2016). Dashcam footage showed that Mann was a good distance away from officers and appeared to be gesturing when officers decided to shoot. Furthermore, one officer can be heard saying "Fuck this guy. I'm going to hit him" with another responding "Go for it" before the officers attempt to hit Mann with their vehicles (Wootson 2016). The next day, 80 protesters organized by Black Lives Matter took to the streets (Garrison 2016).

Mann's family filed sued against the city for civil rights violations, with the lawsuit noting that Officer Tennis had a history of domestic violence and misuse of alcohol (Walsh 2016). On January 27, 2017, the Sacramento County DA cleared both officers of legal wrongdoing, prompting about 100 people to demonstrate and block a freeway entrance and downtown intersection, chanting against the Sacramento Police Department and District Attorney Schubert (Chabria 2017*a*). In early February, the city settled the civil rights lawsuit for $719,000 (Chabria 2017*c*). Mann's death caused the Police Department to adopt a new use of force policy which affirms "the sanctity of life is inviolable" and the City Council authorized spending of $750,000 to train officers on crisis intervention strategies (Chabria 2017*b*).

## B.15 Jocques Clemmons (Nashville)

On February 10, 2017, police officer Joshua Lippert, who is white, shot and killed 31 year-old Jocques Clemmons, who is Black, in the parking lot of a public housing project in East Nashville. A security camera from the housing project recorded the incident (WZTV 2017). The incident, which started with a traffic stop, led to protests by the local Black Lives Matter Group and substantial coverage and controversy, with the local ABC Affiliate News Channel 5 calling the incident the "top story of 2017" (Lamb 2017). Lippert shot Clemmons twice in the back and once on the hip (Garrison & Sawyer 2017). On February 14, at least 150 protesters marched through the city calling for "Justice for Jocques" (Sawyer 2017*b*). On February

21, protesters interrupted a City Council hearing and presented a list of demands in what *The Tennessean* called "the most dramatic protest yet since Clemmons' death and an extraordinary moment for Nashville's legislative body" (Garrison & Sawyer 2017).

In May 2017, the District Attorney announced that no charges would be pressed against Lippert, finding that he acted in self-defense as Clemmons was armed. The decision prompted criticism from the local NAACP, Black Lives Matter, and an organization of family members and activists called Justice for Jocques Coalition, who held a press conference and protest following the decision (Sawyer 2017*c*). The day after the non-indictment, about 70 protesters marched through Nashville carrying a coffin, which they left at Mayor Megan Berry's house (Sawyer 2017*a*). Following the non-indictment, one resident near the shooting commented that "It feels like the cops aren't here to protect us. If we lived somewhere else, it would be different. It's about where we live and the color of our skin" (Sawyer 2017*c*). Ludeye Wallace, head of the local NAACP, was not surprised by the incident, as "It's more likely you going to get sent to jail for kicking a dog than shooting a black man down in his back while he's running" (Sawyer 2017*c*). A year after the incident, protesters held an anniversary rally and renewed calls for firing officer Lippert (Channel 5 2018).

The killing – and non-indictment – ignited activism around creating additional oversight of the Metro Nashville Police Department. Sheila Clemmons, the mother of the deceased, led a successful effort to equip Nashville police with body cameras (Ciccarone 2018). Following the signing of a body camera contract in August 2019, she told the *Nashville Scene* "The fight that I was in, it wasn't in vein, neither was Jocques' life" (Wallace 2019). Clemmons's death also catalyzed a successful effort to establish a civilian oversight agency, which voters approved in a November 2018 ballot initiative with 58% support (Nashville Scene 2017).

## B.16 Charleena Lyles (Seattle)

On June 18, 2017 Charleena Lyles, a 30 year-old pregnant Black woman, reported an attempted burglary at her residence in Seattle's Magnuson Park. Two police officers–Steven McNew and Jason Anderson, both White–responded to the call; they conversed with Lyle for two minutes, according to audio of the incident. Then, police allege that Lyle lunged towards the officers with a knife; one officer can be heard shouting "get back" three times to which Lyle responds "get ready." The officers, who were not carrying their tasers, fired seven shots at Lyle, killing her. Three of her four children were home at the time of the incident (Haag 2017). Lyle was known to the police as a person with mental illness and had made "tens of calls" for police assistance in the past, usually reporting domestic violence from an abusive ex-boyfriend (Bell 2019). She was receiving court-ordered treatment at the time of her death following a June 5th incident in which she called police police to her home and refused to drop a pair of shears (Carter 2017). On June 20, 2017,

hundreds of people protested Lyle's death with slogans about racial justice and mental illness (Q13 FOX 2017). Lyle's family sued the officers and city of Seattle for negligence and wrongful death; the lawsuit was dismissed in January 2019 (Miletich 2019).

### B.17 Justine Damond (Minneapolis)

On July 15, 2017, Justine Damond, a 40 year-old Australian-American White woman, called 911 to report a potential assault in the alley near her building. Officers Matthew Harrity and Mohammad Noor, who is Somali-American, responded to the call. When Damond approached the officers in their vehicle, Noor shot her once in the torso and killed her. Damond was wearing pajamas and unarmed, carrying her cell phone (Furber & Smith 2019). Noor did not say anything to his partner Harrity or to Damond before shooting her (Jany 2017*a*). The shooting led to controversy from Minneapolis to Australia, where Damond had spent most of her life (BBC 2019, Furber & Smith 2019).

On July 20th, hundreds of protesters rallied in the neighborhood of southwest Minneapolis where Damond lived; the protest was attended by the mother and a friend of Philando Castile, a Black man fatally shot by police officers in a nearby suburb earlier that year, and protesters chanted "no justice, no peace, prosecute the police", which was a common refrain at protests of Castile's death. A woman who lived near Damond told protesters that "It is time for me and other white people to wake up" about police shootings, prompting cheers (Covington 2017). On July 21st, 200 protesters marched through Downtown Minneapolis, disrupting traffic, and finally interrupted a press conference about the incident by Mayor Betsy Hodges. At the press conference, the Mayor announced that she had asked the police chief to resign, citing a lack of confidence in her ability to lead the Department (Jany 2017*b*). Both police officers involved in the incident were equipped with body cameras, but neither activated them during the encounter with Damond (BBC 2019). After the shooting, the police department required officers who to activate their body cameras during all citizen encounters (WCCO 2017). Damond's death, along with the killing of Jamar Clark by a Minneapolis police officer, may have contributed to Mayor Hodges failure to win re-election later in 2017 (Golden 2017).

In May 2019, the City of Minneapolis paid a $20 million settlement to Damond's family, one of the largest settlements for a police killing ever, and a jury convicted Noor, who is Black, of third degree murder, the first time ever that a Minneapolis police officer received a murder conviction for an on-duty shooting (Hassan 2019). In June 7th 2019, Noor received a 12.5 year sentence for murder (Furber & Smith 2019). The long length of the sentence compared to other police killings led to accusations and protests of racial bias and a double standard; dozens of protesters attended the sentencing hearing to call for leniency in sentencing Noor, with one sign saying "Wrong Complexion For Blue Protection" (Furber & Smith 2019). A group called

Justice for Damond praised the sentenced as bringing accountability to the case and said "It was not just Officer Noor on trial in this case... but the entire justice system" (Furber & Smith 2019).

### B.18 Patrick Harmon (Salt Lake City)

On August 13, 2017, Salt Lake City police officer Clinton Fox fatally shot Patrick Harmon, a 50-year old Black man who was homeless. The encounter started with officers stopping Harmon, who was biking, for a moving violation. Harmon appeared distraught in the encounter, and initially provided multiple names to officer Fox, who requested backup (Andone & Sung 2017). After discovering warrants out for Harmon's arrest, the officers attempted to handcuff Harmon, who ran away. According to Fox, at some point Harmon turned around toward the officers while carrying a knife and saying "I'll cut you" before Fox fired three bullets. However, body camera footage of the incident indicates that Fox shot Harmon from behind (Andone & Sung 2017). In body camera footage, Fox is heard stating "I'll fucking shoot you" before shooting Harmon (Levin 2017). The incident led to protests calling for criminal charges against officer Fox and for the resignation of the District Attorney (Caldwell 2017) who found the shooting justified (Reavy 2017). Harmon's family filed a wrongful death lawsuit against the city and officer Fox (Harkins 2017).

### B.19 Damon Grimes (Detroit)

On August 26, 2017, Damon Grimes, a 15 year-old Black boy, died after he crashed his ATV while pursued by police officers in Detroit. Officers had approached Grimes to cite him for reckless driving, but Grimes did not stop, leading to the pursuit (Click on Detroit 2017). Mark Bessner, a white police officer with a history of tasing incidents, fired his taser at Grimes just before he crashed into a pickup truck (White 2019). Bessner was a Michigan State Police officer patrolling Detroit as part of a city-state police partnership, prompting calls to restrict the pursuit policies of the Michigan State Police in Detroit (Bartkowiak 2017). The State Police subsequently ceased working in the precinct where Grimes died (WXYZ 2017).

Hundreds of people attended a vigil to Grimes the following week, during which some attendees chanted slurs at police officers (Bartkowiak 2017). Bessner subsequently resigned and a jury later convicted him of involuntary manslaughter (Fortin 2019). The Grimes family received a $7.8 million settlement (Garcia 2019).

### B.20 Stephon Clark (Sacramento)

On March 18, 2018, two police officers – one White, one Black – responded to a 911 call of a man breaking car windows in South Sacramento's Meadowview neighborhood. The officers fatally shot Stephon Clark, a

23 year-old Black man, 20 times in the backyard of his grandmother's home. The officers stated that they thought the cell phone Clark was holding was a gun. The killing, the second salient killing of an unarmed Black man in Sacramento after Joseph Mann's death in 2016, ignited weeks of protests and demonstrations, the largest of which followed the release of body camera footage of the shooting. On March 22, hundreds of protesters shut down the interstate during rush hour, delaying a professional basketball game (Pardo 2018). The next week, the Sacramento Kings and Boston Celtics wore jerseys with Clark's name that said "Accountability. We Are One" before the game (Kim 2018). The man who made the 911 call that brought the police into contact with Stephon Clark later stated that he regrets calling the police and that the incident "makes me never want to call 911 again" (Chavez 2018). Stephon Clark's brother interrupted a city council meeting by demanding to speak, jumping on the dais where city councillors sit (Associated Press 2018).

In March 2019, the Sacramento Attorney general announced that the officers who killed Clark would not face charges, sparking renewed outrage, protest, and media coverage. Police arrested more than 80 protesters in the events following the Attorney's announcement (Winsor 2019). Federal prosecutors announced in September 2019 that they would not pursue civil rights charges (Mansell 2019).

The incident led to policy changes within the department and statewide. The Sacramento Police Department adopted new requirements curtailing when officers can mute their body cameras in April 2018, and adopted a new pursuit policy in July 2018 (Vigdor 2019). The shooting of Stephon Clark sparked a statewide political effort to reform police use of force, culminating in the passage of a state law – referred to as the "Stephon Clark" law – in August 2019, despite the objection of police unions (Ho 2019). In October 2019, Clark's two sons reached a $2.4 million settlement with the city (Vigdor 2019).

### B.21 Botham Jean (Dallas)

On September 6, 2018, Amber Guyger, a 30 year-old off-duty Dallas police officer returning from work, fatally shot Botham Jean, a 26 year-old Black man, in the living room of his apartment. Jean was eating ice cream at the time that Guyger entered his apartment and shot twice, striking him once in the torso (Martinez & Eligon 2018). After shooting Jean, Guyger, who is White, called 911 and told operators nineteen different times that she thought she was in her apartment, which was on another floor of the building, and that she thought Jean was a burglar in her apartment (McLaughlin 2019*b*). On September 25, the police chief fired Guyger (McLaughlin 2019*a*).

The *New York Times* called the incident "the latest, and most bizarre, confrontation between an unarmed black man and a white officer" that "heightened tensions" "in a city with a decades-old history of racial divisions" (Fernandez & Martinez 2018). On September 12, protesters interrupted a City Council meeting

chanting “no justice, no peace” and calling for new powers for the city’s civilian oversight board; one civil rights leader said in the current system “We’re left with a whole lot of ambiguity, which only increases our mistrust in a system that continues to yield dead black men, women and children in our streets and, now, in our homes” (Young 2018). On September 14, protesters briefly shut down the interstate and protested outside of news organizations which reported that Jean had marijuana in his apartment (Whitley 2018), which Jean’s lawyer characterized as a character assassination (Fernandez & Martinez 2018). Protesters criticized the initial decision to charge Guyger with manslaughter, not murder (Fernandez & Martinez 2018).

In early October 2019, a jury found Guyger guilty of murder (rather than a lesser manslaughter charge) and sentenced her to ten years in prison. After the sentencing decision, Jean’s brother gave Guyger a hug and publicly forgave her, which garnered national media attention (Hutchinson 2019) as did the trial judge’s decision to give Guyger a hug and hand her a Bible (Li 2019). Because convictions of police officers who kill civilians are rare, and the case marked the first murder conviction of a police officer in Dallas since the 1970s, this result is noteworthy (Martinez & Eligon 2018). Media reports also note that of the 12 jurors in the case, 5 were Black, 5 were Latino or Asian, and 2 were white (Martinez & Eligon 2018). The trial judge presiding over the case (Li 2019), Sheriff of Dallas County, police chief of the Dallas Police Department, and Mayor of Dallas were all Black women at the time of the shooting (Fernandez & Martinez 2018).

### B.22 Antonio Arce (Tempe)

Around 2:30PM on January 15th, 2019, police officer Joseph Jaen fatally shot 14-year old Antonio Arce in the back in Tempe, Arizona, a city of 200,000 near Phoenix. Arce was in an alley running away from Officer Jaen, who confronted Arce while responding to a 911 call or a potential burglary. The 911 caller, who said he was concerned because he had recently been robbed, reported seeing a truck parked in an alley near his home and two men “taking stuff out of the backyard.” In body camera footage, Jaen is heard stating that “he has a handgun”, though Arce was found only with an airsoft gun. In response to the incident, Arce’s mother Sandra Gonzalez commented (in Spanish) that “I want you to know the worst racists exist in Phoenix, Arizona... They treat us as criminals. I want justice. I need justice” (Burkitt 2019). Two days later, more than 100 people protested the shooting at the police headquarters; Poder in Action, a local activist group, called for charging the officer with murder (Hsieh 2019). Puente Movement and Poder in Action organized another protest at a February city council meeting, also attended by some counterprotesters (Lum 2019). Four people were arrested (12 News 2019).

The case gained national attention, with coverage in CNN, the Washington Post, Daily Beast, and elsewhere, and Julian Castro mentioned Arce during a Democratic presidential debate (KTAR 2019). Tempe

police and the incident again entered the national media spotlight in the summer when a barista at a local Starbucks asked police officers to leave because their presence made other patrons uncomfortable (Lombardo 2019).

A Departmental investigation found that Jaen failed to follow policies on use of force and would have faced discipline had he not resigned. Arce's family also filed a lawsuit. The Maricopa County Attorney announced in January 2020 that she would not press charges against Jaen, who had resigned in May (Burkitt 2020). The decision led to another round of protests at city council meetings (Ackley 2020) and led to a city-sponsored community meeting program called "Tempe Listens", with the first meeting about policing (Macdonald-Evoy 2020).

### B.23 Willie McCoy (Vallejo)

On February 9th, 2019 at 10:36PM, a Taco Bell employee in Vallejo, California called 911 to report an "unresponsive" man – later identified as 20 year old Willie McCoy, an up-and-coming rapper – sleeping in a vehicle parked in the restaurant's drive-through (Levin 2019*a*). Six officers responding to the call approached the car with guns drawn and, after conversing with one another for about five minutes, fatally shot McCoy 55 times in 3.5 seconds; about 25 bullets struck McCoy (Levin 2019*b*, Ortiz 2019*c*). In November 2019, following significant public pressure, the Vallejo Police Department released dashcam footage of the incident, showing that McCoy was still asleep in the car when officers shot him (Levin 2019*c*). The Vallejo Police Department indicated that officers feared for their lives prompted the shooting and paid $8,000 for an expert review, which found the shooting justified (Ortiz 2019*c*).

McCoy's death "sparked national outrage" and "intense scrutiny of the Vallejo police department's frequent use of deadly force" (Levin 2019*b*). His death, the 16th police killing in the city in recent years, triggered calls for an external investigation into the Vallejo Police Department (Ortiz 2019*a*). The city invited mediators from the Department of Justice to hear residents' concerns with the police (Ortiz 2019*b*).

Members of McCoy's family expressed both their dismay and jadedness about the police treatment. McCoy's cousin said "They left him out there like an animal carcass ... like a dog that got run over by a car" and characterized the VPD as a "squad...targeting Black men for execution" (Shalby 2019). His older brother expressed doubt that releasing the video would result in justice for Willie, cynicism generated by the outcomes of prior brutality incidents. "There's a thousand videos on YouTube that show police misconduct, whether it's beatings of citizens or killing them. It gets dismissed" (Levin 2019*c*). "Our community is so used to this type of violence" (Levin 2019*b*).

## B.24 Dravon Ames and Iesha Harper ("Dollar Tree Incident" in Phoenix)

On May 27, 2019, in a Phoenix, Arizona apartment parking lot, police officers approached the vehicle of Dravon Ames, Iesha Haper, and their two young daughters. During a resulting altercation, officers repeatedly cursed at the family one officer "swept the leg" of Ames while he was handcuffed (Crenshaw & Warren 2019). Seconds later, the other officer pointed a gun into the backseat of the vehicle, from which Iesha and their two daughters–aged 4 and 1–emerged. Officers, who can also be heard cursing at the family during the incident, stated that the family matched the description from an anonymous call to the police of a shoplifting incident. One of their daughters–a 4 year old–took a doll from a nearby Dollar Store (La Fontaine 2019).

News of the story broke on June 11th, when footage of the incident recorded by neighbor's went viral (Crenshaw & Warren 2019). The couple filed a $10 million suit against the Phoenix Police Department–$2.5 million for each of the four family members (Burkitt 2019). In the days following release of footage from the incident, the Phoenix Police Department received 1800 hostile calls, some of which threatened violence against police officers. About a dozen such calls were played at a city council hearing (Moreno 2019). Video of the incident was shared by celebrities including Snoop Dog and D.L. Hughley, and a charity operated by Jay Z contributed to the couple's legal expenses and paid for them to move into a new condominium (Magahern 2020). Both the mayor and police chief apologized for the incident (CBS News N.d.), and the "Dollar Tree" incident "fastracked" the rollout of body cameras for police officers (Magahern 2020). The incident clearly undermined the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of Ames, Harper, and their family. Harper explained that "I always told my daughters to depend on the police if something's happening, but she [sic] had to find out herself that they cannot depend on the police" (CBS News N.d.).

## B.25 Atatiana Jefferson (Ft Worth)

On October 12, 2019, James Smith called a police non-emergency number to request a wellness check for his neighbor Atatiana Jefferson, telling the dispatcher that her front door were open in the evening, which was unusual (AP 2019). Aaron Dean, a White police office responding to the call, approached the house and fired a bullet through the window, killing Jefferson, a 28 year-old Black woman. Body camera footage indicated that Dean never announced his presence or that he was a police officer before shining a flashlight into the window and shooting into Jefferson's home, where her 8 year-old nephew was also present. Smith, who called the police, lamented "If I had never dialed the police department, she'd still be alive. It makes you not want to call the police department" (AP 2019). Dean resigned from the force two days later and was arrested on murder charges (Bates 2019). The killing sparked a wave of protests beginning the day Jefferson died (Harris 2019) and continuing weeks later (Johnson 2019).

The incident undermined trust between residents, especially Black residents, and the Ft. Worth Police Department, according to the police chief, mayor, and community leaders (Bates 2019). Ms. Jefferson's sister described the killing of Atatiana as "Another one of those situations where the people that are supposed to protect us are actually not here to protect us" (Branham 2019). Dr. Michael Bell, a local African American pastor and community activist, explicitly connected the incident to not calling 911, explaining "We don't know if we can survive a 911 call in Fort Worth" (Bates 2019). Dr. Wil Gafney, a professor at a local religious college, echoed this concern, writing that "...victims of crime will be left without recourse because it is not safe for black folk to call the police in Fort Worth" (Gafney 2019).

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