Black Women and the Public Health Problem of Police Violence in the United States: An Intersectional Approach

by

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Professor Denise Herd, Chair
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Abstract

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Police violence refers broadly to state-sanctioned violence by officers of diverse law enforcement agencies, and includes neglect as well as physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. Police violence is a public health problem that affects Black women in the US disproportionately and in ways that involve the multiplicative effects of race and gender as well as other systems of oppression. However, Black women are underrepresented as a population of interest in the literature on police violence.

This research aims to help fill the gaps in the literature using an intersectional lens and the approaches of critical race theory and Black feminist thought to 1) review the literature on police violence affecting Black women, 2) investigate the mental health implications of police violence exposure for Black women, and 3) explore Black women's views of policing and the implications for health and community life in the Bayview neighborhood of San Francisco.

The resulting dissertation comprises three papers. Paper 1 is a narrative literature review of peer-reviewed articles published between January 2000 and June 2021 that address the issue of police violence in the United States as it affects Black women. This paper reviews both qualitative and quantitative literature and the theoretical lenses applied to the subject. I concur with other scholars that applying the theoretical frameworks of Black feminist thought, critical race theory and its derivatives, especially intersectionality, a framework that considers multiple, simultaneous systems of oppression, can help generate effective, relevant solutions for systemic problems such as police violence.

Paper 2 presents quantitative data analysis from The Justice Study survey of experiences of police violence. The survey included two validated instruments for measuring psychological distress and post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, as well as questions on experiences of police violence. Statistical analysis of the cross-sectional survey data found that Black women's levels of exposure to police violence in the form of having known one or more persons killed by police and levels of psychological distress and PTSD symptomatology were significantly higher when compared to those among White women in the sample. Using logistic regression, I found no association between the exposure to police violence and the mental health measures

examined. I suggest that the limitations of the small (n=91), non-random sample warranted further study to determine whether there is a relationship between the exposure and outcomes.

Paper 3 presents qualitative data derived by semi-structured one-on-one interviews with Black women in a historically racially residentially segregated neighborhood. Using thematic analysis of the transcripts, I address the following exploratory research questions: 1) What are Black women's experiences and perceptions of policing? 2) What are the implications of policing for health and community life?; and 3) What do Black women think are the solutions to the public health problem of police violence? Participants shared positive or neutral experiences related to traffic stops or a call for help. They also related negative experiences of being profiled, being assaulted and 'mothering while Black,' as well as vicarious experiences of police violence. Despite neutral or positive experiences, and approval of recent developments such as increased outreach and bicycle patrols, participants held generally negative views of policing, which they considered racist in origin and practice and harmful to health and community life. Using the counterfactual and accounts of policing in the neighborhood, participants described racism at multiple levels and described policing as a threat community members manage by avoiding encounters with the police. Participants offered solutions to the problem of police violence that ranged from improved law enforcement training to diverting funding to social services.

The findings from this exploration of the uniquely racialized and gendered experiences of Black women affected by police violence call for further research that takes an intersectional approach. Further quantitative research is needed using large health surveys that oversample populations with the highest levels of exposure to violent policing. Further qualitative research is needed to bring to the center the narratives of those whose communities have been subjected to intersecting systems of oppression.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my most steadfast friend and the love of my life, my husband, Robin. I would like to stretch the meaning of the word, dedication, to share this tribute with our brilliant and delightful daughter, Ilana, and with my parents, Josephine (of blessed memory) and Shah Hosein.

This dissertation is also in honor of the open-hearted, brilliant, phenomenal women who generously shared their experiences and perspectives with me. You inspired me. I further extend this dedication to include all Black women who have always persisted in the struggle to redeem our democracy.

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My conceptualization of the quantitative study in Paper 2, the analytic approach and statistical analyses owe much to doctoral candidate, Elleni Hailu, Professor Maureen Lahiff and Professor Mujahid of the UC Berkeley School of Public Health. They provided critical guidance on data analysis and interpretation of the findings and also reviewed numerous drafts. My thanks go to Dr. Rachel Berkowitz of San Jose State University for her insights on the statistical analysis and on further refining the conceptualization of the study. Co-Principal Investigators, Professor Sonja Mackenzie of Santa Clara University and Dr. Rupa Marya of the University of California, San Francisco, conceptualized The Justice Study in response to demands of community members working to end police violence. With the help and guidance of numerous community members/activists Elizabeth Kroboth and the co-principal investigators had the primary roles in designing the survey for The Justice Study that yielded the data I analyzed in Paper 2. My thanks go to the entire Justice Study team.

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To the love of my life, please see Dedication, page i; my gratitude is beyond words.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

This dissertation, comprising three papers, uses an intersectional lens to address the public health problem of police violence affecting Black women in the United States. The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the health implications of police violence for Black women and their communities and to expand our understanding of Black women's experiences and perceptions of policing and their opinions on solutions to police violence. Paper 1 is a literature review entitled, *Police Violence and Black Women in the United States: How Black Feminist Thought, Critical Race Theory, and Intersectionality Approaches can Guide Research and Practice*. Paper 2 is a quantitative analysis of secondary data and is entitled, *Police Violence and Mental Health Among Black Women Responding to The Justice Study Survey.* Paper 3 is a qualitative analysis of narrative data from 11 semi-structured interviews with Black women and is entitled, *"Like We're Not Human": Black Women's Views of Policing in a Historically Black Neighborhood in the San Francisco Bay Area.*

Black women comprise a small percentage of those affected by police violence, however, in their experiences of that violence, they are simultaneously affected by racism, sexism and other systems of oppression. Black women represent less than 13% of the female population in the US while representing approximately 33% of the women killed by police (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015 as cited by YWCA, n.d.). Contributing to the disproportionate impact of police violence on Black women is the invisibility of that violence; the impunity with which its perpetrators are treated; over-policing; underreporting; and, racial, gendered stereotypes (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017).

I engaged the theoretical frameworks of critical race theory, Black feminist thought and their related concept of intersectionality, throughout the dissertation—in my review of the literature on police violence and Black women, in the data analysis of exposure to police violence and mental health indicators, and in the qualitative exploration of Black women's views of policing. To fully engage these frameworks, each of the papers offers a historical context and, where relevant, the sociocultural context of violent policing, that is both a product of structural racism and itself a determinant of health. I use existing but underutilized approaches to examine a problem that needs further research and certainly needs greater action. This approach reflects the perspective that if a society is organized around intersecting systems of oppression that uphold dominant groups, then the systems' potentially deleterious effects on health and human dignity are best observed by investigating the effects on those groups the systems are designed to subjugate. This perspective, the data gained from the grey literature and the few available studies are the reasons for the focus on Black women as a population of interest. The overarching goal is to examine a public health problem rooted in structural racism and its implications for health from the perspectives of those affected, those that society's structures push to the margins.

A review of the literature to date has unearthed only a few studies of Black women's experiences of policing and two studies that present those experiences in the voices of Black women (Gomez, 2016; Wilson, Antin & Hunt 2020). This dissertation brings those issues into focus and extends knowledge of the public health problem of police violence from an intersectional perspective. There are three main gaps in the literature that I address: 1) non-lethal police violence, 2) health implications of police violence affecting Black women and their

communities, and 3) Black women's experiences and perceptions of police violence, as well as their views on solutions to the problem.

To address these gaps, this research had as its specific aims: 1) to describe the current understanding and theoretical perspectives of how police violence affects Black women 2) to examine the relationship between police violence and mental health outcomes among Black women; and 3) to explore how Black women in a historically Black neighborhood in the San Francisco Bay Area experience and perceive policing and police violence in their neighborhood. Findings are presented in three papers as outlined below:

Paper 1 examines the literature with a focus on the theoretical perspectives reflected in peer-reviewed articles and aims to describe the current understanding and theoretical perspectives of how police violence affects Black women by asking the questions: How, and to what extent, has the peer-reviewed literature across disciplines addressed the issues of police violence affecting Black women? What theoretical perspectives have they taken?

Paper 2 uses analysis of secondary data to investigate the association between exposure to police violence and mental health among Black women (n=91) responding to a cross sectional survey of experiences of police violence called the Justice Study. The survey was administered on the Qualtrics platform from February 2018–March 2019 and was open to adults 18 and over of all genders and residing anywhere in the United States. The quantitative study aimed to answer the following questions: 1) Do Black women's exposure to police violence differ from that of White women responding to the survey (n=115)?; and 2) Is there an association between experiences of police violence (knowing one or more persons killed by police) and mental health outcomes (general psychological distress and trauma symptomatology) among Black women responding to the survey?

Paper 3 explores Black women's views of policing and police violence in a historically racially residentially segregated neighborhood in San Francisco by asking: 1) What are the experiences and perceptions of Black women ages 18 and over who are from the neighborhood? 2) What do Black women see as implications of policing for health and community life? and 3) What do Black women see as solutions to police violence? I used three methods of investigation to achieve the specific aims previously outlined. They were a narrative literature review, a quantitative analysis based on secondary survey data on exposure to police violence and health outcomes, from The Justice Study, headed by co-principal investigators at Santa Clara University and the University of California, San Francisco; and semi-structured interviews with Black women on their experiences and perceptions of policing in their neighborhood.

Overall, the current research is intended to add to the literature and extend the understanding of police violence and its health implications for Black women, in order to offer directions for future research and those seeking to improve community health.

Paper 1: Police Violence and Black Women in the United States: How Black Feminist Thought, Critical Race Theory, and Intersectionality Approaches can Guide Research and Practice

Abstract

This examination of the literature on police violence and Black women affected by police violence explores the theoretical frameworks used in the peer-reviewed literature. I posit that the theoretical frameworks of critical race theory and Black feminist thought, and the shared tenet of intersectionality can guide research and practice in response to the public health problem of police violence.

Introduction

The conversation on police violence largely leaves Black women out as a population of interest (Chatelain & Asoka, 2015; Jacobs, 2017; Towns, 2016). The media attention to the police killing of Breonna Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky in March 2020 that came in the aftermath of the police murder of George Floyd in May 2020 was a rare exception (Crump, 2019). Both scholarly and popular discourse on the public health problem of police violence in the United States (US) center the killing of young Black men by law enforcement officers based in part on their disproportionate representation among the victims of deadly state violence (Fedina et al., 2018; The Guardian, 2017; Jacobs, 2017; Ritchie, 2017; Simien, 2007). However, one study of police killings of unarmed individuals by race/ethnicity and by gender found that the majority, 57%, of Black women killed by police were unarmed (Johnson, Gilbert & Ibrahim, 2018). Black women represent the only race/gender group for whom the majority of people killed by police were unarmed. Further, fatal and non-fatal law enforcement violence against Black women has some distinctive features that arise from the unique position of Black women at the intersection of systems of oppression based on race, gender, class and nation (Collins, 2015; Ritchie, 2012). The virtual exclusion of Black women from the peer-reviewed literature on police violence limits our understanding of the problem. Black men experience police violence in ways that are also simultaneously racialized and gendered, but their experiences differ from those of other genders (Jones, 2016; Smith, Allen & Danley, 2007). The interrelated conceptual frameworks of critical race theory, Black feminist thought, and intersectionality can guide researchers and activists to deeper and richer analyses of the problem that may guide the action taken by public health practitioners and others.

For this critical literature review, the term 'Black women' will include all adults who were identified as female, and/or transgender male to female[1] and who also identified as being of African descent, whether African American, multiracial, and/or from an African country. This definition will include migrants from throughout the African Diaspora. The term will include all such descriptors regardless of how they were measured, whether by self-report or other indicator,

[1] The term 'female' is here being used to indicate gender identity to refer to women-identified women as well as biological gender. This conflation of biological sex and gender is in line with current research practices that may not record gender identity, or that use 'male' and 'female' in referring to biological sex, as well as gender.

while noting the possibility of misidentification and/or misgendering, especially among victims of deadly police violence.

Background: Police Violence

Defining Police Violence

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (WHO, 2002 as cited by Cooper, Moore, Gruskin & Krieger, 2004). WHO recognizes violence, including state violence, as a determinant of health (Bassett, 2015; Dahlberg & Mercy, 2009; Dorfman, Woodruff, Chavez & Wallack, 1997). Consistent with use of the WHO definition of violence in public health, the term 'police violence' will refer to all forms of violence carried out by law enforcement officers (LEO) and the diverse agencies to which they belong (Alang et al., 2017; Bassett, 2015; Cooper, 2015; Cooper, Moore, Gruskin & Krieger, 2004). Law enforcement officers will refer to sworn officers who are agents of law enforcement agencies (LEA) such as municipal or local police departments, sheriff's departments, airport and transit police forces and border patrol agencies. I will exclude private security guards from this definition, including only public servants, sworn officers of law enforcement agencies.

The Data

Official data on killings by law enforcement officers are limited and unreliable, and data on non-lethal violence and abuses, where they exist, are even more limited (Krieger, Chen, Waterman, Kiang & Feldman 2015; Oh, 2015; Ritchie 2017; United States. & United States., 2015). The official data sources for police killings are the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) National Violent Deaths Reporting System (NVDRS), the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Criminal Reporting Section's Supplemental Homicide Reporting (SHR) system, and the Bureau of Justice statistics. An analysis of these data shows each source to be underestimating the true count of deadly police violence by as much as 50%, while showing very little overlap in the data from source to source (Zimring, 2017). Consequently, some researchers have turned to the work of journalists and activists who have compiled more comprehensive data on killings by police in various sources (Krieger, Chen, Waterman, Kiang & Feldman 2015; Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018). In 2014, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement produced a report, Operation Ghetto Storm, that used multiple sources to verify reports of Black people killed by law enforcement officers as well as by private security guards on the basis that they are sanctioned by the state. The report gave rise to the estimate that in the US a Black person is killed by a state-sanctioned agent every 28 hours (Eisen, 2014). Subsequently, journalists and others made similar efforts to estimate the true count of all police killings more closely. Among the resulting efforts are The Counted, a project of the British newspaper, The Guardian; The Washington Post, which documents only shootings; and the websites, fivethirtyeight.com and fatalencounters.org (Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018; Zimring, 2017).

The most reliable and comprehensive data suggest that law enforcement officers kill civilians at a rate of about 1,000 per year, a rate that is 40 times the rate of killings by police in Germany and 100 times that of the United Kingdom (Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018; The Guardian, 2017; The Washington Post, 2016; Zimring, 2017). The Counted, a project of The

Guardian, gave a 2016 count of at least 1,092 verifiable deaths of civilians encountering law enforcement officers; 1,010 of those deaths, around 92%, were by gunshot. Between 2012 and 2018, law enforcement killed 2.8 men per day and were responsible for 8% of all homicides involving male victims; over 90% of civilians killed by police are men (Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018). Zimring (2017) asserts that this pattern is not one of isolated incidents or 'bad apples' but that a rate of 1,000 killings per year indicates a widespread, very serious, national problem. In April 2021, The Guardian reported that an international commission of inquiry headed by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers declared that police killings of unarmed African Americans in the US are crimes against humanity that should be investigated further (Pilkington, 2021).

The available data show vast racial disparities. Mortality and morbidity resulting from encounters with law enforcement officers disproportionately affect Black communities (Alang, 2018; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Krieger, 2015). Law enforcement officers kill Black/African American people as well as Native Americans at about twice the rate of their representation in the general population according to the 2010 US Census. African Americans constitute 12.2% of the US population but 26.1% of those killed by police in the first six months of 2015; in 2016, 24% of victims killed by police were Black (Zimring, 2017). By comparison, White victims represented 53% of those killed by police, while representing 55% of the US population (Feldman, Chen, Waterman & Krieger, 2016; Krieger 2015). For Black men ages 15-34, researchers found a 3.1 times risk of being shot dead by police compared to the risk for White men the same age, based on national mortality data from 1960 to 2010 (Krieger et al., 2015). Among police killings of Black adults, youth and children, between 25 and 30% of the victims are unarmed (Bor, Williams & Tsai, 2018; The Guardian, 2016; Mapping Police Violence, 2018).

Non-lethal Police Violence

Some police and sheriff's departments that voluntarily participate in the White House Police Data Initiative provide numbers of stops of civilians and the race/ethnicity of the individuals stopped. The reports do not include the gender of the person stopped, nor do they include information about the officer (City and County of San Francisco, 2018; The White House of President Barack Obama, 2016). Some stops go undocumented because no citation or ticket was issued, because the officer engaged in extra-legal or other abusive behavior, or because a male officer might not consider his interaction with a woman an official stop (Ritchie, 2017). Other data on non-fatal violence have come from reviewing hospital databases and tracking the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-9 and ICD-10) codes for 'legal intervention,' i.e., a range of law enforcement-involved morbidity and mortality events (Miller et al., 2017; Ortellado & Foundation, 2014; Richardson, 2015). Data analysis by Feldman and colleagues (2016) shows that among Black people injuries from encounters with law enforcement were found to occur at a rate almost 5 times higher relative to White people. Between 2001 and 2014, visits to hospital emergency departments for injuries resulting from encounters with law enforcement officers increased as a proportion of all injury-related visits for people ages 15-34. Fourteen percent of the patients were women; and of those, women aged 15-34, 46% were Black women (Feldman, Chen, Waterman & Krieger, 2016).

History and Social Context

In August 2014, the city of Ferguson in the metropolitan area of St. Louis, Missouri erupted. Community residents, members of the Black Lives Matter movement and other activists engaged in ongoing protest following the killing of a young adult named Michael Brown by officer Darren Wilson of the local police department (Zimring, 2017). The increase in numbers of news articles in the media and scholarly articles in peer-reviewed journals in public health and the health sciences, as well as increased use of social media hashtags on social media provides some basis for the claim that Ferguson marked the beginning of a sustained conversation about endemic problems within the American criminal justice system (Freelon, McIlwain & Clark, 2016; Zimring, 2017).

Policing in the US has roots in institutional racism and has been violent from its inception as a force for controlling enslaved Black people (Alang, 2018; Paradies, 2006; Willingham, 2018). Contemporary resistance over the decades—such as the 1951 "We Charge Genocide" petition delivered to the United Nations by Civil Rights Congress and the 1966 birth of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense that preceded the civil unrest in Los Angeles following the videotaped beating of Rodney King, and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter as the new vanguard of the movement against police violence—suggest that police violence predates the technology of videorecorders and camera phones (Headley, 1983; Johnson & Farrell 1993; Martinot, 2014; Patterson, 1951; Spencer, 2008; Vitale, 2017). Alang (2018) summarizes in the title of her article on police violence, "The more things change, the more things stay the same."

Historians of policing in American society cite two main origins and influences: slave patrols and the London Metropolitan Police (Archbold, 2013). In the southern states, slave patrols were created to control, terrorize, and if necessary, re-capture enslaved people and other Black people (Alang, 2018; Archbold, 2013; Dulaney, 1996). One of the first uniformed organized slave patrols was established in Charleston, South Carolina in 1704 (Sirmans, 1962; Turner, Giacopassi, Vandiver, 2006). The main influence in its establishment came from the Caribbean island and then British colony of Barbados where the Barbados Slave codes were developed in the 1660's. The codes served as a guide to containing and controlling the 'Negro' population of enslaved people. The preamble contained patently racist language on the nature of Black people and a declaration that their containment was beyond the capacity of existing English law (Brown, 2003; Sirmans, 1962). Slave patrols had unlimited access to the quarters of enslaved people or White people suspected of harboring them and were authorized to inflict brutal punishment in addition to whatever abuse they saw fit (Turner, Giacopassi, & Vandiver, 2006). Following the abolition of slavery in the US in 1863, slave patrols evolved to enforce Black Codes that criminalized minor offenses such as loitering if Black people committed them (Alang, 2018; Archbold, 2013; Dulaney, 1996; Klarman, 2004; Muhammad, 2011; Turner, Giacopassi, Vandiver, 2006). Jim Crow laws, that comprised local laws, state laws and state constitutional provisions to enforce racial segregation, replaced Black Codes as a means of social control of Black people (Klarman, 2004; Ritchie, 2017).

In the Northern states, merchants used their political influence to force the conversion of night watch patrols to modern police departments in response to riots (Archbold, 2013). The chaos centered around episodic violent attacks by White mobs on Black people and Irish immigrants as well as worker uprisings and other disturbances to the business and safety of the upper classes (Vitale, 2017). Policing was better for business and cheaper too (Archbold, 2013;

Muhammad, 2011). The first organized, centralized police department was established in Boston in 1838; New York had a professional force by 1844 and by 1875, nearly all major cities had police forces, a development often identified as being influenced by the establishment of the London Metropolitan Force in England in 1829 (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005; Turner, Giacopassi & Vandiver, 2006; Vitale, 2017).

The origin of US policing particularly in Northern states is frequently attributed to the model of the London Metropolitan Force and Peel's Principles of Policing (Archbold, 2013; Thomas, Giacopassi & Vandiver, 2006; Vitale, 2017). Sir Robert Peel, Home Secretary then Prime Minister of Great Britain, founded the London Metropolitan Force, the officers of which are nicknamed 'bobbies' in his honor. Vitale (2017) states that the uncritically positive view of this influence overlooks the true origins of the London Metropolitan Force. Peel's previous assignment was to quash civilian protests of the English occupation of Ireland without draining precious military resources (Vitale, 2017). US policing reflected this influence in the militaristic elements of uniforms, ranks and central command posts or headquarters for police departments (Paul & Birzer, 2008; Turner, Giacopassi & Vandiver, 2006). However, Williams and Ritchie (2015) argue that the emphasis on the influence of the London Metropolitan Police Force elides the origins of policing in northern US states in night patrols that controlled the movement and lives of enslaved people and differed from slave patrols in the South only in that their targets, the enslaved people, typically did not reside in the homes of their captors in the cities. American policing had one notable difference from English 'bobbies,' and that was that officers were armed with guns (Archbold, 2013).

Other Major Developments in Law Enforcement

The 'Wars'

Aggressive policing persists, fueled by both the rhetoric and the implementation of various presidential initiatives using military language such as 'War on Drugs,' the 'War on Crime' and the 'War on Terrorism' (Balko, 2014; Cooper, 2015; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997; Ritchie, 2017; Schenker, 2020). President Richard M. Nixon laid the foundation for a 'War on Drugs' and set the stage for anti-drug policies and law enforcement practices targeting low-income Black communities (ACLU, 2014; Cooper, 2015; Delehanty, Mewhirter, Welch & Wilks, 2017; Gamal, 2016; Nunn, 2002; Radil, Dezzani & McAden, 2016). Examples of such policies and practices are the legalization of no-knock warrants and the practice of 'stop and frisk;' a policing practice of racially profiling and detaining primarily young people of color, mostly Black men, for brief interrogation and search without a warrant or arrest. The laws were modeled on New York state's Rockefeller Drug Laws, inspired by Nixon's own rhetoric and named for the New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller (Balko, 2014; Cooper, 2015; Nunn, 2002).

Posse Comitatus and the Fourth Amendment

Scholars argue that the 'wars' that put communities of color in the line of fire have been accommodated by the blurring of legal lines once clearly drawn by The Posse Comitatus Act (PCA), which prohibits the military from engaging in law enforcement and the Fourth Amendment, which protects civilians from unreasonable search and seizure (Carbado, 2017; Cooper, 2015; Endebak, 2015; Paul & Birzer, 2008). The Posse Comitatus Act and The Fourth

Amendment are two of the most commonly examined legal issues in the literature on police violence (Balko, 2006; Carbado, 2017; Cooper, 2015; Endebak, 2015; Gamal, 2016; Hall & Coyne, 2013; Paul & Birzer, 2008; Radil et al., 2016). Gamal (2016) posits that the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act was not enacted in aid of the democratic ideal of separating the functions of the military from those related to domestic affairs. It is Gamal's assertion that lawmakers enacted Posse Comitatus as an act of political appeasement that resulted in the removal of Federal soldiers that were deployed to protect the civil rights of freed African Americans in the South following the Civil War. The Fourth Amendment has also been eroded by multiple court decisions resulting in legalized racial profiling and therefore allowing for increased frequency of potentially deadly police encounters with Black civilians (Carbado, 2017; Osagie & Newman, 2017).

Social Control

'Broken windows' policing, touted by New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani in the 1980's, is also known as 'quality of life policing,' or 'disorder policing.' 'Broken windows' is an approach to policing based on the idea that enforcing minor infractions, such as fare evasion in subway stations, will prevent more serious crimes from occurring (Fagan & Davies, 2000; Schenker, 2020). The theory is based on a single study that found an increased risk of a car's being vandalized if it had a broken window. The idea took off following the publication of a 1982 article in The Atlantic Monthly by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling. The implementation of broken windows policing resembles the Black Codes of the Reconstruction period, as the vast majority of people cited, ticketed, stopped and frisked for misdemeanor offenses or suspicion of misdemeanors are Black people (Akbar, 2018; Stewart, 1998).

Militarization

Militarization, the adoption by law enforcement of militarism—the idea that the most effective means of problem-solving is the threat and the use of force—contributes to aggressive policing (Delehanty et al., 2017; Gamal, 2016; Kraska, 2007). The increasing use of military hardware, equipment, gear and training are indicators of militarization (Kraska, 2007). Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units are police paramilitary units (PPU) that are examples of police militarization (Kraska, 2007). Common lore credits Los Angeles Police Department Inspector (and later Chief) Daryl Gates with the idea of military trained elite police paramilitary units (PPU) that could respond quickly and with overwhelming force in situations such as the Watts riots. The idea originated in the collective of snipers and riot control officers that worked to suppress the protests and strikes of farmworkers led by Cesar Chávez (Balko, 2014; Murch, 2015). In 1997, the Department of Defense 1033 program began funding the procurement of military equipment for local police departments that directed their use to the War on Drugs (Radil, Dezzani & McAden, 2016). By 1980, once rare SWAT raids increased to 3,000 per year across the country. Researcher Pete Kraska estimated that by 2014, SWAT deployments occurred 50,000 times per year (The Economist, 2014). In an investigation of over 800 SWAT raids across the country, community members reported having their front doors blown off with explosives; being subjected to, or witnessing, verbal and physical abuse; having pets killed; and events of death and injury to family members of all ages and genders (ACLU 2014).

The Ecology of Police Violence

Research suggests that rates of killings by police are not related to crime rates nor to killings of police; both rates have drastically and steadily declined since the 60's and 70's respectively (Goff, Lloyd, Geller, Raphael & Glaser, 2016; Zimring, 2017). One study used state-level data to investigate the association between measures of structural racism and police violence, and found structural racism to be positively predictive of Black-White disparities in police shootings of people known to be unarmed (Mesic et al., 2018).

In *The End of Policing,* Alex Vitale joins other scholars in arguing that policing has its origins in social control and that social control continues to be its primary function. The history of policing in the US is a history of the defending of the interlocking social norms of White supremacy, capitalism and gender roles (Embrick, 2016, Dulaney, 1996; Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008; Ritchie, 2017). Policing exists in the ecology of the criminal justice system, which is itself imbedded in a larger system of structural racism that is both historical and current (Alang, 2018; Bassett, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Boyd, 2018; Jee Lyn García & Sharif, 2015). From mass incarceration that Alexander (2016) calls "the new Jim Crow" to legal restraints such as mandatory sentencing and money bail, a justice system that continues to control Black people has effectively replaced Black Codes and Jim Crow laws (Alang, 2018; Amuchie, 2016; Chaney & Robertson, 2014; Nunn, 2002; Ritchie, 2017). Richie (2012) conceptualizes the societal practices, regulation, legislation, and ideology designed to subjugate communities of color as the apparatus of a "prison nation." Bell (2017) asserts that African Americans are excluded from the justice system and refers to that exclusion as "legal estrangement."

Health Implications of Police Violence

At their 2018 annual meeting, the American Public Health Association approved a policy statement recognizing law enforcement violence as a public health issue. Deadly state violence produces deep and lasting harms to communities as does non-fatal excessive force by law enforcement officers that results in disability, trauma and injury (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy, & Hardeman, 2017). Aggressive policing decreases access to potentially life-saving services such as HIV testing and syringe exchange programs and reproductive health services for already marginalized community members such as sex workers and people who use criminalized drugs (Cooper, 2015). Law enforcement violence harms individuals by physical and verbal abuse, including profanity and racial epithets (Alang, McApline, McCreedy & Hardeman, 2017; Bor et al., 2018; Holmes & Smith, 2012; Sewell, 2017). Researchers have documented mental health implications from direct and indirect exposure to police violence. Effects noted include mental health distress due to aggressive stop and frisk encounters, cumulative abusive encounters and indirect exposure to police killings of other Black people (Alang, et al, 2017; Bor et al., 2018; Galovski et al., 2016; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Gomez, 2016; Hutson et al., 2017; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016).

Background: The Conceptual Frameworks

Critical race theory, Black feminist thought, and intersectionality are interlocking frameworks. The prominence and lineage of Black feminist thought precedes that of critical race theory, which originated in legal studies in the 1970's. The paradigm of intersectionality—the concept of interlocking systems of oppression and corresponding markers of race, gender, class, and nation—is a product of Black feminist thought. I see BFT as expanding CRT with the

concept of intersectionality that considers simultaneously enacted systems of oppression especially race, class, gender, and nation. I will first address CRT, which postulates racism and White supremacy as the central organizing principle of American society; secondly, Black feminist thought; and thirdly, I will then address in greater depth the concept of intersectionality. Its emergence as its own field of study warrants a separate examination, especially of its implications for analysis, research, and as an interpretive framework.

Critical Race Theory - From Law to Public Health

Critical race theory (CRT) has its origins in legal studies as a backlash to 'colorblind,' liberal views of the Civil Rights Movement and was so named by Kimberlé Crenshaw (George, 2021; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). CRT scholars critiqued the status quo of 'colorblind' legal remedies to endemic structural racism. Derrick Bell and other legal scholars took a cynical view of the history of the achievements of the Black Civil Rights Movement. Bell attributed whatever progress was gained through the courts to the convergence of interests between White privilege and power, and the secondary benefits of the legal outcomes attained (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). CRT scholars reject 'colorblindness' as yet another manifestation of the invisibility of whiteness and White supremacy due to the construction of whiteness as normative (Taylor, 1998). CRT posits that racism is so deeply embedded in US society that it requires no malice nor individual rabid racists to perpetrate it; racism is structural and perpetual (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). Although CRT centers racism as an organizing principle of American society, it acknowledges that racism is interconnected with other forms of subjugation (Chaney& Robertson, 2013). CRT emphasizes the lived experiences and stories of the oppressed as data for a broader and deeper understanding of race, racism and power (Taylor, 1998; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). CRT values storytelling in elucidating reality as well as presenting self-defined images of Black reality, e.g., Derrick Bell's book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001).

The current context may be of interest, as CRT has recently risen from its position within academia as a relatively obscure legal theory to center stage in Congress, state legislative bodies, county school board meetings, media headlines and letters of opposition. The first shot in the 'war on critical race theory' was fired from the desk of the US President in a September 2020 executive order banning diversity training and any funding of training on critical race theory (Goldberg, 2021). Civil rights organizations filed a federal lawsuit in response. The succeeding presidential administration immediately reversed the ban (George, 2021). This newfound infamy, apparently the result of a calculated campaign by politically conservative individuals and organizations, mischaracterizes CRT as a threat to American society and a catch-all 'cultural wedge issue' (Goldberg, 2021; Meckler & Dawsey, 2021).

Public health scholars have adapted and interpreted the following four elements of CRT: 1) recognizing the primacy of race and racism and its intersection with other forms of oppression, and at the same time recognizing the normality of racism and its quotidian nature; 2) orienting to the present and understanding that racism is more than an historical phenomenon, and must be understood as it lives in our time; 3) 'centering from the margins,' also understood as taking the perspective of the oppressed and placing lived experience at the center; and 4) praxis or action, also understood as a commitment to social justice (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Obasogie, Headen & Mujahid, 2017). Public health scholars have

labeled this adaptation of CRT as Public Health Critical Race Praxis (PHCRP) (Gilbert & Ray, 2016). Public Health Critical Race Praxis has implications for research directions as well as for translating research to policy and other interventions that improve community health. The PHCRP principle that praxis is a goal of CRT-based research in public health echoes the Black feminists of the Combahee River Collective's principle that analysis precedes action and does not stand alone (Taylor, 2017).

Black Feminist Thought

The heritage of Black feminist thought is bestowed by the thinkers and resisters in the struggle for liberation; prominent among them are Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells and Fannie Lou Hamer (Collins, 1998). Black feminist thought and Black feminism inform each other and, by definition, cannot be unpaired (Collins, 2015). The tradition of BFT comprises a critical epistemology, tools for analysis of power relations and a social movement for justice. The recognition that Black women experience simultaneously interlocking systems of oppression requires an integrated power analysis and an anti-capitalist, anti-racist, feminist movement (Crenshaw, 1991; Taylor, 2017). Black feminist thought values and recognizes intellectual Black women of all credentials, inside and outside the academy. The scientist, the hairdresser, the agricultural worker and domestic worker are all co-producers of knowledge as possessors of lived experience from their particular standpoints (Collins, 2015). The views from multiple standpoints together give a picture of the landscape of Black women's realities that cannot be gained from a single viewpoint. This is standpoint epistemology, and it values everyday knowledge that is produced through non-argumentative dialogue and engagement rather than by dialectic.

Intersectionality

From 1851, when Sojourner Truth delivered her "Ain't I a Woman" to the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, through the present, Black women have often found themselves pushed to the margins of liberation movements that excluded them (Amuchie, 2016, National Park Service, 2017). The analytic approach of intersectionality arose in response to a racist, heterosexist, White feminism; and a sexist, heterosexist Black liberation movement (Taylor, 2017). Black women also found themselves excluded from legal standing against discrimination based on both race and gender when courts responded by denying claims that considered more than one form of discrimination, or by attempting to treat Black women as a "compound class" (Crenshaw, 1989). In their analyses and social justice work, the Black feminist movement recognized the concept of interlocking systems of oppression that came to be called intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Taylor, 2017). Legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw is widely credited with coining the term in a 1991 paper (Bowleg, 2008; Crenshaw, 2005; Collins, 2015; Simien, 2007; Taylor, 2017). One might also consider intersectionality from the perspective of the holder of identities of race, gender, class and nation as well as other markers of status within the systems of subjugation.

An intersectional analysis examines four interconnected domains of power: structural, disciplinary, cultural and interpersonal. The structural domain of power is defined by the structures of institutions and organizations that operate in the lives of those over whom they can assert their power and control. The disciplinary domain refers to rules and regulations and how and to whom they apply. The cultural domain refers to the domination of ideas and how those

ideas are framed, communicated and promulgated. The interpersonal domain refers to the interrelationship among people and how those relationships are affected by positions of advantage or disadvantage (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Intersectionality has grown as an area of study in its own right, and a lively discourse has emerged on how an intersectional lens changes approaches to qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods research (Bauer, 2014; Bowleg, 2007; Bowleg, 2012; Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013; Hancock, 2007).

Convergence

Black feminism and intersectionality converge with principles of CRT in the centering of narratives and the demand that analysis or research be an antecedent of action or praxis (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Taylor, 2017). The concept of intersectionality is native to both, though it is more firmly ensconced in Black feminist thought that centers the standpoint, experience and knowledge of Black women. Black feminist thought engages with race, gender, class and nation in ways that make a complex analysis unavoidable. The element of anti-capitalism adds the consideration of the political economy.

Review of the Literature: Police Violence and Black Women

Here I offer a review of the literature on police violence and Black women in order to determine 1) to what extent the experiences and perspectives of Black women have been documented in peer-reviewed literature and 2) how scholars have used CRT, Black feminist thought and/or intersectionality in approaching the issue. I reviewed articles from the disciplines of public health and the social sciences—economics, sociology, political science, anthropology and psychology—and the particularly relevant professional or sub-disciplines of law, women's studies, criminal justice and African-American studies. I used the following databases/search engines: Academic Search Complete, American History & Life, Annual Reviews, Black Studies Center, EconLit, Google Scholar, Hein Online, Historical Abstracts, International Index to Black Periodicals, JSTOR, ProQuest Social Sciences, SCOPUS, and Women's Study International. Additionally, articles were identified among the references of articles chosen or forwarded to me by colleagues and other scholars. The in-text search terms used were 'police violence,' 'law enforcement violence,' 'Black women,' and 'African American women.' Articles were included if they had a publication date between the years 2000 and 2020 and had been accepted by a peer-reviewed journal. I updated the review, expanding the inclusion criterion to articles published online or in-print through June 2021 by searching Google Scholar for citations of the previously selected articles. This search yielded one additional article that met all previous inclusion criteria (Aniefuna, Aniefuna & Williams, 2020). I reviewed abstracts first to classify articles as relevant if law enforcement violence was the main topic, or if the article substantially addressed police violence against Black women. Other criteria for inclusion were publication in English and if the study was located in the US. I excluded articles that analyzed resistance to police violence or the arts, culture and media surrounding the issue.

While many studies in the public health literature included Black women in their populations of interest, only 12 peer-reviewed articles were found that focused exclusively on the issue of police violence and Black women. All were in the Social Sciences. The one article by public health scholars that centered Black women was a quantitative study of police shootings of Black women in the Fatal Interactions with Police Study (FIPS). However, it does not appear to

have yet been published in a peer-reviewed journal (Johnson, Gilbert, & Ibrahim, 2018). The theoretical papers that discuss police violence against Black women relied heavily on the grey literature, primarily the report from the African American Policy Forum, #Say Her Name, for data on the circumstances under which law enforcement targets Black women and the types of violence perpetrated against them. Additional sources were two books, *Invisible no more: Police violence against Black women, and Women of Color* by Andrea J. Ritchie and *Prison Nation* by Beth Ritchie. Among the empirical studies that included Black women was a qualitative study of 49 Black and/or Latina women in the San Francisco Bay Area and their perceptions of police that were generally negative, influenced by direct and vicarious experiences as well as by media (Wilson, Antin & Hunt, 2020). Another was a quantitative study with a sample of 932 women that found that Black and Latina women who had prior exposure to intimate partner violence or sexual violence reported higher lifetime exposure to police violence than White women (Fedina et al., 2018). A summary table outlines the selected literature in the appendix.

Police violence affects Black women in ways that are uniquely gendered and racialized and out of proportion to their representation in the US population. Despite Black women representing less than 13% of the US female population, 33% of the women killed by law enforcement are Black and, as previously noted, the Fatal Interactions with Police Study found that 57% of Black women killed by police were unarmed (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015 as cited by YWCA, n.d.; Johnson, Gilbert & Ibrahim, 2018). Further, Black women are overrepresented among all people who are at increased vulnerability to police violence, such as people with mental or physical disabilities, people perceived as gender non-conforming, people engaged in sex work, people experiencing homelessness, people engaged in drug use, immigrants, and Black people and other people of color that are pregnant or mothering or assumed to be in any of those categories (Jacobs, 2017; Hutto and Green, 2016).

Black women are placed at increased risk through the circumstances of their encounters with law enforcement, whether initiated by the officer or by the civilian. Frequently, these encounters begin with calls for help in response to a medical or psychological emergency or calls for help in response to community violence, intimate partner violence, or other domestic violence (Jacobs, 2017). Such calls for help can place Black women at increased risk for multiple forms of police violence, including neglect, sexual harassment and physical and sexual abuse (Fedina et al., 2018; Ritchie & Mogul, 2007; Sood 2018). Fedina and colleagues (2018) found that Black and Latina women experienced a higher lifetime prevalence of police violence than White women and, consistent with the data in the grey literature, the researchers also found that calls for help exposed Black women to police violence and/or neglect.

Based on officers' perceptions of Black women, officer-initiated encounters with Black women disproportionately involve drug arrests and arrests for soliciting sex work. Another prevalent issue that Black women encounter with law enforcement is racial profiling, or 'driving while Black' (Ritchie & Mogul, 2007; Towns, 2016). Sex workers, women experiencing homelessness, migrant women, survivors of domestic violence and/or transgender women are targeted for such abuse (Ritchie & Mogul, 2008; Sankofa, 2016). Jacobs (2017) documents a list of atrocities committed by police against Black women, and adds that police can kill Black women "just because."

Contributing to the disproportionate impact of police violence on Black women is the invisibility of that violence; the impunity with which its perpetrators are treated; over-policing; underreporting; and racial gendered stereotypes (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017). Peculiar to policing of Black women is the role of controlling narratives and enduring stereotypes (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017). Consistently, as with Black men and boys, there is a presumption of criminality; however the language related to Black women depicts Black women as not just dangerous but treacherous, sexually available without question, and perceived to be engaging in sex work, whether or not that is the case (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017). Police violence serves to maintain social control of Black women in the interest of preserving the social order based on intersecting systems of race, class and gender (INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Sood 2018). Amuchie (2016) and Jacobs (2017) both explicitly propose an understanding of police violence against Black women based on intersectionality. The specifically gendered and racialized stereotypes that apply to Black women begin to explain why their experiences differ both from those of Black men and from those of White women. And though there are some similarities with women of other racial/ethnic minorities, those experiences also have their own distinctive narratives.

Two articles in the criminal justice and legal studies literature also stood out for their focus on Black women with clear theoretical stances. Aniefuna and colleagues (2020) address reproductive justice and mental health with the intersectional lenses of critical race theory and Black feminist criminology, using semi-structured interviews with Black women in Baltimore. The authors provide historical context and make a case for critical methods in their discussion, adding that qualitative methods were essential because state violence against Black women is "typically underreported." Similarly, in the legal literature Sood (2018) outlines the history of the US Constitution and legal system's disregard for the rape of Black women and the devaluing of Black women as people and citizens. She traces the history up to the present from slavery through the *Dred Scott v Sanford* Supreme Court decision to the Thirteenth Amendment and the current US Congress. The article applies an intersectional lens to the examination of the discriminatory and unfair treatment of Black women compared to White women in the legal system.

To date, my search of the literature has unearthed few qualitative or quantitative studies of Black women's experiences of policing. The narratives and experiences of Black women are often missing from the literature or appear only in a larger collective of adolescents, sex workers and drug users in outdoor settings (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Cooper et al., 2004; Freudenberg et al.,1999).

Reports issued by organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the African American Policy Forum and INCITE! point to other issues that need to be empirically examined in the peer-reviewed literature, the repository of evidence that carries the greatest weight among researchers. In the context of quality-of-life policing, law enforcement officers racially profile Black women, especially transgender women as sex workers (Crenshaw & Ritchie, INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Ritchie & Mogul, 2008). Law enforcement targets transgender women for strip searches and 'checking' for biological gender by removing clothing and checking breasts and genitals (Ritchie & Jones-Brown, 2017). Police violence targets Black women who are lesbian, transgender and/or non-gender conforming even more frequently than straight, cisgender

presenting Black women (Richie, 2012; Ritchie, 2017). Law enforcement officers also sexually harass and assault women in encounters they initiate in the streets, in schools and during traffic stops, in women's homes and in immigration detention settings (INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Sood, 2018). Similarly, Black women identified as homeless, young women, transgender women, street vendors and/or outdoor-based sex workers are subjected to physical and verbal abuse, as well as challenges to their rights to exist in public spaces (INCITE!, 2018).

Other circumstances in which Black women encounter aggressive policing are SWAT (Special Weapons And Tactics) raids, typically, deployment of police paramilitary units entering a residence with explosive entry to serve an arrest warrant for a nonviolent drug offense (ACLU, 2014; Balko, 2006, INCITE!, 2018). Black women also experience law enforcement violence while in the custody of law enforcement agencies including immigration detention centers. Violence in custody often takes the form of neglect, such as denial of medical care and ignoring of complaints of life-threatening health problems (INCITE!, 2018).

Among the articles reviewed, studies of mental health implications of police violence have not focused on Black wome,n and have rarely used an intersectional lens. The studies have investigated mental health effects among adults assaulted by police officers, US adult Black population; adolescents in New York City; sex workers and/or drug users and other residents in the Bronx, New York; and law enforcement officers and civilians that were present at the protests in Ferguson, Missouri, following the police killing of Michael Brown in 2014 (Bor et al., 2018; DeVylder et al., 2017; Freudenberg, et al., 1999; Galovski et al., 2016; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016). The literature on the mental health effects of aggressive policing suggests the possibility of an association between aggressive policing and mental health status among Black women that have witnessed or experienced police violence (Bor, Williams & Tsai, 2018; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016).

Discussion & Conclusion

It is my contention that some gaps remain in the public health literature on police violence that could be addressed with an explicit intersectional critical race theory or Black feminist thought perspective. These frameworks remain largely absent despite the emergence of literature on how CRT can be applied to research in general and public health research in particular (Bauer, 2014; Borrell, 2018; Bowleg, 2008; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Hancock, 2008; Osagie, Headen & Mujahid, 2017). It is also my contention that CRT, Black feminist thought, and intersectionality can inform dominant research paradigms to create more robust research, even when applying methods critiqued by these approaches. The orientation of CRT, Black feminist thought, and intersectionality can bring into clearer view how police violence affects Black women and what can be learned from that. From epistemology to analysis to praxis, these frameworks can inform research that goes beyond publication to liberation.

Ontology & Epistemology

The critical frameworks of CRT, BFT, and intersectionality value lived experience, and through use of narrative can bring issues to the center from the margins. In so doing, these critical approaches can extract meaning from quantitative data, a fundamental benefit of a mixed methods approach. A critical approach additionally offers guidance on where to look for meaning. By looking to those marginalized by interlocking systems of subjugation, one gains

new perspectives on the systems one examines. The experience of the justice system in US society is not one shared by all its citizens (Richie, 2012). These critical approaches recognize lived experiences as valid data without regard to the quantitative standard of generalizability. The experience of a minority, subjugated population cannot be generalized to the population whom the system serves to protect. Critical approaches provide a necessary counterbalance to positivism in understanding the lives of subjugated populations.

Acknowledging the subjectivity of knowledge and the co-creation of knowledge as a relational endeavor removes the illusion of neutrality and objectivity so that researchers can manage their lack of objectivity. The relational aspect of knowledge co-creation emphasized by Black feminist thought can enrich the exchange. The acknowledgement that individuals are experts in their own lives can lead to qualitative studies such as the work of Gomez (2016) that included semi-structured interviews with adults in an overpoliced neighborhood in Baltimore. Researchers asked residents what their thoughts were on remedies to the aggressive policing they regularly experienced. As have other experts, residents readily identified 'War on Drugs' policing, over-policing and ineffective policing as threats to individual and community health in disinvested neighborhoods through community fragmentation (Gomez, 2016).

Analysis

Without an analysis of domains of power, or recognition of structural racism as a central organizing principle of American society, it is easy to overlook the relationship between racial segregation and over-policing. An inaccurate analysis can lead to a narrow range of research questions and less meaningful interpretation of results. One example of this is the study by Lynch et al. (2013) that investigates the context of place in 'War on Drugs' policing. The study recognizes structural racism as a factor but does not make note of how racist policies gave rise to both the nature of place – "ghettos" – and the nature of policing in those places that became ghettos for containing the disadvantaged population. An incomplete analysis that ignores police sexual violence against Black women can result in harmful police reform policies likely to further endanger Black women by increasing police presence in their neighborhoods (Sankofa, 2016).

Research Methods

Acknowledging the interplay of multiple power structures allows for a more complex analysis of the problem, more sound research questions, and a relevant interpretive framework. For example, in defending the fatal shooting of unarmed 'suspects,' police officers often claim that they feared that person was going to grab the officer's gun and use it against them (Zimring, 2017). Without a more complex understanding that centers racism, one could therefore come to the evidence-free conclusion that more Black women are shot by police and more Black women are unarmed when shot because Black women are more dangerous to police than other Americans. Quantitative research can also examine the margins. Researchers can eschew analyses that control for race and/or gender, treating race and gender as single elements, and instead use appropriate statistical methods that account for both race and gender and treat them as multiplicative rather than additive in their effects as markers (Bauer, 2014). An intersectional analysis calls for attention to the uniquely racialized and gendered experiences of Black women who encounter police violence in very particular ways (Aniefuna, Aniefuna & Williams, 2020; Sood, 2018).

Praxis

Most essential for the public health researcher is praxis. Critical methods exist to go beyond analysis and research to determine a way forward for transformation and liberation to inform action that improves people's conditions and lives. Addressing power imbalances requires action. Even in what might be considered the cynical view of CRT that racism will never go away, one must reject 'colorblind' approaches to legal remedies and demand redress that considers race and racism. A recognition of racism as perpetual does not mean acceptance of inaction. Perhaps it means the struggle is continuous.

The dearth of analyses of police violence that integrate the elements of oppression based on race and gender as well as sexual orientation, poverty, and/or immigration status has led to the frequent exclusion of Black women's experiences from the spheres of activism, academia, and the media (Crump, 2019; Jacobs, 2017; Richie, 2012; Ritchie, 2017). Critical approaches can strengthen traditional methods. However, critical approaches as products of subjugated knowledge must hold fast to its own traditions and not be subsumed by dominant paradigms of knowledge.

Critical conceptual frameworks with their intersectional analyses and demands for action can add to traditional social science methods and strengthen research and practice in public health. Public health research that is committed to praxis and that anchors the lived experience and expertise of Black women is research that will bring the margins to the center and move us forward in integrating research with mobilization, action, and policies that work.

Paper 2: Police Violence and Mental Health Among Black Women Responding to The Justice Study Survey

Abstract

Discourse on police violence, a public health problem that harms individuals' mental and physical health, often overlooks Black women. This study took an intersectional approach in exploring subsets of data collected between February 2018 and March 2019 for The Justice Study Survey of experiences of police violence in the US. Chi-square and *t*-tests were used to compare levels of exposure to police violence in the form of having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement officers and the outcomes of psychological distress and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptomatology among Black women (*n*=91; mean age=42) and White women (*n*=115; mean age=43) who were survey respondents. To explore the relationship between having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement officers and two outcomes, psychological distress, and PTSD symptoms, the responses of Black women were examined using 1) the Kessler 6 Scale (K6), and 2) a 14-item PTSD symptom scale, the PTSD-Self-Reported (PSS-SR). Logistic regression and multivariate analysis were used to examine the scores on the PSS-SR. Black women reported significantly higher exposure to police violence than White women, χ^2 (1, *n=91*) = 23.55, $p < .0005$, as well as higher rates of non-specific psychological distress, χ^2 (2, *n*=91) = 6.14, $p <. 05$, and PTSD symptomatology, *t* (204) = -3.666, *p*=.001. Among Black women there were no significant associations between having known someone killed by law enforcement officers and either psychological distress or PTSD symptomatology when adjusting for age, income, and education. Significantly higher exposures to police violence and levels of poor mental health outcomes call for further investigation and increasing public health interventions to address the conditions that harm Black women's health. Limitations of the size and scope of sampling suggest the need for further research on potential mental health consequences of police violence using large, random samples while retaining the intersectional approach of examining race and gender together.

Police Violence and Mental Health Among Black Women Responding to The Justice Study Survey

In November 2018 the American Public Health Association (APHA) approved a data-informed policy statement authored by the End Police Violence Collective declaring police violence a public health problem (APHA, 2019; Endingpoliceviolence.com, 2020). Police violence, a determinant of health, is defined here as state-sanctioned violence, constituting physical and psychological abuse, including neglect, committed by any sworn law enforcement officer (LEO) of any law enforcement agency (LEA) (APHA 2019; WHO, 2002). In March 2020, plainclothes police officers killed Breonna Taylor, a Black woman, in her home in St. Louis, Missouri.[2] In May 2020 the widely viewed killing of George Floyd[3] in Minneapolis, Minnesota ignited a nationwide uprising returning the issue of police violence to the forefront of the American consciousness more broadly. The demonstrations, both in St. Louis and nationwide, also increased attention to the case of Ms. Taylor and to the lives of the many, often overlooked Black women who are also victims and survivors of police violence (Balko, 2020; Ritchie, 2017; Roz, 2020; Washington, 2020). Black women account for 33% of women killed by law enforcement officers even though they represent only 13% of the total U.S. population of women (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015 as cited by YWCA n.d.). Furthermore, Black women have higher rates of lifetime exposure to police violence than the general U.S. population (Fedina et al., 2018).

For Black women, the health implications of police violence require attention; not based on the numbers among those affected, but based on Black women's unique position at the intersection of racism and sexism in a society structured to marginalize them. Such health implications demand attention. This study explored the exposure to police violence and mental health outcomes among sub-samples of Black women, and, for comparison, White women, who responded to The Justice Study Survey. The responses of Black women in the sample were further examined to determine if there were associations between the exposure to police violence (having known one or more persons who were killed by law enforcement) and the mental health outcomes of psychological distress and post-traumatic stress disorder PTSD symptomatology (the set of symptoms characterizing PTSD).

In this paper, I first offer the broader context of this study beginning with the historical background of policing in the United States and the central role of anti-Black racism among other systems of oppression in the origins of policing. An overview of the literature on police violence and mental health outcomes and the aims of the study follow. I then provide details of

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[2] Police officers of the Louisville, Kentucky police department shot and killed BreonnaTaylor upon violently entering her home with a "no-knock" warrant issued on the disputed basis of her former relationship with a man who was already in custody. See Balko, 2020 and Washington, 2020.

[3] On May 25, 2020, officers in Minneapolis, Minnesota detained and killed George Floyd. Officer Derek Chauvin, looking into the cameras of bystanders, asphyxiated Mr. Floyd by kneeling on his neck for at least 8 minutes as Floyd lay prostrate and fully restrained. The killing, recorded by numerous bystanders using their cell phones, precipitated a nationwide and global uprising against police brutality and systemic racism. See Edward, 2020 and Roz, 2020.

the methods of this analytic study, including the theoretical frameworks engaged and background on The Justice Study Survey, followed by the study results, and the discussion that concludes with implications for research and practice.

Context

Policing in the US

Organized policing in the US originated in Slave Patrols in the Southern states and urban patrols in the Northern states (Bass, 2001; Williams & Ritchie, 2015). These patrols were groups of White citizens, mostly male, with the primary job of monitoring the movements of enslaved people, using terror to protect the "property" interests of White enslavers (Bass, 2001; Turner, Giacopassi & Vandiver, 2006; Williams & Ritchie, 2015). This foundational policing role expanded to protecting business properties and maintaining intersecting social hierarchies from White supremacy to gender norms (Bass, 2001; Ritchie, 2013; Stewart, 1998). The entrenchment of law enforcement's often violent anti-Black racism is evident in the enforcement of post-Civil War Black Codes[4] which included vagrancy laws[5] that facilitated the convict leasing system,[6] participation in atrocities such as the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre[7] and, in the 1950s, harassment of Black families that moved into homes in all-White suburban neighborhoods (Alexander, 2016; Bass, 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005; Rothstein, 2017; Stewart, 1998). The legacy of anti-Black racism remains evident in the 21st century. Diverse law enforcement agencies, mostly police departments, killed more than 1,000 civilians each year from 2013-2019 (Mapping Police Violence, 2020). The rate of police killings of over 1,000 people each year far exceeds that of developed countries of similar economic status, and bears no correlation with levels of crime, nor with incidence of killings of law enforcement officers (both of which have been in a decades-long overall decline) (Esposito & Lee, 2018; Goff et al., 2016, Mapping Police Violence, 2020; Zimring, 2015). The persistent patterns in levels of aggression and surveillance in policing are consistent with the outlines of racial residential segregation and the policy-created modern ghettos (Feldman, Gruskin, Brent, Coull & Krieger, 2019; Kent & Carmichael, 2017: Sewell et al., 2017; Siegel, Sherman, Li & Knopov, 2019; Steinmetz et al., 2017).

As is the case for all forms of police violence—verbal and physical abuse, rape and sexual assault, excessive surveillance, and excessive and aggressive policing—lethal violence

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[4] Southern states enacted Black Codes following the abolition of slavery to control Black people's movements and position in society. See Stewart, 1998.

[5] Vagrancy laws fell under the Black Codes and criminalized joblessness and other vague offenses such as being stubborn, disrespectful, rejecting work conditions, and so on. For a discussion of the history of Black Codes and their relationship to modern policing, see Stewart,1998.

[6] Convict leasing was a system that effectively replaced enslaved people with people convicted of a crime. The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolishing slavery permitted punishment for crime as an exception. People convicted of crimes were contracted out to bidders or were otherwise forced to work in order to pay off fines and debts. See Alexander, 2016.

[7] The National Park Service used the term "race riot" when referring to the destruction of the African American Greenwood District (also known as "Black Wall Street"), in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Gun-bearing White citizens set fire to homes, dropped improvised bombs from biplanes, and shot Black citizens of all ages in the streets, leaving thousands homeless and razing 35 square blocks of the once-prosperous neighborhood. Greenwood never returned to its former prosperity. See U.S. Department of the Interior, 2005.

targets Black people at the individual and neighborhood levels (Feldman et al., 2019; Herd, 2020; Ritchie, 2017). Among those killed by law enforcement, Black and Indigenous people are represented at twice the rate of their representation in the U.S. population, according to 2010 census data. Black Americans represent about 13% of the U.S. population, yet, 23–26% of the civilians that police kill each year are Black (Herd, 2020; McLeod, Heller, Manze, & Echeverria, 2020; Zimring, 2015). Similarly, Black women are overrepresented among women killed by law enforcement at 33%, compared with representation of 13% of the total female U.S. population (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015 as cited by YWCA n.d.).

Policing Black Women

Since the 18th century, the systems of law enforcement and policing have questioned the humanity of Black women and policed them based on stereotypes. The 1859 case of the United States v Amy[8] established a dual status for Black women and other enslaved people as both non-human property with no rights protected by the law, and as humans who can be punished by the law (DeLombard, 2019; Ocen, 2014). Powerful negative stereotypes of Black women have endured—as counterimage of idealized womanhood and motherhood, as sexual wantons available without question, and as scheming and dangerous criminals. Discourse such as that originating in the 1965 'Moynihan Report,'[9] issued by the U.S. Secretary of Labor, Patrick Moynihan, and the rhetoric of U.S. President Ronald Reagan that conjured the mythical "welfare queen," (i.e., a single mother defrauding the system and having more babies to support her criminal efforts) have sustained such stereotypes of Black women (Ocen, 2014; Office of Policy Planning and Research, 1965). Traffic stops, 'War on Drugs' and 'quality-of-life' policing, and gendered racial profiling have targeted Black women for mass incarceration with the result that Black women became the fastest growing population in jails and prisons in the 2010s (Ocen, 2014; Ritchie, 2017).

Mental Health Implications of Policing

Police violence is a public health problem. Health effects and harms of violent policing range from death, disability, injury, and chronic health problems to financial hardship (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Hardeman, 2017; Bassett, 2015; Cooper & Fullilove, 2016; Herd, 2020; Obasogie & Newman 2017; Sewell et al., 2020). Additionally, exposures to police violence, including police killings, surveillance, and aggressive policing, have been shown to have harmful effects, specifically on mental health (Alang et al., 2017; Bor et al., 2018; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Herd, 2020; McLeod, Heller, Manze, & Echeverria, 2020). In her qualitative study with African American residents of a historically disadvantaged Baltimore neighborhood,

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[8] In United States v Amy, Amy was an enslaved woman accused of mailbox theft. The case settled the question of how it could be that a slave who was not considered a person might be held responsible before the law. For more see DeLombard, 2019 and Ocen, 2014.

[9] *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* was a March 1965 report by the Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor. It is commonly referred to as the Moynihan report after its author, Assistant Secretary of Labor Patrick Moynihan. The report pathologized single parent households led by Black woman and held other 'cultural factors' responsible for Black poverty. The report ignored structural realities of Black life in America and inspired the phrase "victim blaming" used by one of the report's critics. For more see Ocen, 2014.

Gomez (2016) linked violent policing to increased community fragmentation (the opposite of social cohesion or the capacity of a community to stand together).

Researchers working across the disciplines of public health, psychology, and sociology have documented relationships between exposures to police violence and negative mental health outcomes among Black people at the individual, neighborhood, and state levels (Alang, et al, 2017; Bor et al., 2018; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Gomez, 2016; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016). Bor et al. (2018) noted that incidents of police violence at the state level had population spillover effects, i.e., effects on people not directly connected to the victims. Also, Bor and colleagues found an association between the number of killings of unarmed Black people and diminished mental health among Black respondents.[10] Other mental health effects associated with police violence include an increased risk of psychosis and suicide attempts, as well as psychological distress and depression, particularly in "disadvantaged urban communities" (DeVylder, Frey, et al., 2017; DeVylder et al., 2018). Direct and indirect exposure to disproportionately high neighborhood levels of aggressive policing, most notably in stop-and-frisk encounters, surveillance, and use of force, are associated with higher levels of mental health distress of all residents, but most significantly among Black men who have been the targets of aggressive policing (Sewell et al., 2017). Psychological distress[11] has been associated with the following exposures: killings of unarmed Black civilians, lifetime exposure to physical violence (with or without a weapon), sexual violence, psychological violence, and neglect by police (Bor et al., 2018; DeVylder, Oh, et al., 2017; DeVylder et al., 2018).

Researchers have also found PTSD[12] to be significantly associated with the higher number of and frequency of police stops, as well as police sexual misconduct (Geller et al., 2014; Hirschtick et al., 2020; Stringer et al., 2019). Geller and colleagues (2014) found a significant association between frequent police stops and PTSD prevalence among Black men aged 18–26 in a sample of 1,271 male survey respondents living in urban settings. Among 1,543 adults in Chicago, Hirschtick et al. (2020) found increased odds of current PTSD symptoms among men with higher numbers of police stops, compared with men with fewer stops. Women in the study showed no difference in current PTSD symptoms regardless of exposure to stops, or to threats of or use of force during stops. Stringer et al. (2019) surveyed 351 Black women who used drugs and were involved with community corrections in New York City and found that 14% of the women reported experiences of sexual misconduct—sexual language or attempts to trade sexual acts for leniency—by law enforcement and criminal justice personnel. Post-traumatic stress disorder[13] was positively associated with the reported experiences of sexual misconduct.

Studies of police violence have found differences in mental health outcomes between Black people and non-Black people, as well as between Black men and Black women. Too few

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[10] More specifically, Bor et al. (2018) found an association between the number of killings of unarmed Black people that took place in the respondents' U.S. state of residence in the prior three months, and diminished mental health as indicated by self-reports of the number of days in the previous month that they described mental health as "not good."

[11] DeVylder and colleagues used the K6 Scale to measure psychological distress.

[12] Geller and colleagues used the Impact of Event Scale to measure PTSD symptoms related to the invasiveness of the stop as a predictor of PTSD. Stringer et al. (2019) used the PCL-C in their study.

[13] Stringer et al. (2019) used the PCL-C in their study.

studies have focused on the health implications of police violence in the lives of Black women with the notable exceptions of work by Sewell and colleagues and Stringer and colleagues (Bor, Venkataramani, Williams & Tsai, 2018; Jacobs, 2017; Sewell et al., 2020; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016). None of the above studies has focused exclusively on Black women with respect to the exposure of having known the victim of fatal police violence.

Study Aims

To address the gaps in the literature on police violence and Black women, this study used an intersectional approach to examining race and gender together in order to explore the mental health implications for Black women who have known the victims of fatal police violence.

The current study examined a subset of the data, described below, from The Justice Study Survey to explore two sets of questions. The first compared levels of a) exposure to police violence (having known one or more persons, personally or in one's neighborhood or community that were killed by law enforcement personnel); b) generalized psychological distress; and c) PTSD symptomatology among Black women and White women. This study's second set of questions focused on Black women and explored the relationship between having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement and two mental health outcomes of interest, specifically a) non-specific psychological distress, and b) PTSD symptomatology. The hypotheses follow:

H_1: Black women have significantly higher rates of having known someone killed by law enforcement than White women;

H_2: Black women have a significantly higher percentage of psychological distress compared to White women;

H_3: Black women have significantly higher mean PTSD symptoms scale score than the mean for White women;

H4: among Black women, having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement officers is associated with psychological distress; and,

H5: among Black women, having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement officers is associated with higher average scores for self-reported PTSD symptoms.

Methods

Theoretical Frameworks

This analytic study was guided by intersectionality, a tenet of Black feminist thought, and the principles of Public Health Critical Race Praxis (PHCRP) rooted in Critical Race Theory (CRT). Legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw is widely credited with coining the term 'intersectionality' in a 1989 paper (Bowleg, 2008; Crenshaw, 2005; Hill Collins, 2015; Simien, 2007). Intersectionality is the Black feminist conceptualization of interlocking systems of oppression to which Black women are subjected and which they experience simultaneously and

not separately (Crenshaw, 1991; Taylor, 2017). The legal scholars originating CRT posit that racism is so deeply embedded in US society that it requires neither malice nor individual rabid racists to perpetrate it. In short, racism is structural (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001; Wilkerson & Miles, 2020). PHCRP incorporates the CRT view of historical and current structural racism[14] and its intersection with other forms of oppression, and it then expands the constructs to emphasize praxis or action, also understood as a commitment to social justice (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Gilbert & Ray, 2016; Obasogie, Headen & Mujahid, 2017). As such, this study examines race and gender together as proxies for the multiplicative effects of racism and misogyny in the lives of Black women (Bauer, 2014; Jones, 2001).

The Justice Study

The Justice Study research team designed the survey in close collaboration with community members and activists whose loved ones had been killed by law enforcement officers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Justice 4 Mario Woods Coalition and Mr. Woods's mother, Gwen Woods, were instrumental in ensuring community participation in the survey design. Also instrumental was the organization Black and Brown for Justice, Peace and Equality which leads weekly demonstrations in San Francisco by Mothers on the March against Police Murders. Therefore, the survey included items related to the health implications of police violence and the perception of whether justice was served in the cases of loved ones having been killed by law enforcement.

Adults of all genders aged 18 and over and residing in the US were invited, through flyers, word-of-mouth, and social media posts, to take an online survey in either English or Spanish. The survey was conducted between March 2018 and February 2019 on the Qualtrics platform. A total of 1,046 respondents of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds consented to participate in the study. Of those respondents, 559 completed the survey, a 53% completion rate. No compensation was offered to respondents. The study protocol was approved by the institutional review boards of the University of California, San Francisco (IRB #17-22997) and Santa Clara University (Protocol ID 17-10-1028). The National Institutes of Health issued a Certificate of Confidentiality in response to the request by The Justice Study team.

Study Recruitment

The research team emphasized outreach to communities most affected by police violence, e.g., members of Native American communities and nations, people experiencing homelessness and diverse Black people. As a result, of the respondents that completed the survey, 26% self-reported race/ethnicity as Black/African American and 6% as Native/Indigenous American. The study team conducted in-person recruitment through community meetings and events, community-based organizations, and street outreach and word-of-mouth, primarily in the San Francisco Bay Area. Consequently, most respondents, around 43%, resided in Northern

[14] Structural racism posits that culture, ideology, history, policies, and practices coalesce into a singular system that perpetuates racism, i.e., "the system of structuring opportunity and assigning value based on the social interpretation of how one looks (which is what we call "race"), that unfairly disadvantages some individuals and communities, unfairly advantages other individuals and communities, and saps the strength of the whole society through the waste of human resources." For more on structural racism, institutionalized racism and antiracism see Hardeman et al., 2016; Jones, 2002 & Jones, 2020.

California, based on the zip code data obtained for 91% of the sample. Additionally, the team conducted national outreach through social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter, including accounts of organizations and high-profile individuals such as Colin Kaepernick, W. Kamau Bell and Shaun King. Black respondents in this sample lived in 24 states located in every region of the US. Most respondents resided in large urban areas from New York City to Honolulu, from California to Arkansas. It should be noted, however, that many lived in small cities and towns as well.

The research team also conducted passive outreach through English- and Spanish-language fliers inviting adult participants who had experienced police violence to take the survey. The Justice Study research team circulated information and links to the survey among their professional networks including The Do No Harm Coalition,[15] based at the University of California, San Francisco. There was also a website and a Facebook page for The Justice Study. Respondents could also access a link to the survey on the Do No Harm Coalition website.

Measures

Exposure: Police Violence. The exposure to police violence in this study was operationalized as a dichotomous variable (yes or no) if respondents responded either "yes" or "no" to the question: "During your lifetime, has anyone you knew personally, or anyone in your neighborhood or community been killed by a law enforcement officer?"; responses to the follow up question: "How many people you know personally, or who are in your neighborhood or community, have been killed by a law enforcement officer?" were reviewed. There were five response choices: 0, 1, 2, 3, or, 4 or more.

Outcomes: Mental Health. The two mental health scales designed for self-report, the six-item Kessler Psychological Distress Scale or K6, and the modified 14-item PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder syndrome) Scale Self-Report version, or PSS-SR, have each been validated among diverse populations, including White women and Black women, both US- and foreign-born (Foa, Riggs, Dancu, & Rothbaum, 1993; Krieger, Koshleva, Waterman, Chen & Koenen, 2011; Prochaska, Sung, Max, Shi, & Ong, 2012).

The K6 assesses non-specific psychological distress, and includes questions on feelings related to depression and anxiety in the previous 30 days, using a Likert scale based on 5-item responses from "none of the time" to "all of the time." The K6 yields a score that ranges from 0 to 24 with a cut off score of 13 or higher suggesting presence of non-specific psychological distress (Prochaska et al., 2012). Using this cutoff, scores were recoded to a dichotomous variable, yes or no.

The modified 14-item PSS-SR is designed to assess clusters of PTSD symptoms[16] by presenting 14 questions about experiences of PTSD symptoms in the previous two weeks. The

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[15] Dr. Rupa Marya, Co-Principal Investigator of the Justice Study, along with Professor Sonja Mackenzie of Santa Clara University, is also a founder and the Faculty Director of the Do No Harm Coalition. For more on the Do No Harm Coalition, see website at www.donoharmcoalition.org

[16] Based on the fourth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) IV published by the American Psychiatric Association, PTSD symptom clusters cover three categories (or clusters) of symptoms

four possible responses, "never," "sometimes," "often," or, "very often" for each question, were coded 1 through 4, respectively, without regard to symptom clusters. The scores, with a potential range of 1-56, were derived by summing the response values for each question. PSS-SR scores were treated as a continuous variable.[17] Higher scores on the PSS-SR have been shown to be associated with increased likelihood of being diagnosed with PTSD (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1996).

Covariates. Additional study covariates included age (continuous) race/ethnicity (Black and White), level of education **(**Associate degree/Some college or less; Four-year-degree and advanced degree) and income (Less than $2250, and $2250 or more).

The question on race/ethnicity was presented as "Which do you feel best describes your racial/ethnic background? (Choose all that apply)." Respondents could select as many responses as they wished and, depending on which response was selected, they could further identify themselves by national origin and/or ethnic identities. Self-reported race/ethnicity was used to create a 'race' variable by classifying race as 'Black' if respondents selected "African American or Black" as one of their responses and classifying race as 'White' if they selected "White or European" as their only response. This approach to classifying respondents' race is consistent with social constructions of race, in particular, blackness and whiteness in the US, and serves as a good proxy for experiences of systemic racism (Jones, 2001; Smedley & Smedley 2005; Wilkerson & Miles, 2020). There was no measure of how respondents' race was perceived by others.

The final sample total of 206 excluded seven observations that were dropped due to discrepancies in the data.

Statistical Analysis

The sociodemographic, exposure and outcome variables for the whole sample and stratified by racial/ethnic identity were described. Differences of means or differences in proportions for all variables between Black women and White women were assessed by Pearson chi-square and two-sample *t* test or one-way ANOVA, as appropriate. In both models, the odds ratio for the outcome of psychological distress and the regression coefficient for the outcome of PSS-SR score were estimated using multivariable logistic regression and linear regression, respectively, adjusted for age, highest level of education attained, and income level. The significance level was set at p=.05. The statistical software used was Stata 16.1 (Stata Corp., College Station, TX).

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related to 1) re-experiencing the trauma mentally e.g., flashbacks or bad dreams 2) avoidance of reminders of the trauma and numbing of emotions, and 3) hyperarousal that can manifest as hypervigilance, having difficulty sleeping or concentrating and irritability. See Foa et al., 1993 and Scher, McCreary, Asmundson & Resick, 2008.

[17] The modified 14-item PSS-SR does not focus on a specific traumatic event and therefore requires further assessment for a diagnosis that would consider the distribution of the symptom clusters and a cut-off score (Boney-McCoy, 1996; Foa, Riggs, Dancu, & Rothbaum, 1993).

Results

Table 1 summarizes demographic characteristics and outcome variables for the respondents included in the sample. The mean age was 42 for Black women and 43 for White women, with similarly normal distributions of age within racial groups and no statistically significant differences between the groups. Women with incomes less than $2250 in the previous 30 days comprised 70% of the total sample, and proportions among Black women and White women did not differ significantly. While 68% of the total sample reported either a four-year or advanced degree as their highest level of education completed, White women had a significantly higher proportion of participants with advanced degrees as compared with Black women (45.22% vs. 28.57%, respectively, p=0.047).

Exposure to Police Violence, Psychological Distress, and PTSD Symptoms

Among Black women and White women, exposures to police violence differed significantly, with 66% of Black women responding yes, compared to 36% of White women (χ^2 (1, n=91)= 23.55, $p < .0005$).

Significant differences were found in levels of psychological distress and PTSD symptomatology between Black women and White women in the sample. Among Black women, 69% reported psychological distress compared with 52% of White women with χ^2 (2, n=115) = 6.14, $p <. 05$ as detailed in Table 2. Similarly, for PTSD, significantly higher PSS-SR scores were found among Black women. The mean self-reported PTSD symptom scale (PSS-SR) score for Black women was 30, and the mean PSS-SR score for White women was 26 (Table 2). The difference in means of PTSD symptom scores was significant, with t (204) = -3.666, p = .001. Tables 3 provides additional details on PSS-SR mean scores among Black women by demographics.

Exposure to Police Violence and Mental Health Outcomes Among Black Women

Psychological Distress. In the unadjusted logistic regression model, Black women who had known one or more persons killed by law enforcement officers had higher odds of reporting psychological distress than Black women who reported that they had not known anyone that had been killed by law enforcement (*OR* 2.58, 95% *CI*: 1.03–6.45). However, in the model adjusted for age, income, and highest education attained, summarized in Table 4, there was no significance in the relationship between that exposure to police violence and psychological distress (*OR* 3.59, 95% *CI*: 0.64–7.83).

PTSD Symptomatology. Among Black women, having known one or more persons killed by law enforcement was significantly associated with a higher PSS-SR score, indicative of symptoms characterizing PTSD, in the unadjusted model (p=.008). However, there was no significant association (p=.095) between having known someone killed by law enforcement and PTSD symptomatology when adjusting for age, income, and highest education attained (Table 5).

Discussion & Conclusion

A focus on Black women who had responded to The Justice Study Survey allowed an exploration of the mental health implications of Black women's experiences of police violence, with an analysis that considered race and gender markers together. Significantly higher levels of exposure to police violence were found among Black women compared to White women in the sample, supporting the alternative hypotheses that Black women will report higher levels of exposure to police violence. This finding reflects the disproportionate exposure to police violence in Black communities (Bor et al., 2018; Sewell et al., 2016). This finding is also consistent with data that suggest that law enforcement agencies subject Black adults, youth and children, and the low-income neighborhoods that are more likely to be home to Black residents, to higher levels of policing and police violence (Bass, 2001; Feldman et al., 2019; Herd, 2020).

The findings of higher levels of non-specific psychological distress and PTSD symptomatology among Black women when compared to White women in the sample support hypotheses 2 and 3. These findings align with literature on Black women's increased likelihood of experiencing adverse mental health outcomes as compared with their White peers based on their documented experiences and measures of intersecting structural racism and sexism throughout the life course (Fedina et al., 2018; Krieger et al., 2011; Nuru-Jeter et al., 2008). However, when adjusting for age, income, and education, no significant associations were found between the exposure to police violence and the mental health outcomes studied, psychological distress and PTSD symptomatology. The findings did not support alternative hypotheses 4 and 5, proposing a positive association between exposure to police violence and mental health outcomes.

In the emerging literature on mental health effects of violent policing, few studies have focused on gender differences in mental health outcomes or on Black women, in particular (Jacobs, 2017). In their study of spillover effects of police killings of unarmed Black people, Bor and colleagues conducted a sex-stratified analysis in which race and sex at birth[18] were examined separately. Geller et al. (2014) accomplished an analysis that accounted for race and gender in their race-stratified analysis of the sample of young men of which 20% self-reported their race as White, and 80% reported racial/ethnic identities other than White. Stringer and colleagues had a sample exclusively composed of Black women who reported drug use and were in custody in New York City and for whom they gathered baseline data on mental health outcomes. Stringer and colleagues found a positive association between the women's experiences of sexual misconduct by law enforcement and criminal justice personnel and the presence of PTSD as well as depression among the women in custody. Sewell et al. (2017) offer another notable example of considering race and gender together in their analysis in which they found a significant relationship between neighborhood-level aggressive policing and psychological distress for Black men but not for Black women in the same neighborhood.

[18] The 2019 BRFSS questionnaire asks for sex at birth as well as gender identity questions that are incorporated in questions on sexual orientation.

Measuring Police Violence and Health Outcomes

The exposure in this study was having personally known anyone killed by police violence without regard to the race or armed status of the victim. Bor and colleagues (2018) looked at police killings of unarmed Black Americans that occurred in the respondents' US state of residence. Both measures consider a type of proximity to the killing by law enforcement.

The outcomes measured also differed from that used by Bor and colleagues which combined large data sets—the US Behavioral Risk Factor and Surveillance System (BRFSS) and the Mapping Police Violence database—and asked a single question about self-reported poor mental health days in the preceding month, i.e., number of days in which they assessed their mental health as "not good." The measure of psychological distress, the K6, was the same as that used by Sewell and colleagues in their studies of aggressive policing at the neighborhood level and by DeVylder and colleagues in their studies of police victimization using the Police Practices Inventory. In this study, the measure of PTSD was a 14-item PSS-SR that was modified to make it non-specific to any one incident and easier to score. The modifications of the 14-item PSS-SR may render the PSS-SR more suitable for use among populations that have recurring exposures to police violence than the 17-item PSS-SR and the 17-item PSC-Civilian version used by Hirschtick et al. (2020) and DeVylder et al. (2018). The measure appeared unique in studies of police violence.

Limitations

This study used a cross-sectional study design which limits the ability to establish temporality between the exposure and outcomes. However, the accessibility of cross-sectional data made them suitable for an exploratory study that can provide some directions for further research.

Survey data can also be limited in validity due to recall bias as the survey asked about lifetime exposure to having known someone killed by law enforcement officers. For 17% percent (10) of the respondents, the incident that most affected them occurred within the previous year, a period that could have included the previous 30 days or even the 2 weeks preceding the survey, and therefore the outcome measure could have preceded the exposure. However, for 83% (50) of the respondents, their self-report indicated that the incident that most affected them (the killing by law enforcement of someone they knew) occurred anywhere from 1 year to over 10 years before they took the survey, therefore the mental health outcomes were all post-exposure.

In this study, the focus was on race and gender identities, two of many possible interlocking markers that can determine how systems of oppression affect the lives of individuals and communities. The samples, while diverse in age, income, and education, presented the limitations of being relatively small and non-random. The analysis was also limited by the treatment of the sample as a simple random sample.

A larger sample size would have enabled us to consider other identities that are frequent targets for systems of oppression that include ableism, homophobia, xenophobia, and classism. Further, an increase in statistical power from larger, random samples might have informed whether it was correct to fail to reject the null hypothesis. Which is to say, does the failure to detect any significant difference in mental health outcomes, between those who had known one

or more persons killed by police violence and those who had not, reflect the true relationship between exposure and outcome? Respondents were asked about experiences of community violence but were not asked about experiences of racism and discrimination, or other sources of stress and trauma, though this would have posed additional challenges to the survey completion rate of 53%.

Implications for Public Health Research and Health Equity

Through its assessment of the mental health implications of fatal police violence for Black women who have known the victims, this study contributes to addressing the dearth of literature on police violence focusing on Black women and their particular positions at the intersections of oppression. The exploration of these data produced noteworthy findings on higher levels of exposure to police violence and the likelihood of worse mental health outcomes among Black compared to White women within the relatively small samples. However, the study limitations as described above suggest that continued research with large samples is necessary to further investigate whether or not there is a relationship between exposure to police violence and mental health outcomes.

The findings of higher levels of exposure to police violence and significant levels of mental health distress and PTSD among Black women point to the need for continued attention to the health of Black women and factors contributing to their mental health outcomes. As Braveman and Gruskin (2003) and Krieger (2020) pointedly state, our obligations are to gather better data while acting to improve population health by reducing police violence, because health inequities are neither inevitable nor intractable. Health inequities are preventable and actionable.

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics, Exposure to Police Violence, PTSD symptom scale score and Psychological Distress among Black and White women Respondents, Overall and by Race/Ethnicity, March 2018–February 2019 (N=206)*

	Overall Sample	Black/African American	White/European descent	
Explanatory variables	No.[a] (%) or mean (S.D.)[b]	No.[b] (%) or mean (S.D.)	No.[b] (%) or mean (S.D.)	*p*
Current gender female	206 (100%)	91 (44.17)	115 (55.33)	
Age, range 18-74	43 (12.42)	42 (10.62)	43 (13.70)	.628
Age by categories				
Ages 18-34	57 (27.67	21 (23.08)	36 (31.30)	
Ages 35-44	75 (34.95)	40 (43.96)	32 (27.83)	
Ages 45 and older	77 (37.38)	30 (32.97)	47 (40.87)	
Income last 30 days				.746
Less than $2250	61 (29.61)	28 (30.77)	33 (28.70)	
$2250 or more	145 (70.39)	63 (69.23)	82 (71.30)	
Education				.047*
Associate degree, some college or less	65 (31.55)	34 (37.36)	31 (26.96)	
Four-year-degree	63 (30.58)	31 (34.07)	32 (27.83)	
Advanced degree	78 (37.86)	26 (28.57)	52 (45.22)	
Exposure and Outcome variables related to Hypotheses 1-3				
Known one or more persons killed by law enforcement				<.0005***
Yes	96 (46.60)	60 (65.93)	36 (31.30)	
No	110 (53.40)	31 (34.07)	79 (68.70)	
Psychological Distress (K6 score of 13 or higher 1-54)				.013**
Yes	123 (59.71)	63 (69.23)	60 (52.17)	
No	83 (40.29)	28 (30.77)	55 (47.83)	
PTSD symptom scale score mean (SD) Range (14-54)	28 (9.48)	30 (9.87)	26 (8.72)	.001***

[a] Percentages are for the full sample *N*=206

[b] Percentages are specific to the stratified sample

[c] Differences of means or rates assessed by Pearson's chi-square for the categorical variables, and unpaired *t* test or one-way ANOVA for the continuous variables.

* $p \leq 0.05$. ** $p \leq 0.01$. ***$p \leq 0.001$.

Table 2. *Psychological Distress (Kessler 6 score of 13 or higher) among Black Women by Demographics and Having Known One or More Persons Killed by Law Enforcement (n=91)*

Explanatory variable	No. (%)	Psychological Distress No. (%)		
		Yes	No	
		64 (68.82)	29 (31.18)	*p*
Age categories				.140
Ages 18-34	21 (23.08)	18 (28.57)	3 (10.71)	
Ages 35-44	40 (42.86)	27 (42.86)	13 (46.43)	
Ages 45 and older	30 (32.97)	18 (28.57)	12 (42.86)	
Income last 30 days				.001**
Less than $2250	28 (30.77)	26 (41.27)	2 (7.14)	
$2250 or more	63 (69.23)	37 (58.73)	26 (92.86)	
Education				.243
Associate degree, some college or less	34 (37.36)	25 (39.68)	9 (32.14)	
Four-year degree	31 (34.07)	18 (28.57)	13 (46.43)	
Advanced degree	26 (28.57)	20 (34.07)	6 (21.43)	
Known someone killed by law enforcement				.033*
Yes	60 (65.93)	46 (73.02)	14 (50.00)	
No	31 (34.07)	17 (26.98)	14 (50.00)	

* $p \leq 0.05$. ** $p \leq 0.01$. ***$p \leq 0.001$.

Table 3. *PTSD Symptom score (PSS-SR) among Black Women by Demographics and Having Known One or More Persons Killed by Law Enforcement (n=91)*

Explanatory variables	No. (%)	PTSD Symptoms Scale Score Mean (S.D.)	*p*
Age groups			.732
Ages 18-34	21 (23.08)	33 (10.26)	
Ages 35-44	40 (42.86)	30 (9.62)	
Ages 45 and older	30 (32.97)	28 (9.81)	
Income last 30 days			.010*
Less than $2250	28 (30.77)	34 (10.04)	
$2250 or more	63 (69.23)	28 (9.35)	
Education			.287
Associate degree, some college or less	34 (37.36)	34 (10.53)	
Four-year degree	31 (34.07)	27 (8.49)	
Advanced degree	26 (28.57)	29 (9.19)	
Known someone killed by law enforcement			.010*
Yes	60 (65.93)	32 (9.45)	
No	31 (34.07)	26 (9.78)	

* $p \leq 0.05$. ** $p \leq 0.01$. ***$p \leq 0.001$.

Table 4. *Adjusted Logistic Regression Model, Psychological Distress, Black Women (n=91)*

Explanatory variables	OR [95% CI]	*p*
Age	0.94 (0.893, 0.992)	.023*
Income last 30 days		
Less than $2250	Ref	
$2250 or more	0.14 (0.036, 0.577)	.006**
Highest Education Attained		
Associate degree, some college, or less	Ref	
Four-year degree	0.48 (0.131, 1.726)	.258
Advanced degree	1.50 (0.395, 5.710)	.551
Known someone killed by police violence	2.25 (0.750, 6.871)	.148

* $p \leq 0.05$. ** $p \leq 0.01$. ***$p \leq 0.001$.

Table 5. *Adjusted Linear Regression Model, PTSD symptoms scale score, Black Women (n=91)*

Explanatory variables	Coefficient	95% CI	*t*-Statistic	*p*
Age	-0.18	(-0.36, -.0003)	-2.02	.046*
Income last 30 days				
Less than $2250	Ref			
more than $2250	-4.55	(-8.70, -0.38)	-2.17	.033*
Highest Education Attained				
Associate degree, some college or less	Ref			
Four-year degree	-5.84	(-10.57, -1.11)	-2.46	.016*
Advanced degree	-4.24	-(9.01, 0.53)	-1.77	.081**
Known someone killed by law enforcement	3.59	(-0.64, 7.83)	1.69	.095

Adjusted *R*-squared 0.1702

* $p \leq 0.05$. ** $p \leq 0.01$. ***$p \leq 0.001$.

Paper 3: "Like We're Not Human": Black Women's Views of Policing in a Historically Black Neighborhood in the San Francisco Bay Area

Abstract

Police violence represents an enduring manifestation of institutional and structural racism. Police violence is also a public health problem as it negatively affects mental and physical health, with loss of life in some cases. Discourse on police violence has largely centered on the disproportionate impacts on Black boys and men, and has neglected Black women who represent the only group, by race and gender, for whom the majority of those killed by police are unarmed. Black women experience uniquely racialized and gendered non-lethal violence. Black women are overrepresented among communities targeted for police violence, such as people with disabilities, people who are non-gender conforming, people experiencing homelessness, and residents of disadvantaged urban neighborhoods. In this paper, I use an intersectional lens and the approaches of critical race theory and Black feminist thought to explore Black women's experiences and views on policing as well as individual and community health implications of policing in a historically Black neighborhood. I engaged in 11 semi-structured interviews with Black women from the neighborhood. Findings from the study reflect their analyses of policing and the health implications of policing in their neighborhood and their views on solutions to the problem of police violence, with implications for researchers, activists and policymakers.

Introduction

Police violence in the United States is a perennial public health problem rooted in institutional racism and accommodated by the structural racism of racial residential segregation (Basset, 2015; Feldman, Gruskin, Coull, & Krieger, 2019; Jones, 2000; Williams & Collins, 2001). This study applies the term police violence broadly to refer to violence or neglect directly caused by sworn law enforcement officers (LEO) supported by diverse law enforcement agencies (LEA) whether municipal or local police departments, sheriff's departments, airport and transit police forces, border patrol agencies or other LEA (Alang et al., 2017; Bassett, 2015; Cooper, 2015; Cooper, Moore, Gruskin & Krieger, 2004). This definition is based on the 2002 World Health Organization (WHO) definition of the public health issue of state violence, i.e., state-sanctioned use of force or power that inflicts psychological, physical, and/or sexual harm, and includes the harm of neglect (Bassett, 2015; Cooper & Fullilove, 2016; Dahlberg & Mercy, 2009; Dorfman, Woodruff, Chavez & Wallack, 1997; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2002).

Despite the steady declines in killings of police and in crime rates since the 1990s, law enforcement officers in the US continue to kill over 1,000 civilians annually, a per capita rate of civilian killings that is 40 times that of Germany and 100 times that of the United Kingdom, two comparably economically developed countries (Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018; Zimring, 2017). Over 90% of civilians killed by law enforcement agencies are killed by gunshot, and over 90% are male (Edwards, Esposito & Lee, 2018; Zimring, 2017). In 2015, approximately 26% of all people killed by police were Black, approximately double the percentage of the Black population in the US (Zimring, 2017). Even more striking, 33% of the women killed by police were Black women, even though Black women represent a little less than 13% of the female population in

the US (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015 as cited by YWCA, n.d.). Black women represent the only race-gender group for whom the majority, 57%, of those killed by police were unarmed (Johnson, Gilbert & Ibrahim, 2018). Black women, standing at the intersection of racism and sexism and other systems of oppression, experience police violence disproportionately, not just as victims of police killings or survivors of those killed, but also as targets of non-fatal violence of all forms (Crenshaw, 1991; Jacobs, 2017; Hutto and Green, 2016; Taylor, 2017). Black women are overrepresented among people who are particularly vulnerable to police violence, such as people with mental or physical disabilities, people perceived as gender non-conforming, people who use illicit drugs, and pregnant or mothering people (Jacobs, 2017; Hutto and Green, 2016; Ritchie, 2017).

Policing serves to preserve intersecting social hierarchies primarily based on racism, classism and sexism (Jones, 2000; Williams & Collins, 2001; Stewart, 1998). As such, policing subjects Black women to its maintenance of social control in ways that are uniquely gendered and racialized (INCITE!, 2018; Ocen, 2012; Ritchie, 2017). The data on abuses beyond homicide are virtually non-existent. The dearth of analyses of police violence that integrate the elements of oppression based on race and gender as well as sexual orientation, poverty, and immigration status has led to the exclusion of Black women's experiences from the spheres of activism, academia and the media (Jacobs, 2017; Richie, 2012; Ritchie, 2017). This paper adds the missing voices of Black women who represent a targeted, vulnerable population affected by police violence. Additionally, these narratives will go beyond experiences and perceptions of police violence to gain the insights of Black women regarding the problem and its solutions.

The current study set out to build on those works that are beginning to fill the gaps in the literature with qualitative findings that center the voices of Black women and to expand our understanding of police violence affecting Black women. This study focuses exclusively on Black women and relies on their experiential knowledge and expertise in understanding policing as it affects their lives in their historically racially residentially segregated neighborhood. I explore Black women's views of police violence by asking 1) what are Black women's experiences and perceptions of policing? 2) what do Black women see as the implications of police violence for health and community life? and 3) what do Black women see as solutions to the problem of police violence? This study applies the concept of intersectionality, as expounded by Black feminist thought and espoused by critical race theory in an exploration of the public health problem of police violence as it affects Black women and their communities in the San Francisco neighborhood known as the Bayview or Bayview Hunters Point.

In this paper, I review the historical context of policing and provide a background to the health implications of violent policing, how police violence affects Black women, and review two earlier qualitative studies that include Black women's views of policing. Then I introduce the research site, discuss the conceptual frameworks that guide the study, and outline the methods used. In the final sections, I present three overarching themes I identified from 11 semi-structured interviews, a discussion of those findings, and a conclusion noting key contributions and implications for public health research and practice.

Background

Historical Context – The Racist Roots and Legacies of Police Violence in the US

The history of policing in the US from slave patrols[16] to modern developments such as militarization and racially unjust 'quality-of-life'[17] policing, points to racism as a central organizing principle of US society and to the role of policing as an instrument of social control (Ajilore, 2015; Ritchie, 2017; Stewart, 1998). Historically, law enforcement officers have enacted this role by participating in both legal and extralegal racist activities. Among the infamous examples of the latter are the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre[18] in Oklahoma, the Ku Klux Klan assassination of civil rights activists in Mississippi[19] in 1964, and the facilitation of the harassment of Black families who moved into white neighborhoods in the 1950s (National Parks Service, 2005; Norman, 2014*;* Rothstein, 2017). Policing, from its origins to the present, has also served to enforce intersecting racial hierarchies and gender norms and has been identified by scholars as a determinant of health (Herd, 2020; Ritchie, 2017; Stewart, 1998; Sewell, 2018).

Poor Black communities and Black people of all genders have borne the brunt, or been the explicit target of, the major developments in practices, policies, and laws that shape policing in the US. One quintessential example is the 'War on Drugs' that itself encompassed many racist practices: militarization of police departments that targeted Black neighborhoods, racial profiling, 'stop and frisk' practices targeting Black and Brown youth in particular, and racist sentencing practices (Carbado, 2017; Gamal, 2016; Nunn, 2002; Stewart, 1998). Modern legal developments have facilitated racist policing practices in general and 'War on Drugs' policing in particular (Carbado, 2017; Cooper, 2015). Two relevant examples are the erosion of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution,[20] to which Carbado (2017) attributes the legalization of racial

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[16] These patrols known as slave patrols in the Southern states were groups of White citizens, mostly male, with the primary job of monitoring the movements of enslaved people using terror to protect the "property" interests of White enslavers. Urban patrols in Northern states controlled the movements of enslaved people to ensure that they did not escape from their captivity and that they returned to the homes and other sites of their enslavers. See Williams & Ritchie, 2015.

[17] Also known as 'quality of life policing,' or 'disorder policing,' 'broken windows' is an evidence-free approach suggesting that enforcement against minor infractions, such as fare evasion in subway stations, will prevent the occurrence of more serious crimes (Fagan & Davies, 2000). Its implementation is reminiscent of Black codes as the vast majority of people cited, ticketed, stopped and frisked for misdemeanor offenses, or suspicion of misdemeanors, are Black people (Stewart, 1998).

[18] The 'Tulsa Race Riot' is how the National Park Service referred to the destruction of the African American neighborhood of Greenwood, nicknamed 'Black Wall Street,' in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Gun-bearing White citizens set fire to homes, bombed the neighborhood from the air, and shot Black citizens of all ages in the streets, killing hundreds, leaving thousands homeless, and razing the once-prosperous neighborhood. Greenwood never returned to its previous state (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2005).

[19] In June 1964 on the first day of the Freedom Summer civil rights campaign, civil rights workers raised alarms that their comrades James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael (Mickey) Schwerner were missing. The three activists were in their twenties. James Chaney was a local Black activist. His fellow activists were two Jewish men, Andrew Goodman, a college student from New York and Mickey Schwerner, the CORE (Congress Of Racial Equality) field worker and leader, who was the target of the assassination plot. Their bodies were found buried beneath a dam on a farm owned by a member of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Local Klan members included the Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Sheriff's Deputy Cecil Price who was involved in the murder. The case gained national attention at the time and became infamous and later the subject of a movie. See Linder, 2002 and Norman, 2014.

[20] The Fourth Amendment of the US constitution declares a right against unreasonable search and seizure (Carbado, 2017).

profiling, and the Posse Comitatus Act,[21] to which Cooper (2015) attributes the increase in police militarization.

Neighborhoods that were historically made available to Black and immigrant families—readily identifiable with the aid of redlining[22] maps—have been the primary targets of neglect as well as aggressive policing, whether in the form of daily harassment of residents, under- and over-policing, or deployments of paramilitary police paramilitary units (commonly known as SWAT units (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Hardeman, 2017; Berkowitz, Gao, Michaels & Mujahid, 2020; Kraska, 2007; Nunn, 2002). These developments have all negatively affected Black women.

Health Implications of Police Violence

Law enforcement violence is a determinant of health that harms individuals by inflicting verbal abuse, that often includes profanity and racial epithets, physical abuse, and excessive force causing injuries, disabilities, and deaths (Alang et al., 2017; Bor, Venkataramani, Williams & Tsai, 2018; Holmes & Smith, 2012; Sewell, 2017). Sexual violence, specifically rape and sexual assault, by law enforcement officers is the second most highly reported complaint to citizens' oversight boards (Ritchie, 2017). Ritchie (2017) notes the additional harms to health of miscarriage of pregnancies of Black women resulting from Taser attacks or other physical violence. Excessive use of force against pedestrians in certain New York City neighborhoods was found to be associated with increased risk of diabetes and obesity as well as poor self-rated health and hypertension (Sewell, 2017). Aggressive policing in New York City has also been associated with higher levels of asthma (Frank, Hong, Subramanian, & Wang, 2013 as cited by Sewell, 2017). For marginalized community members such as sex workers and users of illicit drugs, aggressive policing creates barriers to access to potentially life-saving services such as HIV testing, syringe exchange programs and reproductive health services (Cooper, 2015).

Researchers have documented mental health harms of direct and indirect exposures to police violence at the national, state, community and individual levels among Black people (Alang, et al, 2017; Bor et al., 2018; Galovski et al., 2016; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Gomez, 2016; Hutson et al., 2017; Sewell, Jefferson & Lee, 2016). Among a sample of almost 39,000 Black adults, Bor et al. (2018) found an association between self-reported poor mental health (indicated by number of days in the previous month in which respondent reported mental health as "not good") and the number of killings of unarmed Black people in their state of residence in the prior three months. Disproportionately high neighborhood levels of aggressive policing, especially stop and frisk encounters, surveillance, and use of force, are associated with higher levels of mental health distress among residents (Sewell, 2018). Police violence is also associated with higher risk of psychosis and suicide attempts, as well as higher levels of psychological distress and depression, particularly in "disadvantaged urban communities" (DeVylder et al., 2017a; DeVylder et al., 2017b). Results of a study that engaged with Black adults in a historically disadvantaged neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, suggest that violent

[21] The Posse Comitatus Act proscribes domestic intervention by the military. For more, see Gamal, 2016.
[22] Color-coded maps of neighborhoods were designed by the federal government Depression-era Home Owners' Loan Corporation to assess lending risk, often determined by racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods. Those deemed to be at the highest risk were color-coded red, or redlined. For more see, Bailey, Feldman & Bassett (2021).

policing can produce community fragmentation (the opposite of social cohesion or the capacity of a community to stand together) that negatively affects community health (Gomez, 2016).

Police Violence in the Lives of Black Women

The controlling narratives and enduring stereotypes that remain peculiar to the policing and over-policing of Black women originated in the subjugation of Black women in chattel slavery (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017; Ocen, 2012; Ritchie, 2017). In a racist construction of Black women, they are imagined as being deviant from a femininized ideal of womanhood and of being bad mothers. Demonstrating the currency of these narratives is that Black women continue to be subjected to separation from their children when they are arrested for perceived child endangerment or child abuse and/or drug use, sometimes even immediately following childbirth (INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Roberts, 2017). Similarly, Black women are presumed to be criminal, as is the case for Black men (Hitchens, Carr & Clampet-Lundquist, 2017). However, language related to Black women depicts Black women as not just dangerous but treacherous. Other persistent narratives frame Black women as being sexually available without question and therefore violable, or as sex workers, whether or not that is the case (Amuchie, 2016; Jacobs, 2017; Ritchie, 2017). Furthermore, deviation from the stereotype of servility can result in abrupt escalation even in the cases of minor violations such as a traffic stop, as was the case for Sandra Bland.[23] A question about one's rights seems to be a stimulus for physical violence by the police officer (Ritchie, 2017). Throughout Ritchie's vivid accounts of police violence against Black girls and women and other girls and women of color, police officers frequently used the gendered slur "bitch" to address the girls and the women in their encounters. In one case, the epithet was preceded by the word "Black" and yelled at a pregnant woman whom the police had physically, then verbally abused. These dominant stereotypes continue to operate in Black women's encounters with violent policing (Amuchie, 2016; Ritchie, 2017).

The discourse on gender-based violence has often excluded Black women as victims and survivors, and excluded LEO as perpetrators, even though, as mentioned above, sexual violence is the second most reported form of police violence to police oversight bodies (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Richie, 2012). Police officers have perpetrated gender-based sexual violence against women who call 911 for help and during officer-initiated encounters in traffic or in the streets (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015; Fedina et al., 2018; INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017, YWCA, n.d.). LEO have sexually assaulted and raped women in encounters in public places, in women's homes, and in custody settings such as criminal justice programs, jail, prison or immigration detention settings (Fedina et al., 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Stringer et al., 2020). Black women are also at high risk for violent police encounters precipitated by calls for help in situations in which they face community violence, intimate partner violence or other domestic violence (Fedina et al., 2018; Ritchie, 2017). Sex workers, women experiencing homelessness, migrant women, survivors of domestic violence and/or transgender women are especially targeted for such abuse

[23] Sandra Bland was a 28-year-old Black woman leaving her home on the outskirts of Chicago and driving to Prairie, Texas for a new job with her alma mater, Prairie View A&M University, when a Texas State trooper pulled Bland over for a minor traffic infraction, failing to signal a lane change. The physical violence began when Bland asserted her rights. The officer arrested her. According to official reports, her death in custody was ruled a suicide, a ruling the family rejects (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015; Reed, 2015; "Texas Rangers investigating death of woman in police custody," 2015).

(INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Ritchie & Mogul, 2008). Black women are overrepresented among those harassed and abused.

Black women in public spaces are at additional risk for physical and verbal abuse especially if they are perceived as being in any frequently targeted groups -- young women, transgender women, people experiencing homelessness, street vendors and/or outdoor-based sex workers (INCITE!, 2018). In the context of quality-of-life policing, LEO racially profile Black women, especially transgender women as sex workers (Crenshaw & Ritchie, INCITE!, 2018; Ritchie, 2017; Ritchie & Mogul, 2008).

While in custody, Black women also experience neglect, such as denial of medical care or disregard for complaints of life-threatening health problems (Ritchie, 2017). Jacobs (2017) documenting a list of atrocities committed by police against Black women, concludes that police can kill Black women "just because."

Black Women's Views of Policing

As mentioned previously, there is limited scholarly research on Black women's experience of policing. Two qualitative studies of note included Black women in their samples. The embedded case study by Gomez (2016) centered around interviews with Black residents in a Baltimore neighborhood and sought perceptions of policing and community fragmentation. The study stands out for its focus on Black adults and its inclusion of their views on what should be done about police violence and other neighborhood conditions (Gomez, 2016). Informants in Gomez's study offered similar sentiments to those of the young women in the study by Wilson and colleagues (2020) that some law enforcement officers are good, and some are bad. However, they went on to compare policing to slavery and described police in their neighborhood as being there to police, i.e., surveil and harass, rather than protect, residents. Interviewees suggested that broader measures are required, such as providing housing, addressing crime, increasing youth services and investing in the community to reverse the decades-long divestment. Additionally, residents suggested changes in policing; among them, including more local residents on the police force, increased accountability for law enforcement misconduct, and addressing corruption on the force. My study builds on Gomez's by delving into the gendered experiences of Black women.

Qualitative research by Wilson, Antin & Hunt (2020) examined perceptions of police among young Black and Latina women in the San Francisco Bay Area. Wilson and colleagues aimed to understand how direct and indirect exposures to law enforcement, as well as race and gender identities, influenced the women's perceptions of police. Their study is distinguished by focusing on women of color and applying an intersectional approach in considering the combined role of residents' race and gender in shaping perceptions of police. The study found that the women held generally negative perceptions of police, influenced by direct and vicarious experiences, including media coverage.

Aims of the Current Study

The current study builds on those works that are beginning to fill the gaps in the literature. With an intersectional lens, this study focuses exclusively on Black women to explore their perceptions of policing, their views on the health implications of police violence in their

neighborhood, and as solutions to the problem of police violence as envisioned by Black women. This study relies on Black women's experiential knowledge and expertise in understanding policing as it affects their lives in their historically racially residentially segregated neighborhood.

The Conceptual Frameworks and Research Approach

The frameworks of Critical race theory (CRT) as adapted by public health scholars and of Black feminist thought, and particularly their shared tenet of intersectionality, influenced the research from conceptualization to engaging in research with the goal of anti-racist praxis, i.e., action. The intersectionality framework outlines the role of policing in supporting intersecting systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, homophobia and classism (Ritchie, 2017). Black feminism centers intersectionality, the concept of interlocking systems of oppression which Black women experience simultaneously rather than separately as distinct experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Taylor, 2017). CRT posits that structural racism is deeply embedded in US society, both currently and historically (Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). In its migration from law to public health, CRT emerges as the Public Health Critical Race framework, with emphases on 1) race consciousness; 2) contemporary orientation of recognizing the currency of racism; 3) voices in the margins; and 4) praxis, i.e., an iterative process of research informing action (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). Black feminist thought shares several areas of converging focus with critical race theory. Black feminism recognizes the expertise of everyday people beyond the walls of academia, and shares with CRT an emphasis on the lived experiences and stories of the oppressed as data for understanding race, racism and power (Collins, 2015; Stefancic & Delgado, 2001). Black feminism and CRT also share the principle that analysis and research should be antecedents of praxis (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Taylor, 2017).

Research Site

The Bayview sits on the sunny side of the often-foggy San Francisco Bay in the southeast corner of San Francisco that is known as Bayview-Hunters Point, comprising the expansive Bayview and Hunters Point neighborhoods. Over the centuries, Bayview, once known as South San Francisco and nicknamed Butchertown, has been the land of the Ohlone people, of Spanish and Mexican occupiers, and has been called home by migrants from China, Ireland, Malta, France, Italy and Greece (O'Brien, 2005, pp. 7-9). More recently, communities within the neighborhood include mostly African Americans alongside immigrant and native-born Asian and Pacific Islander and Latinx communities. The 1960s saw an increase in the African American population in Bayview-Hunters Point from 46% to 72%; however, the 2010 US Census data showed a decline in the non-Latino African American/Black population to 33% (Dillon, 2011; harder+company community research). Since the post-World War II period, racist practices and policies have subjected Bayview-Hunters Point to concomitant systematic neglect and harms to community health related to racial residential segregation (Jackson & Jones, 2011; Williams & Collins, 2001). According to the 2010 Census data, 39% of the population in the area lives below 200% of the Census poverty threshold, with a median income of $43,151. Rates of unemployment are persistently higher than the City of San Francisco as a whole (harder+company community research, 2012).

While facing challenges such as environmental racism and other forms of structural racism, the Bayview boasts a vibrant community with a strong tradition of political activism and

resistance to urban renewal, poverty and police violence. Milestones in that history of resistance are the uprising provoked by the police killing of teen Matthew Johnson in 1966 and protests that followed the police killings of Mario Woods in 2015 and Jessica Williams (also known as Jessica Nelson or Jessica Nelson-Williams) in 2016 (Dillon, 2011; Matier & Ross, 2016; Saleem, 2016). The current chief of the San Francisco Police Department, William Scott, a Black man, was sworn in in January 2017. Chief Scott met with community members in the Bayview at the invitation of an organization, founded by Bayview resident Phelicia Jones, called Wealth and Disparities in the Black Community – Justice for Mario Woods. In that meeting, Chief Scott committed to reducing deaths at the hands of police. Scott's appointment came in the wake of the forced resignation of besieged Chief Greg Suhr, following demands by community groups that included the hunger strikers that became known as the Frisco Five and the loss of the support of then Mayor Ed Lee. Chief Suhr resigned on the same day that police officers in the Bayview shot and killed Jessica Williams in her car (sanfranciscopolice.org, Wealth and Disparities in the Black Community – Justice for Mario Woods, 2017; Welsh, 2016).

Methods & Sample

I engaged in 11 semi-structured interviews with Black women with deep ties to the Bayview-Hunters Point neighborhood in San Francisco, California (zip code 94124) between October 2019 and May 2021. The overarching questions centered on the narratives and expertise of Black women to gain an understanding of police violence as it affects them and their communities. The guiding questions were 1) What are residents' experiences and perceptions of policing? 2) What do residents see as the health and quality of life implications of policing? and 3) What do residents see as solutions to the issue of police violence? I piloted and refined the interview guide with the help of a resident. The Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) reviewed and approved the research protocol (#2018-12-11652) and the amendments noted below.

All eleven interviewees identify as Black, African-American, or as being of African descent regardless of country of origin and reside or work in the neighborhood of zip code 94124 or stay there from time to time if experiencing homelessness. All of the participants were cis-gendered heterosexual women, who ranged in age from 25 to 77. Education levels ranged from high school to GED equivalent and master's degrees. Nine women were current residents, representing both renters and homeowners, as well as long-time residents and newer residents. Two women were former residents who grew up in the neighborhood; one woman was sheltered but housing insecure and the other spent her childhood in the Bayview and continues to work in the community as she has for over two decades. Two participants reported living with disabilities, two participants had experienced being arrested and locked up in jail, and two participants had parents who had migrated to the US.

Data Collection and Analysis

I combined snowball sampling with purposive sampling using my social and professional networks as well as the help of community-based organizations and interviewees to reach potential participants diverse in age, socio-economic position, occupation, housing status, as well as pregnancy and disability status (Small, 2009; Weiss 2014). I posted a graphic with the content

of the flyer on Facebook which was shared by the executive director of a local community-based organization and others.

Following review of informed consent and verbal permission to record, I digitally recorded the one-on-one interviews, conducted in English, that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Once I stopped recording, I concluded interviews with a brief optional demographic survey and a request for referrals to other potential participants. Participants could remain anonymous. All participants who consented to being interviewed received $50 in gift cards to show appreciation and offer nominal compensation for the time spent in the interview. Gift cards of $5.00 in value were available for anyone who agreed to meet but declined to participate. All participants with whom I met consented to the interview.

In March 2020, the University of California, Berkeley Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS) suspended all in-person research in response to the emergence of the current global coronavirus pandemic. Following approval of amendments to the research protocol, I resumed interviews using a secure online meeting platform (Zoom Pro) from my UC Berkeley licensed account, as required.

Throughout the summer months of 2020, in response to the killing of George Floyd in May, unprecedented nationwide uprisings brought to the forefront the issues of police violence and systemic racism for a wider audience than ever before.[24] The uprisings expanded the public discourse on police reform and defunding the police, representing one of the major societal shifts that took place in 2020 (Edward, 2020). I therefore amended the interview guide to introduce a prompt about defunding the police in the section on solutions to police violence. The amended interview guide also asked about possible effects on policing in the neighborhood due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the 'shelter-in-place' orders in San Francisco.

Prior to the various restrictions in place due to the current coronavirus pandemic, I conducted two in-person interviews in locations suggested by the interviewees that were non-stigmatizing public spaces that offered adequate privacy. I conducted eight subsequent interviews on a video conferencing platform and one by telephone. I conducted two follow-up online interviews to ask questions from the revised interview protocol with the two participants with whom I had met in person. A transcription service transcribed the recorded interviews.

I practiced 'reflexive journaling' for the purposes of making personal biases salient, enhancing recollection, noting areas for clarification, and maintaining codes throughout the process from initial impressions through the evolution of the codes. I also used this tool to help me maintain a culturally humble approach.[25] A culturally humble approach is consistent with the

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[24] On May 25, 2020, police officers in Minneapolis, Minnesota detained and killed George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black man. Officer Derek Chauvin, looking into the cameras of bystanders, asphyxiated Mr. Floyd by kneeling on his neck for more than eight minutes as Floyd lay prostrate and fully restrained. The killing, recorded by bystanders using their cell phones, precipitated a nationwide and global uprising against police brutality and systemic racism. See Edward, 2020 and Roz, 2020.

[25] Cultural humility is a framework that rejects cultural "competence" in favor of 1) engaging in lifelong self-reflection and learning on power, privilege and position; 2) addressing power imbalances; and 3) holding institutions

principles of centering the voices of communities pushed to the margins of society by multiple systems of systemic oppression, primarily racism and sexism, and trusting interviewees' expertise in their own lives in analyzing the system of policing.

I reviewed individual transcripts multiple times to ensure accuracy, remove identifying information and to add notations to indicate emotional expressions. I then read and re-read the transcripts as a collection, making notes to identify codes and possible themes. I constructed inductive and deductive codes and analyzed the data through subsequent coding. That is, the a priori codes were based on the theoretical frameworks that shaped the research questions that in turn shaped guiding questions for the semi-structured interview guide. I used the qualitative data analysis software, MAXQDA (MAXQDA Plus 2020 release 20.4.1) to aid in the iterative coding and analysis of the de-identified transcripts. I sorted and combined codes into themes. I used a thematic analysis approach to identify, analyze and illustrate themes within the interview data (Saldaña, 2021). I refined those themes by checking how well the coded transcripts illustrated or demonstrated the themes. The literature, as well as my theoretical orientation, influenced the identification of themes I uncovered from reviewing the transcripts as a single collection as well as individually coded documents.

Findings

This section opens with a view of the neighborhood from the participants' perspective to provide some context for the findings. Then I discuss the three major themes I identified: policing as racist, policing as a threat to individual and community health and wellbeing, and solutions to the problem of police violence. I refer to participants using pseudonyms and ages at the time of the interviews. For clarity of quotations by participants, I retained expletives but removed some speech fillers. Ellipses indicate missing words or pauses.

Context: Bayview is a Beautiful Neighborhood with Assets and Challenges

Participants' views of the neighborhood's assets and challenges provided some context for the findings. Participants described the Bayview as a beautiful place and a vibrant community facing some significant challenges, described by Rose, 77, as being related to "legacy issues." Participants said that the things they "love most about" their neighborhood are the sunny weather, the views, the sounds of the Bay, Victorian homes and other treasures such as the historical Bayview Opera House. Grace, 25 said of the geography:

> Here in the Bayview, the water is always kinda like a thing that helps you sleep better. Hearing the wind, the water rustle, that's always been the thing for me. The water is definitely one of the things that like brings joy, and it's always sunny on this side y'know.

Among valued resources in the community, participants mentioned community programs, especially for youth; the Bayview YMCA; the health centers; and the public library. Also noted were the history, food, culture, and a feeling of community that some felt was being strained by the throes of gentrification. Maria, 58, said it feels like a small town, adding:

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accountable in creating equitable partnerships and redressing power imbalances. See Tervalon & Murray-García, 1998.

> Bayview is ... for people who have lived here for a long time, we know one another, we know decades of people's families, you know, and we can reminisce and go back to the seventies and the sixties and all of that. For those of us who are staunchly middle age, we can do that. So … that's what I love about it.

Kyle, 56, recounted, with laughter, speaking to a friend who used to say she hated the Bayview. "There's a lot of history and love here. I said, 'Look at this beautiful Victorian' and she said, 'You know, I used to hate Bayview until you said that. And now every time I walk outside, I look around.' I said, 'You know, sometimes look up in the sky.'"

Some interviewees had positive views on recent changes in policing in the neighborhood tied to the appointment of Chief William Scott who assumed the position in January 2017. Maria and Jackie, 64, commented positively on the appearance of bicycle patrols, and Rose mentioned various forms of outreach, such as community meetings, newsletters and communication via the NextDoor app. Yvette, 49, suggested that the police were trying to repair relations with the community, since the pandemic and the Summer 2020 national protests, though she did talk about diminished community trust in police at the same time:

> But I think a lot of the police, I heard they... it's been much calmer in my neighborhood I think, because they try to find out if we need anything. It's like they're trying to build a relationship with us, but it's hard to get that trust back too because, because they killed so many ah…

Several participants also referred to ongoing community meetings convened by the Bayview captain that have continued during the pandemic via the Zoom videoconference platform.

In the course of our conversations, without prompting, participants referred to challenges facing the neighborhood. Some noted the context of lack of economic opportunity, systemic neglect and the trauma among community members. Without exception, participants talked about violence – especially gun violence, domestic violence, and police violence. Jordan, 60, said it this way, "Bayview has some beautiful things to offer if they could just get the damn violence under control." Of policing in the neighborhood as one of those challenges, she added, "Bayview is a beautiful place, but it's got some issues. And the police are part of that issue, yeah."

Theme 1: Policing is Racist

Racism emerged as a pervasive and prevalent theme. The interview guide began with questions on policing in general using neutral terms, but then addressed racism indirectly with a question on how policing might differ in different parts of the city, and more directly, with a question on residents' experiences with policing as Black women. With the codes I generated, I identified sub-themes in the areas of 1) experiences of racism and related issues of racial profiling, colorism, and gendered racism/intersectionality; 2) observations of policing in the neighborhood related to institutional racism; and 3) functions of policing that relate to structural racism. Interviewees described their encounters, shared observations of policing in their neighborhood, and expressed their views of the functions of policing in response to my questions on the subject. Participants made references to three high-profile police killings of Black citizens

in the Bayview. They were Matthew Johnson, a teenager whose killing by police in September of 1966 sparked the Bayview uprising,[26] Mario Woods, killed by police in December 2015, and Jessica Williams killed by police in May 2016. Yvette, aged 49, reported experiences of two of those incidents. Mario Woods, whose killing was on a highly circulated video taken by a local young woman, was the son of a friend. The other experience was that of fleeing the sound of gunshots. Yvette later learned that what she heard was police firing shots into the car being driven by local resident Jessica Williams, who was pregnant at the time of her death.

All participants expressed generally negative views of policing, which they described as being racist, often making the case by posing the counterfactual, a hypothetical situation for comparison. Or, in one case of stating it plainly, Jordan described what happened when the police were called to her house for help as she was attacked by two White people (friends of relatives) who were staying with her temporarily:

> But the police that came in and was so fucking racist too. So, they talking to the White people like this they house. "I'm the victim!" I said that to the police officer. He's still talking to them. I said, "Do you hear me talking to you?!"

Later in our conversation she added:

> Don't think they look at us…they look at us as a race and the way they look at us is not good. Not good at all. I, if you're a Black woman, a Black man, a Black child. Yeah. They don't care.

I review the theme and sub-themes of racism by presenting examples of the counterfactual, experiences of policing, views of policing in the neighborhood and views of functions of policing that participants shared in our conversations.

The Counterfactual

Residents explicitly acknowledged racism in policing and frequently presented the case of the counterfactual, postulating what the case would have been if the race of the civilian in the encounter with the police had been White and not Black, or if the neighborhood were a different one and not their own historically Black neighborhood.

Aisha, aged 30, commented on the January 6 insurrection[27] that was being televised live at the time of our interview, "The exact same thing! Yeah, all of us [Black people] would have been dead!" She implies that if the mob had been predominantly Black instead of White, the insurrectionists would have been killed by police. Yvette described her feelings on the threat policing represents to Black men:

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[26] The killing by police of teenager Mathew 'Peanut' Johnson sparked a two-day uprising that was met with a law enforcement show of force in September 1966. For more see Dunn-Salahuddin, 2021.

[27] On January 6, 2021, following a widely promoted rally of supporters of the outgoing US president, there was an insurrection and violent attack on the US Capitol on the day of the certification of the 2020 general election. For a columnist's perspective see Brown (2021).

> And it bothers me. It really does because it seemed like when I watch the news,...but it seemed like the White guy, if you get him for shooting up the whole school, you capture him and that's okay. But to capture our Black men, you have to kill them? But you take the White man away in handcuffs?

Rose referred to an incident from her youth when her teenaged brother was detained in the 'jail' of the department store where he worked, as a suspected accomplice to shoplifting. Rose said, "…so those kinds of things where they would never have done that, in my opinion, to a White youth." She explained that her innocent brother had been suspected because the shoplifter, an adult man, was also Black. Jasmine, 54, said of being perceived as a threat as a Black woman:

> But it's different when a White woman…you could be somewhere and a White woman is cussing, screaming, hollering, and for some reason they [police] don't feel triggered, and they don't feel like they're [White women] being aggressive, and everything is cool. But when a Black woman does the same thing, we are now…we need police. We need all these extra standbys. And they're [White women] like the most dangerous.

Rose and Jordan compared policing at the neighborhood level. Rose presented the counterfactual when discussing the use of pretextual traffic stops,[28] or stops without any clear cause, as a means of extracting fees from Black communities:

> …you know all the burden of running the public service is falling on these fees! And things that burden people and keep their…keep, you know, drag them into the criminal justice system in a way that you can't keep your job. You're being locked up, right, over a taillight and an unpaid ticket and you're going to actually literally going to jail. Now charging me for the time you've put me in jail for the, you know, I mean, these are just [laughs] crazy things that happen…You know, you know, people don't see it as racist, but they would never do it to a White community.

Jordan similarly commented on the difference between policing in her neighborhood and a nearby neighborhood:

> Oh, hell yeah, we got way different police than they do up in Dogpatch. Uh, I've just watched a video of a man, a White man being held by two police officers. He escaped them, steals their car and nobody shot one bullet. They didn't shoot one bullet! They wrestled him down. When he got up and got in that police car, I was so out. Done!

Jordan explained that the incident demonstrated that such detentions can indeed be made without killing the civilian. In addition to subtle allusions and a few explicit statements, these comparisons drew my attention to the theme of racism recurring throughout our conversations.

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[28] Pretextual stops are ostensibly stops for traffic offenses, but they are made with the intention of uncovering other offenses and are the mechanism for racial profiling. For more see Rushin & Edwards, 2021
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Assumptions of Criminality, Stereotypes and Racial Profiling

Grace, Aisha, and Jackie each recounted experiences of being stopped for clear cause (speeding) and having positive or neutral experiences, and Yvette stated that the police officers who helped her with a situation involving family violence were patient and helpful. However, most participants recounted negative experiences of encounters with police. Participants reported personal and vicarious experiences of 'driving while Black,'[29] referring to a traffic stop for which there is no clear reason, or a traffic stop for a vehicular defect or other minor offense. Jackie reported being stopped repeatedly, stating, "It's never been anything, but something happened to do with being in an automobile." Aisha shared her husband's experience of being questioned for no apparent reason:

> I think I have a negative bias like in general because one, like, I,…I know like as far as, not my own experience, but with my husband. I know he got…he gets pulled over a lot. And like, I remember him telling me one time that he got pulled over, like around Coit Tower,[30] just for like sitting in his car. Like, he wasn't even doing anything. It was just sitting in the car. And they were like asking for his ID and asking for his friend's ID when they were like, totally within their rights to be there. Like, it wasn't like late at night or anything like that. They were just like looking at the view. And…they [husband and friend] were like, "What is the problem?" And he [police], he didn't even give them a reason. He just told them, like, "We just need to see your IDs."

Women also perceived that they were approached in their vehicles on the basis of their newer model or luxury cars being driven by a Black woman. Shonda related one such account:

> So, a police officer stops me. "Well, what are you doing in here?" I said, "I work. Here's my badge. You know, I work here. Here's my city parking pass, like my permit to park." Oh, I was driving a newer [SUV Make and Model]. I was young. I was in my twenties. It was my car. And they felt that, how did *I* get, I mean, this is my personal feeling…how did *I* have that car? They was like, "Well, is this your vehicle?" And I say, "Yes." And so, the question, how I think it was racist, they're going to ask me well, you know, "If this isn't your vehicle, you need to just tell us now," when I'm like, "It's my vehicle!" Like, "I've answered your question. Here's my papers. I've shown you everything." But, "We need to see if this is really you" and this, that and the other. And I'm like, "I've given you all information that you need." So, they held me there for about a good 40 minutes. Questioning me about... I'm like, "This is BS. I know it is because I've given you everything that you need, you can run my license plate, you can run my license, but you're still asking me questions?" Like ..how did I get...? I'm like, "That's none of your business." Like, how can *I* afford *that*?

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[29] 'Driving while Black' refers to experience of Black motorists of being stopped by police without cause or on flimsy pretexts. For more see Harris (2010).

[30] Coit Tower is a San Francisco landmark and San Francisco Recreation and Parks facility with scenic views frequented by tourists.

Jackie also described an incident in which she returned to her car in a mall parking lot to find that her then teenaged son was surrounded by police under suspicion of having stolen the car despite having the keys while sitting in the car awaiting his mother's return from shopping. Jackie reported being aggressively confronted by the police officer who accepted no proof that this was her car and that the teenager inside was her son. Jackie stated her belief that her son had been profiled by the officer as a criminal suspect and that she had been profiled as being an unlikely owner of a luxury vehicle.

Participants described other experiences of being treated as suspicious and criminal, for example, Aisha, Jackie, Yvette and Shonda all said they had been followed in a store while shopping, although they were not always clear if the individuals were police officers or private security guards. Yvette said, "I could go into the store and they following me around. So that made me think, 'Are you following me around because I'm African-American?'" These experiences have in common the elements of the assumption of criminality and racial profiling.

Colorism. Women describing their personal experiences also alluded to colorism, or anti-Black racism expressed as prejudice against dark-skinned Black people. Aisha said, "…Well, let's just say, if I were a White woman, I'd probably be taken more seriously. If I, like, had something to say, I think automatically I'm looked at as 'less than' especially being a dark-skinned Black woman." In talking about the threat of policing to her sons, Shonda posed the following:

> So, this is where I see a big discrepancy. If the person is maybe light-skinned maybe that looks like you[31] or White or Chinese, and if that person or persons commit a crime, we're having a conversation about it—"Oh my God, you really don't want to do that!" This is not like, "Well, we're talking about it; we're going to have this conversation."—talk the person down. But when it's reversed, it's like, uh, you act, and then you ask questions. You don't even know we got a call. You 'fit the description,' your face on the ground. And you don't even know why, what has happened. There's never a conversation first.

Shonda also explained what racism and colorism mean for her as a mother:

> Honestly, I'm terrified. Terrified. Honestly, every time my kids…three are males. And even my, my babies, I, um, well, one son is dark-skinned, so he probably 'fits the description.' You know, whatever that dark-skinned, it 'fits the description.' And I have another son who is more fair…

Maria also has sons with different complexions and explained how colorism shaped an incident of driving to her home while being pursued by unmarked police:

> So, we're driving, and we pull up in front of my house and like about eight police cars stopped me. They let the light-skinned'd one go upstairs. The dark skinned'd one, they reached in the window, tapped him and put a fat gun right in his mouth.

[31] This refers to the author/interviewer – a brown-skinned Afro-Indian woman.

Each of these accounts made a clear reference to the role of colorism, prejudice based on complexion in their interactions, and even the disparate treatment of their children with different complexions.

Gendered racism - Intersectionality. When discussing how police interact with Black women, interviewees described Black women as sharing with Black men a presumption of criminality by police in their encounters with them. However, some participants felt that Black women were at less risk of being killed less risk of other physical and non-lethal violence than Black men, but worse off than White women in similar situations. Rose spoke of her earliest memories of racial profiling and the role of gender:

> I lived here as a kid, you know, when Angela Davis used to go up and down Third Street with the bullhorn on the back of a truck, you know, Black Panther Party events y'know my earliest memories. Wasn't really until my brother became a teenager that I became aware that the police can harass you, because as a girl, I never got bothered. But him and his little friends, as soon as he started driving the police started pulling them over for being just four young Black boys in a car. I mean, they would get pulled over for just, you know, the usual kinds of things that you hear about on TV.

She continued addressing the issue of gender:

> I think I have been treated very differently because of my gender. It doesn't mean that that Black women…that every Black woman is treated well. No, I don't suggest that at all. I just think that, in general, compared to the treatment that men get, we don't get, as much of, or the worst of, their treatment.

Rose clarified that she thought Black women were treated worse than White women but were better off than Black men in terms of their treatment by law enforcement. Of her own experiences Rose said, "I have to say that as a woman, I have not had a lot of bad experiences with police." Yvette similarly felt that being a woman was protective against physical abuse by police. After being asked about how police approach Black women, Yvette talked about how they handled her daughter, who she stated needed social support rather than jail:

> They try to, well, in my situation, they um, they kind of talked with her, and they, um, you know, she was cursing them out and stuff. I think they were patient, the officer—the officers that I came in contact with—they were patient with her. Which I know some officers probably wouldn't have been patient with her, like they would have got her in that car, cuffed her, and took her to jail. But, in my, um experience they were patient with her, they talked to her, they asked her did she need anything, you know, did she need to go to a shelter, um, did she, you know, go to the hospital. Um, so, but it wasn't a bad experience, like, they didn't you know, grab her or anything.

She contrasted this positive experience with how they would handle the same situation with a man, stating, "And I kind of, um, bring me back to my- like, and that's my fear of them. A man,

they- they quick to do that. Like, they don't try to talk to them, they just quick to shoot them." She concluded that a man behaving the same way as her daughter had, might have been shot.

Some interviewees said that as Black women they were perceived as lacking credibility as witnesses or in any other capacity. Rose recounted an incident in which she called the police station to report a hit and run crash that she witnessed and the officer taking the call responded by insinuating that Rose herself may have been the driver. Rose later found that her report had been ignored and that the police had briefly taken a Black woman into custody despite Rose having provided a description of the White male driver responsible for the incident she reported witnessing:

> But anyway, to me, it was just kind of an indication that, y'know, as a Black woman, I'm not trusted, y'know. And maybe many Black women are not trusted because why would you arrest a woman that has nothing to do with... [the crash]

Kyle offered this counterfactual mentioning a stereotype of Black women, in a conversation about codeswitching, "It feels as if, well, the angry Black woman syndrome, that's what I get… you know, I try to, I know some, I know a little bit of English, [laughs] so I try to be, you know, on top of it." Jordan's words provided a summary "I feel like when they look at us, even as Black women, they don't see who we are." Rose provided another intersectional perspective, "People talk about Black women being the victims of both racism and sexism. Black people are the victims of racism, which affects us all, regardless of your assets but they're also the victim of class issues."

As Black women, the experiences most commonly described were racial profiling, e.g., driving while Black, being considered suspicious or threatening in some way and the most distinctive being a kind of invisibility – not being seen, heard or believed.

Policing in the Neighborhood

Despite the perceptions of improvements to policing in the neighborhood– increased outreach, community meetings, bicycle patrols and a decline in police killings, interviewees identified many problematic issues. Our conversations suggested that policing in the neighborhood consisted of both over-policing, e.g., excessive surveillance and harassment, and under-policing, e.g., lack of availability or presence after the daytime hours when public transportation ran frequently and beyond the boundaries of the main thoroughfares. Under-policing also encompasses neglect as described by Jasmine, "And when you call them, either they don't come at all, or they come 10 hours later on another shift." They also described the linked problems of over- and under-policing as police being always around in the day to harass people and never around when you need them. Yvette stated, "…it seems like when we really need them, they're nowhere to be found." Jordan gave an example of either ignoring crimes or behaving aggressively:

> Um, just watching the police drive up and down the street. And I know the kids are selling weed, but they just drive past, like it's not happening. On the other hand, when it does happen and they stop the boys or whatever, they are totally disrespectful.

Neglect in other forms was also an issue. Maria suggested that the Bayview is treated as a training ground with trainees coming and going, and that the influx of trainees combined with rotating captains at the Bayview station[32] creates instability and sends a message of neglect to the community:

> We've had so many different captains. It's laughable. Since I've been back home. Um, 1998 is when I came back home from, from (City on the East Coast) and we have had at least eight captains in that timeframe…So, whoever is responsible for the police force. Why would you allow a station in a neighborhood that's underserved to have rotating captains like that consistently and not address that issue? What does that say to the neighborhood?…There's a problem, but we're not worth you addressing that.

Maria recounted a community meeting convened to address a spike in violence many years ago:

> And that is when the, the officer said, "We didn't know, that there were Black people who cared." As if the only adults that they, they interact with could care less about their children. Right.…I haven't researched it. I'm sure there's officers who have been there year after year, but the officers come in for three- to six-month rotations and all they see is what they see on the news and what they've heard from other people.

Maria related what she thought was behind the officer's surprise on observing the caring Black adults in the Bayview. She expressed the belief that young White officers were coming to the Bayview with negative preconceived notions gained from their colleagues and seniors on the job as well as through the media.

Racism in policing was in part attributed to the presence of White male officers, rookies that don't know or respect the community. Jordan remarked on the issue of getting to know the community, "…just get to know us. Don't pre-judge us. Just because we're Black don't mean we're a criminal or a crackhead. I'd just like to see change. I'd like to see change in Bayview policing."

Yvette talked about policing in the neighborhood as consisting of an antagonistic relationship between the community and the police whom they do not trust, saying "Yeah, 'cause I think it's- it's us against them. Because especially among the Black men, 'cause they don't have trust for the police." Other participants made similar references to the lack of trust in the police. Jordan, speaking of policing more broadly, said:

> I mean, just, just take the whole George Floyd situation, you know, that man didn't deserve to die, but it was so wild that they try to discredit him…It's like some police don't believe in us or protect us and we don't trust them because they don't protect us.

[32] Former District Supervisor, Malia Cohen stated that she had seen nine different Bayview captains in her eight years as Supervisor (Mark, 2019).

Interviewees described ways in which policing in the neighborhood conveys a disregard for the community and its residents and even for their humanity. Keisha and Kyle both expressed this sentiment in their descriptions of how police officers behave toward members of the community. Keisha, 31, shared her experience of being assaulted by police officers who arrested her for selling drugs. The charges were dismissed two days later because the officers' actions were illegal. She said, "They pulled my hair back and tried to put a pen down my throat to make me spit the narcotics up." Keisha reflected, "It's like they…act sometimes, they have an attitude like we not human. Like they… like…you know, we aliens." Jordan echoed her words, saying, "You know, we are humans. We all make mistakes. Just stop treating us like we're not human." Jordan had this to add to the conversation on the perceived disregard for the community:

> But, um, like I said, I see a lot of them [police] racing down the street a lot, you know, almost running people and other cars over and seniors and people in wheelchairs. It's just, they have no regard for human life on Third Street when they're racing down here. That's what I don't like.

Jordan recalled the aftermath of a fatal incident of community violence that she witnessed, saying "The thing that mixed me up so bad was while the man is laying on the ground, the police out there laughing and chuckling, like there's no dead body. They're so fucking insensitive." Recounting the experience brought her to tears. She went on to refer to how that behavior might affect the community:

> …and his body laid on Third Street for a lot of hours. And even though the sheet was over him [crying] you could see the blood. It just was not, it was not...it was not...
>
> …The police, like I said, to me, don't take it serious. Like I said, when somebody out there laying on the ground that ain't no fucking time to be out there talking, laughing and joking and all that shit. It just seems insensitive. Like y'all, don't give a damn and that how it comes off, exactly how it comes off!

Maria said of the effects of policing on the community:

> I think, uh, it's, it's terror - it's terrorizing, and it is dehumanizing, and it is traumatizing, um, to constantly be considered as other, or, um, not worthy of the same protections as non-Black people get, or the same level of respect, or the same level of consideration. It's just another nail. Um, it's just another, someone said, someone said it, and I love this, that micro-aggression isn't because it's small. It's because it is consistent and constant. So, it's another layer of micro-aggression - to keep us in our place - that we have to endure, being Black in this country.

Jackie, Rose, Aisha, Grace and Keisha each shared observations of a more service-oriented, less abusive style of policing available to wealthy, white neighborhoods. Participants shared views that depicted the main features of policing in the Bayview as over-policing and under-policing, aggressiveness, disrespect, and a general disregard for the community and its residents.

Functions of Policing

On the question of what the role of policing in the neighborhood should be, interviewees each stated their belief that the central mission of policing in the neighborhood should be public safety. Public safety included building community relations, de-escalating dangerous situations and engaging in unbiased fact-finding in such situations. Participants also unanimously suggested a role for police in responding to community violence as well as property crimes. As I discuss later in this section, they also talked about the actual functions of policing as social control.

Interviewees talked about how the functions of policing varied by place and even by race of the resident. Jordan, a long-time resident, commented on changes in policing in relation to gentrification, saying:

> And it just seems only thing that's changing is now White people are opening businesses on Third Street and *they* get different police. And it was a different attitude between them and us. It's even a different part. Like I live in a Black part of Third Street.

In a similar vein, Jackie suggested:

> I think they [police] probably think their job is, they have a different job for different communities. …I think that when they are in certain places, they can relax, sit around, they can go to coffee shop, they can you know be pals and buddies with whoever they want to be pals and buddies with, and merchants and whatever and different groups. But I think when they're in a Black neighborhood or a predominantly Black neighborhood or a neighborhood of people of color, I think they see their job a little bit differently than that.

Moreover, the mission to serve and protect was questioned. For example, Kyle, 56 remarked with a laugh:

> Um, well it used to, I remember reading "to protect and serve." I forgot what it says now it's some new crap[33] but, um, I was like, who are you protecting and who are you serving? 'Cause it's not me!

Maria's take on serving and protecting was:

> I don't think so. I think, um, I think, and this is my bias. I'm going to call it, but …I have not had any, um, negative, well, I haven't had any experiences with the police that, um, that rise to the level of being discriminated against or anything like that. So, this is just purely my bias. What I believe to be true is that the police 'protect and serve' non-Blacks they enforce whatever, whatever it is that they're trying to enforce on Black people. So again, my bias - hasn't happened to me personally - but I, what I think I'm looking at

[33] In 2019, the San Francisco Police Department changed their motto to 'safety with respect' to demonstrate a commitment to community policing. For more see Culross, 2019.

> when I am watching an interaction between police and, and, um, people of Bayview, the presentation is different, right? Even when they show up to a call or if they're getting out of the car, all of that is different when they're approaching a Black person than they are with my... would be with my tech neighbor. Right.

Maria explained that her 'tech' neighbors were younger, White people who were new to the neighborhood and worked in the Silicon Valley-based technology industry.[34] In further conversation on how policing functioned in the neighborhood, residents suggested that the functions of policing were social control, displacement of Black people, mass incarceration and working with Child Protective Services (CPS) to "take away your children."

Kyle said there was fear of police based on her own experiences and the police's perceived function as an apparatus for Child Protective Services (CPS). She said of calling 9-1-1 for help, "…or they divide the family up. Like people are afraid of the CPS. Like, you know, you got domestic violence, but then you're afraid to call because they'll take your kids away." Kyle elaborated on her views on police and CPS:

> Yeah. They're like, they don't really, um, I don't know why the police are sent to go remove children from homes and schools and the schools don't call you and let you know, they just, you just find out when the kids do, like, if they're on the school bus and the bus doesn't show up, or if they don't come home from school, then they, they, they don't, they don't contact you. And there's a lot of police involvement and they removed the children from schools and homes. What, why? Because they're afraid there's going to be violence? It just doesn't make sense to me. So, a lot of parents are afraid of, you know, the police because they know that CPS and the police kind of go together.

Grace believed that the police saw their role as being militaristic and Aisha said that police believe their role is running things rather than protecting and serving the community or building community relations. Maria said:

> So, some of the current police officers still seem to have that mindset. You're Black, you belong in this slot, never to be released from that slot. So, let me put my foot on your neck for as long as it takes for you to stay in your place.

Keisha's response to a question on changes in policing referenced mass incarceration and suggested a police role in the displacement of Black people from San Francisco. Referring to changes in policing she said:

> The changes are not the police. The changes are they [the police] got the community, the people in our community. They, either, already in jail, half of them dead. You know, half of them spending real time in jail, or dead, or some of them who got 'stay aways' [restraining orders]…And so, I guess when they left, then they finally felt like they did

[34] For more on gentrification and the "tech" industry, Maharawal (2017) discusses the political economy of gentrification as background for a study on protests in the San Francisco Bay Area.

> their job, that's when they….It seem like they're just trying to move African American people out the community.

Kyle, also made a reference to mass incarceration:

> And so, I've looked into that, and it talked about how the first police officers were slave catchers. So, in my mind, that's what their job is, is catch slaves, which are Black people or brown people. And when you go to jail, it's like being in slavery, you're behind bars. You have no rights, no needs. They just feed you and they make you do what they want you to do. So, to me officers, jail, prison, and, uh, the police equal slavery, to be honest.

Jackie made a similar reference when she addressed stress and policing:

> I mean, I think it, I think it just stresses you out because you know, the police, I don't think they've ever changed since slavery. They are slave catchers, and we are the prime meat. Like you don't, I'm not saying that all officers are bad, but I think they know exactly who they put in certain areas and what they do. And I just feel like I'm stressed out.

Using the device of the counterfactual, residents repeatedly made the case that that policing is racist because policing varies by neighborhood and even from resident to resident.

Theme 2: Policing Negatively Affects Health and Community Life

The interview guide had questions on how participants might have been affected by particular incidents and how policing affects community life. Interviewees discussed potential harms of policing in terms of both individual health and community life. The research questions and codes originated in the literature, in particular, the literature on policing and mental and physical health. Participants mentioned chronic disease, stress and mental health as well as potential harms to the community such as trauma and fear of the police whom they say are not trusted by the community.

I identified the theme of policing as a threat from the data, the literature and the prevalent codes reflecting fear and stress. The fear and stress codes pervaded the subthemes of 1) avoiding police interaction by not calling 911 and 2) 'mothering while Black.'

Policing is a threat

Individual health. Many participants referred to chronic illness, stress and stress-related conditions as potential consequences of exposure to policing. Yvette, in referring to watching videos of police killings, said:

> I try not to get angry, and I get emotional. So, I try to not watch stuff that's too stressful, but I think it does raise my blood pressure. Like I'll be boiling mad [along] with them moms. That's why I try not to watch the news that much, but then I want to see what's going on. I want to fight. I want to be support too, to the parents, to the family.

Jasmine, referring to police as modern-day slave catchers said, "I'm stressed out. Like, for me, it's like, how do I know my hypertension didn't come from them? How I know my diabetes didn't

come from them. You can't call them." Jordan spoke of her health following the incident in which a couple, a man and woman, staying in her home assaulted her and when the police arrived, they ignored her, and instead addressed her attackers who were White:

> It affected me - the one with the White people in my house - it took three weeks [to recover]. I was depressed because I was just like, "Wow, I do something nice to help these people; they try to hurt me. And the police want to make it seem like I did something…." At that time? I was so stressed. I was *so* stressed, *so* stressed...

Kyle describes the health effects of being locked up and the subsequent trauma following her release from jail:

> So, when I went to jail, my, my health really failed. Um, the food there in itself was it messed up my ulcers. So, the whole interaction, even when I was there, I mean, the police bullied me in jail also. And before I went to jail, you know? And then for a while I was really scared. You know, like you kind of are in trauma because when you see them now, you're, you know, you're jerking because you know, you're afraid.

Participants mentioned loss of sleep from direct and vicarious experiences. Referring to the April 2021 police killing[35] of 20-year-old Daunte Wright in Brooklyn Center, Minnesota, Jordan said, "I couldn't even sleep when that kid called his mother and they killed him. That shit tore me apart. Black men. You scared and you're calling your mama and they still kill you." Maria described the effects on her son following the previously noted incident in which they were followed home by a car that turned out to be a police car which was joined by several others, based on her and her two very young sons 'fitting the description' of three adult robbery suspects:

> They scared my son so bad that my son could not go to sleep for over a week or two without the light on. Imagine being in the car, asleep and someone wakes you up with a pistol in your mouth.

Aisha said of the effects of policing on health, and the mental stress of being vigilant around law enforcement:

> I think it has effects, like mentally you're always like 'I have to prove myself, I have to prove like what I'm saying is correct, like I have to do better,' and I think that's exhausting. I think we're tired.

Rose shared a similar sentiment, saying, "It's exhausting being Black." In answering a question on the demographic survey regarding disabilities one participant said with a laugh "No, just racism, I guess!"

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[35] This is a reference to 20-year-old Daunte Wright who had been on the phone with his mother after he was stopped by former Brooklyn Center officer Kim Porter who shot and killed him. For more see MSR News Online (2021).

Community life. Some participants cited trauma as one of the challenges to community health that results from policing. Jasmine offered a model of policing, stress and community health:

> We're always going to have our cortisol running hot [ha ha]. We always going to be in a place where we runnin' *over*-hot 24/7! We're never going to be able to relax because people can't relax. They see a police car coming past people, get hypertension, people start getting stressed out. It [the police car] may not be for you. They may not even stop. But because of the past and present experience…

Maria stated her objection to police officers earning supplemental pay for being assigned to public schools as 'school resource officers' (SRO's) and expressed concern about SRO's causing trauma among school children:

> But I don't respect that you're in, you're in the school, traumatizing kids, maybe knowing some of these kids, family members or faces by name from the community and just making them just scared-er where maybe they maybe not even become the school to get an education. I don't understand. What's your purpose right? To arresting, uh, a student.

Shonda said that over-policing and under-policing affected the community this way, "And when it happens in people, in the community, people in the neighborhood, everybody's feeling these fits, like they know that something, an injustice, occurred, and they know that they're never going to get the justice." Rose stated her view of how violent policing affects health in the community, "I think that it causes resentment … I think it causes stress, fear, anxiety, all the things that Black people live with that contribute to our bad health outcomes." Another interviewee commented that over-policing implies that the entire community is seen as representing criminality. Participants consistently described policing as a source of insult, stress and trauma, as well as a contributor to chronic disease outcomes.

911 is a Catch-22. Based on the literature and my own experiences of hesitating to call 911 if I thought it might unnecessarily endanger others, I included in the interview guide questions on attitudes toward initiating encounters with police by dialing 911. The women I interviewed spoke of policing as a danger and source of fear and stress that also came from the feeling of being caught between the dangers of community violence and the hazards of calling the police. They used the language of a double bind describing various hypothetical situations with the metaphors: "So it's like playing Russian roulette for me to call," "it's a Catch-22," and "a double-edged sword." On calling 911, Kyle elaborated, referring to both neglect and potential bad effects:

> So, it's a Catch-22. And I feel like that's always been the case for the police in this neighborhood, especially where we're the parents. I've talked to other family members and other parents. We've wanted to call the police, but you know, 1) you might not get any help. They'll take hours to come, if at all; 2), when they come,… they pit people against each other in the family. It feels like it's like, you know, that we're so…they don't have to do their job. Um, and then they talk about all these rights, but in the end, no one

> has any rights, it feels like. So, it's just, it's a big chaotic mess usually. So, most of the time I don't want to call the police and I try not to, you know, even if I hear neighbors fighting or stuff that's going on in the street, I've tried not to get involved, even though I really love my community and I want to be supportive and helpful and I do it the best I can. But I'm so afraid of what's going to happen with the police that I don't, usually.

Grace, used the metaphor of the double-edged sword in speaking of calling police and safety:

> I think that is a double-edged sword because you want to feel safe…like for instance when people are like, "abolish the police," I felt…maybe not strongly, but very on the fence or opinionated by that term, because I'm not going to sit here and pretend that people don't shoot other people, that there isn't domestic violence issues that escalate, [that] there aren't reasons why the police need to be involved.

Maria talked about if and when she would call:

> It will not end well for somebody. So, if there were two White people, I would call 'cause they get to walk away, they get to go to jail. Right? They get to…they get their due process. They get to get locked up. They get to get the handcuffs on them, and they get to gently get put into the car and they get to go to jail and have their day in court, where, um, Black people too often again, watching the news…this is not my personal story; I don't know anyone who this has happened to, but too often, um, somebody is murdered because they called the cops.

On calling 911, Rose said that she calls 911 to report traffic situations, and Yvette, who reported a positive experience when police responded to a domestic incident with her daughter, said that she would call again if she needed help, but she would be hesitant. All other participants expressed hesitancy and fear, and Keisha stated unequivocally that she never calls 911:

> Um, I have bad luck. Every time I call for help, it double backs on me, and I be the one going to jail, so I just don't call. 'Cause they ask, they ask so many questions like, and then they repeat they self like I'm lying. And I get frustrated and then I guess the demeanor I have is very high to them, aggressive. And so, they be like, "Well, we're just going to take you." You know? I always have bad luck with police.

Shonda's comment below points to the effect on community life:

> I mean, because on one hand, you, you, you want to live in a safe neighborhood, but how do you define safe if you afraid of both parties, you…afraid of your protector and you're afraid of the criminal, but you know, the criminal will come back and get you if they know you called the protector.

Shonda speculated on what she might do about calling the police for help if her son were in danger:

> The fact that, like I said, I'm afraid. I mean, um, the other day, uh, my son was at work, and someone said they had a gun and was going to pull it out on him. And I thought to myself, you know, if we call the cops, would they think my son is the one? I mean, like, you, you call the cops, right. Because really they don't know who was the violator. So, what if they believe my son is the one at fault, and they shoot him, and the other person lives, you know, like I have deep thoughts about that.

Participants expressed fear that the safety of others or themselves could be endangered by calling the police, so much so that the majority of respondents said they would think twice before calling law enforcement. Interviewees shared that both a distrust of police and an unwillingness to call the police—unless there is a clear threat of extreme violence—negatively affected community.

'Mothering while Black.' I encountered the concept of 'mothering while Black' in the work of Aniefuna and colleagues (2020) who used an intersectional lens and the frameworks of both critical race theory and reproductive justice to address the issues of social control by law enforcement and the resistance to police violence by Black women. Participants said they feared for the wellbeing and lives of their children and grandchildren and made references to protecting them from images of police violence, the fear of police violence, as well as actual violence. Kyle referred to child separation as a possible consequence of calling police for help. Participants also described protecting and praying for kids. Yvette said, "It's just scary. I just pray for my kids. 'Cause they don't know if they could trust the police, you know. 'Cause they're like 'Mom, if we put our hands up, are we still going to die?'" Yvette also said this about protecting her grandson from the video of George Floyd's murder by police, "I think with all of us, we have lost our faith and our kids too. Like our kids are asking questions because even for me, my grandson said, 'Grandma, why...y'know..' My grandson saw that video and I was like, "Where you seen that video at?'" Maria spoke of being in a situation in which she reassured her son who feared for his life:

> But once they [police officers] seen that I was not what they was looking for. They still antagonized us. They still was being mean to me and my son. My son was so scared because my son was like, "Mom, please don't do nothing. Please don't move. They going to kill me." And I'm like, "They ain't going to kill you." So, they allowed me to reach on my phone because they know they was wrong. They just wanted to scare us half to death. But I wasn't scared, but I didn't want my son to get killed because my son…he [police officer to son] said, "What took you so long?" Like he thought my son was playing, but my son was sleeping. It was 10 o'clock. And my son was sleeping in the back of the car. Both of them came from the back seat. So, my son woke up to a pistol and a bunch of White men laughing.

Jasmine said of families' fears for their children and other family members:

> It used to be when I was growing up, you'd tell your momma, your momma would tell you, "I see you when you get home after school." We can't tell our kids that, or our husbands or our daughters and sons that no more. "See you when you get home," we can't even say that, 'cause we don't know, we don't know if we're going to come, but

> other people can use that. And Paul and Billy and everybody else can come home, but we can't use those words lightly. We would pray and hope that they can come home. But we can't say that, you know.

The sub-theme of 'mothering while Black' mainly focused on the stress of protecting one's family from the dangers of policing which included praying for their safety, managing potentially dangerous encounters and other efforts to shield children from direct and indirect harm including separation from parents.

Theme 3: Solutions to the Problem of Police Violence Ranged from Training to Defunding and Must Come From the Community

I introduced the phrase 'police violence' later in the interview; questions before that referred to 'policing' or 'law enforcement.' If participants thought police violence was a problem, I asked their thoughts on solutions. Participants expressed that they considered police violence to be a problem and readily offered solutions that included reform, training, demolish and start over, and diverting funding to social services, among others. Many responses came with the urging that community members be central to the solutions.

Community at the Center

Some interviewees said that greater community involvement is the key to finding solutions to police violence. Rose said, "I think that communities need to put forth a plan for change. It's not gonna…like I said, it won't be an overnight change." Interviewees also believed that solutions to police violence require increased collaboration among police departments, communities, and community boards that supervise police. Additionally, they felt that better collaboration could result from the police simply asking the community what residents need. Jordan said, "They can only do a certain amount. It's got to start with the community. Remember like eight years ago they had a meeting with the neighborhood, and everybody came. The police came." Kyle suggested there should be a survey of community needs,

> Like what do you do? So, they need to work maybe with the young men too. Like there should be some groups where the police…maybe, I don't know, sit in or talks or, you know, do a survey like you're doing with the community so they can see that's what they need to do is ask us what they need to do, you know, and take what you can from that. And then whatever you can't do, okay. But there's a lot of things you can do besides driving crazy down the street, you know, after some young person, whatever, or killing little children, you know, men and women, because most of the times that I have to tell you, the news…

In each of these exchanges, community involvement was identified as an essential ingredient of any efforts to change policing at the neighborhood level.

Training

To some extent, interviewees viewed current models of policing as ineffective due to the lack of training. Interviewees cited inadequate training, and training that engenders aggressive policing as factors that contribute to the failure of policing to 'serve and protect.' They believe

the shortcomings of current training lead to, or reinforce, a culture of racism and bullying. Rose attributed the making of an abuser to police academy training:

> You have to think to yourself, what would make you behave in that way. But there's something about police culture that does that. She (family friend) was a gay woman, and she had a partner who joined the San Francisco Police Department. And subsequent to her going through their "Academy," she became a batterer. She became…she would come home bragging about how many heads they knocked and bragging about police brutality. And she literally became a batterer and the woman ended up having to leave her, because she would say, become a spouse abuser, you know, she.. she began, you know, she began to behave…in spousal abuse. You know, she went to the police academy, she became a police officer…which had been one of her goals to be a police officer, and she just she just became …just a bully I mean, mean your… just your worst …what your worst nightmare of a police officer is.

She continued, in response to a question about the "Academy," "Air quotations yes! They call it a freakin' academy, which I have a hard time accepting. I don't consider that training."

Participants suggested other solutions that included improved training, especially in the areas of de-escalation and engaging people with mental health issues. Such training, they believed would reduce scenarios in which police used guns to resolve a situation. Rose proposed training but then questioned its efficacy on the basis that training had been tried with little result and that police were not exhibiting the same behavior in some other neighborhoods outside of Bayview. Jordan expressed similar doubts:

> "I don't know...I want to say education, but they've *been* educated. Right now, the lady mistake her taser for a gun.[36] I can't believe that in no way, shape or form, you know, somebody's baby's dead. Cause she [the officer] made a mistake in…okay, they arrested her, but the guy is still dead, and he has a family.

Aisha started talking about training and then expressed the notion that the problem might require more than training, because policing was embedded in a broader societal culture of guns and violence in general:

> I think that they should be trained better in ways to deescalate situations because I, I understand that I get how things get, can get really tense and like emotions get involved. And I get that, and I think it can be really scary to come on a situation that you don't know what's going on and you're expected to like handle it. But I also think that in America, we just, ...I think we use our guns too much and I think we should be like, especially the police. And I just think that we should be trained in ways to deescalate situations…

[36] This is a reference to former Brooklyn Center officer Kim Porter who shot and killed 20-year-old Daunte Wright who had been on the phone with his mother once he was stopped. For more see MSR News Online (2021).

Rose suggested that entrance qualifications set a low bar and that the country's thousands of police departments needed national standards, especially for training. Participants suggested that training was needed in managing mental health issues, understanding diversity and de-escalating volatile situations.

Accountability

Recurring responses focused on impunity and a lack of accountability for corruption, for violence against civilians, and, especially, for killing civilians. Rose believes that police unions are a major obstacle to holding law enforcement officers accountable. Rose posed a series of rhetorical questions, starting with a reference to the August 2020 police shooting of Jacob Blake in Kenosha, Wisconsin[37] that resulted in his paralysis, "How do people justify that type of behavior?…And how do people, you know, the police unions are completely out of control. This qualified immunity, it's…it's a bad legislation. How do you have immunity from breaking the law? How does that qualify? Do I get qualified immunity?" Yvette stated:

> They should be held accountable. …Um, well once again I think the police should be held accountable, 'cause it does affect some families like that have lost, um, children and stuff. Like, a lot of my friends lost their sons to police, so I think they need to be held accountable.

She went on to talk about the role of the incoming presidential administration in increasing accountability:

> Well…. I feel like Kamala Harris, [then vice-president elect] she spoke highly of y'know holding police accountable for their actions and she went to go visit that Jacob Blake guy, which the president didn't go visit him. He went to their state, but he didn't go visit him. And you know she talked with the family of Jacob Blake, and she feel the same way that the police…why did they have to grab him like that and shoot him? Y'know. Why was that necessary? And the DA of that city too, she spoke too like, "Was that necessary for you to pull on his shirt? And you shot him. Was that..." It seemed like she is like, "The police need to be held accountable for that."

Aisha and Jasmine addressed the issue of accountability in terms of consequences for police officers responsible for violence. Aisha shared:

> Well, I think that there should be some like accountability when these things go wrong. Like, I think that officers should automatically lose their job and, you know, be either put in jail, like if someone dies and they shouldn't have, I think they should be automatically put in jail, they should be automatically like removed from their job. They should be automatically charged for murder. Um, because like, why did that person have to die? It could have been deescalated. Um, so I think more accountability.

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[37] Officers in Kenosha, Wisconsin shot Jacob Blake in the back as he entered his vehicle in which his children were sitting; he remains paralyzed as a result of the incident. For more see MKE Community Journal (2021).

Jasmine shared similar remarks, adding that police officers should not be able to continue working as police officers after violent incidents:

> I think that they, that they should start holding people accountable. Not one or two. I think that if you take a life, then... You should be, I mean, especially unarmed Black men, unarmed Black woman, unarmed kids, kids sitting in cars, and you're going after one person, and you don't even know that there's babies in the back seat and you shooting up riveted with 70,000 bullets and all this, I think that right is right and wrong is wrong. And I feel like they should take, not just sitting in the prison with jail. I think they should take their pension; they pension from they kids and everything else. I just feel like it's not right. Like, just because you're going to give somebody a million dollars because wrongful this or that. And then you're going to still allow them to be an officer you're going to fire them, but then let them go to a county, two blocks down and become an officer. They ought to be banned'd. Yeah.

Among solutions proposed to address accountability was Grace's specific recommendation, "So, it sounds like they need better training, definitely body cameras for accountability, and also understanding that police need to protect themselves from harm." Keisha implied a need for accountability for fatal shootings in her repeated references to officers getting desk jobs instead of victims getting justice. Here is one such comment:

> Man gunned down by officer. You know? And then you get all these families asking for justice and all they [officers] getting is desk jobs. I ain't never seen a police officer be like, "Oh we locking this police officer up for good." "We're taking his badge."

In summary, participants expressed a desire to see justice, less impunity and more accountability in cases of violent policing through use of body cameras, citizen oversight, banning officers that commit violence, consequences through the criminal justice system, and removing obstacles posed by police unions and qualified immunity.

Community Policing

Participants recommended community policing and had a few specific local remedies as well. Participants attributed much of the aggressive policing in the community to the preponderance of White male officers, many of whom were described as rookies who did not know or respect the community. Throughout our conversations, participants suggested that community policing meant having more beat officers on foot or bicycle, an increase in the number of Black officers, officers who live in the community and/or officers who know and understand the community. Grace also made a recommendation about facilities, "We still need to act and have literally buildings, I mean, places that are inviting, that community will want to talk to them." Jordan suggested the following on police doing outreach while dealing with a lack of earned trust:

> I have a suggestion. Maybe they should come in plain clothes for one. Okay. Like, just be people, don't come as…come unless it's like a health fair where they have like a table. …But then I think that they also should like volunteer and, you know, get to meet some

> people in the neighborhood more instead of us just jumping off their way when they're zipping down their car or shooting our young men or taking away the children. Yeah.

Shonda suggested that police in the past, including school-based police officers (school resource officers or SRO's) were once in the practice of having conversations with people and engaging in less aggressive policing. Here is Shonda's view of the need for community policing and her question on whether or not what SFPD says they are doing really is community policing:

> I think the police officers needs to go back to community policing, which I think they have. I just don't know too. Uh, I don't have a comparison to back then and now, you know, like, so we can still call it community policing. But is it the same thing? What was working in the past is of that same thing. That just becomes a question because I believe they are calling it community policing now, but I don't see…I see the officers in the neighborhood, but I don't really see them interacting with people like having these conversations with people.

Jordan said that police in the neighborhood need to get to know the community and suggested it as a way to help with prejudice against the neighborhood and its residents:

> But I don't know. I guess, instead of driving in your car, walk the beat, get to know us, you know, don't, pre-judge who we are because of where we live and what color our skin is.

Two other suggestions related to the officers working in the neighborhood were to weed out white supremacists and members of hate groups and to allow older officers to take early retirement. Shonda also suggested attending to the mental health of police officers by providing ongoing mental health evaluation and work time for physical exercise to address trauma among officers. Shonda noted, "…I don't think the police officers have enough support themselves. Like what their mental health or their mental wellbeing or them, you know, being in a high stress job."

While no one offered a definition of community policing, the conversations on the topic mentioned the following issues: which officers are assigned to the neighborhood, the nature of the assignments (long-term beat cops with regular bicycle and foot patrols), having officers getting to know the community and its residents through outreach and conversations, attending to officers' mental health, and having inviting [police] buildings.

Defunding, Abolition and Alternatives to Policing

The national uprising against police violence and racial injustice in Summer of 2020 expanded popular discourse on policing to encompass the question of defunding the police, that is, reducing police budgets.[38] I therefore amended the interview guide and followed up on conversations with two participants with whom I had spoken before May 2020. On the question of defunding, both Rose and Aisha questioned the effectiveness of 'defund the police' as a slogan. Keisha asked, "What does defund mean?" The definition I gave was "to reduce the

[38] For more on the issue of defunding the police see Hagen (2021).

budget and take away some of the money that goes into policing." Rose said the idea of de-funding the police had merit, but the slogan did not. She said of the rhetoric:

> I think it's a slogan that…it rubs too many people the wrong way on first blush, and so rather than creating alienation, I think saying "reimagining public service," "reimagine a police force" because that's something that nobody can…that people cannot…that no one can gristle about reimagine. You know it's inviting people to participate because if you say to somebody "reimagine policing," then they have to stop and think, because you've asked them to participate in something And you've engaged them. Whereas if you just simply say "defund the police," it's polarizing.

Almost all participants suggested social services they think should be covered by funds diverted from policing and directed to the these services: help for people experiencing homelessness, treatment for people dealing with substance use, childcare, schools, expansion of youth programming, mental health professionals to either accompany police on calls or replace them in response to non-violent calls, and programs such as the one in San Francisco that provides cash support for expectant birth mothers in the Black and Asian/Pacific Islander communities. They suggested that many problems result from police being sent to situations that require social services rather than policing. Such situations were identified as those in which community members suffer crises related to substance use and/or experiencing homelessness, and mental health crises, in particular. Rose said, "Law enforcement are being asked to do things they should not be asked to do." Further, they questioned the efficacy of current levels of police funding across the country. Grace said:

> I'm saying that…I think it's okay for people to ask for the police to be defunded. That money hasn't been used to protect. 'Cause, because we're giving money to the police, so they can have more resources available to them to protect people within a community. But if you're not going through inclusivity training, if you're not learning the community, if you're not learning how to be a better police officer, if you're not learning um, how to apply yourself in all these ways, then why am I giving you all this *x* amount of money?

Rose, in her discussion of both the slogan and the merits of the issue, said:

> Defund the police. I was like, well, that's kind of interesting. Who?...kind of Pollyanna-ish. What, what do you mean by 'defund the police?' And then I heard some really eloquent speakers address what they were talking about and it made a tremendous amount of sense to me. And it's not that you're never going to have another policeman on the street. It's really about trying to make the kind of investments in our social…social service structure to root out the causes, rather than trying to chase down what the facts of the situation would be. What does defund the police mean is something I was interested in hearing. Um, I think it's a bad slogan.

Shonda, on the other hand, had this to say of both the slogan and the idea:

> I don't understand it. I'm like, um, what does that mean? I, I'm not clear on what it means. So, I'm like, heck no. You mean to tell me, you want to tell the police that they can't have

> no money. I'm like, what happens when you really like somebody, your family member, got shot. You need to call the police. They be like, but you defunded me. I don't know what it means. I don't, I don't understand it. And I've tried to sit in and try to understand what is the ask. They're saying to put it into other programs, but then we still need some order. This is my thoughts. You can't get rid of everybody. And yesterday, like I said, it's not as if we do some evaluation of the police officers, like they have to go through some more reviews. You're going to catch those ones. The ones that are, um, should no longer be police officers.

No one spoke in favor of abolition of police; however, Maria suggested the following:

> I think it needs to, I need, I think it's the police department needs to be demolished and restructured. I don't think it can get better by trying to, um, move forward in its present state. I think that, that, um, I think there needs to be some education about how policing started in this country with what I said about the slave catching. I think all of that needs to be the race relations needs to be, um, dealt with. And then a new police force needs to start from, from there.

Jackie spoke against abolition in her remarks on the term 'defunding' being confused with abolition:

> I think it's unfortunate that that term emerged in the way that it did, because I think it did … I'm sure it brought some awareness,… but also I think it did a lot of potential damage to [chuckle]—I'm just being political right now—to the Democratic candidates and all of that, I think because a lot of people just said, "Oh, they want this abolished." Because if it meant totally demolish the police, I don't think that's a viable way for how society operates nowadays. When people are allowed to carry guns, and you know, I just think that…it needs to be dealt with in a more thoughtful way. And…I think saying defunding— because that gets people really riled up and then some people get them really fearful and upset—and… it's almost like, throwing the baby out with the bath water or something like that.

A few participants mentioned abolition; one participant talked about demolishing and starting over with a new form of policing, two spoke directly against abolition and one person suggested implicitly that it would be a bad thing that could be confused with defunding. Although a few participants thought the slogan was unclear and antagonistic, only one person spoke against defunding. Participants were otherwise prolific in suggestions of how funding diverted from policing could be diverted to social services and other community needs.

Discussion & Conclusion

Strengths and Limitations

In critical methodology, validity refers to correctness or authenticity throughout the research from the process of co-creating dialogue and informant narrative to the interpretation used to identify themes (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In contrast to the reliability of positivism that depends on reproducibility, reliability in critical methods depends on maintaining authenticity in

interpretation of the data (Creswell & Miller, 2000). To that end, I checked transcripts for accuracy, including notation of pauses and other non-verbal expression, and checked for meaning during the interview process. I was also able to call participants if I had any questions. The coding process might have been strengthened by having additional coders and an assessment of inter-rater reliability as well as by using member checking, i.e., checking with community members regarding themes identified in order to bolster reliability and validity. Compensating strengths were: my own (outsider) familiarity with the neighborhood, reliance on the literature, and the use of inductive coding to identify codes and potential themes from the data that may have fallen outside of the literature, the research questions, and my theoretical biases.

Being the sole interviewer provided consistency in the interview process and familiarity with the data. Variation in interviews might have derived from participants' perceptions of me based on my visible and stated identity markers (a cis-gender, Black and Indian Caribbean immigrant woman and doctoral student) as well as perceptions of their own identities and experiences. I addressed this limitation by earning proxy trust of participants based on my relationships with reputable community members and their networks. I also shared my background in telephone conversations preceding the interviews, and to some extent during our conversations. Our conversations opened with questions on neighborhood assets and connections to the neighborhood. This approach appeared effective in establishing rapport evidenced by non-verbal communication, knowing nods and laughter expressing both humor and cynicism, and explicit expressions of trust based on the person that referred them. Participants may also have been particularly receptive because many of them said they thought the topic was an important one.

Summary of Findings

All participants agreed without question that police violence is a problem. Participants reported personal encounters and vicarious experiences related to lethal and non-lethal police brutality, racial profiling and routine harassment of Black motorists as well as youths, unemployed men and people who use drugs in public spaces in the neighborhood. Such aggressive policing combined with the surveillance of over-policing and neglect of under-policing, all appeared to contribute to a generally negative view of policing. The fatal shootings by police in the neighborhood reverberated throughout our conversations.

Participants described policing as racist, stating that Black people are subjected to more aggressive policing than White people, and Black neighborhoods are targeted for more violent policing than other neighborhoods, as noted by Berkowitz and colleagues (2020). These findings aligned with research based on speech collected on body cameras, that law enforcement officers treat Black civilians more disrespectfully than they treat White civilians (Leib, Faith, Vincent & Miller, 2021; Voight et al., 2017). Participants also shared experiences of gendered racism and colorism, a finding similar to those of Bryant-Davis and colleagues (2017). Further, interviewees described policing as a threat, contributing to the detriment of individual health and community life including fear, stress, chronic disease and 'mothering while Black.' This finding comported with the literature on policing as a determinant of health and the fear and stress of mothering for Black women (Alang, McAlpine & McClain, 2021; Herd, 2020; Miller & Vittrup, 2020; Sewell et al., 2021). Participants said that solutions must involve communities. Solutions participants proposed reflected the range of the issues they presented and ranged from individual level

reforms such as training, body cameras and purging departments of racists to transformation of policing through reinvesting in communities with social services.

Violent Policing is Systemic

It seemed that some interviewees held a 'good apples' view of policing that recognized effective and community-centered policing in individual positive encounters, while calling for systemic change. Some participants who had reported negative experiences seemed to espouse a 'bad apples' view even while calling for systemic changes such as increased accountability. Wilson and colleagues (2020) found a similar 'bad apples' view of police among young Black and Latino women residing in the San Francisco Bay Area, lending the title to their article, *Some are Good and Some are Bad.* These views might suggest a focus on individuals and their behavior as law enforcement officers. However, the remedies put forth and the references to law enforcement as one element of a racist carceral state suggest a perception of violent policing as a systemic problem. Participants suggested that violent policing has its roots in slavery and continues to be tied to what Rose called other "legacy issues" that she identified as past and current racism and increasing income inequality. It seems that the 'bad apples' view does not preclude analysis based on the systemic causes of police violence.

Questions on the functions of policing served to gain a deeper understanding of Black women's perceptions of policing and uncovered views of policing continuing the legacy of its origins in slave patrols in containing and controlling the movement of Black people. Of particular interest was Kyle's assertion that police and CPS work in concert to criminalize and punish Black mothers by separating them from their children. Amuchie (2016) describes the controlling narrative of Black women as bad mothers that may also be operating in such situations. Dorothy Roberts has been sounding similar alarms about policing Black motherhood for years, as heard in her 2017 address, Policing Motherhood, at the Invisible No More conference. In the discipline of criminology, Williams (2020) also characterizes CPS as a form of state terror for Black women who are criminalized as mothers.

Intersecting identities

Participants' responses reflected a view of themselves as Black women as being a part of the wider criminalized and neglected Black community and being protectors of that community starting with their own children, especially their sons. They also described themselves as experiencing gendered racism in situations where it was clear that their word had no value or where they were either rendered invisible or stereotyped as aggressive, 'angry Black women,' bad mothers, or both. However, they perceived themselves as being in far less physical danger from violent policing than Black men. This was stated explicitly even by a participant who had to run home with her grandson upon hearing the shots fired by police, the shots that ended the life of expectant mother Jessica Williams. Participants seemed to identify primarily as Black people in a mostly low-income, Black neighborhood, and some held other identities as well, for example as Black women with disabilities.

Solutions to the Problem

One highlight of findings on solutions was the recommendation that communities must be involved and at the center of responses to police violence. This guidance is in line with that of McLemore & Choo (2019) regarding health care, "when community voices are missing,

accountability and transparency are impossible to achieve, which creates the potential for not only exclusion but also harm, harassment, and waste."

Proposed solutions ranged from the individual, interpersonal, and community levels, to the institutional and societal levels. For example, suggestions covered use of body cameras, reforms in training, increased accountability, and purging departments of racist officers, as well as divesting from law enforcement and investing in social services. The solutions proposed recognized the legacy of roots of policing in slavery and white supremacy, among them, the ongoing threat of fatal policing killings, continued mass incarceration and social control. Solutions also held the possibility that policing could be transformed to 'protect and serve,' rather than harm communities and that policing could be extracted from involvement in social problems that are beyond their capacity, e.g., houselessness and drug addiction.

Significance and Implications for Public Health Research and Health Equity

This research extends our understanding of non-fatal police violence and adds to the sparse peer-reviewed literature on police violence affecting Black women whose voices are largely missing from the literature. The key contributions of this research are the use of an intersectional lens focused exclusively on Black women in a historically racially segregated neighborhood and the inclusion of solutions by Black women. This exploratory research emulates one element of Gomez's (2016) embedded case study of historically disadvantaged neighborhoods in Baltimore that documented solutions from those affected by the problem. This work also seeks to fill the gaps that remain in the literature in further exploring and understanding both fatal and non-fatal violence affecting Black women and their communities.

Each of the participants expressed a profound concern about pervasive community violence and the importance of resources for youth in the community. Community violence was the lens through which they viewed the necessity of policing in their neighborhood, despite concerns regarding threats to safety that might emerge from policing. Several questions remain unexplored regarding the role of community violence in attitudes toward the police presence in the neighborhood. Would the role of policing in the neighborhood be viewed differently if there were greater opportunity for youth and less community violence? Also of interest for further study are the references to the effects of gentrification on policing.

An intersectional lens calls for further investigation of experiences participants mentioned related to colorism, motherhood and living with disabilities, including mental health challenges. Further research might also focus on Black women in particularly vulnerable situations such as homelessness, being subjected to transphobic policies and practices, criminalization of sex work, being in custody, experiences of ableism and/or other systems of oppression.

The intersectional lens of critical frameworks expands the analysis, therefore expanding the realm of potential solutions to the public health problem of police violence with implications for activists and other community members and/or researchers. Critical race theory and Black feminist thought, both of which recognize the historical antecedents of violent policing in preservation of the racial hierarchy, can provide an analysis of the problem of police violence that shifts the focus away from solving interpersonal racism and implicit bias and toward solving

structural racism (Bowleg, 2017; Akbar, 2020). An examination of the experiences of those that society has shoved to the margins reveals the injustice of the intersecting systems of oppression that continue to harm health (Abrams, Tabaac, Jung, & Else-Quest, 2020). An analysis that calls for an examination of the experiences and knowledge that Black women have of policing can shed light on the role of violent policing in preserving racialized and gendered social norms at the margins of society where the system fails to 'protect and serve.' Police violence in the lives of Black women remains a crucial topic in the area of structural racism and health. Taylor (2021) reminds us of the declaration by the Combahee River Collective that "the liberation of Black women will represent the liberation of all people because it requires the dismantling of all forms of oppression."

Conclusion

This dissertation sought to take an intersectional lens to the examination of the public health problem of police violence in the lives of Black women. This research made the following key contributions to the scientific literature and further discourse on the subject:

1) A review of the sparse literature on Black women and police violence that examined what theoretical frameworks were used;
2) An intersectional analysis of cross-sectional survey data of experiences of police violence; and
3) Qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with Black women in a historically residentially segregated neighborhood in San Francisco that centered their voices and sought solutions to the problem of police violence from their perspectives.

In the literature review (Paper 1), I argue for an increased utilization of critical theoretical frameworks, specifically, critical race theory, Black feminist thought and intersectionality. Critical frameworks examine the margins, e.g., Black women and other communities that have been systemically disadvantaged and can offer an analysis that calls for action that addresses systems of oppression and their structures as root causes of health inequities. Public health offers the adaptation of the Public Health Critical Race Praxis framework as a model (Ford, 2016).

The quantitative data analysis (Paper 2) used data from a cross-sectional survey on experiences of police violence. The analysis found that Black women reported higher levels of exposure to police violence, as well as higher levels of psychological distress and trauma symptomatology compared to White women in the sample but showed no relationship between exposure to police violence and the mental health outcomes measured by self-report. The significantly higher levels of general psychological distress and trauma symptomatology among Black women in this small non-random sample calls for further investigation into the sources of these conditions. One approach to investigating the potential implications of police violence for mental health among Black women is to have studies in which diverse Black women and other vulnerable populations are overrepresented, in particular large ongoing studies.

Finally, the analysis of narrative data (Paper 3) found that Black women perceived policing to be racist and reported episodes reflecting gendered racism, colorism and challenges to Black mothers. The Black women I interviewed expressed the view that policing poses a threat to health and community life. Interview participants said that solutions to the problem proposed solutions require community participation. The proposed solutions ranged from reform to systemic overhaul to community policing, as well as, some specific measures to increase accountability and decrease racism in policing.

As a whole, these findings add another voice to the calls for: a) An expansion of the framing of police violence to include Black women and other communities experiencing police violence; b) Further research that takes an intersectional approach to center the voices of Black women; and c) Action to repair the conditions and dismantle the racism that have resulted in distinct enclaves of entwined economic and health inequities.

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Willingham, B. C. (2018). Black women and state-sanctioned violence: A history of victimization and exclusion. *Canadian Review of American Studies, 48*(1), 77.
Wilson, I., Antin, T. M. J., & Hunt, G. (2020). 'Some are good, some are bad': Perceptions of the police from Black and Latina Women living in the San Francisco Bay Area. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *0*(0), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2020.1741489
YWCA. (n.d.). *We deserve safety - ending the criminalization of women and girls of color*. Retrieved from https://www.ywca.org/wp-content/uploads/CriminalizationGWOC_FINAL.pdf
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Appendix A

Sample of Literature Addressing Police Violence and Black Women

Citation	Notes on themes/study
Article addresses Black women and police violence	
Amuchie, N. (2016). The forgotten victims: how racialized gender stereotypes lead to police violence against Black women and girls: Incorporating an analysis of police violence into feminist jurisprudence and community activism. Seattle Journal for Social Justice 14(3), 617-668.	This article takes a historical look at violence against Black women and girls and explicates how racialized gender stereotypes leads to police violence. It uses five case studies of incidents of police violence against Black girls and women. Amuchie incorporates Black feminist thought and intersectionality in the historical and theoretical analysis.
Aniefuna, L. I., Aniefuna, M. A., & Williams, J. M. (2020). Creating and Undoing Legacies of Resilience: Black Women as Martyrs in the Black Community Under Oppressive Social Control. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *30*(5), 356–373. https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2020.1752352	The authors focus on Black women and the implications for reproductive justice of state violence. The article takes explicit critical approaches, critical race theory and Black feminist criminology and the methods, a critical ethnography and phenomenological study centers narratives and offers the historical context of the study. The findings highlight the experience of over-policing, the risks of "mothering while Black" and the role of Black women in protecting their children and other

	community members from the harms of state violence.
Douglass, P. D. (2018). Black Feminist Theory for the Dead and Dying. Theory & Event, 21(1), 106–123.	Using case study of shooting of Korryn Gaines by a SWAT team, Douglass argues that an attempt at inclusive dialogue using the single axis of gender crowds out the nature of Black death at the hands of the state. Douglass documents nature of police violence against Black women relying on grey literature and the book *Invisible No More* by Andrea Ritchie. Douglass considers Black feminist theory and intersectionality.
Jacobs, M. S. (2017). The Violent State Black Women's Invisible Struggle Against Police Violence. William & Mary Journal of Women & The Law, 24(1), 39.	Jacobs discussed the role of stereotypes of Black women in police violence and the invisibility of police violence against Black women.
Towns, A. R. (2016). Geographies of Pain: #SayHerName and the Fear of Black Women's Mobility. Women's Studies in Communication, 39(2), 122–126.	This reflection on communication and transportation considers the case of Black women's literal mobility in society and the role of police violence in making that experience

https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2016.1176807	fraught with danger and symbolism for Black women and a threat to the those whose privilege gives them a different perspective of transportation.
Willingham, B. C. (2018). Black Women and State-Sanctioned Violence: A History of Victimization and Exclusion. Canadian Review of American Studies, 48(1), 77.	Willingham traces the arc of systemic racism and a criminal justice system that always worked to subjugate Black women by examining the case of police violence against Black women.
Sankofa, J. (2016). Mapping the Blank: Centering Black Women's Vulnerability to Police Sexual Violence to Upend Mainstream Police Reform. Howard Law Journal, 55.	Sankofa makes three powerful points – sexual violence against Black women remains invisible and is a perpetuation of historical, endemic oppression Finally, without considering sexual violence against Black women, police reform is likely to include measures that continue to endanger rather than protect Black women.
Gaston, S., Fernandes, A. D., & DeShay, R. A. (2021). A macrolevel study of police killings at the intersection of race, ethnicity, and gender. *Crime & delinquency*, *67*(8), 1075-1102.	This article uses a large data set to examine violent crime, social disorganization, and racial conflict as predictors of police killing while examining six race or ethnicity/gender subgroups. The authors' take an explicitly intersectional approach. Killings of Black and

	White women appear unrelated to macrolevel predictors.
Sood, R. (2018). Biases behind sexual assault: A Thirteenth Amendment solution to under-enforcement of the rape of Black women. *University of Maryland Law Journal Race, Religion, Gender & Class*, *18*, 405.	Sood offers a legal analysis and historical perspective on law enforcement neglect and devaluation by law enforcement of Black women reporting rape. Sood traces the effects of the slavery through the present while addressing the relevant legal landmarks as they relate to the Thirteenth Amendment as a potential legal mechanism for securing the civil rights of Black women who are survivors of rape. Sood also proposes action by Congress.
Article addresses police violence/sample that includes Black women	
Bor, J., Venkataramani, A. S., Williams, D. R., & Tsai, A. C. (2018). Police killings and their spillover effects on the mental health of black Americans: a population-based, quasi-experimental study. The Lancet. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31130-9	Quantitative study using state level data on police killings to determine population level exposure to killings by police and data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention) on self-reported mental health to determine a causal effect.

Cooper, H., Moore, L., Gruskin, S., & Krieger, N. (2005). The impact of a police drug crackdown on drug injectors' ability to practice harm reduction: A qualitative study. Social Science & Medicine, 61(3), 673–684. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.12.030	Qualitative study of 40 people who inject drugs affected by a drug crackdown in New York City. Grounded theory, social geography and harm reduction were conceptual frameworks used throughout study.
Fedina, L., Backes, B. L., Jun, H., Shah, R., Nam, B., Link, B. G., & DeVylder, J. E. (2018). Police violence among women in four U.S. cities. Preventive Medicine, 106150-156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ypmed.2017.10.037	Cross-sectional survey data (N = 932) Police violence is defined as physical, sexual and/or psychological abuse, or, neglect, based on WHO definition. Findings are that reporting intimate partner violence and/or sexual violence increased the risk of exposure to police violence. Black and Latina women report higher lifetime risk as do sexual minorities of all backgrounds.
Feldman, J. M., Chen, J. T., Waterman, P. D., & Krieger, N. (2016). Temporal Trends and Racial/Ethnic Inequalities for Legal Intervention Injuries Treated in Emergency Departments: US Men and	This quantitative study of emergency room data examines injuries resulting from law enforcement encounters.

Women Age 15–34, 2001–2014. Journal of Urban Health. 2016;93 pp 797–807 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-016-0076-3	
Goin, D. E., Gomez, A. M., Farkas, K., Duarte, C., Karasek, D., Chambers, B. D., Jackson, A. V., & Ahern, J. (2021). Occurrence of fatal police violence during pregnancy and hazard of preterm birth in California. *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/ppe.12753	Qualitative researchers investigate the association between fatal police violence during pregnancy and preterm birth. One finding of the sophisticated statistical analysis found an association among Black birth parents of an increased hazard of moderate preterm birth delivery especially if victims of police violence were also Black and in addition to losing a neighbor and living in a census tract in which a police killing had occurred. The focus on race ethnicity and consideration of census tracts and 'structural confounding' reveals a perspective of systemic level factors in preterm birth that is not otherwise stated.
Johnson, O., Gilbert, K., & Ibrahim, H. (2018). Race, Gender and the contexts of Unarmed Fatal Interactions with Police. Retrieved from https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/sites.wustl.edu/dist/b/1	This quantitative study does not appear to have yet been published in a peer reviewed journal. Public health scholars analyze data from 1,762 fatal interactions with police (FIP) over a 20-month period from May 1, 2013 – January 1,

205/files/2018/02/Race-Gender-and-Unarmed-1y9md6e.pdf	2015. The multivariate model considered law enforcement and neighborhood characteristics. Researchers found that 57% of Black women killed by police were unarmed.
Lynch, M., Omori, M., Roussell, A., & Valasik, M. (2013). Policing the 'Progressive' City: The racialized geography of drug law enforcement. Theoretical Criminology, 17(3), 335–357.	This article uses drug arrest rates in the city of San Francisco to investigate effects of place on the 'War on Drugs' as well as the effects of gentrification on policing. Authors indirectly identify structural racism as a fundamental issue but never quite tie together the elements of war on drugs policing, selective drug enforcement, urban renewal and the existence and conditions of urban 'ghettos.'
McFarland, M. J., Taylor, J., & McFarland, C. A. S. (2018). Weighed down by discriminatory policing: Perceived unfair treatment and Black-White disparities in waist circumference. SSM - Population Health, 5, 210–217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2018.07.002	Authors examine the effects of perception of unfair treatment by police on gender/racial disparities in waist circumference.

Miller, C., & Vittrup, B. (2020). The Indirect Effects of Police Racial Bias on African American Families. *Journal of Family Issues*, *41*(10), 1699–1722. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X20929068	The sample for this phenomenological study comprised 18 African American parents and guardians of minor children. Nine of the participants were women. Researchers investigated how police violence affects African American families by investigating how experiences of police violence impacts mental health impacts, how parents/guardians discussed police violence with their children and what support helped them deal with exposures to police violence.
Nordberg, A., Crawford, M. R., Praetorius, R. T., & Hatcher, S. S. (2016). Exploring Minority Youths' Police Encounters: A Qualitative Interpretive Meta-synthesis. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 33(2), 137–149. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-015-0415-3	The authors offer an innovation in systematic literature reviews by reviewing and synthesizing qualitative studies. The sample comprises studies of experiences of youth of color with police.
Ritchie, A. J., Mogul, J.L. (2007) In the shadow of the war on terror: Persistent police brutality and abuse of people of	This article fulfilled the requirement of the US (and other signatories) to report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and extensively documents

color in the United States. 1 DePaul Journal for Social Justice. 175 (2008).	violence against Black women and other women of color.
Sewell, A. A., Jefferson, K. A., & Lee, H. (2016). Living under surveillance: Gender psychological distress and stop-question-and-frisk policing in New York City. Social Science & Medicine, 159, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.04.024	Researchers examine gender differences mental health effects tied to neighborhood level of aggressive policing. Effects were greater for males in the study.
Wilson, I., Antin, T. M. J., & Hunt, G. (2020). 'Some are good, some are bad': Perceptions of the police from Black and Latina Women living in the San Francisco Bay Area. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *0*(0), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2020.1741489	Wilson and colleagues engaged in semi-structured interviews with 49 Black and/or Latina Women, 21 participants identified as Black. Participants generally held negative views of police that were influenced by direct and vicarious experiences as well as various media. The study took an intersectional approach that considered race and gender together as well as incorporating a life course approach.