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Black Lives Matter and its Effects on Police Use of Force

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Black Lives Matter and its Effects on Police Use of Force

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Abstract

The Black Lives Matter movement places a huge amount of attention on police procedures and behaviors. In many areas of the United States, police officers use of force against minorities was accepted and commonplace before the movement gained momentum. The killing of Trayvon Martin created instant media exposure for officers, public officials, and citizens alike. Social media's ubiquitous nature and the proliferation of cell phones use with the capability to make any citizen a reporter forced many changes among the ranks of police officers. Along with this additional attention, a perceived drop in use of force incidents against minority members of the community was observed. Collected data from several interviews with high level officers in San Francisco Bay Area police departments will help to provide a deeper understanding of the inner workings of those police departments. A review of relevant literature examines police policies and procedures both before and after the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement. The results of this study will provide information on whether the Black Lives Matter movement played an integral role in the reduction in uses of force by the police. The study will also identify other factors that may be responsible for the reduction. The author of this research study is currently a student at Golden Gate University completing his Executive Master's Degree in public administration. He is a Major and serves in the US Army Reserves located in Dublin, California.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In March 1991, America watched in horror as four Los Angeles Police Department officers engaged in the beating of an unarmed African American. Rodney King was beaten and tasered by the four law enforcement officers as other police officers stood by and watched. The incident made national news, and immediately following the acquittal of those officers, the LA Riots began (Lee, 2012). The beating of Rodney King is only one of a myriad of examples of abuses suffered by African Americans at the hands of the police. It was not the first time such injustice occurred, and it certainly would not be the last.

Police use of force disproportionately against African Americans has existed since the founding of the earliest police departments. African Americans had a rough start in early American History, as they were considered property instead of people. As police use of force became the norm, it was viewed as an unavoidable risk or a valuable tool in police departments across the country.

Background and History

The #BlackLivesMatter movement is just one moment in the history of African American struggles for equal rights. The origins of these struggles start with slavery, but most people identify with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his efforts to end Jim Crow laws in the south. The Civil Rights movement and the Black Lives Matter movement are often seen as parallel movements; however, the Black Lives Matter movement is being carefully organized to avoid some of the mistakes that are perceived in the Civil Rights movement (Harris, 2015). For example, Oprah Winfrey has called for a leader to step forward from the protest, in order to

guide the movement and state the demands of the movement. Fredrick C Harris, however, pointed out in his research why charismatic leadership is something the #blacklivesmatter movement will never have:

But Black Lives Matter activists today recognize that granting decision-making power to an individual or a handful of individuals poses a risk to the durability of a movement. Charismatic leaders can be co-opted by powerful interests, place their own self-interest above that of the collective, be targeted by government repression, or even be assassinated, as were Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. The dependence of movements on charismatic leaders can therefore weaken them, even lead to their collapse (Harris, 2015).

Fredrick C. Harris does a fantastic job of illustrating a key difference between the Civil Rights Movement and the #blacklivesmatter movement. The older Civil Rights Movement had charismatic leaders whom were central to the movements, but the orchestrators of the #blacklivesmatter movement recognized charismatic leaders as a weakness, and adapted the movement when presented with that new information.

The events that led to the start of the movement took place in Florida on February 26, 2012. African American, unarmed teenager, Trayvon Martin was shot and killed on his way to a local store by George Zimmerman. The shooting enraged African American citizens, but they waited while the legal process attempted the task of administering justice for the unarmed teen. In the summer of 2013 George Zimmerman was placed on trial for his actions and was found not guilty of second degree murder and manslaughter. This event, by opening wounds from incidents such as the Rodney King beating, placed the behavior of police departments across the nation under a spotlight. Even with the attention of the nation pointed at them, police

departments committed further crimes against the innocent citizens whom they were charged to protect (Day, 2015). More please; what else do you need to say about this article in your own words?

Not only did these events cast more media attention on the police department, but they pushed one of the movement's founders, Alicia Garza, into action. The passage below explains Ms. Garza's thoughts after receiving the verdict through Facebook following the 16-hour jury deliberation:

"Everything went quiet, everything and everyone," Garza says now. "And then people started to leave en masse. The one thing I remember from that evening, other than crying myself to sleep that night, was the way in which as a black person, I felt incredibly vulnerable, incredibly exposed and incredibly enraged. Seeing these black people leaving the bar, and it was like we couldn't look at each other. We were carrying this burden around with us every day: of racism and white supremacy. It was a verdict that said: black people are not safe in America (Day, 2015)." Alicia Garza was tremendously moved on the day she received the verdict in the George Zimmerman trial. Her feelings were echoed by other African Americans as demonstrated by the tenacity of the #blacklivesmatter movement.

After the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the summer of 2013, there was a shooting of another unarmed, black, teenager named Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. This time the shooter was a police officer and the shooting reinforced support for the Black Lives Matter movement (Carney, 2016). Michael Brown was portrayed as an innocent man gunned down by an out-of-control police officer (although more facts would come to light indicating Michael Brown may have stolen cigars from a local convenience store). Members of the movement

coordinated a #BlackLivesMatter Freedom ride which serves to strengthen the movement even further. In 2015, Freddie Gray was also killed by police through allegedly illegal means.

Although these crimes against black people continue to take place, the Black Lives Matter movement has placed a spotlight on the issue and dramatically reduced the incidents that have occurred in the last two years (Day, 2015). Although Elizabeth Day's words seek to tie the movement to the reduction in police abuses of African Americans, this study seeks to prove (or disprove) the link, if one exists.

Police involved in Freddie Gray's murder were investigated by the District Attorney no officers were ever charged with any crimes. No officers were charged in the Michael Brown shooting either. The condoning of what these officers had done, symbolized by the lack of punishment, led to further mistrust between the civilian population and the police. This mistrust and anger led to confrontation and greater tensions between the police and the communities they protect. As national attention has been focused on the police departments across the nation, some Departments (like San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New York) have stepped up and offered some transparency by publishing their Use-of-Force policy, other Departments have stepped up as well, but with poor policies that can be improved (like Houston and Chicago), and other still have not posted any policy. Although this is only one policy that represents a small step towards transparency and legitimacy, it is still an important step in healing the relationship between the police and the citizens that make up their jurisdictions (Garza, 2014). Cities such as New York, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles have use-of-force policies that are accessible to the public, but New York's, Houston's, and Chicago's policies are not available from their websites. The policies must be accessed externally, but making these policies available directly on the department's website could indicate a level of transparency that is currently not present in

those cities. Making the use of force policies easy to search and understand is also a pivotal part of making policies accessible (Fitch, 2014).

Despite the fact that the use of force continues to occur during day-to-day police operations, the argument can be made that the movement has had a tremendous impact on the policies and behavior of police departments across the nation. Fredrick C. Harris (2016) has pointed out that the tactics used “have helped Black Lives Matter force these issues onto the national political agenda (Harris, 2016).” Because of these tactics, uses of force (especially against minority members of the community) become a greater priority in the American consciousness. This prioritization combined with a tremendous effort by police departments nationwide led to a significant decrease in uses of force that was not only felt at the national level, but also in the Bay Area.

The City and County of San Francisco as well as the SF Bay Area as a whole have a reputation as a proactive and culturally sensitive region. Research in this part of the country can be used in cities around the world as a benchmark for regulations regarding the use of force. By focusing on policy, this research can directly contribute to the needs of other law enforcement agencies because policies across departments are more universally applicable than tactics. By focusing on the number of incidents involving use of force, this research can ensure it is spreading tested and proven policies before other agencies implement them.

Main Research Question

Has the Black Lives Matter movement resulted in improved police use-of-force policies and lower number of uses of force in the Bay Area? This study investigates the effects of the #blacklivesmatter movement on police policies specific to the Bay Area. The data to be collected

must clearly illustrate that the movement directly contributed to fewer instances of police use of force. Therefore, this question must be listed as the main research question.

Research Sub Questions

1. Did uses of force drop by at least 5% since the start of the movement? A drop of more than 5% would be statistically significant, and demonstrate a shift in police behavior
2. Have any of the 8 policy improvements suggested by useofforceproject.org been implemented since the start of the movement? This question would be very effective in demonstrating measurable changes to police policy. The eight policy improvements are listed in Chapter 3 of this research study.
3. What other factors could affect the changes in use of force? In the interest of fairness, the research must be extensively done on other factors that may contribute to the reduction in use of force.

Scope and Limitations of this Study

The scope of this study concerns the attitudes and beliefs of the interviewed key informants as well as the document comparison of old and new use-of-force policies in the Bay Area. This group was selected because of their in-depth, specialized knowledge regarding the subject matter. Their ability to obtain documents that may not be publically available may also prove helpful in increasing the reach of this research.

The limitations of this study include time and geography. There was a very short window of opportunity to collect data (less than 8 weeks) and there was only one data collector (this researcher). The data was collected using a written interview of a specific and specialized population (Police leaders from Bay Area departments).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this review of literature concerning what scholars and practitioners have published on #blacklivesmatter movement and police use of force, three themes surfaced and are described and examined separately below. Those themes are: (1) the origins of police use of force; (2) the mistreatment of African Americans by police; and (3) the power of news and social media. Each theme is described, analyzed and evaluated separately below to identify trends and patterns, agreement, disagreements and insights regarding the scholarly literature of this study. (Denhardt, Denhardt, & Blanc, 2014)

Origins of Police Use of Force Tactics in the US

The origins of use of force tactics are as old as policing itself. Images of police using force against citizens are commonly associated with “the wild west” and early colonial history. Kevin Cyr stated in the introduction to his study assessing the necessity and proportionality of police use of force “The necessity of the occasional use of force by the police in the execution of their duties is self-evident Cyr (2016).” It is natural (and correct) to assume that in the course of doing their duties, law enforcement officers will have to, at some point, use force.

Despite the crucial role that use of force has in policing and its use throughout our nation’s history, the core concepts that surrounded the use of force remained surprisingly ambiguous for a long time. In fact, researchers conducting a study in 2014 (after more than 200 years of policing) had this to say regarding a study of use of force study across more than 50 police departments.

Police use of force appears to remain a conceptually ambiguous construct, as less than one-third (28 percent) of the studies cite a conceptual definition of police use of force. Furthermore, the degree of specificity, as it relates to conceptualizations of force, varies considerably across studies. For example, Terrill et al.'s (2003, p. 1019) conceptualization of coercion (see Table AI) clearly indicates the types of behaviors that should be included in their operationalization of the construct. The conceptualization of force provided by Williams and Westall (2003, p. 471) is much less specific, and does not clearly convey the types of police behavior that constitute force, leaving the reader to infer what actions compel one into "submission." (Frank, Frank, & Liederbach, 2014)

Police Mistreatment of African Americans

Even before the end of slavery, black people were exposed to some very harsh injustices. One such injustice was outlined in detail in a research paper titled "Teaching Celia in the Age of Black Lives Matter" (Byrd, 2016). Celia was a slave who had been sexually assaulted by her owner, and devised a plan to protect herself. One night when her owner came in Celia struck him in the head with a stick and killed him. Though this was obviously self-defense, Brandon Byrd argued, at this time in American history "Black lives didn't matter." Celia was found guilty by the State of Missouri and sentenced to death by hanging. If black people were treated so poorly at this point in their history, then the journey to become treated equally would be a long one.

Similar to the mistreatment of Celia by the State of Missouri, police nationwide have been tremendously unfair with their use of force. Coincidentally, early approval for use of force may have derived from the racism that was rampant early in American history. In their 1998 research paper, Steven Barkan and Steven Cohn (1998) studied this injustice and concluded:

This set of findings supports assumptions that prejudice against African Americans partially underlies public (i.e., whites') calls for harsher treatment of criminals. In a democratic society it is unacceptable for racial prejudice to guide public policy. Insofar as racial prejudice motivates calls by the public and perhaps by public officials for the harsher treatment of criminals, such treatment is unjustified.

If the criminal justice system could be corrupted by racism from earlier in the history of the United States, then those policies should be at least reviewed and perhaps replaced. However, these prejudices continue to be enforced and have resulted in tactics that were used disproportionately against black people as soon as they were freed from slavery. The tactics have been documented in a recent study by Matthew Hickman and Alex Piquero (2009). While speaking about the disproportionate nature of complaints about use of force they noted,

Blacks, in particular, were overrepresented, composing 21.4% of the population served but 42.3% of those filing complaints. Lersch and Mieczkowski (1996) found that minority citizens in the pseudonymous city of Sunnyville composed 22.2% of the population but 50.5% of those filing complaints against Sunnyville police officers.

With disproportionate use of force to this degree, a revolution was inevitable.

This revolution surged and waned several times in American history. The most prominent surge to date was the Civil Rights Movement which started in the 1950s and ended in the 1960s. Howard Erlanger and Christopher Schmidt described some of the more nuanced points of the Civil Rights Movement in the following quote.

By the mid-to-late 1960s, many racial justice activists--including, most famously, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.--as well as liberal legal scholars, frustrated with

the perceived limitations of a "civil rights" agenda, defined their real goal as advancing *human* rights (Erlanger & Schmidt, 2016).

Although large strides were made during the Civil Rights Movement, leaders of the movement knew that there was a tremendous amount of work that was yet to be done. As mentioned in the introduction, the Black Lives Matter movement is in some ways carrying on the torch that the Civil Rights Movement has passed to them, but the #blacklivesmatter movement is leveraging modern technology to spread their message more efficiently.

The Power of News and Social Media

The beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement corresponded with a noticeable drop in use of force incidences against citizens which is attributed to different variables by different media sources. The San Francisco Chronicle in its article dated September 2, 2015 marked the decline in use of force and also includes a graph charting the number of use of force incidents over the years between 2007 and 2015. Although the drop began in 2010, Oakland experienced its most precipitous drop in occurrences in 2013 the same year that the Black Lives Matter movement began.

Social media and news media play a significant role in determining how society views police departments. To understand the movement as it exists now, one needs a firm understanding of the prolific grip that news and social media have on modern society. The platform is able to offer a powerful soapbox for anyone capable of properly wielding it. Many of the stories that the media proliferated with regards to use of force in American communities were often further spread through social media sites like Facebook. In an article about a small town police department that started to use Facebook in its favor, Daniel Gross is quoted:

Duncan's page [The Facebook page of the Duncan, SC Police Dept.] began in September following the rioting in Ferguson, Mo. which was fueled by the killing of an unarmed black man by a white police officer. The shooting in Ferguson was the first of several subsequent events that spurred national discussions about police brutality and accountability (Gross, 2015).”

The article by Gross (2015) explains that, “[Police Chief C. E.] Long felt compelled to shine more light on local police officers and expose his team for who they are, humans, he said. The effort was to dispel perceptions that police officers are brutal, excessive and lack human character and emotion. (5)” The police, in their response to the Black Lives Matter movement, have been swift to adapt new technology and leverage that technology to become more effective.

Another type of media coverage of police interaction with citizens is entertainment media, such as fictional TV shows like *NYPD Blue* and *CSI* were studied by Kathleen M. Donovan and her colleague, Charles F Klahm IV(2015) and they found that:

watching crime dramas has no effect on perceptions regarding the degree to which the police actually use force when making arrests. This is surprising, given the overwhelming extent to which viewers of crime dramas are exposed to police use of force. Nonetheless, these findings are in line with those of Dowler and Zawilski (2007), who also found no relationships between crime drama viewership and perceptions regarding the degree to which police engage in various forms of misconduct (Donovan & Klahm, 2015).

The lack of correlation is anticlimactic, but the team did find that news media outlets such as CNN and FOX News had an impact on the public's perception of police use of force (Osborne & Plastrik, 2000).

So while African Americans have had a difficult history in the United States, the movement continues to make strides toward equality. Although tremendous gains were attained during the Civil Rights movement, in the shadows some injustices were still being committed. The #BlackLivesMatter movement is leveraging social media to help to focus attention on the unwarranted use of force against African Americans and hopefully overcome this hurdle in the journey towards equality.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Research Design:

This research design approach is a hybrid of two methods (Phenomenology and content analysis). A phenomenology study “attempts to understand people’s perceptions, perspective, and understandings, of a particular situation” (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013, p 145). Phenomenology will be a vital tool in internalizing the perspective of local police leaders and their views regarding the #blacklivesmatter movement and its effects on police policy. The reasoning for implementing this method of data gathering over a survey, for example, is that this is a study of policy and to understand policy one must go to the policy-makers. A survey will make clear the public’s opinion of such policies, but that is not what will be studied here. Content analysis will also be employed with respect to the use of force policies of the Bay Area departments to attempt to measure improvements in the policy quantitatively.

Research Question:

Has the Black Lives Matter movement resulted in improved police policies and lower number of uses of force in the Bay Area? Asking this question was necessary in order to obtain answers to this research study. The phenomenon observed by this researcher concerned the connection between police policies on use of force and the Black Lives Matter movement. Central to this study was determining if, why, how and especially what use of force policies in the San Francisco Bay Area were affected by the movement.

Research Hypotheses:

Sub-hypothesis 1: The Black Lives Matter movement, by placing additional media scrutiny on police behavior, has improved police policies resulting in a lower number of uses of force in the Bay Area.

Sub-hypothesis 2: The presence and implementation of law enforcement use of force policies will reduce the number of use of force; and

Sub-hypothesis 3: The attention provided by the media helps to reduce the number of use of force by law enforcement officers.

The focus of this study concerns whether or not police use of force is associated with heightened attention by the media on law enforcement department behavior, the presence and enforcement of modern use of force policies and the #blacklivesmatter movement. This researcher contends that these factors are all connected. Each one of the areas of concern are examined, assessed and evaluated. The findings, results, conclusions and recommendations based on the primary and secondary data collected for this study are provided in subsequent sections of this report.

Dependent and Independent Variables:

The dependent variable for this study is the frequency of police use of force. in the Bay Area. The independent variables for this study are (1) presence and enforcement of law enforcement use of force policies; the #blacklivesmatter movement; (2) heightened media scrutiny on and attention to police behavior. This study examines whether or not a causal effect exists between any of these independent variables and the dependent variable, the reduction in number of police use of force. As stated in this study's hypotheses: the presence and implementation of law enforcement's use of force policies will reduce the number of uses of force; the #blacklivesmatter has an influencing affect on reducing the number of police uses of force; and the attention provided by the media also has an influencing affect to reduce the number of use of force by law enforcement officers.

Operational Definitions:

The Black Lives Matter movement:

The Black Lives Matter movement is defined as the on-going movement which began on July 13 2013 with the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the killing of Trayvon Martin. The Black Lives Matter movement is inspired by the Civil Rights movement and Black Power movement. It was born in protest of the killing of several unarmed African Americans with little accountability for police who were charged. The movement has a very large social media presence, and is often precluded by the “hashtag” symbol used for searching the popular website twitter. The cause has been so popular that the American Dialect Society chose #BlackLivesMatter as its “Word of the Year” for 2014 (Berlin, 2014).

Additional media scrutiny on police behavior:

Additional media scrutiny on police behavior is defined as not only the immediate scrutiny of the killing of Trayvon Martin, but the reaction by the media to several incidents which followed that involved African Americans and their experiences with police officers. The media scrutiny applies in the same way to the evolution of technology enabling people with high quality phone cameras to not only record their personal experiences, but to use social media to share those videos and become amateur newsmakers themselves. The type of outrage that this material invokes makes it popular on social media, facilitating its spread even more because popular content is shared more frequently across most social media platforms.

Improved police policies:

Improved police policies are defined as the addition of one or more policies from the list of eight “common-sense limits” (McKesson, Sinyangwe, Elzie, & Panknett, p. 3, 2016) noted at

useofforceproject.org. to existing Bay Area policies. These policies were specifically designed to protect the public against police violence

1. Failing to make life preservation the primary principle shaping police decisions about using force
2. Failing to require officers to de-escalate situations, where possible, by communicating with subjects, maintaining distance, and otherwise eliminating the need to use force
3. Allowing officers to choke or strangle civilians, in many cases where less lethal force could be used instead, resulting in the unnecessary death or serious injury of civilians
4. Failing to require officers to intervene and stop excessive force used by other officers and report these incidents immediately to a supervisor
5. Failing to develop a Force Continuum that limits the types of force and/or weapons that can be used to respond to specific types of resistance.
6. Failing to require officers to exhaust all other reasonable means before resorting to deadly force.
7. Failing to require officers to give a verbal warning, when possible, before shooting at a civilian.
8. Failing to require officers to report each time they use force or threaten to use force against civilians (McKesson, Sinyangwe, Elzie, & Panknett, 2016).

Lower number of uses of force:

Lower number of uses of force is defined as a statistically significant (5% or more drop) in uses of force in the police departments involved in this study.

The Bay Area:

The Bay Area is defined as the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, and Martinez, California as well as Alameda County.

Data Collection Plan Overview:

Several interviews were conducted with subject matter experts and leaders of law enforcement agencies located in the Bay Area. These leaders include: Manjit Sappal, Martinez Chief of Police; Capt. Paul Figueroa, Captain of Police of Oakland PD; Capt. Yesenia Sanchez, Alameda County Sheriff's Office; Lt. Carlos Sanchez, San Francisco District Attorney's Office; and Stephen Burcham, an officer with the Berkeley Police Department.

In addition to these interviews, a detailed document comparison of old and new Use-of-Force policies in the departments located around the Bay Area will also be performed. If a use of force policy dated before July 13 2013 and one dated after the movement are examined and one or more clauses from the 8 policies listed above are added, the addition would signify a demonstrable improvement in the policy.

Development of Interview Questions:

Creating the interview questions to use in the study was one of the most critical points in the study. The thoroughness of the answers and quantity of data desired must be balanced with respect for the time of each of the expert key informants. The original interview had 15 questions and was expected to take about 30 minutes to complete. Upon review by the professors, however; The determination was made that the number of questions could be greatly reduced by consolidating some of the questions.

With that advice in mind, the interview questions were honed further, and then submitted to Dr. Paul Figureoa, a professor at Golden Gate University and the Captain of Police for the Oakland Police Department. As a result of Dr. Figureoa's input, the interview questions were tuned further, and after minor changes to some wording, those interviews were sent to the key informants identified for this survey.

Controlling for Internal and External Validity

Internal Validity:

Internal validity refers to the extent to which results obtained in a research study are a function of the variables that were systematically manipulated, measured and/or observed in the study (Bieger & Gerlack, 1996). A primary threat to the validity of this research is the new implementation of other technologies that may have helped police officers to reduce the use of force in their jurisdictions. Mitigation of those threats consists of studying those implementations to determine if they had additional impact on use of force and, if so, to what degree. In the Results and Findings chapter, the researcher will carefully consider these technological implementations and give an objective opinion of whether those implementations can be given partial credit for the reduction in use of force observed in the Bay Area. Additionally, the review of use of force policies did not include any changes made to these policies during the period of time of this study, which might have affected the results of this study.

External Validity:

External validity pertains to the extent to which the results of a research study are able to be generalized confidently to a group larger than the group that participated in the study (Bracht & Glass, 1968). Individuals interviewed in this study represent an average of _____ years of

experience at all levels of law enforcement organizations. The data captured from them may be generalized to similar sized law enforcement organizations. In terms of experimenter effects, this researcher remained unbiased to the basis of the study. Potential research findings, conclusions or recommendations were not introduced to interviewees to control for bias. In order to preserve and increase the external validity of this study, local tactics, techniques, or procedures that may not apply to other organizations will be identified and clearly marked (O'Sullivan, Rassel, & Berner, 2008).

Scope and Limitations:

Because the primary focus of this research is policy in the San Francisco Bay Area, the scope and limits of this research is restricted to the San Francisco Bay Area and includes law enforcement officers and selected other key informants from these counties or cities. Access to policy makers in the Departments around the Bay Area was difficult, however, the task was made easier by the fact that some of those individuals were alumni of Golden Gate University.

Chapter 4: Results and Findings

The purpose of this section is to provide the results and significant findings regarding the connection between the #blacklivesmatter movement and police use of force policy. A review of the research question and sub-hypotheses is provided followed by an in-depth review of raw data, analysis and significant findings mined from primary data and from secondary scholarly literature and practitioner studies.

Research Question:

Has the Black Lives Matter movement resulted in improved police policies and lower number of uses of force in the Bay Area? This question served as the initial spark for the research and helped to create initial boundaries in terms of geographic scope. The timeliness of the issue combined with the ongoing #blacklivesmatter movement created the onus to understand the nature of the conflict the movement is facing.

Research Hypotheses:

Sub-hypothesis 1: The Black Lives Matter movement, by placing additional media scrutiny on police behavior, has improved police policies resulting in a lower number of uses of force in the Bay Area. This hypothesis provided a focus on police policies for the study. By honing in on this area of study, a much deeper understanding of how policies and procedures were shaped during the time frame of the #blacklivesmatter movement.

Sub-hypothesis 2: The presence and implementation of law enforcement use of force policies will reduce the number of use of force. This hypothesis and the next helped to identify key catalysts driving the changes in police use of force in recent years.

Sub-hypothesis 3: The attention provided by the media helps to reduce the number of use of force by law enforcement officers. This hypothesis provided another area of focus for the

study. By examining the skillfulness of the leaders of the movement in their use of social media and technology to plan and execute effective demonstrations, this hypothesis provides a likely reasoning for the changes observed in use of force.

Results and Findings: Interview Questions

Question #1: (a) Does your department have a use of force policy? (b) What year was it introduced and why?

Berkeley: Yes, It was implemented more than 25 years ago. Minor changes have been made since then. The last change was over 10 years ago and it was a minor wording change.

Oakland: ---Yes. The Oakland Police Department has a strong Use of Force Policy which has resulted in significant reductions in the uses of force. The Department has had a Use of Force policy since at least the 1970's. The major changes to the policy were in place previous to the Blacklivesmatter movement as a result of the Federal Oversight for the Department. The Use of Force policy is accessible on the website. The most recent version is from 2014, but the major changes were in place since about 2005.

(<http://www2.oaklandnet.com/oakcal/groups/police/documents/webcontent/oak053209.pdf>) I would say the increased focus brought on by the Black Lives Matter Movement led to the posting of policies and Use of Force on a nationwide basis. I participated in this project and I know it was motivated for a fuller transparency as it relates to the total numbers of Uses of Force and other policies. This is a nationwide movement:

<https://publicsafetydataportal.org/participating-agencies/>

Sharing this level of information and policies was new for many agencies.

Alameda: Yes. Our Use of Force Policy was introduced on March 1, 1996 when our Agency was looking toward Accreditation, specifically CALEA (California Accreditation of Law Enforcement Agencies). CALEA requires an agency to have policies in place which guide and give clear direction in order to maintain an agency of the highest standards. The Alameda County Sheriff's Office has been accredited since 1996, and we continue to maintain the level of excellence CALEA requires for accreditation.

Martinez: Yes, my department does have a Use of Force (UOF) Policy. Policies are in place to serve as guidelines for officer behavior that conform to law, best practices, and public expectations. The UOF policy has been in an existence for at least 15 years.

San Francisco: Yes, the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, Bureau of Investigations (SFDA), has a use of force policy and has had one for quite some time. About 3 years ago, we revised our entire Policy and Procedure Manual, including expanding our use of force policy.

Findings: All five organizations have use of force policies that have been in use for at least 10 years, with three of the five reporting agencies having policies that have been used for 15 years or more. The durability of these policies even through many changes in policing over the time period can demonstrate a pro-activeness that is very useful in all aspects of policing (Kania & Davis, 2012).

Question # 2 (a) How do you think your police department is doing in implementing use of force practices compared to other police departments in the San Francisco Bay Area? (b) Explain why you feel this way.

Berkeley: It is hard to compare my agency to other agencies. Second guessing other departments in use of force situations isn't helpful because there are different circumstances behind every use of force. We do well in our implementation on the whole. We do a good job of using less force than is required in many situations. There have been incidents in which deadly force could have been used but was not. We deescalate often. We have a lot of training. The important thing is not the policy itself, but how many people know the policy and the philosophy behind the policy. We train extensively and talk about force options available for each officer. We go to range at least quarterly and spend 16 hours or more range time, which includes tactics and simunitions. Humans act differently than targets do and scenarios can be adjusted to have a variety of different endings. This means officers are not always shooting, and it creates a different mindset in those officers. Scenario based training is important. The sim rounds enable suspects (which would be paper targets in other departments) to react. We use in-depth roleplaying scenarios in combination with more traditional training like use of force training, handcuffing techniques, range training. 8 to 10-hour Tactical de-escalation training course.

Oakland: --the OPD has policies that were approved by an Independent Federal Monitor and two prominent Civil Rights Attorneys. For the last few decades, the OPD averaged about 7 – 10 officer involved shootings per year. There was a 24-month period where the OPD did not have an officer involved shooting. Then there was several Officer involved shootings in a short period, and now significant time has passed again. There are a great deal of factors that go into whether there will be an officer involved shooting or not, but it is worth noting this is the case. The Department also takes the use of time more seriously than it has in the past. So in the past where we were quicker to take action, the movements are much more methodical now. For example, in the past staff were allowed to chase individuals into a backyard, and these events

were more likely to lead to a use of force. Now, officers stop pursuing when they lose sight of a person and don't chase them into a yard alone. Instead, the block is surrounded and other officers arrive and take their time to search for the person as a team. One of the key ways for officers to make better decision is by reducing the time pressures in making the force decisions. More time equals more preparation and thinking through a situation. The more policies require staff to take their time (when they can), then better decisions will be made. I think the OPD is doing much better than that in the past. I can only compare Oakland against Oakland as I don't know the history of each of the other cities in the Bay Area or the particular aspects of their Use of Force policies.

Alameda: Our Agency conducts annual reviews of our policies and procedures, to include our use of force policy. Our reviews will sometimes occur more often, based on new legislature. Our Agency draws information and research from PERF (Police Executive Research Forum), International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and other research projects during the development of policies.

We consistently receive requests from other agencies for copies of our policies as they trust our policies are thorough and provide a clear direction to our staff.

Martinez: Many departments, ours included, use a policy manual created by a law firm called Lexipol. The company updates the policies based on case law and each agency can customize it based on their needs. While the policy provides a base, each agency can update it based on their training and tools used. I believe that we are doing well with implementing practices as we review the policy annually and update it based on need. Policies are only as good as the oversight of the adherence to policy. In regard to oversight, we have a process that requires a supervisor to conduct an administrative investigation of any force used that results in

injury to an arrestee. The investigation is then reviewed by management personnel to ensure it is in policy. We plan on moving toward a committee review process this year in which we can discuss each use of force to evaluate if the policy in place is effective and whether we need to adjust training to keep up with changes we see in the field or to stay up to date on best practices. I believe we are doing well compared to other agencies in the area.

San Francisco: The SFDA members are trained quarterly in various techniques, including the use of less lethal force. Qualifications are also quarterly and updates are continuous. Our members also have the ability to attend a variety of training that is available compared to other departments who cannot afford the loss of personnel or the costs.

Findings: Bay Area Police Departments are extensively trained not only in the use of force, but also the de-escalation of force. All of the departments above train at least quarterly in various aspects of using force, and most of the departments, (4 out of 5) state that their policies are evaluated at least annually and updated as necessary.

Question #3 What is your opinion of the current trends in use of force policy in your law enforcement department (from 2007 to current day)?

Berkeley: Berkeley has always been at the edge of progressive policing. It started with August Vollmer, the revolutionary police chief who originated the policy of college experience for officers. This policy was absolutely not the norm in the early 1900s. Our department has carried on the 2-year college tradition ever since. This education creates a different type of officers. That trend is spreading throughout the Bay Area. College is becoming a requirement throughout the Bay Area. Because of our progressiveness from very early in our history, we have managed to stay ahead of some of the problems that are plaguing other departments.

Oakland: --I think that trends has been constant improvement. There have been good changes which have increase accountability and effectiveness. Two examples:

- (1) Use of Force Boards: The OPD holds a Use of Force Board hearing on all serious uses of force. The Board is chaired by a Deputy Chief of Police. There is a presentation by the Supervisor who responded and wrote the formal Use of Force report. The Board hears testimony from those at the scene and review the available evidence. Often times, this involves watching the Body Worn Camera footage of the actual incident. The Board makes a determination if the force is in or out of compliance with the policy. The final reports go to the Police Chief for the final determination of compliance. Some of the cases result in discipline. The Board also creates a list of training points from each use of force, so the Department can learn from each event so we do our jobs better. The training points are shared with the entire department via a quarterly training bulletin. This type accountability and regular review with an eye on learning is critical for moving forward.
- (2) The policy continues to focus on protecting the safety of all persons and using the least amount of force necessary to complete the police mission.

Alameda: Our Agency has seen a reduction in the number of use of force incidents since the Agency's implementation of body worn cameras.

Martinez: The trend has been to focus more on de-escalating situations and not use force, if possible. I believe this is the proper approach and training must incorporate this mindset – policy without training to reinforce it is a problem approach.

San Francisco: Our agency has not had one use of force complaint since 2007. Our department has varied between 35 to 56 members, with our primary duty of investigation which

is very different from patrol duties that are required by police and sheriff, and our agency is not a 24/7 department. Our members are exposed to situations that may require use of force, but we have a high caliber of investigators that have experienced, education and good training. It is very different from a young officer hitting the streets on patrol and being faced with a situation that he/she may panic and use more force than that necessary for the situation. However, our department has evolved in updating our use of force policy and added other options to what we can use. We recently trained all our members to use the collapsible baton (ASP) for which they are now required to wear on a day to day basis. It gives them another option to use.

Findings: Each department has noticed a downward trend in use of force complaints although they each note different reasons. The reasons include education, body cameras, increased accountability, de-escalation, and equipment. Each department has implemented options that specifically tailor to the environment in which it operates (Sylves, 2015).

Question #4 Is your Department's Use of Force policy effective or ineffective? How? Please provide examples.

Berkeley: Very effective. In most professions decisions are black and white (Questions usually have yes or no answers) but in law enforcement many of the decisions are very gray. There are many variables that change each scenario. We have a good, understandable policy. And the whole policy emphasizes minimal force necessary. Pretty good policy. Clearly written with a lot of latitude.

San Francisco just had a policy implemented to prohibit officers from shooting at moving vehicles. That's a mistake. Because there may be situations where officers should fire at moving vehicles, for example the truck driving through the crowd in France. While officers

should not shoot at moving vehicles in general, there are times when it is the right thing to do. Our policy says it is not recommended but the policy does not say never. Because officers need the latitude to make decisions in the field. Berkeley's policy has many should's and best practices, but the policy does not have many musts.

Oakland: --It is effective, because it incorporates some of the best practices today and had the Department focused on learning from each event. It has also led to a significant reduction in the overall uses of force by the Department. From above 2000 in 2008 to approximately 500 in 2015. The downward trend continued into 2016. The following is a link showing the drops in the uses of force" <http://www2.oaklandnet.com/government/o/OPD/a/data/useofforce/index.htm>

Alameda: Our Agency constantly trains and refreshes staff on our use of force policy. The respect of our Agency and how we conduct ourselves is an example of its effectiveness. It is difficult to identify a "true" measure of how effective policy is in my opinion. It's the same as asking, "How many lives have you saved today?" What can be said is when reviewing use of force incidents and witnessing our deputy's actions when confronting force situations, it is clear they are aware of our policy and the guidelines they must follow.

Martinez: I believe that it is effective. All of our uses of force are reviewed and they fall within policy. If they do not, we have a mechanism in place to examine and investigate to take action. As I mentioned earlier, the effectiveness can be examined by the review process in place that ensures compliance with the policy.

San Francisco: It appears to be effective due that we have not had any incidents. Our members are trained to deal with situations and prepare for the worst. Every operation that is executed is done with careful planning and precautions to avoid force. We make every effort to

study possible scenarios, the affected people's backgrounds, the propensity of danger and use of force, and the implications of the case at hand. Of course, these are done when we have time to deal with the planning of an operation such as executing search and/or arrest warrants, but our members are also faced with the potential of danger each day when they are conducting investigations. We emphasize safety techniques, use of verbal judo, and de-escalation.

Findings: Each department has a variety of examples as to why the Use-of-Force policy is effective. The training that officers receive lead leaders in each department to believe that the policies work, and when the use of force is reviewed, the actions of the officers usually fall within the prescribed guidelines. The review of uses of force reinforces the argument with evidence from real world experience.

Question #5 What trends, if any, have you witnessed in your department regarding police use of force?

Berkeley: No big changes. Lethal force is emphasized and it is an important aspect of using force, and our numbers are very good there. Police shootings are an anomaly not a regular occurrence.

Oakland: -I see a trend on the part of involved staff to be willing to learn more from each Use of Force. That is critical. There is also the trend of using body worn camera footage to view the events and provide a more depth analysis as a result. This also provides a level of proof that hasn't been as readily available as in the past.

Alameda: Our Agency has seen a reduction in the number of use of force incidents since the Agency's implementation of body worn cameras.

Martinez: The trend I have noticed is that most uses of force come from dealing with combative suspects. Most involve struggling with a suspect and has not resulted in the use of a taser or baton, which would have been appropriate given the circumstances. The use of hands, however, rather than tools has resulted in officers being injured. I have also seen a decrease in the use of force.

San Francisco: I have not witnessed any trends, however, there is a sense of added precaution by members and Law Enforcement in general due to the current atmosphere against law enforcement. Members believe they should be even more careful than before because of the public's reactions due to high profile officer-involved shootings (OIS). Our office is tasked with investigation those types of cases and making a decision as to whether to justify a shooting or not. This puts our members at higher risks due to the perception of the public that they are representative of the office even if they have nothing to do with an OIS investigation.

Findings: In the Bay Area Departments that are large enough to witness trends, the recent trends have been good. The reasons given for the good trends include body cameras, willingness to train, and officers using the tools at their disposal.

Question #6 What factors do you think most contribute to the recent decline in incidences involving use of force?

Berkeley: I wouldn't necessarily point to the blacklivesmatter movement. The real factors that contribute are the onset of cellphone generation and the fact that video cameras are everywhere. People show up videotaping the cops all of the time. Black lives matter. Body worn cameras have helped as well, but the readiness of people's cellphone cameras has helped in that decline. But again, Berkley has been unique in our policing because I have been videotaped

doing my job for 25 years. But nationwide it's new. I think that starting in a good department is very helpful. If you start in a good department then the temptation to do the wrong thing will be significantly lower, because you are surrounded by good examples. A good department will instill in the new officers what the right thing to do is. There will always be excessive force complaints. As long as those complaints are returned as invalid, I'm not worried about being filmed

Oakland: --I think the focus on force incidents has caused Department's to look at their policies and implement changes to lower use of force events wherever possible. I also think Body Worn Cameras makes a significant difference, because they can increase accountability at the incidents. I also think they cause people to act more civil to each other because they know they are being recorded.

In the past, all of the training scenarios ended in a use of force. This could have conditioned staff to use force more often than not. Currently, there is also much more focus on reality based training. This training puts officers in stressful situations and causes them to make decision related to using force. The officers are presented with situation to lower the levels of force and sometimes to use force. This requires a great deal of analysis and thought by the officers in a training situation. This training has resulted in better decision making by the officers.

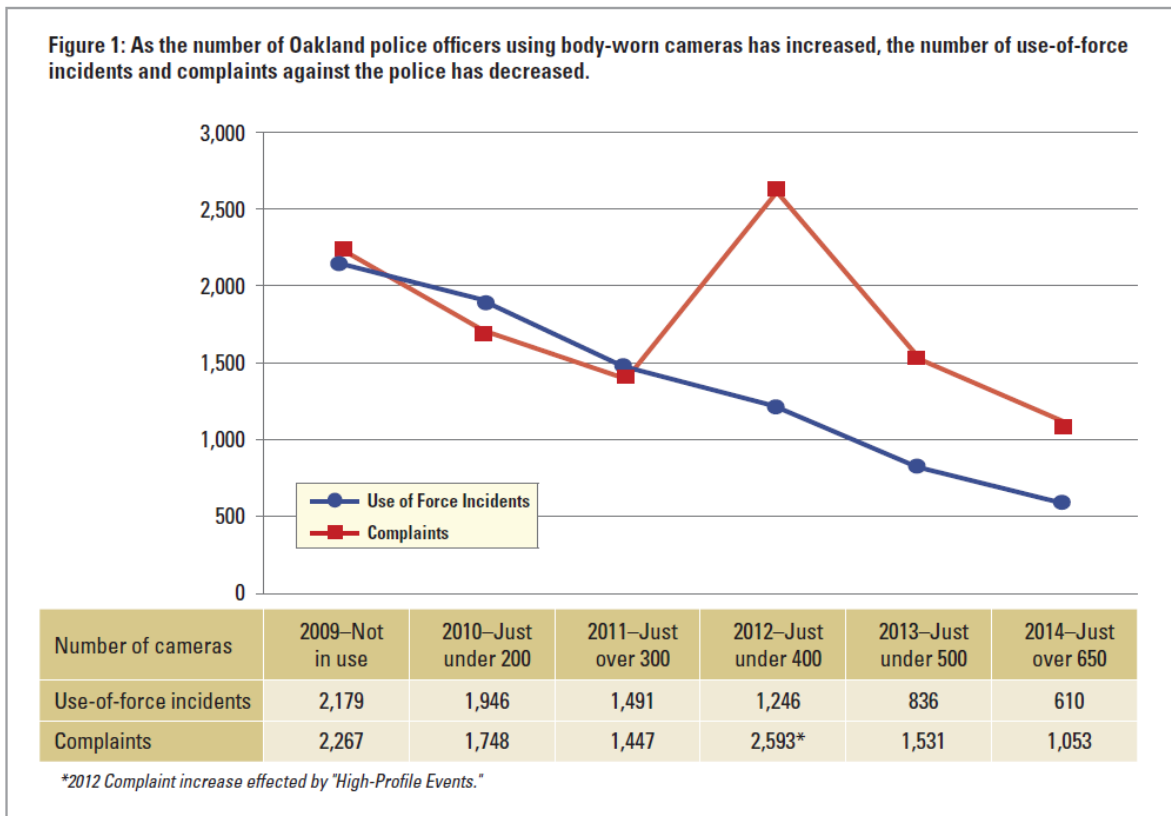
Alameda: I believe recent decline can be attributed to body worn cameras. Body worn cameras are two-fold as they capture the behavior and actions of both the public and the deputy. When there is a device recording, people tend to behave differently. Instead of escalating a situation with bad or provoking language, people will taper their behavior as they know they are being captured.

Martinez: I think the decrease is the result of more time and emphasis spent on de-escalating and not using force unless absolutely necessary.

San Francisco: Use of force has decline throughout the years, however, due to highly publicize cases, the perception is that there are more cases. The SFPD and our office has made many strives to record and investigate such cases. I believe the continued stress on training, emphasis on policies and mission, and the lack of acceptance of a culture of ‘good ole boys’ has provided members not to tolerate such behavior. I also believe that members do not believe as much in the ‘blue wall’ of silence and are coming out reporting bad behavior, whether to a supervisor or confidentially via a whistleblower program. Most cities/counties have whistleblower programs that allow the reporting to be confidential. These types of items provide others to be on notice to avoid bad behavior that may lead to a use of force investigation.

Findings: When asked about effective measures that their departments had implemented that have had a positive effect on use of force, three of the five expert informant interviews mention body cameras. This data point is further reinforced by the chart below which compares uses of force as well as police complaints when compared to the number of body cameras worn

in the same year.



<http://www.policechiefmagazine.org>

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(Figueroa, p.55, 2016)

Question #7 How can I obtain a copy of your department's current use of force policy, a policy dated 2013 or earlier, and any use of force statistics you have for your department?

Berkeley: Berkeley's use of force policy is on the website. City of Berkeley, police, U2 use of force. Call records bureau for older policies. Public records act request. 510-981-5750.

Oakland: From the website:

<http://www2.oaklandnet.com/government/o/OPD/a/data/useofforce/index.htm>

Alameda: You may obtain a copy of our Agency's use of force policy by request to our Office of Internal Affairs. They accept all California Public Records Act requests.

Martinez: I can email it to you.

San Francisco: I have attached a copy of our Policy and Procedure Manual table of contents with a copy of the use of force section; however, throughout the manual, there are many policies that address issues of use of force.

Findings: Although the use of force policies are stressed throughout the Bay Area, only two of the five departments have the policies on their websites. This could be an area of improvement for the departments that do not have the policies readily accessible.

Question #8 In your opinion, do you think the Black Lives Matter movement directly or indirectly influenced the introduction (or improvement of use of force policies in your department? How or How not?

Berkeley: No real effect in our department. The policy was in place far before the organization existed. Other than more training to get used to being filmed. We saw tape of a female officer (in another city) who didn't use adequate force when she should have because she was being filmed. That training was to remind all of the officers to not let the cameras cloud your judgement. Trying to adapt to the new climate.

Oakland: --I don't know that BLM influenced the policy changes as they were in process and our Department is learning and making changes to the policy constantly. This was largely due to the Federal Oversight the Department was already under at the time. I do believe the BLM made the topic of Use of Force move to the top of the national discussion. This was a really big deal, because it caused agencies to think hard about their policies. It even caused

changes to the policies of other agencies. I also think it led to a major push to make policies and Use of Force information more accessible to the public. This was a significant development over the last two years and will have a significant impact for many years to come. See:

<https://publicsafetydataportal.org/participating-agencies/>

Alameda: The Black Lives Matter movement has not had any direct or indirect influence on our use of force policy. The guidelines set forth in our policy fall within the laws which govern use of force.

Martinez: That is a difficult question to answer. I do not think the change by the movement has been to policy – the change has been with oversight and compliance of policies, an increase in the amount and type of training, and a greater emphasis on de-escalation, in general.

San Francisco: I do not believe the “Black Lives Matter” movement is directly responsible for the change of behavior. The movement began years ago with the focus on improvement, responsibility and training. The media, along with other social movements, have added awareness to the public, but Law Enforcement through many faucets has been addressing the issue via means such as Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), International Chiefs Association of Police (ICAP), Prorac, FOP and many other institutions. California is a leader in innovation due to the training through POST and because of its continual culture awareness campaigns at training academies and policies. Use of force has been a topic of discussion my entire career (since the 80’s) and seems to be an issue of continuous change and improvement. I do believe that the awareness of its importance has caused LE departments to see themselves in the mirror more closely and make sure that they are up with the current times. Agencies now share more information than ever before and no one department is left alone to reinvent the

wheel. We will always have social causes that bring issues to the forefront; but the issue may already be at the forefront of a department, but the attention not to ignore it becomes more urgent and problematic if not dealt with.

Findings: The decrease in police use of force that has been noted since 2007 was not attributed to the #blacklivesmatter movement very much. Three out of the five respondents interviewed indicated that the movement raised awareness of police use of force, but all respondents indicated that there were no direct changes to use of force policies that the respondent would contribute to the movement.

Use of Force Policy Comparison

The table below summarizes my findings when examining the use of force policies across the Bay Area. A “yes in the box indicates that the department implemented the suggestion, while a “no in the box indicates that the department did not implement the suggestion. I was unable to

obtain the Alameda County Sheriff's Department's use of force policy.

City/ Law Enforcement Agency	Alameda CSD	Berkeley PD	Martinez PD	Oakland PD 2007	Oakland PD 2013	San Francisco DA
Suggestions for Improvements to Use of Force Policies						
'Make life preservation a primary principle		NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
'Require officers to de-escalate situations		NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
'Prohibit chokes		YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
'Require officers to intervene and stop excessive force		YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
'Develop a Force Continuum		YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
'Require officers to exhaust other means before deadly force		NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
'Require officers give a verbal warning before using deadly force		NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
'Require officers to report each time they use force or threaten to use force against civilians		YES	YES	NO	YES	YES

In comparing old (dated 01 August 2007) and new (dated 16 October 2014) use of force policies from the Oakland Police Department, several improvements can be noted. The old policy contained three of the eight recommended policy suggestions. The new policy contains seven! The new policy introduces the sanctity of human life as a primary part of the policy. Both policies have required de-escalation whenever possible. The policies do classify chokeholds as lethal force. The new policy requires officers to intervene when the officer witnesses excessive force being used. The new policy does a better job of developing a Force Continuum. Neither policy requires officers to exhaust all reasonable means before resorting to deadly force. Although the old policy requires officers to give a verbal warning, the new policy only mentions that requirement as it applies to training with Simunitions (simulated munitions).

While the new policy includes a reporting process for the use of force in the form of Police dogs, there is no reporting requirement mentioned in the old use of force policy.

The Berkeley Police Department has a use of force policy that needs work. It only contains four of the eight policy suggestions, and the policy itself is not laid out in the most logical way. The Berkeley Use of Force Policy is the only policy to outright prohibit chokes, rather than labeling them as useful force, or providing warnings against using chokes. The policy does fail in various key areas however. The policy does not have a statement respecting the sanctity of human life. It does not require officers to de-escalate situations, or exhaust all other means of gaining control of a situation before resorting to deadly force. Although the policy does require the officers to give a verbal warning before using none lethal force, it is not required for lethal uses of force. These absences are glaring when the policy is compared to others, and should be corrected as quickly as possible.

The Martinez Police Department does not have an old use of force policy to examine, however; the new policy implements five of the eight policy recommendations. This means there is still work to be done. The policy does contain an opening statement acknowledging the sanctity of human life. “The Department Recognizes and respects the value of all human life and dignity without prejudice to anyone.” (Martinez Police Department, 2016). The policy does not at all address the de-escalation of force. The policy does address chokes with some caution (such as do not use on children, the elderly, or pregnant women), and requires that the chokeholds be documented thoroughly. Although it does not classify chokes as lethal force, the policy should cause adequate caution to be observed by officers in the field. The policy requires officers to intervene and stop excessive force, and it develops a decent force continuum.

The policy does not require officers to exhaust all reasonable means before resorting to deadly force, nor does it require officers give a verbal warning before using deadly force. The policy also includes the reporting requirements for use of force.

The San Francisco District Attorney's (SFDA) Office has a pretty good policy that has implemented six of the eight recommended policy recommendations. The policy does address life preservation as a primary principle, but it does not mention de-escalation of force or chokes at all. The policy does a good job of implementing the other suggestions, including the most rarely implemented suggestion, requiring officers exhaust other means before implementing deadly force. This suggestion was well integrated with the rest of the policy by adding it as an external consideration applicable to all uses of force.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

Tracing its roots through the Civil Rights Movement, all the way back to when black people were considered property, #blacklivesmatter continues the struggle for African American equality in the eyes of the law. Although the movement's methods were unconventional, it did a good job of leveraging the technology available to improve on old formulas for change. The media coverage and social media exposure that the Black Lives Matter movement focused on the issue, moved it to the forefront of the national attention. Initiating a national discussion that carries on today.

After a thorough examination, the data reveals that the Black Lives Matter Movement had an effect on the way policy was made available, but not on the policy itself. However, making the policies more available to the public created a more informed public, which resulted in citizens that could hold police officers more accountable for misbehavior. By bringing attention to the injustice suffered by African Americans at the hands of law enforcement representatives, the #blacklivesmatter movement made holding police accountable for their actions easier. This increased accountability had and continues to have a powerful effect on police behavior as witnessed by the precipitous drops in use of force incidents (Kingdon, 2011).

Recommendations:

Recommendation 1:

Policy Review: No later than January 1, 2018 All of the use of force policies in the Bay Area should be reviewed for completeness, specifically against the standard set at useoffroceproject.org to ensure that each policy addresses the desired portions of that standard. The policies should also be revised to meet the standard before the deadline. These policies

should continue to be periodically reviewed to ensure that they are updated with changes in the operating environment (White, 2015). Department may contact this researcher for a presentation of this research at ontario.washington@yahoo.com.

Recommendation 2:

Post use of force policies online. No later than 1 January 2018, the Martinez Police Department, Alameda County Sherriff's Office, and San Francisco District Attorney's Office should post their use of force policies where they can be publically accessed and commented upon. The policies should be reviewed for sensitive information, and that information should be removed. Then the policies should be posted at the websites of each respective agency (Gerston, 2010). Department may contact this researcher for a presentation of this research at ontario.washington@yahoo.com.

Recommendation 3:

The #blacklivesmatter movement continue to leverage social media as a force multiplier. In the same spirit of use-of-forceproject.org (breaking off to form another group with a more specific cause), a team of leaders should step forward to represent the movement and more clearly articulate its case for changes to police policies. That a team can step up into a leadership position within the movement without the same concerns that a single leader would have. Also the anonymous nature of the hashtag will lend some personal security to members of the leadership team. #blacklivesmatter movement chapter leaders can contact this researcher for assistance on how to implement the elements of this recommendation at Ontario.washington@yahoo.com.

Recommendation 4:

Departments having trouble with creating policy, training, or employing use of force should use the Oakland Police Department as a model of thorough implementation of each of the facets noted above whenever such actions are deemed necessary. Department may contact this researcher for a presentation of this research at ontario.washington@yahoo.com.

Areas for Further Research:

There are many topics close to this one which are ripe for further exploration. If this study were expanded to the national level, for example, then many new tactics could be discovered to help police departments better adapt to all of the changes in each community. There could also be further research in the areas of what do civilians think, especially with regards to citizens who review police actions. That population could possess valuable insights into changes taking place in local police departments. A case study in Oakland could be very effective as well for discovering new solutions to old problems.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

I am inviting you to participate in a brief interview on trends in police use of force. My name is Ontario Washington and I am completing my Executive Master's Degree in Public Administration at Golden Gate University. I'd like to get your personal perspectives on the #blacklivesmatter movement and its effects on police use of force. The interview should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Your answers will be kept confidential and anonymous and will be used by me only for the purpose of completing my degree. I hope that you will participate in this interview because your input is important. Thank you for participating and for helping complete my research study. I am glad to share the results of my study upon completion upon request.

- 1) (a) Does your department have a use of force policy? (b) What year was it introduced and why?
- 2) (a) How do you think your police department is doing in implementing use of force practices compared to other police departments in the San Francisco Bay Area? (b) Explain why you feel this way.
- 3) What is your opinion of the current trends in use of force policy in your law enforcement department (from 2007 to current day)?
- 4) Is your Department's Use of Force policy effective or ineffective? How? Please provide examples.
- 5) What trends, if any, have you witnessed in your department regarding police use of force?
- 6) What factors do you think most contribute to the recent decline in incidences involving use of force?
- 7) How can I obtain a copy of your department's current use of force policy, a policy dated 2013 or earlier, and any use of force statistics you have for your department?
- 8) In your opinion, do you think the Black Lives Matter movement directly or indirectly influenced the introduction (or improvement of use of force policies in your department? How or How not?