

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Command Presence: Video Observations of Police-Civilian Encounters and the Practice of Coercive Force by Law Enforcement.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4m471319>

Author

Mason, Damien

Publication Date

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Command Presence: Video Observations of Police-Civilian Encounters and the Practice of
Coercive Force by Law Enforcement.

By

Damien Mateo Mason

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Daniel Perlstein, Chair
Professor Nikki Jones
Professor Patricia Baquedano-López

Spring 2020

Abstract

Command Presence: Video Observations of Police-Civilian Encounters and the Practice of Coercive Force by Law Enforcement.

By

Damien Mateo Mason

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Daniel Perlstein, Chair

This qualitative study of Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE) takes a grounded approach towards observing PCE videos. The research begins with an overview of coercive force and known outcomes related to the practice. A subsequent review of policing data and police literature establishes the framework for the selection of PCE videos used in this study. Following an inductive line of reasoning the research examines PCE on a basic level through observation of PCE video. An organized undertaking that starts at a tertiary level and drills down to milliseconds within PCE to allow for transcription of conduct and dialogue that come to pass where police use coercive force to compel an arrest. As a result of this analysis, distinctive patterns emerge from the PCE video data that underscore anti-black policing: First, police delay a peaceful conclusion to the civilian's interaction with law enforcement. Second, police use the conversational space to generate interactional conflict with civilians. Third, police escalate coercive force practices to make compelled arrests of civilians. Fourth, police construct a law enforcement narrative to recast coercive force in terms of civilian resistance. The implications associated with magnified observation of PCE may help to advance parallel studies concerned with sequential social activity and authority-based relationships. Research in this area may lead to more sophisticated ways of measuring coercive force practices demonstrated by police during encounters with civilians; especially where PCE are intimately connected with social control of disenfranchised populations.

For Willetta
and her son, my father
(LTC William M. Jones 1943-2018)

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
CHAPTER 1: Down by the Water's Edge Introduction to the research.....	1
CHAPTER 2: Back at the Fishing Dock Review of data and literature.....	7
CHAPTER 3: Looking through the Tackle Box Methodical approach to video observation.....	12
CHAPTER 4: Settin' the Hook <i>The Case of Sandra Bland</i> Findings and analysis.....	17
CHAPTER 5: Treble Hook <i>A Case of Denial</i>	52
CHAPTER 6: No Bait Needed <i>A Case of Restraint</i>	77
CHAPTER 7: Beyond the Hook Conclusion.....	98
REFERENCES.....	104
ENDNOTES.....	109
APPENDICIES	
Appendix A.....	111
Appendix B.....	112
Appendix C.....	113
Appendix D.....	137
Appendix E.....	166
Appendix F.....	177

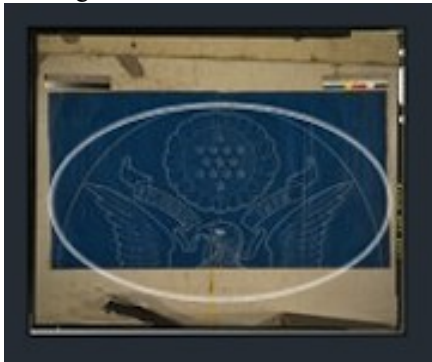
List of Figures

Image 1.	Official Seal of the US [top].....	iv
Image 2.	Official Seal of the US [bottom].....	iv
Figure 1.	PCE Video Image [00:10].....	21
Figure 2.	PCE Video Image [08:37].....	24
Figure 3.	PCE Video Image [09:18].....	26
Figure 4.	PCE Video Image [09:35].....	28
Figure 5.	PCE Video Image [10:04].....	31
Figure 6.	PCE Video Image [10:35].....	34
Figure 7.	PCE Video Image [10:43].....	35
Figure 8.	PCE Video Image [12:25].....	41
Figure 9.	PCE Video Image [12:55].....	44
Figure 10.	Bystander PCE Video Image [00:19]A.....	47
Figure 11.	Bystander PCE Video Image [00:27]B.....	48
Figure 12.	PCE Video Image [00:18].....	53
Figure 13.	PCE Video Image [02:28].....	58
Figure 14.	PCE Video Image [02:29].....	58
Figure 15.	PCE Video Image [02:35].....	60
Figure 16.	PCE Video Image [02:39].....	61
Figure 17.	PCE Video Image [03:04].....	63
Figure 18.	PCE Video Image [04:06].....	65
Figure 19.	PCE Video Image [04:30].....	67
Figure 20.	PCE Video Image [04:38].....	68
Figure 21.	PCE Video Image [05:10].....	70
Figure 22.	PCE Video Image [06:58].....	72
Figure 23.	PCE Video Image [07:05].....	73
Figure 24.	PCE Video Image [07:17].....	74
Figure 25.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:02].....	78
Figure 26.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:12].....	79
Figure 27.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:18].....	81
Figure 28.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:22].....	82
Figure 29.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:36].....	84
Figure 30.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:45].....	86
Figure 31.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:53].....	88
Figure 32.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:54].....	88
Figure 33.	Bystander PCE Video Image [0:58].....	89
Figure 34.	Bystander PCE Video Image [1:12].....	91
Figure 35.	Bystander PCE Video Image [1:36].....	93
Figure 36.	Bystander PCE Video Image [1:54].....	95

Preface

A senior patrol officer and I were discussing how to convey police use of force to people unfamiliar with the intricacies of law enforcement. We were particularly taken by the idea of how to share with members of the community our responsibility to exercise knowledge acquired through training and experience on a daily basis. We searched for a way to communicate with an untrained person how one might approach understanding law enforcement interactions with people on the street. We spent many hours discussing scenarios that could possibly resonate with people outside the law enforcement profession. The senior patrol officer referenced an image located on the Great Seal of the United States during one of our conversations (see images below). Given his affinity for history, and his concern for the edification of anyone interested in learning his craft, the language he summoned to characterize police use of force seemed fitting. He used this cultural symbol as a means to describe the duality of policing to me in the following manner. The image depicts an American Bald Eagle with outstretched wings and its head turned towards a dexter talon clasp ing olive branches bearing fruit. All the while, the eagle is clutching arrows in a sinister talon. As he explained, the eagle holds a preference for peace over the ability to undertake war. This, he said, imparts some guidance for initiating a way to think about policing and the use of force. Police should seek to extend the olive branches of peace—with all that peace entails—whenever they encounter someone in the public sector. At the same time, police should maintain a capacity and willingness to hurl arrows on-the-spot. In the last instance, policing amounts to a course of action that brings to bear the wherewithal to use force. Whether or not policing can lead to peace in the grand scheme of things is unclear. It is explicit that police bring to each encounter an ability to wield force at a moment's notice. This dissertation takes up police encounters with members of the public and the practice of flinging arrows of force that accompany law enforcement.

Image 1: Official Seal of the U.S.¹



Digital file from color film copy transparency of top
[Reproduction Number LC-USZC4-9409]

Image 2: Official Seal of the U.S.²



Digital file from color film copy transparency of bottom
[Reproduction Number: LC-USZC4-9410]

Acknowledgements

For those I love more than myself, your presence is a breath of eternal hope and encourages me to lift my eyes; may the Lord wrap you with his tender mercies and guide your existence, forever. To my advisors, “Tough Love, Momma Jones, and PBL,” thank you for seeing me through to a successful completion of this dissertation: I am grateful to you all for mentoring my studies. My companions and colleagues alike, who shared uplifting moments to weather me through this season, thank you. I am blessed by your friendship.

CHAPTER 1: Down by the Water's Edge

The water's edge is an analogy to guide the research toward an understanding of the relationship between where police encounters occur and where they do not. We cannot look to dry land and hope to understand fishing. We must instead turn towards the angler working along the shoreline casting a hook. Watching the process of harvesting fish from the sea, we are in a better position to gain some understanding about how anglers go fishing. Likewise, the research must take into consideration both the work of police and the sea of racial politics civilians navigate to get a sense of Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE). This convergence allows for a careful examination of coercive force practices in order to distinguish important characteristics of modern-day policing.

Introduction to the research

This dissertation examines a particularly violent type of social interaction in order to closely observe how police display force (threat of violence), and use physical force (act of violence) to shape Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE). The following pages are not easily read, and at points, the words are as uncomfortable to read, as they were to write. The reader of this disquisition can skim through the data evidenced herein, if they so desire. By doing so, the reader will miss an opportunity to contemplate how lives are disrupted, oppressed, and lost due to coercive force; the threat of physical force or actual use of physical force by police (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). However, the reader who is willing to advance through the emerging research will ultimately be in a position to make heuristic decisions about law enforcement and policing outcomes in the twenty-first century United States of America.

In the U.S., some people may think police are simply doing their job when it comes to coercive force. At the same time other people may think police are practicing coercive force in excessive amounts. This bifurcation is not an uncommon occurrence because dissimilarities can happen even when bystanders are witnessing the same event. In whatever light people are willing to view or think about PCE, the *carte blanche* use of coercive force by police creates a climate of extreme fear and moves folks into positions of opposition (Martinot, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Law enforcement encounters with civilians where policing relies upon coercive force, are often difficult for bystanders to understand; particularly when the coinciding justification for policing interventions is in question. Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, and Huo (1997) argue: "People's feelings about justice are an important basis of their reactions to others, and are influenced by their judgments about the justice or injustice of their experiences" (p. 4). The emergence of opposition to circumstances surrounding PCE, due to lived or shared experiences with coercive force, has moved a majority of law-abiding citizens in the black community to a place of malcontent with police (Wintersmith, 1974; Gau & Brunson, 2009; Brunson & Weitzer, 2011).

Coercive force is not a new phenomenon in U.S. policing. However, civilian responses to coercive force is an important step for recognizing how various perceptions are created by problematic encounters with police (Tyler, 1990). Braga, Winship, Tyler, Fagan, & Meares (2014) argue: “Many decades of psychological research have demonstrated that perceptions of events are shaped by the attitudes and expectations that people bring into the situation in which those events occur” (p. 603). For example, Wintersmith (1974) writes, “just as the sight of police [] triggers various role expectation cues for the public, so too do certain citizens provide police [] with particular stimuli that elicit specific styles of behavior in police [officers]” (p. 61).

But if the mere sight of police can trigger negative responses, that is considerable in part because of the way that policing has been organized and the culture of policing that has been fostered over time. Burris and Whitney (1999) highlight:

In the past, our ideas about what type of personality was best suited for police work tended to favor boldness, physical condition, skill with weapons, and the willingness to be provocative in crime control. These criteria are certainly necessary, but their emphasis, to the exclusion of all other qualities, has left most cities with police forces that excel in force and are ill-equipped for mental combat. (p. 206)

Furthermore, “an officer who (intentionally or unwittingly) escalates a potentially hostile interaction, rather than diffusing it, *may help to create (or at least fail to prevent) a situation in which the use of [coercive] force is legally and bureaucratically justified*” (emphasis mine; Worden & Catlin, 2002, p. 90).

The historical legacy of anti-black policing experienced in communities besieged by coercive force sets the stage for future interactions with police. Vestiges of this legacy also provides a way to succinctly identify certain PCE characteristics by examining closely the conditions where coercive force happens. For example, Martiot (2003) argues, “black behavior, whether illegal or not, becomes criminal; white racist violence, whether prosecuted or not, becomes simply behavior” (p. 175). This deeply rooted worldview structuring law enforcement orients the conscious and sub-conscious targeting of black bodies by police in at least two ways. First, Weitzer and Tuch (2006) state: “According to the group- position thesis... for many whites, controlling crime is roughly equivalent to intensifying law enforcement against minority individuals or in minority neighborhoods...” (p. 12). Second, Crenshaw and Ritchie (2015) go on to center, “the epidemic of police violence across the country is about how police relations reinforce the structural marginality of all members of Black communities...” (p. 8).

Fundamentally, law enforcement requires police to have a sense of purpose that is geared towards criminal apprehension. Albeit PCE outcomes (e.g., compelled arrest) do not always happen in a humane or professional manner. Tyler et al., (1997) argues: “When considering the problem of criminal deviance from a societal perspective, people may wish to punish severely in order to symbolically reassert the status of the violated rules” (p. 132). This offers one explanation for law enforcement practices where the sole purpose of policing is to apprehend and punish blacks who defy the rule of law more severely. Wintersmith (1974) writes: “Arresting officers can take this license to justify the use of force in situations where no laws have been broken but where [police] authority is challenged, called into question, or not recognized” (p. 60). Under the weight of these forewarnings, PCE that give rise to coercive force may have less to do with violations according to the letter of the law, and more to do with a hegemonic perspective affixed to the spirit in which criminal laws are written and enforced.

Civilians who exhibit mistrust of the police add to the complexity and emotional tension of PCE. This is especially so under conditions where a lack of civilian deference, in concert with physical resistance, to law enforcement emerges (Hickman, Atherly, Lowery, & Alpert, 2015). Under such conditions, the dyadic nature of PCE becomes an Authority Maintenance Ritual (Alpert & Dunham, 2004); an interaction “marked by maintenance of symmetrical and asymmetrical rules...” (Hickman et al., 2015, p. 372). In other words, there are sequential patterns to PCE that reveal themselves when police interact with civilians. There are several ways to couch PCE, and it is prudent to acknowledge at this juncture that whenever coercive force emerges during PCE, the stark reality of violence present in the interaction offers very little hope for civilians who see fit to question the legitimacy of police intervention. (Huo & Tyler, 2000).

Some scholars have described civilian interactions with police during routine PCE similar to a game of chess, where participants engage in a series of back and forth actions that shape how a PCE is resolved (White, 2007). This analogy offers a way to think about the co-construction of PCE. It also presumes the playing field is equal and misses the peril civilians face when police maintain their authority by means of coercive force. To think a vast majority of civilians are equipped, trained, or prepared to contend with the magnitude of coercive force at the disposal of law enforcement agencies is unrealistic. Tyler (2011) argues: “Since the power differentials between agents of social control and the civilians with whom they deal are enormous, and the agents carry with them the means of deploying deadly force, the consequences for civilians are often quite dire” (p. 121). In this sense, under conditions where coercive force is present, the interplay between civilians and police seems closer to a game of cat and mouse than a game of chess.

Case in point, on September 14, 2018, the *New York Times* published an online article, “A Dallas Police Officer Shot Her Neighbor, and a City Is Full of Questions³.” This article recounts the night of September 6, when twenty-six-year-old Botham Shem Jean was killed in his apartment by an off-duty police officer. In summary, after working fourteen-hours, a thirty-year-old white female police officer went home to her apartment

building located a short distance away from the police department headquarters. She was clad in her uniform and in possession of her service weapon when she entered Jean's apartment #1478; the Dallas Police Officer reportedly thought she was entering her own apartment at the time. In a sworn affidavit for an arrest warrant, signed by a Court Magistrate, Texas Ranger Armstrong (2018) wrote the following synopsis based on his investigation of the deadly PCE:

Believing she had encountered a burglar, which (sic) was described as a large silhouette, across the room in her apartment; Guyger drew her firearm, gave verbal commands that were ignored by Complainant Jean. As a result, Guyger fired her handgun two times striking the Complainant one time in the torso.... Guyger believed she was in her apartment and confronted by a burglar when she fired her handgun, striking and killing him. (capias)⁴

The affidavit declares an officer fired her weapon at a "large silhouette," who in actuality is an unarmed black man in his own home. What also emerges from this deadly PCE outcome is the existence of a law enforcement mindset that summons a series of practices sufficient to kill. In the scope of this encounter, a set of maneuvers connected to a mode of thinking powerful enough to distort reality into a "confrontation" with a "burglar;" even though none existed; except in the mind's eye of the officer at the time she fired her weapon. Lethal outcomes brought about by coercive force is an all too familiar sequence of events that continues to surface many unanswered questions about policing and the law enforcement practices that kill hapless civilians.

Several elements of this reconstruction of a PCE stand out because they are principally connected with policing structured by coercive force. First, there are "verbal commands" initiated by police that hail a civilian response to the authority of law enforcement; the mere utterance of this command is connected to a law enforcement expectation that civilians will automatically submit to the simple presence of any utterance. Second, there's a perception held by police that a conflict with civilians is occurring or a civilian denial of law enforcement authority is happening. The occurrence of these events culminates in specific actions being taken by police, which originate from law enforcement training and become further cemented by experiences gained while practicing law enforcement; a series of coercive force actions that police use to resolve PCE by compelled arrest.

Shortly after the deadly outcome in Dallas, Botham Shem Jean's father expressed to reporters he knows racial tension exists in the U.S. but he is uncertain how those tensions contributed to the death of his son. By surfacing what is known about policing in this country, and subjecting PCE to further observation, we may at the same time begin to unravel anti-black policing and bring a small measure of clarity to a grieving parent who is searching for answers.

For starters, we know police are apt to use coercive force upon ethnic or racial minorities more frequently than whites (Worden & Catlin, 2002). Where issues of anti-black policing are concerned, we also know police who would otherwise refrain from the use of coercive force may find themselves obligated to do so because of values, norms, and practices of their respective department (Chappell, MacDonald & Manz, 2006). Furthermore, we know PCE have a significant impact on black lives.

Nevertheless, current research efforts that solely focus on civilian compliance with illegitimate use of police authority during PCE overlook the skillsets policing requires to reify social inequality through coercive force practices. The literature has yet to yield an account for the fundamental interaction that hold in place the orientation of coercive force towards black people. In an effort to fill this gap in common understanding of PCE, the current research addresses another question raised as a result of a young black man's killing by police. A long tradition in this country that views black men as embodiments worthy of brutish violence. Yet, black women have also been targets of deadly police violence. This research endeavor begins with a focus on the particular experiences of black women who also suffer traumatic abuses similar to black men who are targeted by anti-black policing. By acknowledging the burden of coercive force that is heaped on black bodies in general, we can more fully comprehend a broader vision of social justice that principally accounts for the experiences of black women in conjunction with the brunt of anti-black policing bestowed on black men (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015).

In the aftermath of the deadly outcome in Texas, a police officer for the City of Dallas ultimately found herself convicted of Botham Jean's murder and sentenced to a decade in prison.⁵ At the time of these events, journalists for the New York Times made an effort to write about the presence of black women who hold top law enforcement positions in the Dallas area (e.g., Chief of Police, Dallas County Sheriff, and District Attorney); the journalists held up these professionals as a positive indication of an advancement towards racial and gendered equality where policing is concerned.

Whether or not women are more or less likely to produce a different set of PCE outcomes than men who currently fill the ranks of law enforcement in Texas, or other parts of the country for that matter, are less than clear. Even though diversification of police appears to be an important topic to discuss, doing so is beyond the immediate scope of the present study. It does, however, lead to a more focused set of questions about the interactions police have where police propel coercive force during an encounter with civilians who are neither white nor male. Specifically, how are police interactions with black women indicative of general law enforcement practices associated with anti-black policing?

In the remainder of this dissertation the research takes up this question to establish a deep understanding of key factors that foreshadow PCE outcomes in this country. In the next chapter, the research provides an overview of literature originating from national PCE statistics and salient research that assists in gaining a clear understanding of the

range of factors that contour U.S. policing. This probing of the data will also incorporate details concerning the magnitude of coercive force; a law enforcement practice that in no small way is implicated in the repeated brutalization and killing of black people. This overview undoubtedly brushes against some perceptions that hold civilians primarily responsible for coercive force practices as a way to test notions that seek to shift the onus for policing away from police and onto civilians.

CHAPTER 2: Back at the Fishing Dock

Moving away from the water's edge, with a basic sense of how some anglers go fishing, it seems prudent to venture along the fishing dock. Looking at the mass of fish hauled to shore by a fleet of anglers, we are in a better position to sum up the collective results of angling. Similarly, the research will turn to a review of statistics kept on Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE) to ascertain the end results of policing. This shift in focus enables the research to render a detailed account of the mechanisms used by police and the law enforcement attributes of policing outcomes in this country.

Review of the literature

This chapter specifically addresses national data pertaining to PCE in order to identify a certain type of interaction civilians report having with police. It is vital to recognize from the outset a precise account of PCE that happens on a routine basis in our society is not specifically known. Indeed, we do not even know how many police there are in the U.S., something that seems far easier to know than the number and type of PCE. Banks, Hendrix, Hickman, & Kyckelhahn (2016) report national efforts to collect information on police in a special report entitled, "National Sources of Law Enforcement Employment Data, 2016." Their report outlines gaps between the reporting agencies for law enforcement employment statistics as a major factor for discrepancies in reporting the actual number of police and PCE in this country

Banks et al., (2016) write: "The decentralized, fragmented, and local nature of law enforcement in the United States makes it challenging to accurately count the number of agencies and officers" (p. 1). The researchers discern from the similarities and differences among the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), Annual Survey of Public Employment and Payroll (ASPEP), and periodical Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies (CSLLEA) to conclude that approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies are policing the U.S.'s population; they also took care to acknowledge, "[t]he need to develop and follow one common definition of what constitutes a law enforcement agency and a sworn law enforcement officer;" they also recognize, "there is currently no thorough accounting of the number and type of agencies that serve the same or overlapping jurisdictions" (Banks et al., 2016, p. 12).

An estimate 452,000 full-time personnel recorded in 2003 reveals 89% of police officers were identified as male and 11% were identified as female, black men comprised roughly 9% of all male officers compared to black women who comprised less than 3% of all female officers at that time (Hickman & Reaves, 2006). Based on the 2003 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) data sample of a nationally representative percentage of full-time sworn personnel over 76% of these officers were White, 12% Black, 9% Hispanic and 3% were comprised of other racialized categories (Hickman & Reaves, 2006; see, table 13). By the year 2008, there were roughly 705,000 police officers employed by approximately 16,000 state and local law enforcement agencies (Reaves, 2012).

In 2011, roughly 20% – 25% of the U.S. population experienced an encounter with police; and 49% of all PCE were initiated by police; traffic stops were the primary mechanism used by police to initiate contact with civilians, and when traffic stops were used to initiate PCE, black drivers were stopped, ticketed, and searched more frequently than other racialized groups (Langton & Durose, 2013). According to a special report distributed by the U.S. Department of Justice, *Contacts Between the Police and the Public, 2015*, approximately 20% of the U.S. population experienced an encounter with police. Even though officer initiated activity accounted for just under half of these encounters, the primary mechanism used by police to initiate PCE was (again) traffic stops; blacks were also more likely to experience coercive force than other racialized groups during the encounter, and males were more likely than females to experience coercive force overall (Davis, Whyde, & Langton, 2018). As previously stated, the history of coercive force by police towards black people in the U.S. is not a new phenomenon: Use of coercive force by police in the twenty-first century, however, is on the forefront of critical conversations about policing of black bodies.

Some policing scholars believe during PCE, “police officers will be more likely to make rational and fair decisions if their training, both in the academy and while in service, has prepared them to do so” (White, 2007, p. x). Although this is a highly contested claim, it stands to reason that police training has at least some bearing on PCE outcomes. We do know that police undergo hours of strenuous training in the use of coercive force to aid them to achieve their law enforcement mission.

According to the literature, there are approximately 644 police training academies in the United States, and roughly 86% of all entry-level recruits successfully complete a training academy course of study. Further, all entry-level officers who graduate from these academies received “an average of 168 hours of training on weapons, defensive tactics, the use of force, and nonlethal weapons,” and, “almost all (99%) recruits received reality-based use-of-force training...” (BJS, 2016, p. 1). Moreover, BJS (2016) data indicates:

Almost half of training academies were based at an educational institution. This included 33% at 2-year colleges, 7% at 4-year colleges or universities, and 7% at technical schools. Academies were also operated by municipal police departments (20%), sheriffs’ offices (10%), state police or highway patrol agencies (6%), and State Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) agencies (5%). (P. 1)

Police are evidently trained to use coercive force upon an individual, including enough physical force sufficient to kill, particularly when violent civilian behavior erupts in the presence of law enforcement. One example of using coercive force is the application of pain compliance techniques designed to compel an individual’s submission to police authority and subsequent arrest. Police are also known to use physical force on civilians without a civilian’s behavior provoking this type of intervention. It is apparent, police learn, in the basic recruit academy and through ongoing in-service training programs, exactly how coercive force works. As a result, “[p]olice officers, male and

female, will say, ‘When I’m in uniform, I’m not a woman/man-I’m a police officer.’ They mean to emphasize that they have set aside personal lives, personal opinions and personalities while they are on the job (McElhinny, 1994, p. 165)

Alpert & Smith (1994) argue: “Police officers may justifiably escalate the use of force against a suspect, beginning with mere presence or verbal and visual commands, and concluding, if necessary, with the use of deadly force, in direct relation to the reason for which they must apprehend that [civilian]” (p. 484). Stated differently, law enforcement affords police authorization through local, state, and federal laws to sanction civilian behavior; police can use coercive force to compel an arrest. For example, police could use coercive force to overcome physical resistance exhibited by civilians during civilian apprehension for a crime. However, the use of coercive force is a method used by law enforcement to uniquely target particular civilians in criminalization for violations of law, and at times, for civilian interruptions to the public order that are otherwise not prohibited under the law. For example, a violation of the law is stopping a civilian for a police-witnessed traffic violation. On the other hand, when no criminal activity is afoot, police initiate contact with a person that the police deem to appear suspicious and during that PCE, coercive force is carried out.

The coercive force practices of law enforcement afford police a range of tools including, but not limited to, open handed control holds, personal body weapons, impact weapons, chemical weapons, conducted energy weapons, less-than-lethal munitions, and a demonstrated proficiency with various caliber of firearms. In some instances, environmental weapons, such as a patrol vehicle, can suffice as an implement of coercive force. Although millions of people witness police repeatedly engaging civilians with coercive force, PCE shaped by coercive force amounts to only one set of possible outcomes for police and civilians. Every law enforcement encounter does not lead to violence, nor does harm and death come about for police and civilians in each interaction. In fact, over a nine-year period (2002-2011) there were approximately 44 million yearly contacts reported on average and roughly 8 million of those interactions resulted in civilians experiencing coercive force at the hands of police (Hyland, Langton, & Davis, 2015).

Most research on PCE focuses on civilian attitudes towards police (Huo & Tyler, 2000; Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty, 2008; Gau & Brunson, 2010). Indeed, civilian attitudes are important for understanding various reactions towards the presence of police. Whatever the reasons for civilian aversion to law enforcement, when civilians are non-compliant with police basic tools are implemented to command civilians into custody (Alpert, Dunham, & MacDonald, 2004). From this perspective as long as civilians comply with police, or show deference to police authority, there is little need for police officers to use coercive force (Hickman et al., 2015; Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Alpert & Smith, 1994).

On the other hand, in a report published by the US Department of Justice, “Use of Force by Police: Overview of National and Local Data,” Adams (1999) argues:

Police-public encounters are transactional in the sense that all the actors in a situation contribute in some way to its development and outcome. Understanding the transactional nature of police use of force is important because it emphasizes the role of police actions in increasing the chances that force will be used. From this perspective, it is possible to minimize the use of force by modifying the behavior and tactics of police officers. By understanding the sequences of events that lead police to use force, we can gain a greater degree of control over those situations and possibly redirect the outcome. But we have only a basic understanding of the transactional nature of use-of-force situations, despite the fact that sequences of actions and interactions are highly germane to determining whether use of force was excessive or illegal. (p. 12)

Whether police activity in our communities are viewed from the perspective of a night watchman in Boston or a southern slave patrol, policing in the U. S. is a historically powerful mechanism of social control. In fact, law enforcement as a whole is central to this country’s exploitive conflict with black people, in so much as police are willing to use coercive force to disproportionately target and regulate black bodies within our society. In a report distributed by the U.S. Department of Justice, *Police use of nonfatal force, 2002-2011*, blacks are more likely to experience a use of force by police than other racialized groups and twice as likely to experience a use of physical force during a search of their person (Hyland, Langton, & Davis, 2015). Compared to the remaining population, it is evident that law enforcement predominantly brings forth coercive force to bear in the lives of black people.

Centering the gendered experiences of activists and organizations responding to violence against women, Bahattachar (2001) describes the basic components of law enforcement as a collection of local, state, and federal agencies responsible for policing communities of people (who threaten public order and challenge power that protects privilege with “enforcement violence” towards millions of US born and non-US born civilians).⁶ By this definition, there is a proclivity for law enforcement to maintain practices that lead to policing civilians with coercive force. As mentioned in the opening chapter, coercive force is a distinct manner of policing that is organized by an overarching doctrine of law enforcement. In other words, use of coercive force is part of a particularly authoritative worldview that aligns how police go about regulating civilians and adds to the professional mindset that reinforces the ability police have to engage civilians with coercive force. Law enforcement in this vein is as much a patterned way of thinking as it is a professional skillset police call upon to compel an arrest through coercive force.

Additionally, we know police receive copious amounts of training specific to the use of coercive force and the technical practice of arresting civilians; especially where PCE erode and police compel civilian arrests. What is less clear are the specific coercive

force practices police demonstrate that shape PCE outcomes with civilians who are otherwise non-violent, not-white, and not-male. Gaps in the literature about these types of encounters mirror those in research about how training and experience are put to use when policing sparks violent interactions with black people. The current research fills this gap in our present understanding about violent discourses generated in the presence of law enforcement by precisely looking at PCE where black women and black girls are subjected to coercive force, because it allows the research to theorize anti-blackness without treating blackness the same as black masculinity. Narrowing in on PCE in this way brings more insight to the research and provides an opportunity to examine coercive force practices in greater detail.

Historically, state sanctioned violence at the hands of police acts as a mechanism of racial control in this country (Worden & Shelagh, 2002; Wintersmith, 1974). The outcomes of these practices have lasting effects in the lives of black women far beyond the initial encounter. A project that cannot begin without the gatekeepers, the police. For example, Susilia Gurusami (2019) examines the disproportionate representation of black women in prisons and jails who are subjected to state interventions that further criminalize their maternal labor; she goes on to write, “formerly incarcerated Black mothers necessarily labor against the reduction of their maternal identities to their criminal histories to protect their children... For Black women, their mothering experiences after incarceration emerges from the racialized and gendered contemporary state of mass incarceration” (pp. 129-130).

As argued by Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff (2010): “The production of an action, its meaning or intelligibility is accomplished with regard to the contributions of others; in particular the immediately preceding actions and activities” (p. 82). Isolating how coercive force practices shape PCE outcomes also enables the research to illuminate the underlying social processes that accompany anti-black policing. In part, this manner of social activity is tantamount to the actions of participants and contemporaneous with circumstances of the interaction (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010). Therefore, to observe PCE at a basic level, the current research identifies and analyzes PCE videos that are recorded contemporaneous with compelled arrests of black women and black girls. In this regard, audio and video recordings provide a naturalistic perspective and supports the ethnographic study of social interaction and behavior (Mondada, 2008). In the next chapter the dissertation outlines a method to analyze digitized recordings of Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE video) to mark the ways police exhibit coercive force against civilians. An endeavor that will also take into account events leading to coercive force as a way to observe how interactions escalate when civilian provocation is absent.

CHAPTER 3: Looking Through the Tackle Box

The angler stores fishing gear in a tackle box. Looking through the angler's tackle box allows for a close examination of the tools used to go fishing and catch fish. In the same way, the research looks at the tools police use while policing and to arrest people. To do this, the research will lay bare the technical aspects of video analysis to observe the tools police use at the heart of Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE). Accordingly, the following chapter discusses a method for selecting and analyzing PCE videos that are examined to provide a thick description of sequential social activity; thereby extracting the speech and actions used by police to compel an arrest.

Methodical approach to video observation

In an issue of *American Anthropologist* published after the L.A Riots of 1992, Charles Goodwin examined how discursive practices exhibited by expert social groups fundamentally structure knowledge and action specific to professional interests. The historic level of public scrutiny of anti-black policing rocked Los Angeles, captured international attention, and brought to light early analysis of PCE video.⁷ In open court, jurors learned from subject matter experts how police are trained to wield coercive force. Goodwin observed the way expertise allowed professionals to define modes of action inside the courtroom that revealed a detailed level of comprehension about policing tools. The infamous digital recording, accompanied by law enforcement expertise, brought to the outside world a way to observe the institutional knowledge police require to carry out coercive force and exposed the practice as one intended to produce specific outcomes.

Goodwin (1994) makes use of the term '*professional vision*' as a way to describe the cognitive abilities experts amass that allows them to effectively code, highlight, produce and articulate frameworks for understanding coercive force on video; he also stressed the extent to which this professional vision not only shapes how police naturalize and legitimize coercive force, but also the standardization of coercive force practices; he argued:

The central point debated within the trial was what the police officers who beat King perceived him to be doing. These perceptions were treated not as idiosyncratic phenomena lodged within the minds of individual police officers, but as socially organized perceptual frameworks shared within the police profession. (p. 616)

In other words, coercive force occurs through a precise set of movements that are systematically practiced and commonly recognizable to the trained eye. Goodwin emphasizes this point when he writes, "An expert who was not present at the scene can describe authoritatively what police officers could legitimately see as they looked at the man they were beating" (Goodwin, 1994, p. 616). Furthermore, his observations allowed the research to recognize how images on film provide non-experts a way to comprehend the practice-based knowledge police require to make compelled arrests. Goodwin goes on to suggest: "Expert testimony in court forces members of a discourse community to

become metapragmatically aware of the communication practices that organize [law enforcement], including, in this case, violence as a systematic mode of discourse capable of being described scientifically as professional practice in minute detail” (p. 622). Goodwin’s account hones in on the skillsets police exhibited on film, and his examination surfaces how coercive force operates as a standardized policing tool. Goodwin’s determination is crucial for recognizing how police demonstrations of coercive force amounts to a coordinated series of sequential action, an expertise.

Following a line of inductive reasoning the dissertation looked at police expertise on a practical level through observation of PCE video to account for talk and touch synchronous with coercive force. This process began at a tertiary level and drilled down to a fraction of a second to mark conduct and dialogue that unfold where police compelled arrests. Researchers working with *third-party* recordings, or audio and video data produced by individuals and institutions that are not social scientists, can discover video analysis beneficial as long as steps are taken to account for methodological and ethical issues that affect what the data displays (Jones & Raymond, 2012). Another consideration is the challenge of working with the medium that holds *third-party* data.

Digital recordings of Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE video) provided the raw material subjected to intense observational scrutiny by the research to develop a consistent and accurate transcription of the evolving interaction. This process required several operations to select and acquire suitable PCE videos from the public domain. The data used in this research underwent an initial screening for quality. PCE videos that were heavily edited or possessed an extremely poor audio and visual attributes were removed from further analysis. This was done to ensure the data could withstand repeated cycles of analysis without interruption to the sequential flow of the interaction. This allowed for a step-by-step transcription of PCE video that accounted for the interwoven use of language and bodily motion. The PCE videos used in this research were made available for review by law enforcement agencies responding to community outcry over police use of coercive force or to satisfy a public interest; coinciding videos of bystander accounts were added to provide context and extend analysis.

The raw footage came from a variety of technological equipment used to record PCE (e.g., cameras mounted in patrol vehicles, body worn cameras, and bystander devices). All recordings held over for final analysis were considered to be data fragments because they only depict portions of the PCE video under review, and do not represent the totality of circumstances peripheral to the use of coercive force. For example, the PCE videos analyzed in the dissertation are not attached to 911 recordings, event chronologies, law enforcement broadcasts, emergency dispatch recordings, radio communication tapes, complete investigative reports, or physical evidence collected from the scene. Although important in their own right, these artifacts are ill-suited for video analysis and beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Although powerful in its own right for what it contains, *third-party* data cannot fully capture what the senses provided to people who lived in the moment. However, what remained on film was rich with empirical data and provided more than enough material to produce a substantial transcription. PCE video analysis extracted from the recordings a descriptively thick transcription that rendered discursive practices bound by the interaction to become recognizable (e.g., actions and dialogue).

As PCE arose that captured national attention, an initial review of the public domain was conducted. This began with a basic search of readily available news reports and social media platforms to gain a sense of what was known about the incidents. A secondary review of related materials was conducted to locate the existence of PCE video recordings. Once identified, PCE videos were collected and evaluated for digital quality. For example, PCE videos that were steady or primarily uncut. The research retained only those data fragments that were free from heavy editing or excessive breaks, because these interruptions can disrupt observation of PCE recordings and distort how data fragments are transcribed. Whenever a data fragment failed to sufficiently capture the apex of the encounter, the PCE video was removed from the study.

PCE videos kept for transcription retained the core of activity that marked PCE and police use of coercive force. Locating the apex of action, or a snapshot of activity, from an otherwise fluid interaction can present limitations for research models that use static documents. This is because researchers are required to reconstruct or piece together from paper a series of events to obtain a more dynamic version of the encounter (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Hickman, et al. 2015). Meticulously tabulating bits of information to reconstruct PCE diminishes observation of how police ascend to and/or away from coercive force. Video analysis avoids these pitfalls, compared to the parameters of other approaches, and increases the ability of researchers to study PCE.

By using *third-party* videos, the research observed actual events in motion. In this regard, PCE video observation makes it possible to map the twists and turns of interactions from start to finish, as well as the conditions that are coexistent with coercive force. By looking through the camera's lens, the research was able to magnify aspects of PCE in a way that contributed to consistency in analysis. This magnification of PCE caused some aspects to become clear under intense observation while other facets were inevitably distorted from view. In the end, the veracity of video analysis was an effective approach to capturing the arc of PCE activity.

Furthermore, this research did not incorporate a broad cross-section of PCE videos and was limited in scope by the study's focus on coercive force. Even though public encounters may share multiple similarities, each PCE is unique for many reasons. These variances can include locations where an encounter occurs, the number of participants involved in the encounter, or even the time of day when a given encounter takes place; whether real or not, these factors are compounded by law enforcement perceptions of physical threat and civilian disrespect toward police (Binder & Scharf, 1980). As Hickman et al., (2015) argue: "Thus, in light of the divergent methodologies used to evaluate the use of force, reliability is of great importance to draw the most accurate conclusions" (Hickman, et al., 2015, p. 373).

To enable a more uniformed analysis each PCE video is separated into phases or stages. For example, Alpert & Dunham (2004) discuss, breaking apart PCE into frames: The first frame comprises those activities prior to police contact; the second frame precedes a use of force and occurs once visual, verbal, or physical contact is established; and the final frame encapsulates a decision by police to use coercive force. These frames, or stages, represent early attempts by researchers to explain the fluidity of seemingly spontaneous occurrences, in completely separate instances, that are, in fact, within each instance, moving along similar trajectories as they unfold.

It is important to note that PCE videos have inherent limitations, like any research endeavor, because many facets of policing are outside the view of the camera and go unobserved. Furthermore, researchers are removed from actual participation in the encounter and remain insulated from physical danger or harm. There is no face to face contact between researchers and PCE participants that takes place during PCE video observations and analysis, therefore, the senses are deprived from a firsthand experience of the interaction. The camera has no knowledge of what it observes, and researchers who fail to treat each PCE with dignity and respect are apt to exacerbate traumatic experiences already set in motion by coercive force. Undertaking this type of research can prove to be significantly challenging and emotionally taxing. This is partially due to viewing loop after loop of grotesque violence as part of the analytical process. A viewing that requires sustained effort and is a burden that is best undertaken by multiple researchers whenever possible

After data fragments were chosen, they were subjected to ongoing examination and chronicling. This process relied upon DownloadHelper to obtain PCE videos from the internet and convert the digital recordings into formats compatible with QuickTime Player and iMovie. The video editing tools embedded in these computer applications proved useful for analytical purposes because they were able to slowdown, speed up, and freeze the PCE video. Data fragments were transcribed during this process by means of applying these technological implements to enhance observation of the digital recordings.

Applying Jeffersonian-style transcription (see, Appendices; Jefferson, 2004; Hepburn & Bolden, 2013) to breakdown PCE recordings allowed the research to focus on the demonstration of talk each participant exhibited. This enabled a close inspection of sequential social activity to occur (e.g., the interactional exchanges that precede and subsequently followed one another as they were observed on PCE video). Conversational Analysis of digital recordings used in this research considered the dynamics of talk in conjunction with bodily motion. As Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff (2010) write: “Although talk is a pervasive feature of almost all settings, it is not unusual to find activities that are primarily, if not solely, accomplished through bodily conduct” (p. 76).

The observations developed by the transcription process used in this research were multifaceted, and pinpointed conduct along with speech memorialized on the PCE videos. Each data fragment went through several stages of observation. The first stage began with an initial or preliminary review of data fragments. At this stage of working with the data, observations of the overarching interaction allowed for preliminary insights to emerge. Basic aspects of the encounter were noted and later arranged into a straightforward account of the event. The second phase of observation drew closer to the physical characteristics localized in the substantive review. The third phase of analysis looked gestures, speech, and patterns of conduct identified during the preliminary and substantive review of social activity depicted in the PCE video frame by frame. This substantive review developed out of the initial analysis and enabled the research to capture nuances of the interaction rendered into a summary transcription of the interaction.

CHAPTER 4: Settin' the Hook

The Case of Sandra Bland

When anglers set the hook, they have moved one step closer to pulling a fish out of the water. The fish with a tethered hook in its mouth has to swim with all its might to return to its life unabated. The angler labors to reel the fish ashore by taking up line, and when necessary, tightening drag on the line to increase the tension against which the fish struggles. A series of events that is impossible without the hook, the tool, the implement, that holds the fish in contention with the angler. Consequently, through observation of sequential social activity located at the epicenter of Police-Civilian-Encounters (PCE), the research looks at prime examples unique to anti-black policing that targets black women to chronicle the interaction. From this narrative we can see coercive force practices hooking civilians by compelled arrest to police; a practice that is readily apparent as a mechanism of law enforcement oriented policing; this also enables the research to discern the underlying series of talk and touch to inform questions about settin' the hook on black women. The moment when police bait the hook, cast the hook, and snare civilians in a process of violence even if it often seems to be initiated by the civilian.

Findings and analysis

Given what is known thus far about Police-Civilian-Encounters (PCE), the research looks closely at PCE videos that are consistent with trends in national data presented in Chapter Two of the dissertation. Two videos are from the state of Texas and another is a counter example from the state of California. The PCE videos analyzed in the remaining chapters allow the research to resolve questions left open from the outset of the research. To specify: How does the practice of coercive force by law enforcement structure the interactions of police with black women in the two videos? In terms of compelled arrests: What courses of action do police undertake during PCE that drive anti-black policing outcomes?

All PCE videos discussed in this dissertation were obtained from the internet. These PCE videos were not only documented through the camera lenses utilized by police and bystanders, the incidents were also covered extensively by news agencies and broadly discussed in various communities across the country. Excerpt commentary units (ECU) provide the basis for organizing transcriptions and snapshots of PCE videos used in the following chapters because ECU offers a reliable method of writing qualitative research (see, Emmerson, Fretz, & Shaw; 2011).

As I will show, each of the PCE videos indicate police are ultimately responsible for determining whether coercive force is propelled or restrained from escalation. In two of the video examples, black women do not exhibit any outwardly violent behavior; however, police resort to the propelled escalation of coercive force. The first example happened in July of 2015, and a dash mounted camera produced a digital recording that was released to the public by the Texas Department of Public Safety. In the PCE video, a

civilian displayed zero physical resistance towards the presence of law enforcement and only became boisterous following a delay to the PCE conclusion that is primarily attributable to police generated activity. Yet, the sparking of conflict between law enforcement and this civilian originated with police escalation of coercive force.

The second example happened in December of 2016, and a body worn camera produced a digital recording leaked to the public by a member of the Fort Worth Police Department. In the PCE video, although civilians are seeking help and are compliant with an active law enforcement investigation, again conflict ignited from police escalation of coercive force. The last PCE happened in October of 2017, and represents a counter example to the first pair of digital recordings. In the last example, a bystander produced a digital recording with her cellular telephone and uploaded it to the internet. In this PCE video, a civilian who is not a black woman or a black man displayed behavior that was read as violent and yet police restrained the escalation of coercive force. Witnesses heard speaking in the PCE video are not only shocked by the civilian's behavior they interpreted as violent, but also taken aback by the evident unwillingness or restraint from police to escalate coercive force; as one witness can be heard saying, "he's trying not to shoot him."

What is remarkable and troubling about these cases, specifically in the absence of overtly violent behavior on the part of black women, are statements police make to justify the propelled escalation of coercive force. Police are purposefully controlling PCE with scripted verbal and physical interactions that are designed to set the stage to escalate the use of coercive force against civilians. This setting the stage—what I have called settin' the hook— precedes any provocation from civilians. Such a civilian action would normally provide a solid defense for police in their use of coercive force. In these cases, on the other hand, police initiate a sequence of events that were driven by a narrative of "non-compliance" and "resistance" that pushes, leads, and collapses the PCE interaction immediately preceding the application of coercive force to compel arrests. Even when police focused on the black women's emotional state of being, it is done so to initiate and escalate the use of coercive force. From PCE video analysis, there are no direct actions or interventions taken by police in an effort to reconcile concerns of injustice raised by any civilian nor to facilitate a peaceful resolution to the PCE.

It is clear that police authority, and fundamental skill-sets essential to coercive force practices, along with a willingness to compel arrests, are woven together by a master narrative structured according to a law enforcement mindset described in Chapter One. In these PCE, contemporary law enforcement practices result in an atmosphere of domination within the interaction by collapsing the conversational and physical space in a way that further disadvantages black women who sought to use their voices for protection against harm. In fact, the civilians in these interactions who challenged the legitimacy of law enforcement aggression were met with escalated levels of coercive force instead of justice from police. The demeanor, words, and subsequent actions police took in these interactions were tightly aligned with a mental attitude intent on expanding use of coercive force.

Given the interpersonal nature of PCE, the civilians had very little space for negotiation of outcomes. There is little choice but for civilians to follow the trajectory toward a compelled arrest that were established by coercive force practices. Tragically, the only intervention police demonstrated to resolve a conflict within the PCE is to inject more tension through coercive force. The primary examples represent PCE outcomes that were ultimately determined by the application of coercive force practices, which exposed a style of language and overt action by police that established the conditions for compelled arrests of these black women. Not a single mandate, departmental policy, or law prevented these travesties from occurring. Nobody could stop these civilians from suffering from coercive force in a traumatic fashion, not even themselves. The *only* entity within these PCE who had any recourse to restrain coercive force were police. These PCE videos encapsulate how some civilians are drawn into conflict with law enforcement and the way coercive force practices generate anti-black policing.

The characteristics of PCE observed by this research shed some additional light on the statistics derived from nationally based PCE data. The fine-grained sequential analysis of dialogue and conduct emerging from the PCE video data used in this research also surfaces civilian experiences with the disproportional use of coercive force practices. The consequences of coercive force practices leading to these PCE outcomes could not be foretold, and regrettably, the resulting trauma has touched every segment of this country in one form or another.

Settin' the Hook is a useful way to describe how compelled arrests were made in general. Now, through analysis of PCE video data, the expression takes on specific meaning because close sequential observation of talk and touch exhibited as tools by police demonstrated exactly how coercive force practices during PCE build toward compelled arrest of black women that perpetuate anti-black policing outcomes. The tensions observed in the PCE video data exposed where escalation of coercive force is propelled or restrained by police.

The PCE videos examined in the pages that follow offer a way to mark these types of PCE outcomes through a series of steps whereby police “set the hook.” The research will describe in detail how coercive force practices shaped the interactional trajectory of PCE. As a result of this analysis, distinctive patterns emerged from the PCE video data that underscore anti-black policing: First, police delayed a peaceful conclusion to the civilian’s interaction with law enforcement. Second, police used the conversational space to generate interactional conflict with civilians. Third, police escalated coercive force practices to make compelled arrests of civilians. Fourth, police constructed a law enforcement biased narrative to recast coercive force in terms of civilian resistance. *Settin' the hook* is not about people’s compliance with law enforcement during PCE, it is a phrase that describes the conditions that exist when black people are subjected to coercive force practices in the absence of provocation or resistance to law enforcement intervention.

Prairie View, Texas. In the spring of 2018, George Klein published a research article in the *Journal of Police Emergency Response* where he analyzed the arrest behavior of Ms. Sandra Bland, Texas State Trooper Brian Encinia, and institutional flaws at the Waller County Jail in Texas. The research article does well in chronicling events surrounding the arrest of Sandra Bland by Trooper Encinia and Officer Goodie of the Prairie View Police Department. Klein's research drew from multiple sources of data, including video of the traffic stop, to conclude the subsequent death of Sandra Bland was a result of anger and indifference. Klein puts forth the sum total of mistakes by public employees, who were responsible for maintaining the health and safety of Sandra post arrest, added up to institutional flaws resulting from a general lack of mental health training and inadequate mental health equipped facilities. These findings locate issues peripheral to the heart of PCE, and maintains civilians' emotional states are the focal point of tension when police use coercive force. As for the police, Klein further argues the importance of verbal de-escalation tactics as an option to avoid coercive force when police encounter civilians experiencing emotional distress and that "taking an individual to jail is not always the best option" (p. 8). Although mental health interventions are sometimes necessary, and verbal de-escalation is a valuable tool for police, Sandra's PCE did not originate in crisis. According to Klein (2018), "a drama is often the product of an individual's fatal flaw. In the traffic stop of Sandra Bland, both she and Trooper Encinia each possessed such a flaw. This flaw was anger. The result of this was an arrest" (p. 9). Similar to other research efforts that take up the case of Sandra Bland (e.g., "Talking to Strangers"), Klein's analysis misses how Trooper Encinia *set the hook* on Sandra's arrest and the propelled escalation of coercive force police exhibited with coordinated effort.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau for the year 2015, Prairie View is a city in Texas with an estimated population of 6,064 people and 65.5% of the population were identified as women and 79% of residents were identified as African American (census.gov).⁸ In 2015, the Dallas Morning News reported a major disparity in the presence of police who are women in the state of Texas; even though a majority of the population of Texas are women, there are only enough women employed to represent 11.5% of police working in the state (Covington & Phua, 2015). The largest law enforcement agency in Texas, the Department of Public Safety (DPS), employs more than 4,700 police officers; only 235 to 285 of these officers are women (Solomon, 2015). This is a finding that speaks to an overwhelming underrepresentation of police who are women and a vast under employment of non-white police.⁹

In the Case of Sandra Bland, we are able to see a Texas State Trooper conducting law enforcement stops for traffic violations on the campus of Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU). Located in the city of Prairie View, PVAMU is home to one of the nation's historically black colleges (pvamu.edu). At the time of the traffic stops, there were 1,645 students identified as African American women out of 3,089 total students enrolled for courses during the summer of 2015 (pvamu.edu).¹⁰ The presence of law enforcement in the lives of PVAMU students living in Prairie View is not uncommon. As one black woman described in a segment of the film: *Say Her Name: The Life and Death*

of Sandra Bland, “Prairie View is over policed. You are policed by University Campus, City of Prairie View. You’re policed by the State Troopers. You’re policed by the Sheriff, Waller County, and the Constables. That’s five people for this area” (26:55).

The PCE video shows a Texas State Trooper (O–officer) making back-to-back traffic stops of vehicles (V1 & V2) for minor traffic violations. Aspects of these traffic stops are identical, yet the outcomes are vastly different. By comparing the final stages of each encounter, the differences between *settin’ the hook* and release without harm are more apparent. Beginning with the first approach to V1, there are several movements by the Trooper that happen independently and in conjunction with a use of language. For example, the Trooper uses his hand to touch the motorists’ vehicles. This is consistent with law enforcement training to check the vehicle’s trunk on approach. Checking the trunk reduces the likelihood of an ambush during traffic stops. The PCE video shows how the Trooper uses this law enforcement practice on four separate occasions: Once on his final approach to the driver side window of V1; once as he walks away from the driver side window of V1; once on his approach to the front passenger side window of V2; and again, on his final approach to the driver side window of V2 (a vehicle driven by Sandra Bland). On his final approach to V1 & V2, the Trooper is holding a traffic citation in his off-hand, or the hand opposite of his firearm; see Figure 1 & Figure 2. We can assess from this level of law enforcement response that the Trooper is not actively engaged with an exigent situation. In other words, his primary cache of weapons is holstered and the level of coercive force is commensurate with traffic enforcement.

Figure 1.



PCE Video Image [00:10]

As the Trooper conducts his last approach to V1, he initiates dialogue by speaking plainly and with a conversational tone. The trooper also organizes the writing implements to facilitate the civilian’s participation. This prepares the civilian to sign the ticket

without delay. The content of the conversation provides the civilian with re-assurance because the Trooper clearly explains the ticket is a warning and has no penalty. This exchange of words and gestures moves the PCE towards a conclusion to the enforcement stop by encouraging the civilian to sign the documentation. The steps taken by the Trooper provides the civilian with an ability to fulfill a procedural requirement by giving her the opportunity to sign an acknowledgment of his law enforcement action. Nothing in this analysis addresses the issue raised in the popular phrase, ‘driving while black.’ That the first PCE did not end in violence is no proof that it was free from racial animus and oppression.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer taps the back left quarter panel with his right hand [00:10]. The officer begins speaking to the civilian before arriving at the driver’s window [00:11] *

*[00:11]

O: All right you’re gonna need to see if you can get with your dad and he can give you that uh: he can send you an email or something: you know what I mean: to get that copy of the insurance: okay

The officer holds the ticket book in his left hand, and uses his right hand to position the ticket book in the direction of the civilian [00:13]. The officer steps closer to the vehicle and leans his upper body towards the civilian [00:16]. The officer raises his right hand to the right side of his face before reaching across his body with his right hand to remove a pen from the left pocket of his lapel [00:22] *

*[00:22]

O: You Okay ((chuckle)) C: {non-audible response}

O: This here is a warning: there is no fine: there is no penalty: but you just need to follow the posted speed limit: okay

He then places the pen on the ticket book [00:23], and extends the ticket book towards the civilian [00:25]. The civilian extends her right hand and receives the ticket book from the officer [00:26]. The civilian signs the ticket and extends the ticket book towards the officer with her left hand [00:32].

*****End of Excerpt*****

In the scope of this first interaction the Trooper verbally engages with the civilian by offering advice on how to obtain a proof of insurance card from her father. He also acknowledges the civilian is unnerved and asks whether she is “okay.” This is consistent with training police receive in the observation of civilian behavior in the presence of law enforcement. In concert with his inquiry, the Trooper informs the civilian that her citation is a warning and there is no fine for the traffic violation. The Trooper also takes the time to remind the civilian to obey the posted speed limit.

The Trooper further encourages the civilian to sign the citation by orienting the ticket book in her direction and providing a writing implement to obtain her signature. He presents the citation and pen to the civilian by extending both items in her direction, and she accepts them as part of her obligation to conclude the transaction by writing her name on the paperwork. The encounter proceeds to an uneventful conclusion as the civilian returns the documentation to the Trooper and goes about her day. The civilian reciprocated the language and actions initiated by the officer, and no escalation of coercive force happens beyond the lowest level required to conduct routine traffic enforcement.

In the case of Sandra Bland, on the other hand, the Trooper makes a noticeable change in his approach to the vehicle in the final phase of the traffic stop. In so doing, the Trooper sets in motion a different outcome. After checking the trunk of her vehicle, the Trooper delays his use of conversational language from Sandra. The Trooper physically arranges the writing implements for Sandra without any explanation. This leaves her uninformed about what is to happen next and creates enough conversational space to prolong the interaction, thus setting the stage for escalation. This is different from the Trooper's approach to concluding the previous traffic stop. Again, the Trooper probes with a question about Sandra's state of being. Unlike the previous interaction there is no chuckling by the Trooper. Instead, he interrupts Sandra's response before she is finished speaking with an additional statement regarding her irritation. The Trooper does not respond to Sandra's request for direction about how to conclude the matter at hand.

At this point, as Sandra continues to affirm her irritation with the purpose for receiving a ticket, the Trooper holds onto the writing implements by removing them from her immediate reach. This adds to the delay in Sandra's ability to sign the documents and go about her way. In the process of responding to the Trooper's repeated inquiry about her irritation, Sandra finishes her statements by asking the Trooper to write the ticket. The Trooper does not conclude the traffic stop at this time and pauses the conversation. Before moving the writing implements back towards Sandra's reach, the Trooper asks Sandra if she is "done" and does not respond to any of her concerns. Again, the Trooper does not allow Sandra to finish her response before he interrupts.

*****Start of excerpt*****

The officer enters the frame from left to right and walks towards the driver side of the civilian vehicle [08:33]. The officer is holding his ticket book in his left hand as he looks down and repositions the ticket book with his right hand [08:35]. The officer looks up at the civilian vehicle, walks to the left rear quarter panel, and touches the left rear quarter panel of the civilian vehicle with his right hand [08:37].

Figure 2.



PCE Video Image [08:37]

The officer turns his directional gaze towards the civilian [08:39], and walks to the driver side window [08:40]*

*[08:40]

O: Oka:y mam

The officer turns his body, and faces the civilian [04:41]. The officer extends the ticket book towards the driver's window while simultaneously retrieving a pen from the pocket of his left lapel [08:42]. The officer places the pen on his ticket book and extends the ticket book into the driver's window [08:44]. The officer holds the ticket book in this position [04:45], and leans slightly forward towards the civilian [04:46]*

*[08:46]

O: You o:kay

C: I:m waiting on you (.) you (.) this is your job (.) i'm waiting on you what do you want me // {to do}

O: [well...you seem very irritated]=

C: =I am (.) I: really am=

The officer closes the pen, removes the ticket book from inside the vehicle, and rests the ticket book against his belt line with both hands [08:55]*

*[08:55]

C: =because I feel like its crap for what i:m getting a ticket for (.) I was getting out of your way (.) you were speeding up:=

The officer nods in the direction of the civilian as he lowers his right hand away from the ticket book [08:58]*

*[08:58]

C: =tailing on me: (...) so I move over (.) and you stop me:: so yeah I am a little irritated but:: that doesn't stop you from giving me a ticket (.) so (.) write the ticket (.) {shoot}

(2 seconds)

O: Are you done↓
The officer extends the ticket book with his left hand [09:11]*
*[09:11]
C: you asked me what wa:z wrong and I told you//=
O: =[okay=
C: =so now i:m done: yea:h ((huff))
The officer looks down as he opens the pen [09:13]*
*[09:13]
O: okay

*****End of Excerpt*****

Unlike the previous traffic stop, the Trooper delays a conclusion to Sandra's interaction with law enforcement by withholding from her any explanation during his final approach to the vehicle. The Trooper's use of spoken language does not happen until he is face to face with Sandra. The Trooper momentarily presents the ticket book and a writing implement in Sandra's direction, but he does not give any verbal guidance to Sandra about the citation or how to conclude the encounter. These actions are inconsistent with the previous traffic stop. The Trooper acknowledges Sandra is upset and makes an inquiry whether she is "okay." As stated earlier, police are trained to observe civilian behavior and his recognition of the Sandra's emotional state is consistent with the prior interaction. Sandra responds to the Trooper's questions. Of note is that during an effort by Sandra to convey her concerns and reasons for irritation, the Trooper interrupts Sandra and reasserts his observation, "well you seem very irritated."

The Trooper also removes the ticket book from Sandra's proximity. This action increases the delay because it distances Sandra's ability to sign her citation. Sandra acknowledges what the Trooper is asking of her by continuing her explanation of why she is "irritated." Even though the Trooper solicited a verbal response from Sandra, he ignores what she is putting into words and thus contributes to the irritation Sandra is experiencing. The Trooper breaks the conversational flow by failing to initially respond to any of Sandra's words. His eventual response, "Are you done," only serves to demonstrate an indifference towards Sandra's words and fosters her irritation.

At this juncture the Trooper has delayed a conclusion to the encounter, but has not escalated any physical coercive force because Sandra has yet to demonstrate behavior worthy of a compelled arrest. As the encounter continues to unfold the Trooper does not address any of Sandra's questions about legitimacy or her concerns about injustice or fairness of the traffic stop. Instead, after numerous procedural delays to the encounter, the Trooper makes a request for Sandra to extinguish her cigarette (see, Figure 3).

When Sandra asks the Trooper why he made this request, the Trooper gives no explanation and escalates coercive force within the interaction through the use of verbal commands. This *sets the hook* by transforming Sandra's compliance into confrontation with law enforcement through escalation of coercive force tactics.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer looks up at the civilian and points his pen towards the civilian [09:18].

Figure 3.



PCE Video Image [09:18]

*[09:18]

O: Do you mind putting out your Cigarette, plee:se if you don:t mi:nd.

The officer withdraws the pen, and places his right hand on top of his holstered firearm [09:19], and looks down at his ticket book [09:20]. The officer moves his right hand back to the ticket book and looks up at the civilian [09:23]*

*[09:23]

C: i'm in my: car why do I have to put out my: cigarette=

The officer closes the pen and places it back into the left pocket of his lapel as he turns his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the patrol vehicle [09:26].

*[09:26]

O: =well you can step on out now.=

*****End of Excerpt*****

In this instance, the Trooper changes the outcome of a traffic stop by escalating the PCE to the use of coercive force. The Trooper created the conditions for coercive force by placing Sandra into a space of verbal conflict with law enforcement in two ways. First, he disregards Sandra's verbal responses by repeatedly interrupting her words mid-sentence and failing to respond to any question she asked. Second, he makes a request for

Sandra to obey his demands after disrupting her the ability to sign a ticket (withdrawal of a writing implement and ticket pad). These actions delay Sandra and prevent her from continuing her day. Further, the Trooper's failure to initially acknowledge Sandra as a person sets the stage for her irritation and feeds into the heightened emotion of her statements.

Moreover, the Trooper uses a destabilizing pattern of speech by making an additional request for Sandra to extinguish her cigarette in a sarcastic tone, "p:lee:se." The framing of this language in terms of a request indicates there is no legal requirement for Sandra to quit smoking, as opposed to making a direct statement for Sandra to stop using tobacco as if she were a minor. The Trooper's ask was immediately followed by, "If you don't mind." This also supports an option for Sandra to deny the Trooper's request. The ensuing verbal exchange is emphasized by the Trooper when he points with his pen towards Sandra as he speaks. Sandra asks the Trooper to explain himself because she minds his importunity. She does this by emphasizing, "I'm in my car, why do I have to put out my cigarette?" No sooner can the words leave Sandra's mouth, when the Trooper gives Sandra a verbal command to step out of the vehicle.

Again, the Trooper transforms the traffic stop by directing Sandra to exit her car. These actions by the Trooper quickly disadvantage Sandra's ability to go freely about her day and this request is inconsistent with the usual requests one would expect during PCE for an interaction during a routine traffic stop. The Trooper has effectively set in motion the introduction and use of coercive force practices by compelling Sandra to exit the vehicle. To further the process of removing Sandra from her car, the Trooper increases the use and confrontational tone of verbal commands. Sandra protests the course of action initiated by the Trooper to remove her from inside the car; before she can finish speaking, the Trooper again interrupts and gives more verbal commands while he opens the car door.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer turns his gaze back towards the civilian and steps away from the vehicle with his left foot [09:27]*

*[09:27]

C: =I don't have to step out of my// car.

O: [Step Out of the Car]

The officer then steps towards the front of the vehicle with his left foot [09:29], and places the ticket book on the hood of the vehicle with his left hand [09:30]. The officer repositions himself at the driver's door [09:31], places his left hand on the door handle [09:32]*

*[09:32]

C: why am and i=

The officer opens the driver's door [09:33].

*[09:33]

C: =N//o: you don't have=

The officer steps inside the open door and points towards the rear of the vehicle with his right hand [09:34]*

*[09:34]

O: [Step Out of the Car]

C: =No: you don't have the right=

The officer places his right hand on top of his holstered firearm and points his left hand at the civilian by extending his left hand inside the passenger compartment of the vehicle

[09:35]*

Figure 4.



PCE Video Image [09:35]

*[09:35]

O: =Step // Out of The Car

*****End of Excerpt*****

As the interaction continues to unfold the Trooper increases the volume and number of verbal commands directed towards Sandra. Police are trained in the use of verbal commands to assert their authority with elevated tones and strong inflections of their words to direct civilians how to meet law enforcement expectations. At the same time, it increases the adversarial nature of the interaction.

The Trooper increases his use of verbal commands when he diverts his attention away from the initial reason for the encounter and further escalates the conflict with Sandra. There are no actions taken by the Trooper to resolve the conflict peacefully. The direct action taken by the Trooper to open the driver's door supports and facilitates his expectation to have Sandra exit the vehicle. This also removes a physical barrier separating the Trooper from Sandra. Although Sandra asks the Trooper a direct question about his demands for her to exit the vehicle, she is unsuccessful in obtaining an answer from him.

This calls into question the validity of the Trooper's request for Sandra to exit her car. Rather than providing a direct answer to her simple question, the Trooper increases his use of harsh tones and aggressive posturing consistent with coercive force practices. The escalation of coercive force is learned and used by police to assert a legal right to gain control over civilians. This is accomplished through a heightened threat or increase of coercive force practices. The Trooper places his hand on his duty weapon and takes an aggressive stance, escalating his level of threat of coercive force exhibited towards Sandra (see, Figure 4). In this instance, the threat furthers an expectation by the Trooper that Sandra will relinquish her assertions of injustice and concede under threat of harm to her person.

Sandra and the Trooper are locked in a conversational struggle over the legitimacy and trajectory of the traffic stop. The Trooper is motioning with his arm for Sandra to exit the vehicle and giving verbal commands. Sandra verbalizes her objection to the opening of her car door. The trooper verbally re-asserts his authority to do so, and continues to escalate his use of coercive force. The verbal interaction between the Trooper and Sandra is quickening and the time for each of them to complete their words before interruption is reduced.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer leans forward towards the civilian and motions with his left hand towards the rear of the vehicle [09:36]*

*[09:36]

C: You Do: not have the Right to do that=

O: =I Do have the Right=

The officer places his left hand back inside the vehicle and in the direction of the civilian while nodding his head [09:40]*

*[09:40]

O: =Now Step Out// or I: Will Re:mo:ve: Yo:u:.

C: [I refuse to say].. I refuse to talk to you.. other than to identify myself//{unintelligible}

O: [Step Out, Or // I Will Remove You

C: [I'm. I am getting re:mo:ved for A// fai:lur:e: to si:gna:l(.)

O: [Step Out Or I will remove you >i'm giving you a lawful order<
(2 seconds)

O: Get Out Of The Car No:w //or I'm going to Remove You.=

C: [and i'm calling my lawyer](...) =and i'm calling my lawyer.=

*****End of Excerpt*****

The Trooper persists with his escalation of coercive force tactics. Again, this display is continuous with law enforcement training that seeks to have police hold their position of authority during PCE. This particular law enforcement practice encourages police to overcome struggle and conflict with coercive force during confrontations with

civilians. Sandra responds to the verbal aggressiveness and begins to elevate her tone of voice to match the Trooper's commands. Sandra and the Trooper are engaged in a back and forth verbal struggle, they have ceased to converse in any meaningful way.

Neither of them can complete a statement without being interrupted by the other. The Trooper is repeating himself in tone and verse; remaining firm and steadfast in his expectation to remove Sandra from the vehicle. The longer Sandra stays inside her car the louder and more demanding the Trooper becomes. At one point, the Trooper is shouting at Sandra to proclaim the lawfulness of his actions. The Trooper is yelling not only what he expects Sandra to do, but also what is going to happen next should she not follow his verbal commands: "Step out, or I will remove you!" Sandra attempts to summon help by signaling to the Trooper that she is calling her attorney. She is squarely at odds with the validity of the Trooper's actions and the level of intrusion into her car. A sequence of events has now led to a major disruption in Sandra's life for an otherwise minor traffic violation.

The Trooper is unrelenting in his application of coercive force tactics. In addition to open handed techniques the Trooper radios dispatch for a cover unit to respond to his location. As the Trooper attempts to take hold of Sandra, he does his best to pull Sandra out of her vehicle (see, Figure 5). The conversational exchange is marred with overlapping talk, back and forth challenges, and declarations about what is going to happen next between the two of them. This clash adds to the overall tension of the interaction and "tightens the drag" on the line of coercive force practices.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

While placing his right hand against the B-pillar of the vehicle, the officer reaches towards the civilian with his left hand and extends his upper body inside the passenger compartment of the vehicle [09:56]*

*[09:56]

O: =I'm Gonna Yank You Outta Here.

C: Okay You Gonna Ya:nk Me O:ut of my Ca::r:?// o:ka:y alri:ght.

O: get out

The officer removes his right hand from the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle and activates the portable radio attached to his lapel [10:00].

*[10:00]

O: 25//{send a second unit}

C: [le:ts, le:ts do this

The officer places his right hand back against the B-pillar [10:02]*

*[10:02]

O: yeah we're going to=

The officer makes an attempt to pull the civilian out of the vehicle with his left hand [10:03]*

*[10:03]

C: =Yeah.

The civilian leans towards the front right passenger seat, and the officer jerks his upper body out of the vehicle's passenger compartment [10:04]*

Figure 5.



PCE Video Image [10:04]

*[10:04]

C: don't, Don't Touch Me.

The officer reaches into the vehicle with his left hand, and repositions his right hand against the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle [10:05]*

*[10:05]

O: Get //Out Of The Ca:r=

C: [Don't Touch Me]

The officer attempts to take hold of the civilian's left arm, and the civilian moves further towards the front right passenger seat [10:06]*

*[10:06]

C: =Don't Touch Me. I'm not Under Arrest, You Don't Have The Right // To Take Me Out My Ca:r.

O: [You Are Under Arrest]

*****End of Excerpt*****

The Trooper continues to withhold all explanation from Sandra. Escalating the confrontation, the Trooper uses his police radio to request more police to respond to his location, "Send me another unit." His use of the portable radio to summon more resources is consistent with tactical communication training police receive to manage a crisis. Simultaneously, the officer increases coercive force by placing his hands on Sandra in an attempt to physically drag her out of the vehicle. Because the car door is open, there is no physical barrier to separate Sandra from the Trooper. The only recourse Sandra has is to lean away from the Trooper's advancement into her car.

Again, Sandra questions the legitimacy of the Trooper's actions and protests being physically manipulated by him: "Don't touch me. I'm not under arrest. You don't have the right to take me out my car." The Trooper replies, "You are under arrest." At this point in the verbal exchange, Sandra is still unaware why she is subjected to coercive force by the Trooper. The Trooper's declaration to Sandra, "You are under arrest" does not clarify why he has compelled her to arrest. At best, the Trooper's statement is an attempt to verbally repair the standard arrest process and justify the escalation of coercive force to a controlled arrest of Sandra.

Police are trained to use coercive force in situations where specific tools are necessary to overcome physical resistance and opposition by civilians. In this PCE, there is no video evidence that Sandra was physically threatening towards the Trooper. Sandra remains unclear why she is under arrest and repeatedly questions the Trooper, but he does not respond to her questions. The Trooper uses his radio more than once to request additional police to his location. Additional commands are made by the Trooper along with declarations of the legitimate use of coercive force to control Sandra.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer removes his hand from the B-pillar and activates the portable radio attached to his lapel [10:08]*

*[10:08]

C: I'm under Arrest For What?=

O: 25 // {code 7} county fm, 10-98, // for 290, send me another unit.=

C: [for what] [for what]

The officer places his right hand back against the B-pillar [10:16]*

*[10:16]

C. =for what=

O: =Get O:ut: Of The Ca:R.

(2 seconds)

O: Ge:t O:ut Of The Car, No:w

C: wh:y am I being Apprehended, You trying to give me a// ticket for a Fai:lur:e

O: [I Said Get Out Of The Car=

C: =Why am I being apprehended // you just open my car door=

O: [I'm Giving You A Lawful Order]

C: =y//ou just Open My Car Door.

O: [I'm Go:nna Dra:g You Ou:tta Her:e.]

*****End of Excerpt*****

Sandra makes numerous pleas for the Trooper to explain her arrest, and again, her requests for an explanation are left without a response. The Trooper's increase in coercive force practices towards Sandra is steady, other than a momentary pause to use police codes to ask dispatch for additional resources. The Trooper is set on projecting aggressive language, harsh tones, and open handed techniques for the purpose of removing Sandra from inside her car.

Sandra still does not understand the purpose for the Trooper's use of coercive force to compel her arrest. This is made clear by her statements, "why am I being apprehended" and "you trying to give me a ticket." Again, the Trooper ignores Sandra and re-asserts the legitimacy of his actions by proclaiming, "I am giving you a lawful order." The assertion of lawfulness is immediately followed by a threat directed at Sandra that she will be physically compelled to exit the vehicle if she does not obey, "I'm going to drag you out of here!"

The interaction has completely collapsed the PCE to a state where the Trooper is advancing his law enforcement mission to make an arrest through coercive force and Sandra is attempting to remain secure inside her car. Once again, the Trooper escalates coercive force; he draws a weapon (see, Figure 6). The use of verbal commands by the Trooper hardens in tone and intention towards Sandra as he creates space to use the weapon by stepping away from her. The Trooper's use of hand gestures and a physical separation from Sandra enables her to safely exit her car.

Start of Excerpt

The officer removes his left hand from inside the vehicle and places it onto his Conducted Energy Weapon (CEW)[10:28]*

*[10:28]

C: So, you're gonna=

The officer stands upright as he removes his left hand from the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle [10:29]*

*[10:29]

C: =so you're threatening=

The officer unholsters the CEW with his left hand, and points it towards the civilian by extending the CEW inside the passenger compartment of the civilian vehicle [10:30]*

*[10:30]

C: =to drag me out of my own car

The officer leans forward, placing the CEW within close proximity to the civilian [10:31]*

*[10:31]

O: GET OUT OF THE CAR

The civilian sits upright in the driver seat [10:32]*

*[10:32]

C: And// Then you gonna Stun Me=

The officer pulls his left arm back while keeping the CEW in close proximity to and pointed at the civilian [10:33]*

*[10:33]

O: [I Will Light You Up]

The officer points at the civilian with his right hand and rapidly motions towards the rear of the civilian vehicle [10:34]*

*[10:34]

O: =GET OUT

C: Wow

The officer lowers his right hand alongside his body, and steps away from the civilian

vehicle with his right foot [10:35]*

Figure 6.



PCE Video Image [10:35]

*[10:35]

O: NOW

The civilian steps out of the vehicle with her left foot [10:36]*

*[10:36]

C: Wow

*****End of Excerpt*****

The Trooper intensifies coercive force practices by transitioning to the use of weaponry. In this instance, the Trooper un-holsters his conducted energy weapon (CEW) and points it at Sandra. Police are trained to use higher levels of coercive force (e.g., weaponry) to compel civilian behavior when lower levels are ineffective (e.g., verbal commands or openhanded techniques). The Trooper supports his escalation to a weapon by yelling at Sandra, “get out of the car!” This action is further supported as the trooper conveys his intention to use the weapon against Sandra, “I will light you up!”

The Trooper also provides Sandra with a window of opportunity to comply with his verbal commands for Sandra to exit the vehicle, because the Trooper moves away from Sandra. This opens the physical space and time necessary for Sandra comply with his expectations. The Trooper emphasizes the expectation by stepping back and gesturing toward where he demands Sandra to move; she exits the vehicle as the Trooper mandates, “Get Out” and “Now!” More verbal commands are shouted at Sandra before she can complete her exit of the vehicle, “get out of the car!” Sandra is holding her cellular telephone as she exits her vehicle. The circumstances of the PCE are still unclear to Sandra; she questions the Trooper in disbelief that what he is doing to her is for a traffic violation.

The Trooper's hardened and elevated tones continue in the direction of Sandra, but his use of verbal commands begins to focus on controlling Sandra's movements outside the vehicle. Sandra walks to the curb and the Trooper follows her while holding his weapon (see, Figure 7). The Trooper directs Sandra along the way by continuing his use of loudly stated commands. Sandra verbalizes her future intent to legally challenge the traffic stop. The verbal exchange between the Trooper and Sandra is overlapping and increasingly tense. When Sandra speaks, she is either repeatedly interrupted by the Trooper's commands or her words are ignored altogether.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The civilian stands up out of the vehicle (holding a cellular telephone, in her right hand, and at the level of her head), as the officer motions with his right arm towards the rear of the vehicle [10:37]*

*[10:37]

O: GET OUT OF THE CAR=

C: =Re:a:lly >for a fail:ure to signal<=

The officer walks three steps with the civilian and points towards the sidewalk with his right hand [10:39]*

*[10:39]

C: =>you doing all this< for// a Fai:lur:e

O: [Get Over There=

The civilian raises her left hand and adjusts her sunglasses [10:42]*

*[10:42]

C: =Right, Yeah, yeah let's take this to Court=

The civilian looks at her cell phone as she exits the frame from left to right [10:43]*

Figure 7.



PCE Video Image [10:43]

*[10:43]

C: =Let's do it//

The officer points with his right arm towards the sidewalk as he exits the frame from left to right [10:44]*

*[10:44]

O: Go Ahead

C: for a failure to signal, Yep For A Failure To Signal // =

O: [Get off the Phone]

C: =I'm At School

O: Get off the Phone

C: I'm not on the phone, I have the right // to record this is my property.

O: [Put Your Phone Down]

C: th//is is my property

O: [Put Your Phone Down]

C: Sir

O: Put Your Phone Do:w:n, Ri:ght N:o:w: (1 second) Pu:t Your Phone do:wn

The civilian enters the frame from right to left [10:58], holding her cell phone in her right hand, and places it on the trunk of her vehicle [10:59]. The officer enters the frame from right to left with his back towards the camera [11:00]. The civilian steps back away from the vehicle with her right foot and lowers her right arm along side her body [11:01]. The civilian shifts her weight to her left and towards the officer as she moves back and forth from side to side [11:02]*

*[11:02]

C: You:all are ridiculous

*****End of Excerpt*****

Although Sandra is doing what she is told to do by the Trooper, the pace of her movement is inadequate to appease the Trooper's sense of urgency. The Trooper keeps his weapon pointed at Sandra and yells very loudly "Get out of the car!" using his verbal commands and gestures to control Sandra's movement under the threat of his weapon. The civilian is more or less in step with the Trooper's commands, but she continues to verbally contest the legitimacy of the encounter and voices her malcontent with the unfolding circumstances; "Right, Yeah, let's take this to court." Once Sandra is out of her car and standing on the sidewalk, the Trooper focuses his attention on Sandra's use of her cellphone. Police are taught that objects, like a cellphone, may be used as a weapon or to summon other people to an area. As such, police are trained to remove this type of object from a civilian's hands concurrent to an arrest. Even though Sandra is not threatening to actively harm the Trooper, he insistently uses verbal commands to direct her to "get off the phone." Secondly, smartphones may also be used to record and thus monitor police. In Sandra's case, her phone gives her a sense of protection and recording the encounter can offer evidence to mount a defense in court that bolsters her credibility.

Sandra makes an attempt to dispel that she is a threat or a criminal by letting the officer know she is a university student: "I'm at school!" The Trooper ignores her statement and repeats for Sandra to get off her phone. Sandra tells the Trooper, "I'm not

on the phone. I have a right to record, this is my property.” The Trooper interrupts Sandra before she can finish speaking, “put the phone down.” Sandra says “this is my property,” but the Trooper interrupts her statement by repeating the command, “put your phone down!” There is one last appeal from Sandra to the Trooper before she relinquishes her phone, “Sir?” Sandra is hesitant to let go of her phone, and in her moment of hesitation, the officer re-asserts his verbal command with more emphasis, “Put your phone down! Right now!” Sandra places her cellphone on the trunk of her car and moves away, and in so doing continues in her compliance with the Trooper’s verbal commands.

While holding his weapon, the Trooper’s commands are in short repetitive phrases. The Trooper proceeds to direct Sandra where to stand and how to move, but his verbal commands are given over the top of Sandra’s voice. Sandra is more boisterous in her responses to the Trooper, but she is not aware of the Trooper’s expectation. The Trooper directs Sandra to turn around and put her hands behind her back. Sandra asks the Trooper what is happening. He responds to Sandra with “I’m giving you a lawful order.” This is followed by, “I will tell you.” Sandra wants to know why she is being asked to move in such a way, and the Trooper repeats to her, “turn around” and “I’m giving you a lawful order.” Eventually the Trooper tells Sandra that she is being arrested because she is not compliant. She immediately responds with, “I’m not compliant, because you just pulled me out of my *car*.” The Trooper responds to Sandra by repeating the verbal command, “Turn Around!”

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The civilian moves to her right away from the officer [11:03] The officer steps towards the direction of the civilian and stops [11:04]*
*[11:04]
O: Come Over He:re:
C: Ya:all ain’t //even got
O: [Come Over He:re No:w
The civilian turns in the direction of the camera and walks towards the officer out of view [11:07]*
*[11:07]
C: You feeling good a//bout yourself
O: [Stand Right He:ere:
The officer lowers his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the ground as he extends his right arm out towards the object of his focus [11:08]*
*[11:08]
O: You need to Stand Right He:ere=
The officer looks away from the ground, in the direction of the civilian, and lowers his right hand back to his side [11:09]*
*[11:09]
C: =You feeling good about yourself=
The officer shifts his feet closer together and stands upright [11:10]*
*[11:10]
O: =sta: stand right there=
C: =you gonna {in audible} you should feel real good//about your//self don:t

ch:you=
 O: [T:u:rn Around] [Tu:rn Around]
 C: =you feel good about yourself=
 O: =Tu:rn Aro:und No:w
 C: what:what//are you
 O: [PU:t yo:u:r hands//behind your back and Turn Around
 C: [Why are you=
 The officer extends his right hand towards the civilian [11:19]*
 *[11:19]
 O: =Turn Around=
 C: =Why ca:nt yo//u tell me
 The officer lowers his right hand back to his side [11:20]*
 *[11:20]
 O: [I'm giving you a Lawful order // and I will tell you
 C: [Wh:y am I be:ing a:Re:sted
 The officer raises his right hand in the direction of the civilian [11:21] and then lowers
 his right hand alongside his body [11:22]*
 *[11:22]
 O: T//urrrn Around
 C: [Why won't You tell me that Pa:rt
 O: I'm giving you a lawful order turn around=
 C: =Why would you not tell me=
 O: =You: are not compliant
 The officer shifts his balance to the right with his feet and raises his right hand towards
 the civilian [11:29]*
 *[11:29]
 C: I'm not compliant cause You Just Pulled me out of my C:a:R
 The officer continues to move to his right and steps in the direction of the civilian
 [11:30]*
 *[11:30]
 O: TU:RN A:RO:UND
*****End of Excerpt*****

At this juncture the conversational interaction remains contentious and the use of coercive force is uninterrupted. Sandra has exited her vehicle and let go of her cellphone under threat of harm leveraged by the Trooper to make Sandra do as he says. However, Sandra holds on to her main argument over the legitimacy of the stop and is reluctant. The Trooper concentrates on directing Sandra into a location and position for handcuffing. Police are trained to obtain preparatory positions for handcuffing a person, and the manner by which this is accomplished can vary, but civilians will generally face away from an officer with their hands placed behind their back.

The Trooper is set on arresting Sandra and raises his voice to control her movements, “stand right here” and “turn around.” The argumentative tone between the Trooper and Sandra causes overlaps in their speech pattern. Sandra is trying to have the Trooper explain himself, and the Trooper is attempting to have Sandra do what he wants. Sandra questions the Trooper, “why am I being arrested” and “why won’t you tell me.” The Trooper gives no response other than to stress the lawfulness of his verbal commands, “I’m giving you a lawful order, turn around.” Meaningful communication between the Trooper and Sandra is nonexistent. The Trooper eventually tells Sandra that she is not compliant, with no further explanation offered to Sandra. Without delay, Sandra retorts that she was pulled out of her car and that’s why she’s not complying. In response, the Trooper raises his voice and yells at Sandra, “Turn around!”

As events unfold, Sandra is beside herself with disbelief and begins to cuss. The Trooper remains focused on handcuffing Sandra and completes this process. No sooner than the Trooper can put handcuffs on Sandra, he makes a remark: “If you would have just listened.” Sandra verbally contests the Trooper’s statement and the two of them continue arguing back and forth.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer keeps moving forward and exits the screen from left to right [11:31]*

*[11:31]

C: Are you Fucking kidding me: Thi:s is some bu:l//lshi:t >You Know it is<

O: [Put Your Ha:nds//Behi:nd your ba:ck

C: [Cau:se You Know This Is Stra:ight Bu:llshi:t And You Full Of Shit (...)

The civilian enters the screen from right to left with her left foot and stepping in the direction of the vehicle [11:37].

*[11:37]

C: Full Of Straight Shit (..)

The civilian’s forward motion is stopped by the officer[11:38] and then the civilian steps back with her left foot and exits the screen from left to right [11:39]*

*[11:39]

C: That:s All:Ya’all Call Your Asses Some Scarry Fucking Cops South carolina

Got You’All Bitch Asses Sca:red (.) That’s All it Is (.....) ((ratcheting sound))

Fuckin Scared of a Female {inaudible}

O: If you just Wo:uld have Liste:ned

C: I Was try:i:ng to si:gn the fu:cking Ti:ket wha:te:ver

O: STOP MoVi:ng

C: Are You Fucking Serious=

O: =STO:P Mo:vi:n:=

C: =Ahh I cai:n’t wait until we go to court O::oh I cai:n’t wa:it (..) I can Not WA:iT until we go to court (.) I can’t Wa:i:t O::oh I ca:a:n:nt wa:ai:t >you want me to sit down now<=

O: =No:wa=

C: >Or yo:wa g:a< you:s just goin: Thro:w me to the floor:a (.) That Would Make you feel Better about Yourself

- O: nock it o:ff
 C: Nah That would Make You feel Better About Yourself (..) That: make you fe:el
 re:al go:od won't it (...) >pussy ass< (..) fu:cking pu:ssy (..) for a failure to signal
 you doing all of this (.) In little Ass prairie view texas (.) My God they//they
 must gonna let ya://
 O: [You Were Gettin: a] Warning [Until Now You're Going to Jai:l=
 C: =So I'm get:n: Fo:R WHAT
 O: You C//an come read=
 C: [FOR WHAT]

*****End of Excerpt*****

Sandra ultimately submits to the Trooper and assumes a standing position with her hands behind her back. At the same time, in order to handcuff Sandra, the Trooper holsters his weapon. This is only a momentary de-escalation or transition away from coercive force practices because one of the Trooper's hands is used to position Sandra's wrists and his other is used to apply handcuffs. Placing Sandra into handcuffs is a significant moment in denying her liberty. Sandra is wearing handcuffs designed to limit her physical ability to move freely. A restrained detention of Sandra's arms is an escalation of coercive force tactics because her body is under constant physical manipulation. Sandra must depend on the Trooper more so now than without the physical restrictions caused by the restraint of handcuffs. Once detained in handcuffs, Sandra cannot use her arms for balance or to wipe an obstruction from her eye.

Unfortunately, Sandra's level of trust for the Trooper to do her no further harm is greatly diminished; she continues to protest the validity of the encounter and now questions the Trooper's motivations, "y'all bitch-asses are scared, that's all it is, scared of a fucking female." The loss of freedom and erosion of trust is exacerbated by the Trooper's statements to hold Sandra personally responsible for the situation, "if you would have just listened." Sandra responds to the Trooper, "I was trying to sign the fucking ticket, whatever."

The conversation becomes muddled by the bodily contact between the Trooper and Sandra, he is working to secure the handcuffs and Sandra is in the process of voicing her disagreement. The Trooper responds by telling Sandra, "you were getting a warning, until now, you're going to jail." Sandra is caught off guard and surprised by the Trooper's statements. She begins to ask, "so I'm getting...", and quickly hollers, "for what?!" The Trooper's statements to Sandra are not only meant to shift onus away from himself for making a compelled arrest, the Trooper's responses also serve to exacerbate Sandra's disbelief. The Trooper says, "you can come read," but Sandra interrupts with a second, "For What?!"

The Trooper is eager to move Sandra closer to his ticket book so she can read what he wrote. The Trooper uses verbal commands in a lower tone of voice and is no longer shouting; he uses his hand-hold on Sandra and short phrases to direct her movement (see, Figure 8). Sandra is following along with the Trooper as he relocates her

from one place on the sidewalk to another spot closer to the rear of her car. The trooper communicates with dispatch that Sandra is under his control and in handcuffs.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officers right hand enters the frame from right to left with his index finger extended in the direction of the vehicle [12:23]*

*[12:23]

O: =>Come Read right here<

The officers directional gaze is facing the ground as he steps into frame with his right foot and stops, the civilian enters the frame from right to left with her right foot, while the officer is holding her right wrist with his left hand [12:24]*

*[12:24]

C: I'm Getting a Warning For WHAT=

The civilian walks towards the vehicle with her left foot and then her right foot, as the officer steps forward with his left leg and leans backward pulling the civilian's arms away from her body; his directional gaze moves away from the ground and in the direction of the civilian [12:25]*

Figure 8.



PCE Video Image [12:25]

*[12:25]

O: =sta:y Right here:=

The offers steps next to his left foot with his right foot and pivots to his right circling the civilian away from the vehicle [12:26]*

*[12:26]

C: =For WHAT=

The officer steps forward with his left foot and completes his turn facing away from the vehicle [12:27]*

*[12:27]

O: =stay Right here:=

C: =You Just Pointed Me Over TH:ERE

The officer places his feet together, and while pointing towards the ground with his right hand, he looks away from the civilian and towards the ground before looking back up at the civilian [12:28]*

*[12:28]

O: I said stay right here=

The civilian steps to her left and begins to turn away from the officer[12:29]

C: =Get your fucking mind right Let mE

The civilian steps with her right foot as she completes turns to her left and moves in a forward direction away from the officer [12:30]*

*[12:30]

C: O:o:h

The officer steps forward with his left foot as he places his right hand on the handcuffs and removes his left hand from the civilians right forearm [12:31]*

*[12:31]

C: I swEaR on my

The officer places his left hand on his radio and he shifts his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the roadway [12:32]*

*[12:32]

C: Li:fe you all some Pu:ssies (.)

The officer then moves his directional gaze towards his left hand [12:33]*

*[12:33]

C: A Pussy Ass Cop

The officer looks up as he moves his left hand away from his radio and to the lapel mic affixed to his left shoulder [12:34]*

*[12:34]

C: For a fucking ticket//you gonna take me to jail (.) What a pu:ssy (.)

O: [I got her controlled she:s in handcuffs]

End of Excerpt

The Trooper is determined to prove to Sandra that his intentions were to issue her a warning and directs her towards the vehicle, “come read right here.” First the Trooper points towards Sandra’s car and then he escorts Sandra towards the roadway by holding onto her wrist. Realizing his ticket book is not nearby, the Trooper changes the course of his actions and re-directs Sandra to stand back on the sidewalk. This series of actions initiated by the Trooper manipulates Sandra’s balance, because she is handcuffed, and whips her body in a circle. The sudden changes in direction causes additional discord between the Trooper and Sandra.

The Trooper is leading Sandra by the wrist and verbalizing where he wants her to stand. The use of coercive force maneuvers is happening at a faster pace than Sandra’s ability to keep up with the Trooper’s expectations. The trooper is speaking and physically

moving Sandra before she can respond to what he is saying. Sandra is exasperated with the Trooper telling her to go one way and then pulling her in another direction, she says to him, “get your fucking mind right.” Other than telling her how and where to stand, the Trooper is not focusing on communicating with Sandra. Responding to dispatch inquiries, the Trooper uses his radio to say, “I got her under control, she’s in handcuffs.” This statement indicates for everyone listening that a level of stabilization has occurred since the Trooper’s last communication over the radio. The statement also indicates a level of control the Trooper possesses over Sandra’s body. Although she is physically restrained, Sandra’s words are unbound, “for a fucking ticket, you’re going to take me to jail, what a pussy.”

The Trooper positions Sandra where he wants her, and leaves her as he walks away. Sandra remains on the sidewalk as the Trooper goes to retrieve his ticket book (see, Figure 9). After placing the ticket book down on the trunk of Sandra’s car, the Trooper, once again, verbally engages with Sandra. Over the course of three consecutive statements the Trooper begins to raise his tone of voice and reiterates to Sandra: “You started creating the problems.”

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer lowers his directional gaze towards the handcuffs as he moves his left hand away from his lapel mic [12:37]*

*[12:37]

C: What a pu:ssy

The officer moves his directional gaze away from the civilian and looks in the direction of the camera as he turns his upper body to his right [12:39]*

*[12:39]

C: What a p:uA

The officer turns back toward the civilian and looks down with his directional gaze [12:41]*

*[12:41]

C: You About to break My Fucking Wrist=

O: =StO:p MO:vi:n

C: I’m Standing Still Y//o:U: Keep Moving ME G:o:d:dam//mit

O: [stand right there] [stay right there]

The officer steps back away from the civilian [12:47]*

*[12:47]

C: Dont touch Me (.)

The officer releases the civilian, turns towards and walks towards the vehicle with his directional gaze facing the ground [12:48]*

*[12:48]

C: Fucking Pu:ssy

The officer looks up towards the vehicle with his directional gaze [12:49]*

*[12:49]

C: For a Traffic ticket

The officer walks alongside the vehicle and towards the front [12:50]*

*[12:50]

C: You do:ing all this bullshit (..)
The officer steps in front of the vehicle [12:51]*
*[12:51]

C: {fucking pussy}
The officer walks from right to left towards the front left quarter panel of the vehicle [12:52]. The officer turns in the direction of the camera and begins walking towards the rear of the vehicle [12:53]. The officer reaches with his left hand and retrieves his ticket book from the hood of the vehicle [12:54], and pushes the front driver side door closed with his right hand as he continues to walk in the direction of the camera [12:55]*

Figure 9.



PCE Video Image [12:55]

*[12:55]
C: (.....) all this for a traffic ticket
The officer places both hands on the ticket book and lowers his directional gaze in the direction of his hands [12:56] The officer then turns, walks behind the vehicle from left to right, and looks up with his directional gaze towards the civilian [12:57]*
*[12:57]
O: Come Read right over here (.)
The looks towards the vehicle with his directional gaze [12:58] as he places the the ticket book on the trunk of the vehicle with his left hand, and then focuses his directional gaze towards the civilian [12:59]*

[12:59]*

O: This Right here says A Warning (.)

The officer extends his right hand with his index finger extended in the direction of his gaze [13:00]*

*[13:00]

O: YOU Started Creating the Problems=

*****End of Excerpt*****

Sandra is in the Trooper's immediate custody and control because she is in handcuffs and under arrest. In addition to Sandra's emotional frustration with the Trooper's escalation of coercive force, his physical manipulation of Sandra's body is causing her pain. The mechanical advantage afforded to the Trooper by the handcuffs creates torque on Sandra as he leads her around by the wrists. This action intensifies the level of discomfort and mistrust brought about through the continued application of increasingly escalated coercive force practices. When Sandra experiences emotional discomfort and finally, physical pain; she cries out in response, "you're about to break my fucking wrists." The Trooper is solely focused on his efforts to control and dominate Sandra's movements outside her vehicle. He does not apologize for causing any undue pain, instead he tells Sandra in a stern voice to "stop moving." In a stern voice of her own Sandra responds, "I'm standing still, you keep moving me, goddammit."

The Trooper verbalizes two brief commands before Sandra can finish speaking and offers no words to acknowledge her discomfort; he says to Sandra, "stand right there" and "stay right there." The Trooper releases Sandra, turns his back to her, and walks away from her. This action strongly suggests that the Trooper is not immediately concerned with Sandra fleeing, struggling to get loose from his custody, threatening his physical safety or in any other way posing any risk. By turning his line of sight away from Sandra, the Trooper indicates that he believes Sandra will continue to follow his commands. Witnessing this action is disconcerting, at the least. Police are trained to conduct searches incident to arrest. The Trooper told Sandra she was under arrest because she is not compliant. Yet, the Trooper delays a search in conjunction with Sandra's arrest. The Trooper is more insistent on obtaining his ticket book. He enters the roadway, collects his ticket book, then returns to Sandra's location.

Once the officer has possession of his ticket book, he verbally engages Sandra by raising his voice and pointing with emphasis to blame or hold Sandra accountable for the disintegration of the PCE in which the Trooper introduced coercive force practices and then rapidly added additional coercive force tactics, one after the other. "This right here says a warning. You started creating the problems!" Sandra verbally responds to the Trooper in opposition, "You asked me what was wrong. I'm trying to tell you."

The Trooper ignores her statements, initiates his *first* search of Sandra's person, and proceeds with questions to facilitate his search. The conversational space is fraught with raised tones and overlapping talk. The Trooper escalates coercive force again, and Sandra is screaming for the Trooper to stop. A cover unit from the Prairie View Police Department arrives on scene and becomes part of the PCE.

Start of Excerpt

The officer lowers his right hand [13:01], while walking forward, and moves off screen from left to right [13:02].*

*[13:02]

C: =You Asked Me What Was WRONG // I'm trying to Tell You
O: [Do you have] anything/on your person thats illegal
C: [I'm trying to tell you (.) Do if Feel like I have Anything on me//this a Fucking maxi dress
O: [I'm gonna remove your I'm gonna remove your glasses.
C: This a maxi dress
O: Come o//n over here
C: [what do I have on me (..) fucking assholes (..) for a fu: Your About to Break My Wrist Ca//n You STOP
O: [COME HERE]
C: You ARE ABOUT TO FUCKING BREAK MY ((Gasp)) FU: ST//O:O:O:OP ((gasp)) ((crying))
O: [STOP MOVIN (...) STOP NOW (..) STOP I//T
FO: [ma:me Stop Re:sistin' mam:e
O: IF YOU WOULD STOP AND I WILL TELL YOU=
C: =for a fucking traffic ticket// ((crying)) your are such a pussy !=/ ((gasp)) ((crying))
O: [NOW STOP]
FO: =[{inaudible}
C: **you are such a pussy // for a fucking traffic signal** ((crying))
FO: [No You Are !=/ You Should Not Be Fighting
O: =[You:re Yanking Around]
C: ((gasp)) **for a traffic signal** ((crying))
O: You Are Yanking' Aroun//d WHEN You Pull AWAY FROM ME !=/ You:re RESISTING Arrest
C: ((gasp)) [**for a fucking traffic signal**](crying)) =[right does this make you feel real good this make you feel real good don:t it a female fo//r a traffic signal
O: [keep her right here=
FO: =[>i got er<>i got er< // >i got er<>i got er< go ahead take care of yourself
C: [for a traffic signal I know that make you feel good officer Encinia I know it make you feel real good you:re !=/
FO: [i got her]
C: =a real man now you do:ne sla:m:med me ((gasp)) knock my **head** in the ground I got **epilepsy** you mother fucke:a
O: Good // Good
C: [I Hope I **GO:O:D** // **IS IT GO:O:D** Okay Alright Alright=

FO: [You Should Have Thought About That Before You Start Resisting]
C: =Yeah This is Real Good (.) Real Good For A Female Yeah (.) Ya:all Strong
O:o:h ((gasp)) // ya:all re:al strong

Figure 10.



Bystander PCE Video Image [00:19] A

FO: [go ahead i got a cage in my car]
O: I Want ch:you to wait Right here
C: ya:all real strong
O: Wait Right Here=
C: =I Ca:in:t go No:where with you:r Fucking knee in my Back D:u:h:
O: I'm going to open your door=
FO: =okay
C: {fucking pussies}

Figure 11.



Bystander PCE Video Image [00:27] B

O: You Need To Leave (.) You Need T:a: Leave (.) You Need t:a: Leave
O: For A Warning=
C: =whatever=
O: =You:re going to Jail for Resisting Arrest=
C: =whatever whatever=
O: =Stand Up
C: If I Co:u:ld // I Cant even (.) I Cai:nt even fucking Feel My Arm
O: [Okay >ro:l:e o:v:er<]
FO: T//uck your knee up under y:a:
O: [Tuck your kn:ee in:]
C: G:o:d dam:n // **I cain:t** ((gasp)) ((crying))
FO: [tuck you:re kn:ees up under y:a
O: listen listen your gonna // sit up on your butt
C: [**you just slammed my head into the ground // do you not even care about that**
O: [sit up on you:re butt]
FO: listen to how he:s telling you to get:up
C: **I can:t Even He:Ar**
FO: yes you can
C: **H//e slammed my fucking head into the gr:ou:nd** Wh:at the Hell
O: [sit:up on you:re butt (.) sit:up on you:re butt (..) now >st:and up<
C: **All this for a tra:ffi:c si:gn:a:l** {gasp} **I swear to G:o:d all of this for a tra:ffic sig:nal** (..) Thank You For Recording (..) **THANK** You (...) for A **Traffic Signal** He Sla:m:med me into the Gro:un:d **AND E:VE:RYTHING**
FO: {mo}
C: Everything I Ho:pe you:all F//eel Go:od
O: [This officer saw everything//=

C: [And I:m so glad you put that]
 FO: =I saw everyth//ing
 C: [You just got on Sce:ne s//o Wh:ate:ver
 FO: [no I was:a (.) I w//as I saw what happened
 C: [No you wasn:t you we:re pu//lling over
 FO: [get:over:it]
 C: no you didn:t=
 FO: =no mam:e // I
 C: [You didn:t:t se:e everything // leading up to it
 FO: [You Kno:w what (.) I:m not ta:lking to yo:u
 C: You don:t have to:o You don:t have to:o

End of Excerpt

After the Trooper points his finger at Sandra she pleads with him, “you asked me what was wrong” and repeats herself, “I’m trying to tell you.” The Trooper moves beyond Sandra’s statements and initiates a pat down search, he begins to remove items from Sandra’s possession. The Trooper supports his use of coercive force by verbalizing to Sandra, “Do you have anything on your person that is illegal” followed by “I’m going remove your glasses.” The Trooper’s statements and actions are consistent with standardized processes for taking a civilian into police custody. However, the Trooper also increases the use of coercive force by increasing Sandra’s physical pain. Once again, she cries out for the Trooper to stop hurting her, “You’re about to break my wrist, can you stop!” As previously mentioned, metal handcuffs can become torqued against the wrist bones causing extreme discomfort and pain, causing a person move involuntarily; a response movement that is similar to that caused by smashing a finger or touching a hot stove.

The Trooper immediately ratchets up coercive force practices by taking Sandra to the ground while yelling verbal commands; “come here,” “stop moving,” “stop now,” and “stop it.” At this point in the PCE a cover unit from the Prairie View Police Department arrives on scene and moves into a position that physically and verbally supports her colleague. The presence of more police also magnifies the level of coercive force experienced by Sandra. In a softer tone of voice than the Trooper, the cover officer, speaking in African American Vernacular English, immediately says to Sandra, “ma’am, stop resisting ma’am.” Police are trained to use standardized language during interaction to describe civilian behavior in terms of resistance, which further supports the use of coercive force on civilians by establishing legal justification for the practice; “stop resisting” and “non-compliant” are common terms used in conjunction with coercive force practices.

Sandra, who is crying and gasping, calls the police “fucking pussies;” she also asserts her disbelief that everything is happening because of a “fucking traffic signal.” The cover officer retorts, “no, you are, you should not be fighting.” Sandra did not appear to be fighting or resisting arrest and the female cover officer’s assertion indicates a

commitment to maintaining police authority rather than maintaining the rule of law or protecting Sandra. The Trooper continues to engage Sandra with a loud and deliberate voice, “You are yanking around, and when you pull away from me, you’re resisting arrest!” The police are verbalizing and constructing a narrative to sustain the use of coercive force within the encounter and provide a framework that characterizes Sandra as an appropriate subject for the practice.

The police are perched on top of Sandra and pinning her to the ground with their combined body weight (see, Figure 10). The Trooper coordinates action with his cover officer, “keep her right here.” The cover officer responds, “I got her, go ahead, take care of yourself.” The police are working in tandem to be mindful of each other while controlling and dominating Sandra’s body; they are less interested in her wellbeing and more concerned about maintaining each other’s welfare.

The police disregard Sandra’s state of health in a profound manner. Sandra expresses, “you slammed me, knocked my head in the ground, I got epilepsy you mother-fucker!” The Trooper verbally responds, “good, good.” The cover officer contributes to the insensitive nature of the verbal responses to Sandra by adding an insult, “you should have thought about that before you started resisting.” The Trooper moves away from Sandra and his cover officer (see, Figure 11). As he does this, he recognizes a bystander in the area recording the PCE. The Trooper directs the civilian to leave the area, “you need to leave, you need to leave, you need to leave.” Police will direct bystanders to leave an area when circumstances call for it. For example, to limit the number of people that could interfere with law enforcement action.

The Trooper opens the rear door of a patrol vehicle in preparation to move Sandra from the ground and into a more confined space. Upon returning to retrieve Sandra, the Trooper states again, “You’re going to jail for resisting arrest.” Moreover, the Trooper attempts to strengthen the validity of his actions and says to Sandra, “This officer saw everything.” The cover officer echoes, “I saw everything.” Once more, Sandra attempts to challenge the validity and accuracy of the Trooper and officer’s statements, “You just got on scene.” The cover officer responds, “No, I was, I was, I saw what happened... get over it.” Although Sandra points to the fact the cover officer was not present for the entire encounter, the cover officer dismisses Sandra altogether by saying, “You know what, I’m not talking to you.”

In this PCE video, although Sandra is not overtly violent, the Trooper repeatedly escalates coercive force practices. Sandra does not demonstrate any attempt to attack or overpower the Trooper, however coercive force is used to compel Sandra’s arrest. The trajectory of this PCE provides an important observation about the initiation and escalation of coercive force. Primarily, civilians are not responsible for propelled escalation of coercive force practices during PCE. Police can, and will, escalate the use of coercive force unilaterally and independent from civilian provocation.

Sandra signals the fact that she is a female and questions whether her treatment is rooted in fear, “fucking scared of a female.” It is a way for Sandra to vocalize a disbelief in her treatment and calls attention to being manhandled by the Trooper. Her identity as a female does not persuade the Trooper from conducting a pat-down search or asking if Sandra has any weapons. Sandra is not wearing baggy clothing where she can easily conceal any weapons, and she says to the Trooper, “does it feel like I have anything on me, this is a maxi dress.” This also indicates the Trooper is moving his hands along parts of Sandra’s body that are covered by the dress.

At the point when Sandra is pinned on the ground by police, she again questions the use of coercive force to overpower her; “Does it make you feel good, real good, doing it to a female?” The power dynamic between police and civilians is disproportional and experienced differently during PCE by the participants. The use of coercive force practices by police does not happen as an isolated set of behaviors. Not only are the actions of the Trooper observed in the PCE video, but so are the actions of the cover officer who is also a black woman. The uniformity, and orientation of their combined efforts to compel Sandra’s arrest are indicative of standardized training.

The coercive force practices are laden with specific words and expectations that maintain an overarching attitude by police towards Sandra. The coordinated efforts to compel Sandra to arrest not only give shape to how she experiences coercive force, but also the justification for how coercive force is used; to punish in the form of domination. In this instance, police used tools of their craft and skill sets of their trade to carryout acts of violence that leveraged Sandra’s identity as an independent, well educated, black woman to propel the escalation of coercive force. Moreover, the police constructed a law enforcement narrative that held themselves harmless for escalation of coercive force by embroiling Sandra in conflict in order to justify coercive force practices; a process that forever disrupted Sandra’s ability to live in peace.

Chapter 5: Treble Hook *A Case of Denial*

A treble hook is a particular kind of fishing implement that has three prongs. The design of this hook increases the likelihood of snaring a fish because of its multiple points. This makes it more difficult for the fish to spit out the hook. Each tine is sharpened at the tip and can easily penetrate through the fish's mouth to give the Angler an advantage when fishing. Likewise, the PCE video analyzed in this chapter not only involves the compelled arrest of a mother and her two daughters, it also illuminates multiple components to the use of coercive force that is observed.

Fort Worth, Texas. The PCE video originates from a body-mounted camera affixed to a police officer. Subsequent to the encounter, the video was leaked to the press. In this digitized recording, the camera's lens is directed outward from the police officer's chest and memorializes interactions associated with a request for help. This type of request indicates a civilian's desire for police intervention from the outset and constitutes the second most prevalent reason for reported encounters with police. Requests for help from civilians are categorized separately in the national data from any law enforcement activity that is police initiated. Traffic stops are the primary purpose for encounters that are law enforcement initiated and are also categorized within the national data of law enforcement activity.

At the time of this encounter the population of Fort Worth was approximately 744,852 people; roughly 64% of the population was identified as white compared to 19% identified as African American, and a majority of the city's population was categorized as female (census.gov).¹¹ According to the US department of Justice, the Fort Worth Police Department employed approximately 1,700 police officers of which men totaled 83% and women comprised 17% of the officers; 75% of these officers were identified as white compared to 12% of officers who were identified as African American (bjs.gov).¹²

On Wednesday, December 21, 2016 an officer with the Fort Worth Police Department responded to investigate a disturbance in the neighborhood of Rock Garden Trail. According to news coverage of the encounter, police responded to a report that an adult neighbor assaulted a child, and the responding officer arrested several members of the child's family.¹³ The Fort Worth Police Department received multiple 911 calls reporting the incident and the ensuing confrontation between neighbors. The PCE video begins with an officer walking and making his approach to the location. There are several civilians present in the area at the time of the officer's arrival (see, Figure 12).

Figure 12



PCE Video Image [00:18]

The officer initiates his investigation by making contact with the group of females standing in the street and generally asks, “Where’s he at?” A woman standing closest to the officer raises her right arm and points in the direction of a man painting his fence, “He’s right there.” The officer walks up to the man and asks, “So what’s going on? The man briefly explains to the officer that he’s had a problem with the people standing in the area because there’s been a pattern of having trash thrown into his yard, “they won’t pick it up, and they’re making a fuss.” During his explanation the man states, “they decide to tell me I’m touching him.” The officer simply responds to the man “okay,” and then turns to the woman, “So what’s going on with you?”

Police are trained to solicit statements from people to determine whether criminal activity has occurred, and if so, then they are to take appropriate action to gather factual information or evidence of that crime. Although the man provided statements indicating he is somehow involved, and a person who possesses additional knowledge relative to whether a child was assaulted, the officer does not ask follow-up questions to clarify the man’s initial remarks. The officer, instead, shifts his focus away from the man and towards a woman who has come forward as the child’s mother.

The woman divulges to the officer that her son came home and told her the neighbor, “grabbed him and choked him.” The mother continues her explanation with how she asked the neighbor, “Why did you put your hands on my son?” In response, the neighbor told the mother that her son threw some paper on the ground and refused to pick it up. The woman went on to tell the officer how the neighbor directed her son to pick up the paper, but her son defied the neighbor and that’s why the man said he “did it.”

The women expressed to the officer that she is upset because the neighbor does not have a right to grab and choke her seven-year-old son. As the woman finishes explaining to the officer what she knows, the officer interjects an unrelated question into the interaction. This question from the officer introduces an immediate source of additional discord into the encounter.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

*[01:45]

AF1: =don't pu:t yo:u:r ha:nds on my so:n

JF1 looks at the camera, and JF3 looks back to her right before looking at the camera.

AF2 and AF1 are also focused towards the camera [01:47]*

*[01:47]

O: E:mh:m: (.) well why don't you teach your son not to litter.

*****End of Excerpt*****

The investigation becomes completely stalled because the officer failed to ask investigative questions to further the process of exploring details of a physical altercation that reportedly occurred between an unrelated adult and a child that may have jeopardized the child's safety and welfare. First, the neighbor gave statements that are corroborated by the child's mother. Second, the statements indicate a physical altercation had occurred. This redirection of the encounter by the officer's question creates an immediate roadblock to the inquiry.

The officer's lack of professionalism aside, he escalates the tension in the encounter by provoking confrontation with the child's mother, "well why don't you teach your son not to litter." The displayed absence of empathy or compassion from the officer is exacerbated by his use of inflammatory language that not only ignores the woman's concern for the protection of her child but also demeans her as a parent. Furthermore, the child is recast as a perpetrator of a crime instead of a victim of assault. The woman questions the officer's assertion and attempts to re-prioritize the encounter to focus on the harm caused to her child.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

AF1 stands upright, looks in a direction to the left side of the camera, and then looks at the camera as she lowers her chin with her mouth open [01:48]. AF2, that is watching and listening to the dialogue from a position behind AF1, reacts by opening her mouth with her eyebrows raised and then returns to her previous expression [01:49]*

*[01:49]

AF1: U:h: I didn't He cA:n't prove to me that my son litter:ed But It Doesn:t Matter if he DI:d or DI:dn:t=

JF3 turns her head to her left and then back to her right facing the camera [01:55]*

*[01:55]

AF1: =it doesn't give him the Right to put his Hands on hi:m

O: >why:not<

AF2, makes another facial expression similar to her previous response, her mouth opens

and her forehead is furrowed for roughly seven seconds. AF1 lowers her head towards the ground as she furrows her forehead before looking up at the camera [01:57]*
*[01:57]

AF1: Be: // cA:us:e He: DO:n:t

AF2: {gasp}

*****End of Excerpt*****

The officer's choice of words questions the validity of an assertion by the child's mother, provoking her to react with a visceral response; "it doesn't give him the right to put his hands on him [her son]." The woman is visibly upset. Her facial expressions change and the tone of her voice begins to elevate in intensity and become more emotionally charged with every word. The officer disregards the offense caused by his statement and dismisses the mother's claim that a neighbor has no right to physically touch her child; he responds to her with, "why not?" The decision by the officer to use these specific words are disturbing and upsetting to the woman.

The officer's question brings the woman's judgment into question regarding her objection to the legal rights of her juvenile son to be protected from assault by an unrelated adult in the neighborhood. The mother questions the officer about his characterization of events. The officer remains curt in his responses towards the woman and does not address her concerns. In fact, the officer defends the neighbor's actions by criminalizing her son.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

JF3 stands up straight raises her chin [01:58], and then looks to her left [01:59]*
*[01:59]

AF1: Wh:a:t Yo:u: Me:an:

JF1 looks to her left, and then turns immediately back towards the camera at the same time and in unison with JF3 [02:00]*

*[02:00]

O: h:m: (.) I:m ju:st ask:in:

AF1: Because It DON:t

O: h:m: (.) >h//e broke< th:e: la:w:

AF1: [It don:t

*****End of Excerpt*****

The officer's indifference towards the woman is palpable; his tone is snide, as he remarks, "I'm just asking." as though his previous remarks are harmless. The officer's justification and rationale that it is okay for a stranger to physically discipline the woman's son is couched in a criminalization of the child; "he broke the law." In this instance the officer asserts an act of littering by the child somehow excuses the neighbor's actions towards the boy. According to the rationale presented by the officer assaulting a child is a lesser offense than if the child actually littered, which he has yet to determine.

The woman reiterates again and again the responsibility for disciplining a child is the role of a parent, and not a stranger. She continues to stand up for her rights as a parent, the safety of her child, and voices her malcontent with the officer's statements. In the process of expressing her objections and disapproval towards the officer, the woman increases the emotion tone and volume of her voice. The verbal exchange between the officer and the woman is contentious. The woman is responding to the pointedness of the officer's words, and continues to explain herself. She attempts to disprove she is anything other than a good parent, and asserts that her child was wronged by the neighbor. In response, the officer threatens to arrest the woman.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

JF3 leans to her right as she turns her head to her left and mutters {in audible} before stepping back with her left leg and moving away from the camera [02:05]*

*[02:05]

AF1: =He:s No:t His PA:ren:t=

JF1 turns her head to her left and towards JF3 [02:06]*

*[02:06]

O: ={well}=

AF1: =He:s No:t His PA:ren:t=

O: =Ok=

JF1 and JF3 look back in the direction of the camera [02:07]*

*[02:07]

AF1: =B//cause he don't need to put his

O: [wh:y (.) wh:y (.) why are yo:u yel:l:in: at m:e

The civilian moves her left hand from behind her left hip and in front of her as she switches the cellphone she's holding from her left hand and into her right hand [02:09]*

*[02:09]

AF1: Because Why would you A:sk me u:h:=

JF3 raises the palm of her left hand upward, and then returns it to her left side as JF3 steps towards the camera with her right foot and moves closer while looking towards the ground [02:10]*

*[02:10]

AF1: =Why >don't I teach him< (.) YO:u DO:n:t knO:w WhA:t I teA:ch Hi:m=

O: =>n:okay<=

JF1 looks towards her left as AF1 raises her left hand and points in the direction of the camera with the index finger of her left hand extended [02:14]*

*[02:14]

AF1: = And You (radio beep} don:t Know {radio beep} Wha:tever YO:u TE:ach YO:ur Kids=

AF1 lowers her left hand along side her left leg [02:15]*

*[02:15]

AF1: =DOn:t MeA:n Th:E:y Go By You:re Rules=

JF1 turns her head towards the camera as JF3 looks up and in the direction of the camera and steps away with her right foot [02:17]*

*[02:17]

AF1: =When thE:re nO:t in yo:ur sI: //ght

O: [Why are you Yelling at Me=
AF1: =B//ecA:use Yo:u JU:st pI:ssed mE O:ff Te:lli:ng mE WhA:t I Tea:ch M:yKids
// and WhA:t I DO:n:t=
O: [if You teach] [If You teach]
O: =If You keep yelling at me your gonna piss me off and I'm going to take you to
jail=

*****End of Excerpt*****

The officer continues to rile the woman's attempts to draw attention to the treatment of her son by the neighbor by muttering "well" and "okay." These responses are dismissive of the woman's claims of injustice as though what she is saying makes little to no difference. The officer further places the woman at odds with him by personalizing the encounter, "why are you yelling at me?" To which she responds, "Because you just pissed me off... telling me what I teach my kids and what I don't."

The officer takes this opportunity to squarely place the woman in direct conflict with his authority as a law enforcement officer, "If you keep yelling at me, you're going to piss me off, and I'm going to take you to jail." The dismissive tone and choice of specific words are used to bait the woman into a visceral reaction. The officer authoritatively takes liberty with the use of jaded words to assert making police angry is sufficient cause for compelling an arrest.

A juvenile standing nearby senses the escalation of tension between her mother and the officer. She calmly moves into a position to distance her mother from the epicenter of this interaction (see, Figure 13). The juvenile makes an age appropriate attempt to deescalate the situation by diverting her mother's attention away from the officer.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

JF4 turns away from the officer and stands directly in-front of AF1 with her hands outstretched towards AF1's arms [02:28]*

*[02:28]

O: Ok

JF4: {mom}

((microphone static and yelling))

Figure 13.



PCE Video Image [02:28]

O: Ok

JF4: {mom}

((microphone static and yelling))

The officer's right hand enters the frame from bottom to top and hooks JF4's right shoulder. The officer pulls JF4's shoulder backward, JF3 then steps past JF1's outstretched arm as the officers hand circles up and over JF4's head towards AF1.[02:29]*

Figure 14.



PCE Video Image [02:29]

*[02:29]

O: yOu:re Un:de:r Ar:e:st

*****End of Excerpt*****

Without so much as a moment's notice and without provocation from any of the civilians, the officer escalates the use of coercive force; he does this physically and then verbally. He initiates coercive force practices by placing his hands on the juvenile and then her mother. The officer supports his actions with the use of authoritative language accompanied by a commanding tone in his voice, "You are under Arrest."

The officer grabs the juvenile's shoulder and pulls her backward as he reaches towards her mother. The officer takes hold of the woman's arm with both hands, which encircles the juvenile inside his arms (see, Figure 14). With her free arm, the woman blocks her other children from coming any closer to the now physical altercation; she tells her kids to "stop" so they stay at a safe distance away from the violence. The juvenile trapped between the officer and her mother struggles to break loose, eventually she is able to duck out from inside the officer's arms and move away.

The officer escalates coercive force practices when he draws a conducted energy weapon (CEW; commonly referred to as a TASER) and at the same time, shouts verbal commands at the women and her children (see, Figure 15). The officer asserts the civilians are resisting arrest and are going to jail. He continues to yell verbal commands at them. The conversational space is dominated solely by the officer's harsh tones and loud voice.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) holding a conducted energy weapon (CEW)[02:34]. The officer raises the CEW to the top of the frame. JF1 and JF2 are standing next to each other in the street, reaching towards each other. The officer then lowers his arm and points the CEW directly at JF4 as she turns to her left and moves behind AF3 [02:35]*

Figure 15.



PCE Video Image [02:35]

*[02:35]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

((Screams))

The officer retracts his right arm away from the juvenile and places his CEW in the middle of the civilians shoulder blades [02:36]*

*[02:36]

O: GET ON THE GRO:UND NO:W

The civilian sits onto her right hip and lays down on to her right side, while the officer's left hand is against her left shoulder and the CEW is against her back [02:37]. The officer releases the civilian with his left hand and continues to point the CEW towards the civilian who is now on the ground [02:38]. The officer places his CEW to the civilian's body just beneath her left elbow [02:38]. The officer takes hold of the civilians left forearm with his left hand and moves the CEW against the civilian's left elbow [02:38]. The officer pushed the CEW against the backside of the civilian's left elbow, as the civilian turns towards her stomach the officer moves the CEW away from the civilian's elbow and places it to the civilian's upper back [02:39]*

Figure 16.



PCE Video Image [02:39]

*[02:39]

O: YOU WILL RESIST ARREST (.) YOU'RE GOING TO JAIL.

The officer drives the CEW into the civilians back [02:40]. AF3 is moving towards the right of the camera, and JF3 is standing in front of AF1 [02:41]*

*[02:41]

AF3: {You On Live}

AF1 is looking up and to her right as the officer raises his right hand holding the CEW [02:42], and points it at a JF4, who is standing behind JF3 [02:43]*

*[02:43]

O: YOU (.) GET ON THE GROUD NOW

JF3 steps back with her right foot to slowly move away from the officer [02:44]. *

*[02:44]

O: O:N THE GRO:UND NOW

*****End of Excerpt*****

As the officer pursues making an arrest of the woman, he escalates coercive force practice to the use of weaponry and now, introduction of the tactic of pain compliance. First, he points his weapon at the juvenile, and orders her to get on the ground in a loud, aggressive voice; “Get on the ground now!”. Police are trained to use verbal commands in this manner to control civilian movements; they are also trained to use a show of heightened levels of coercive force with weapons to compel civilian behavior in the presence of civilian resistance. In this instance, although there is no evidence of resistance, the officer uses both verbal and physical tactics to assert his dominance and authority, “You resist arrest, and you’re going to jail.”

Language used to categorize the civilian's behavior as resistive is essential to establishing the legality of the officer's actions according to a law enforcement narrative that holds civilians responsible for police escalation of coercive force. The officer constructs this narrative as he yells "get on the ground now," while simultaneously driving the weapon into the back of the woman as he forces her downward (see, Figure 16). Police are trained to move people onto the ground to limit mobility of a person, which, in turn, enables the officer to obtain a physical position of advantage over the woman in this PCE

At this point in the encounter the officer has escalated his use of coercive force with language, physicality, and weaponry to accomplish his task to compel an arrest. He does this by establishing verbal and physical dominance over the woman and her children. After handcuffing the woman, the officer turns his attention to one of her children. The officer issues a brief verbal command to the girl and she begins to speak. Before the girl can finish speaking the officer interrupts her, and shouts another verbal command at the girl. The girl is confused and tries to ask what is happening. The officer does not respond to the girl's question and escalates coercive force toward the juvenile to move her into a handcuffing position on the ground.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer walks towards the AF3 who steps back with her right foot. JF4 is behind AF3 and backing away from the camera as she crouches down reaching for the ground with her left hand outstretched [03:01]*

*[03:01]

O: Come here

JF4 squats all the way down towards the ground and sits with her left palm flat on the ground [03:02]*

*[03:02]

JF4: I didn't k//now that

O: [GE:T O:N TH:E GRO:UN:D]

The officer take hold of JF4's left forearm with his left hand and places his right hand behind her left shoulder [03:03]*

*[03:03]

JF4: what are you (.) what

The officer pulls JF4's left arm away from her body as he moves his right hand to the back of her neck[03:04]*

Figure 17.



PCE Video Image [03:04]

*[03:04]

O: Anybody Else That Interferes (.) You're Going To Jail Too

*****End of Excerpt*****

Once the officer has successfully placed the mother into handcuffs, he shifts his focus towards her daughter. He uses an aggressive tone of voice and shouts verbal commands at the girl, “Get on the ground!” The girl, who is already crouching and cowering away from the officer, sits down on the ground. The officer further escalates coercive force by physically manipulating the juvenile’s body with control holds. This happens very quickly and before the girl’s capacity to comprehend what is happening to her and her mother. The officer takes hold of the girl’s body by the arm and the neck to increase his mechanical advantage over the girl’s center of gravity and rotates her downward towards the asphalt (see, Figure 17). Police are trained in the use of biomechanical manipulation and pain compliance techniques to compel arrests.

The use of these techniques not only control movements, but also physically compels civilians into positions that are advantageous for the officer to apply handcuffs. The officer reinforces his authority and physical domination over the mother and daughter by threatening bystanders, “anybody else that interferes, you’re going to jail too!” Once again, the officer’s use of this language categorizes all objections or challenges to his actions by civilians as interference (resistance) with his law enforcement mission to make an arrest of this woman and girl. Along these lines, any perceived opposition to the officer’s authority by anyone else will result in immediate apprehension and incarceration. The words also indicate a willingness by the officer to achieve those means through escalation of coercive force.

The officer escorts the woman and her daughter away from the neighbor. He uses the conversational space to re-affirm the reason for making arrests. The girl begins to speak to the officer and explain herself, but she is interrupted by the officer, who does not respond to what the girls is trying to convey, but, rather, recasts the girl's description of events as interference. The officer, through his words and escalation of coercive force practices assigned synonymy to interference and resistance (opposition).

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer turns to his left away from the vehicle in the roadway, up on the curb-line [03:49], and towards his patrol vehicle that enters the frame (top to bottom)[03:53]* [03:53]

O: Yo:u Are Under Arre:st For an Out:sta:nding War:ra:nt
(2 seconds)

O: Yo:u are un:der ar:rest for interfering
AF2 is standing on the sidewalk next to the patrol vehicle, when she turns to her right and steps out into the street as the officer move towards the curb-line [03:57]*
*[03:57]

JF4: I was trying to back my momma off // what are you saying

O: [Y:ea:h]

JF4: I // was try:ing to pu:sh he:r away from yo:u (.)

O: [Its called interfering]

JF4: I di:dn:t Tr:u:st Y:o:u

*****End of Excerpt*****

After placing the woman and her daughter in handcuffs the officer escorts them to his patrol vehicle. In the process of moving the civilians the officer makes statements to them that are alarming. The officer, in the first instance, says to the woman “you are under arrest for an outstanding warrant.” This statement contradicts his earlier assertions that the woman will be taken to jail for “pissing me off” when she loudly protests his criminalization of her son and the officer's questioning of her mothering capabilities. A display by the woman that was initially provoked by the officer's delay to completely investigate the neighbor's actions towards her son. If the officer's intentions were to arrest the woman for an outstanding warrant, then degrading the woman and delaying an investigation had little purpose other than to create hostility and thereby establish the conditions for an escalation of coercive force.

The officer, in the second instance, tells the girl: “You are under arrest for interference.” The girl knew her mother was upset. The girl says her actions were an attempt to “back my momma off.” This is followed by, “what are you saying.” The girl does not understand the reasoning for her arrest. The officer is dismissive of the girl's words and simply responds, “yeah.”

The girls says to the officer, “I was trying to push her away from you.” The officer defines for the girl, according to his law enforcement understanding, her intentions and actions are called “interfering.” The girl responds intuitively and vocalizes explicitly, “I didn’t trust you.” Again, interference is used to prescribe a valid reason for compelling the girl to an arrest.

As the officer reaches the patrol vehicle with his arrestees, another juvenile approaches. The officer launches verbal commands at the second girl. He assures her that if she does not move away, then he will take her to jail. The girl does not move and stands looking at the officer. Without hesitation, the officer escalates coercive force towards the girl (see, Figure 18).

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer walks with AF1 and JF4 towards the front of his patrol vehicle [04:00]. JF3 walks from behind the rear of the patrol vehicle, holding a cell phone in her right hand, and stands next to the driver side rear tire facing the camera [04:04]*

*[04:04]

O: GET BACK Or: You're Going to Jail To: o(.)
(1 second)

JF3: [I don't care

The officer extends his right hand, and pushes JF3 backwards with the web of his hand against her neckline [04:06]*

Figure 18.



PCE Video Image [04:06]

*[04:06]

O: GET BACK

*****End of Excerpt*****

As the mother and her teenage daughter are led away by the officer, another juvenile appears in the frame and places herself at the rear of the patrol vehicle. The child is met with an escalation of coercive force. The officer engages her with a threatening verbal command; he directs her in a loud voice, "Get back or you're going to jail too!" The girl says, "I don't care." The officer immediately escalates coercive force and transitions to physical contact with the child. The officer uses an openhanded technique to shove the juvenile backwards. The mother tells her daughter to move. The officer further escalates his coercive force practice by removing his CEW from the holster (again) in preparation for its use on the girl. The girl is backed away by an older sibling, and told again by her mother to go into the house.

The officer holsters his weapon and proceeds with placing the mother and her teenage daughter in his patrol vehicle. In addition to the persistent escalation of coercive force by the officer, there is also a level of indifference towards what the civilians are experiencing. The teenage daughter tells the officer, "this is hurting my arm" in reference to the handcuffs. She appeals to the officer "I'm fifteen years old." The officer obdurately responds to the girl, "Yeah." Police are trained in the application of handcuffs, and part of that process is a visual and physical inspection of the handcuffs for proper fit, because serious injury to the wrists can occur from handcuffing. Unfortunately, the officer in this encounter makes no attempt to evaluate the girl's handcuffs prior to placing her in the back of his patrol vehicle.

The officer uses short phrases to direct the girl into the rear of his patrol vehicle. He pushes the girl towards the vehicle's open door. The girl is uncertain how to enter the vehicle, but that does not concern the officer or meet his expectation for the girl to get in on her own. The officer elevates the tone and intensity of his verbal commands towards the girl. Once the girl moves further inside the vehicle, and before she can fully assume a seated position, the officer again escalates coercive force.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer opens the driver side door of the patrol vehicle [04:22]. The officer reaches with his right hand towards the instrument panel on the driver's door[04:23]. The officer removes his right hand from the instrument panel and places it on the outside of the door, and closes the door [04:25]. The officer turns to his right and opens the driver side passenger door [04:26]*

*[04:26]

O: Get in the ca:r

The officer points towards the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle with his right hand extended and holding keys[04:28]*

*[04:28]

JF4: oh that:s I:t (.) fuck it

O: Get in the Ca:r

JF4 is standing in front of the open door and facing away from the camera [04:29]. JF4 moves towards the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle, and the officer uses the knuckles of his right hand to push JF4 against the backside of her right shoulder [04:30]*

Figure 19.



PCE Video Image [04:30]

*[04:30]

O: Yo:u All Sta:rted Thi:s

JF4 turns to her left and looks over her left shoulder towards the camera [04:31]*

*[04:31]

JF4: I didn:t start no:thing // I wa:s {unintelligible}

JF4 continues turning to her left and faces the camera as she sits down on the rear passenger seat [04:32]*

*[04:32]

O: [Ge:t I:n No:w]

JF4 wiggles backwards on the seat as AF3 enters the frame (left to right) [04:33]*

*[04:33]

O: Ge:t In

JF4 raises her right leg and moves it into the patrol vehicle as she turns to her right [04:34]*

*[04:34]

JF4: how do I Ge:t In He:re {unintelligible}

JF4 looks further to her right, and then back towards the camera as she begins to pick her left leg off the and towards the interior of the vehicle [04:36]*

*[04:36]

O: GE:T IN TH:E: CA:R

The officer raises his right foot and kicks JF4 to the upper part of her left leg and closes the door of the patrol vehicle with his right hand [04:38]*

Figure 20.



PCE Video Image [04:38]

*[04:38]

O: Get In The Car

JF4: {screaming unintelligible}

The camera pans to the left as the officer turns towards AF3 [04:39]. The officer opens the driver side door of the patrol vehicle [04:40]. As the officer reaches inside the vehicle, JF3 enters the frame (bottom to top) walking away from the camera [04:41]. AF3 moves to her right as the officer closes the driver side door [04:43]. AF3 begins jumping up and down in the street as the officer's right hand enters and then exits the frame (bottom to top) [04:44]*

*[04:44]

AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g

O: Oka:y Me To:o

AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g

*****End of Excerpt*****

At this juncture in the PCE, the officer is preparing to place his arrestees in a patrol vehicle for transportation to jail. In addition to giving stern verbal direction for the girl in his custody to “get in the car,” the officer points towards the back seat to reinforce what he wants her to do next. However, he also decides to push her from behind (see, Figure 19) and say, “You all started this.”

The statement demonstrates an attempt on the officer's part to shift the onus for his escalation of coercive force during the interaction onto the mother and her daughter. Furthermore, the action initiated by the officer not only adds to the tension of the encounter, it also delays the girl's entry into the vehicle. The girl turns to the officer and says, "I didn't start nothing." The officer interrupts the girl, and gives another verbal command for her to "get in the car."

Often times, police will have to assist civilians with instruction and guidance when they assume a seated position inside a patrol vehicle, especially when they are handcuffed. This is due to a loss of mobility caused by physical restraint and unfamiliarity with entering a confined space without the use of arms for balance. In this situation the girl makes an effort to enter the patrol vehicle on her own and asks the officer, "how do I get in here." However, the officer does not offer either verbal or physical assistance; he increases the volume and elevates the tone of his voice, repeating his command to the girl, "Get in the car!" As the girl enters the patrol vehicle, she is not moving at a speed that meets the officer's expectations. The officer kicks at the girl's leg with his boot, thus shoving her into the back seat (see, Figure 20).

At this point in the PCE, the escalation of coercive force by the officer only serves to infuriate the girl and her family members. There was no resistance exhibited by the girl; yet the escalation of coercive force happened time after time anyway. The girl's older sibling yells at the officer that she has everything captured on recording. The officer retorts, "okay, me too." The officer proceeds to finish securing the woman and her daughter in the rear of his patrol vehicle. He then turns his attention to another family member incensed by the treatment of her mother and sisters.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer turns in the direction of AF3 and walks towards her as she backs away into the front yard, when the officer's hand enters the frame (bottom to top) and takes a hold of AF3's right wrist [05:10]*

Figure 21.



PCE Video Image [05:10]

*[05:10]

O: Okay your: going to Jail to:o

The officer circles to his left as he steps behind AF3 as JF3 enters the frame (right to left) and holding a cellphone in her right hand [05:11]*

*[05:11]

AF3: I don:t give a fu:ck=

O: =Fo:r interfering

*****End of Excerpt*****

A young woman who witnessed the coercive force practices used on her mother and sisters by police, is irate, cussing, and screaming at the officer. She is actively recording everything taking place with her hand-held device. Once the officer secures two of her family members in the rear compartment of his patrol vehicle, he retrieves an additional set of handcuffs from his duty bag. The officer moves into a position to make another compelled arrest of the young lady by means of coercive force (see, Figure 21). The officer takes physical custody of the young lady and places her into handcuffs.

Again, the officer's use of language clearly and deliberately constructs a law enforcement narrative to support his escalation of coercive force, "Okay, you're going to jail too... for interfering." As the officer removes a cellphone from the young lady's possession, concurrent to her arrest, the young lady pleads for bystanders to continue recording the encounter. The officer responds to the bystanders in a sarcastic and antagonistic fashion about being recorded: "Me too, except mine's in HD." This adds to the tension of the interaction and raises even more conflict. The young lady expresses her disbelief in the validity of recordings made by police equipment.

The officer engages the young lady with repeated questions concerning her age. The young lady responds with statements about seeing the officer kick her sister. These responses do not meet the officer's expectations and he further escalates the use of coercive force. As another police vehicle arrives on scene, the officer pulls the young lady towards the oncoming vehicle. The officer continues to give verbal commands to the young lady that are short and direct. The officer opens the rear compartment of the second police vehicle and shouts at the young lady to get in the car.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The officer removes his left hand from the handcuffs, steps behind AF3, and moves her closer to his patrol vehicle [06:25]. The officer turns his head to the right, looks at AF3, and raises his left hand towards his body camera [06:26]*

*[06:26]

O: See thI:s rI:ght He:re // Thi:s a Ca:me:ra To:o=

AF3: [Yo:u O:n Li:ve] (.) =Yo:U O:n LI:ve:

The officer lowers his left hand away from his body camera [06:29]*

*[06:29]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

The officer looks away from AF3 [06:31]*

*[06:31]

AF3: Yo:U O:n LI:ve:

The officer raises his left hand, adjusts his sunglasses, and lowers his left hand [06:32]*

*[06:32]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

JF3 enters the frame (left to right) walking along the sidewalk [06:33] on the opposite side of the patrol vehicle from where the officer and AF3 are standing [06:33]. She looks back over her right shoulder [06:35]*

*[06:35]

AF2: Oh: Do:n:t Wo:rry: Hi:s Serg:ea:nt Is O:n Hi:s Wa:y(.)

O: Ye//aH

AF3: [I KnO:w (.) I AlreA:dy KnO:w (.) PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

AF3 looks back over her left shoulder towards the officer [06:43]*

*[06:43]

AF3: Th:E:y Bu:i:lt For Yo:U:

The officer turns towards AF3 and adjusts his grip on the hand cuffs [06:44]*

*[06:44]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

(1 second)

AF3: A:N:d I: A:iN:t WO:r:R:ied (.) I: A:iN:t WO:r//:R:ied

O: [Ho:w old A:re you

AF3: A:N:d I: GO:t Y:O:u KiCk H:e:r=

O: =Ho:w Old A:re you(.)=

AF3: I: SA:w Y:O:u KiCk H:e:r=

O: =Ho:w O//ld A:re you(.)=

AF3: [I G:ot Yo:u O:n Liv:ve] =// KiCk H:e:r=

O: [okay:] =How o:ld a:re yo:u

AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve// Kick:ing He:r

O: [What:s Yo:ur Na:me]

AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve Kick:ing He:r

The officer turns his head and looks at AF3 [06:57]*

*[06:57]

O: Wha:t:s Yo:ur Na:me

The officer places his left hand on AF3's forearm, lifts the handcuffs by the chain, rotates his grip up ward and pushes AF3's hands above her head [06:58]*

Figure 22.



PCE Video Image [06:58]

*[06:58]

AF3: I ha:ve yo:u on live kicki:ng he:r

The officer steps closer to AF3, and slides his left hand beneath AF3's left shoulder [06:59]*

*[06:59]

O: WhA:T I:s YoU:r N:a:M:e:

AF3: I have you on live kicking her

O: Yo:ur You wa:nt to te:ll me Yo:ur na:me Wha:t yo:ur Na:me is

The camera pans back and the officer's left hand enters the frame (left to right) [07:04]*

*[07:04]

AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up

O: O:ka:y Go:od

The officer's left hand is closed and the knuckles are driving into AF3's left armpit [07:05]*

Figure 23.



PCE Video Image [07:05]

*[07:05]

AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up

The officer moves his left hand away from AF3's armpit and grabs AF3's left elbow [07:06]*

*[07:06]

O: Ge:t O:ver He:re

The officer transitions his right hand way from the handcuffs and lowers AF3's arms [07:07]*

*[07:07]

AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve

The officer transitions his right hand to AF3's left wrist, releases his left hand from her arm, and begins escorting her away from his patrol vehicle [07:08]*

*[07:08]

AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve

The officer walks towards the center of the roadway with AF3 as another police vehicle with its light activated enters the frame (top to bottom)[07:09]*

*[07:09]

AF3: I Go:t Ev:er:ey Thing On Li:ve (.) O:n M:y Mo:m:ma:

(1 second)

AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve

The patrol vehicle comes to a stop [07:13] The officer's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) holding AF3's left wrist[07:14]*

*[07:14]

O: Ge:t I:n The:re

AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve

The officer opens the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle with his left hand [07:15]*

*[07:15]

O: G:E:t I:n TH:e:R

The officer turns to his left and pulls AF3 towards the vehicle as he finished opening the door [07:16]*

*[07:16]

AF3: Eve:ry Thi:ng Is On Li:ve

AF3 turns and enters the open door as the cover officer exits his patrol vehicle[07:17]*

Figure 24.



PCE Video Image [07:17]

*[07:17]

O: GE:T I:N TH:E CA:R

*****End of Excerpt*****

The prevalence of hand-held devices making third party recordings of this encounter do not deter this officer from escalating his use of coercive force. In fact, he makes use of the camera's existence to bolster his actions, "you see this right here; this is a camera too." The erosion of trust between police and civilians is apparent throughout this PCE. The conversational space is overrun with concerns of injustice. In question is the believability of whether video recordings made by police will accurately show what has happened. The young woman arrested by the officer expresses this sentiment, "police cameras aren't real...they're built for you." In other words, the fact that this officer is wearing a body camera provides little assurance to the young woman that she will be treated justly or the officer will be held to answer for his actions.

The young woman's statements are supported by the reality a camera does not prevent or stop the escalation of coercive force by law enforcement towards her mother or sister. The tension within and surrounding the interaction between the officer and the family severely limits the officer's ability to finalize his arrest of the young lady. Police are trained to ask questions to establish the identity of arrested persons. The officer attempts to identify the name and age of the young lady in his custody, but she is emotionally distraught and fixated on voicing her disagreement with unfolding events. The young lady repeats over and over, "I have you on live, kicking her." The contention between the officer and the young lady has destroyed effective communication between the two of them.

The officer, failing to get a satisfactory answer to his procedural questions, again escalates the use of coercive force beyond standard training and professional practice. He uses the handcuffs to inflict pain by hyper extending the young woman's arms behind her back with one hand (see, Figure 22) and pressing into her armpit with the other hand (see, Figure 23). At the same time, he repeats his initial line of questioning accompanied by an raised tone and with heightened emphasis, "What I:s YoU:r N:a:M:e:." The officer holds the young lady in this position until she responds; "there goes your backup." The officer relaxes the young lady's arms and pulls her towards an oncoming patrol vehicle.

The officer escorts the young lady to the responding patrol vehicle and ushers her into the rear passenger seat (see, Figure 24). As the young lady attempts to enter the rear compartment of the patrol vehicle, and assume a seated position in the back seat, the officer escalates his use of verbal commands and yells, "Get in the car!" After the door closes, the primary officer turns towards his partner and asks, "can you ID her?" The cover officer takes over responsibility for obtaining the young lady's personal information. The interaction continues to deescalate from this point forward, and police eventually transport the three civilians away from the incident location.

This PCE, initiated by a civilian call to "keep the peace," expands to the woman's arrest as well as to ensnare the older sibling of the seven-year-old boy about whom there was a question of an assault by man in the neighborhood. The officer almost immediately directs his attention away from investigation and towards a family who called for assistance. This PCE concluded with multiple compelled arrests through the escalation of coercive force. The officer also states that his reason for arresting the two young women was due to "interference" with the officer's law enforcement duties.

The PCE video indicates police, similar to the case of Sandra Bland, initiate a course of antagonistic dialogue ahead of coercive force that place these civilians into conflict with police authority by provoking emotional responses that are subsequently criminalized. It is also clear police use a combination of talk and touch indicative of coercive force practices to compel these black women (and girl) to arrest; they are severely punished by police. Just like the traffic stop conducted by the Texas State Trooper in the case of Sandra Bland, the Fort Worth police officer attempts to distance himself from personal culpability for the escalation of coercive force by shifting onus for law enforcement oriented policing upon civilians.

Police are not only conditioned in body and mind to be aggressive with coercive force practices, they are taught how to use pain compliance and weaponry to compel arrests at will. Although these civilians attempted to use their voices to express frustration, and to disapprove of their social relegation, they were met with brutal treatment by police; these women tried in earnest to advocate for themselves. These civilians were unable to shield themselves from coercive force. Their powerlessness only served to increase the trauma of their experience with law enforcement, because police not only subdue their autonomy but also subjugated their bodies.

Building upon findings from the previous chapter, we are able to observe more characteristics of anti-black policing come to light. First, there is a denial of the mother's right to be a mother and protect her children from harm. The woman is unable to advocate for her children's wellbeing and safety; she is cast by police as an unfit parent who is incapable of raising her children. Second, the woman's children are denied the right to be children. Her son is cast as a law breaker, a criminal, and as such he is deemed to be suitable for punishment by the neighbor. Furthermore, her daughter is subjected to criminalization and the adultification of her childhood by means of coercive force practices; when her older sister comes to her defense, she too is forced into handcuffs. In the next chapter, the dissertation will present a counter example to the propelled escalation of coercive force by police to give a measure of contrast to the present observations.

CHAPTER 6: No Bait Needed

A Case of Restraint

Sometimes fish are jumping out the water and snapping up anything they can swallow. The wild excitement stirs up the waters. Anglers looking to catch a fish do not have time to pick a spot, arrange equipment, and bate the hook before casting. All that is required of the Angler when fish are on the bite are the means to put a hook in the water. In the same way, the PCE video observed in this chapter presents a PCE that is chaotic and rapidly unfolding ahead of police arrival on scene. In the pages that follow, the research will examine coercive force practices in addition to civilian provoked hostility during an interaction with police.

Mountain House, California. In October of 2017, a local news agency covered a PCE involving a San Joaquin County Deputy Sheriff and a 22-year-old male.¹⁴ According to witnesses, the civilian was acting and driving erratically in the parking lot of a Costco distribution center near Tracy, California. This prompted a security guard to call the police for assistance. An eyewitness to the event uploaded a PCE video to YouTube that captured a two-minute audio and video recording of the interaction. The PCE video originated from a cellphone and the camera's lens is facing outward.

The sunset can be seen in the background and it appears to be dusk. Streetlights are on in the distance. An unoccupied vehicle is parked alongside a curb and facing in the direction of the camera. Several car lengths behind sits a patrol vehicle with its headlights shining. The civilian and deputy are standing next to each other in the space between the two vehicles. The civilian is wearing shorts and a sleeveless shirt. The deputy is wearing a patrol uniform with long sleeves. The civilian is standing closest to the camera and looking in the opposite direction from the camera; he is facing the deputy who is located just beyond, and the deputy is facing the camera. The PCE video begins with the civilian walking away from the deputy.

The deputy has a conducted energy weapon (CEW) out of the holster and uses both hands to point it at the civilian. The CEW light aperture is activated and shining towards the civilian and camera. The deputy is giving verbal commands, "Get on the fucking ground, now!" The civilian steps up and onto the curb and turns towards the camera. The deputy steps up and onto the curb in close proximity to the civilian (see, Figure 25). At this point, the deputy is exercising coercive force practices to compel the civilian's arrest. Not only is the deputy displaying a weapon, but he is also giving verbal commands in an attempt to gain control over the civilian's movements.

Figure 25.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:02]

The civilian looks over his right shoulder and slightly turns his body in the same direction as he begins to jump and skip away from the deputy. The civilian completes his turning motion and comes to rest in a position facing the deputy. The display of a weapon and use of verbal commands by the deputy continues. The deputy's voice is elevated in tone and his body movement is tense.

The civilian responds to the deputy in a daring manner. At first the civilian acknowledges the deputy's verbal commands by moving into a position on the ground (see, Figure 26). The civilian taunts the deputy to make an arrest. The civilian says to the deputy, "Come cuff me, hurry, come cuff me." The deputy moves closer to the civilian and maintains a distance that is consistent with police training. This distance enables the deputy to recognize and react to the civilian's actions.

Once the civilian is on the ground, the deputy changes his use of language from a general expectation to a more specific use of verbal commands. Police will use these specific commands to direct civilians in a way that facilitates handcuffing. The deputy initially stammers during this period of transition relative to the civilian's body position on the ground. At first the deputy directs the civilian to move his feet, and then directs the civilian to move his hands. The use of verbal commands towards the civilian are made under continuous threat of a weapon.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

*[0:03]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

C: {I:ll show you}

The civilian lowers his arms and moves to his right[0:04]*

[0:04]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian side steps to his right and the deputy mirrors the civilian's movement by side stepping to his left[0:05]*

[0:05]*

O: Get On the FUcking< GrOUnd Now!

The civilian moves his right hand towards the camera, then turns sideways before slightly extending his arms, and reaches toward the ground[0:06]. The deputy continues to move to his left as the civilian squats down into a kneeling position on the ground[0:07]*

*[0:07]

O: g/Ge:t o/O:n the GrOUnd

The civilian places both hands on the ground while kneeling and starts to move towards placing his belly on the ground[0:08]*

*[0:08]

C: {come cuff me}

The deputy continues to move to his left around the civilian[0:09]*

*[0:09]

C: {hurry}=

The deputy shuffles back and forth and leans side to side [0:10]*

*[0:10]

O: =Put Your Feet/(.)=

The civilian is flat on the ground with his legs outstretched[0:11]*

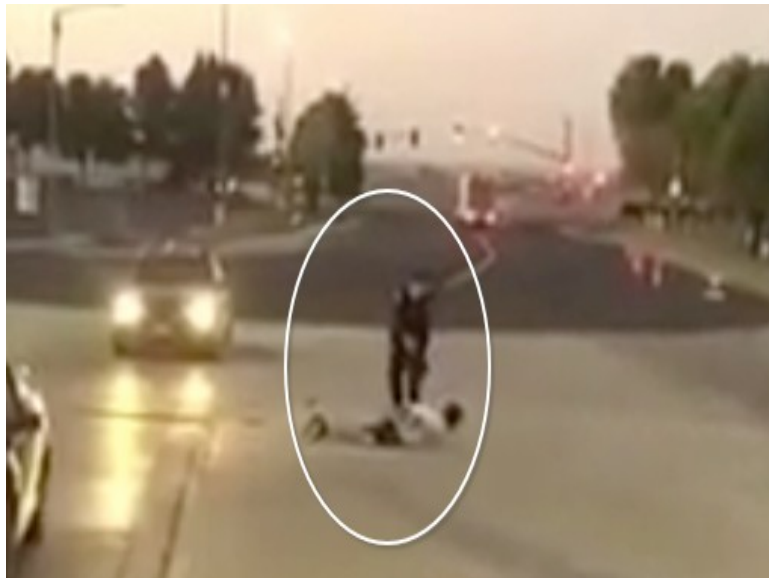
[0:11]

C: ={Come cuff me}=

O: =Put Your Hands/(.) Put Your Hands on Your Back/(.)=

The civilian momentarily places both hands to the small of his back and the officer moves back to his right[0:12]*

Figure 26.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:12]

*[0:12]

O: =Now↑

*****End of Excerpt*****

Even though the civilian briefly meets the deputy's expectation and gets on the ground, the civilian does not maintain this position for long. The deputy keeps yelling verbal commands that are ignored by the civilian. The deputy does not advance towards the civilian in an effort to keep his distance. The spacing between the deputy and civilian gives the deputy the ability to assess how the civilian is moving relative to verbal direction.

Police are trained to use the space as a buffer to create time for transitioning to other tools or implements that are needed to take a person into custody. For example, holstering a weapon so hands are free to apply handcuffs to the civilian's wrists. In this instance the civilian moves before the deputy can transition away from his CEW. The civilian is undeterred by the deputy's verbal commands or the display of a CEW. The civilian does not submit to arrest or show deference towards the deputy.

Although the deputy maintains a continuous show of force, by keeping his CEW pointed at the civilian, the deputy restrains an escalation of coercive force to control the civilian's movements. The deputy is in the process of compelling the civilian to arrest, even though he has not achieved his objective. Before the deputy can move close enough to handcuff the civilian or transition to a restraint of the civilian's hands, the civilian jumps to his feet and moves away from the deputy (see, Figure 27).

Start of Excerpt

The deputy moves towards the civilian, as he does this, the civilian slaps his palms on the ground[0:13]*

*[0:13]

C: ((Slapping Sound))

The civilian jumps to his feet[0:14]*

*[0:14]

C: ((Scuffing Sound))

The deputy steps back from the civilian[0:15]*

*[0:15]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

The civilian turns to his right and begins to walk away from the deputy while looking over his left shoulder[0:16]*

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian stops and turns to face the deputy. The civilian's arms are raised at chest level and his body is offset with his right foot back [0:17]*

*[0:17]

C: {unintelligible}

The deputy moves to his left and steps away as the civilian leans in the deputy's direction[0:18]*

Figure 27.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:18]

*[0:18]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian relaxes his arms and begins motioning at the deputy with his left hand[0:19]*

*****End of Excerpt*****

As the civilian regains a standing position, the deputy creates distance from the civilian by moving away. In rote fashion, according to police training, the deputy continues giving verbal commands to the civilian that remain consistent in tone and verse. The deputy yells repeatedly for the civilian to, “Get on the ground!” The civilian ignores the deputy and proceeds to move freely. The civilian says to the deputy, “you have no heart.” The civilian moves away from the deputy and turns to leave. Again, the deputy restrains the escalation of coercive force and allows the civilian to move about uncontrolled.

At this point in the encounter the civilian is moving in a manner contrary to the deputy’s expectations that the civilian submit to arrest. The deputy positions himself in a defensive posture. Police are trained to hold their positioning so that they can maintain control of their weaponry and adjust to sudden attacks. The deputy’s weapon is extended with both hands and pointed at the civilian (see, Figure 28). The deputy does not act on his threat to escalate coercive force. Instead the deputy continues to repeat his expectations to the civilian with verbal commands.

The deputy is locked in a series of verbal commands that repeat with emphasis, “get on the ground, get on the ground now!” This is consistent with how police issue verbal commands. The civilian moves closer to his car and away from the deputy. The deputy mirrors the civilian’s movements from an offset position. This position gives the

deputy an ability to change direction with ease should the civilian unexpectedly move or advance in a threatening manner. The civilian's refusal to follow the deputy's commands prompts a witness to verbally engage with the civilian; she affirms: "Dude, get on the ground." The civilian continues moving towards his car, and momentarily pauses to look towards the camera.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The civilian relaxes his arms and begins motioning at the deputy with his left hand[0:19]*
*[0:19]

C: YOU HAVE (...)=

The civilian lowers his arms to his sides and steps to his right[0:20]*

*[0:20]

C: =No {Heart}/=

The deputy move to his left and takes several deliberate steps to back away while keeping the CEW trained on the civilian[0:21]*

*[0:21]

C = {unintelligible} //

Two bystanders enter the camera's frame (right to left), they are standing in the distance, and to the right of the deputy[0:22]*

Figure 28.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:22]

*[0:22]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian moves away from the deputy and turns to walk towards his car[0:23]. The civilian looks over his left shoulder at the deputy and continues moving towards his car[0:24]*

*[0:24]

O: Get On the GrOUnd Now!

The deputy moves to his left and closer to the camera. The civilian turns back towards the deputy and raises his hands[0:25]*

*[0:25]

C: {I'm leaving}

The civilian motions with the palms of his hands towards the deputy[0:26]*
*[0:26]

W1: Du:de ge:t o:n the gro:und

The civilian keeps moving sideways towards his car and the deputy continues to follow[0:27]*

*****End of Excerpt*****

The civilian is undeterred despite the deputy's repeated commands and a CEW pointed in his direction. After challenging the deputy's willingness, and to a lesser extent the deputy's ability to make an arrest, the civilian walks towards his car. The civilian says to the deputy, "I'm leaving." When he does this, the civilian moves sideways for a series of steps and looks back over his shoulder at the deputy. The civilian's use of language, body movements and hand gestures toward the deputy indicate he expects to leave without being arrested, and at the same time, the civilian is careful to acknowledging the threat posed by the deputy.

A witness, speaking in African American Vernacular English, recognizes how the PCE is unfolding and echoes the deputy's words by making an appeal to the civilian: "Dude, get on the ground." The woman's statement indicates she is aware of the civilian's refusal to follow the deputy's orders. It also shows that the deputy's level of escalation is not effectively controlling the civilian's movements. The deputy repeats, "Get on the ground!" The civilian then proceeds to walk towards his car and states as much to the deputy, "listen, I'm leaving; watch I'm going to leave." The deputy continues to yell, "Get on the ground!" Although the deputy is pointing his CEW at the civilian, and there is a likelihood that the deputy will fire his weapon, it does not stop the civilian from moving towards his car.

The civilian opens his car door and starts to enter his vehicle. The deputy closes the distance and uses one of his hands to close the car door with the civilian wedged inside the opening. The civilian's demeanor changes as he pushes back against the door and says to the deputy, "don't touch me." The deputy is knocked back by the civilian who is now screaming at the deputy; "Don't fucking touch me, dude!" The deputy loses his balance and falls backward onto the pavement. In the process of falling, the deputy discharges his CEW striking the civilian (see, Figure 29).

*****Start of Excerpt*****

*[0:29]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian stops and motions with his outstretched arms towards the deputy[0:28]*

*[0:28]

C: {I love you}

The civilian turns completely away from the deputy and walks towards his car[0:29]*

*[0:29]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian looks at the camera and lowers his arms[0:30]. The deputy walks after the

civilian[0:31]*
 *[0:31]
 C: >{listen (.) i:m leaving}<
 The civilian steps off the curb and into the street[0:32]*
 *[0:32]
 O: Get On the GrOUnd
 The civilian reaches with his left hand and opens the door to his car. The deputy closes the distance and places his left hand on the door[0:33]*
 *[0:33]
 C: Wa:tch i:m >going to leave<
 The deputy pushes the door causing it to close slightly. The civilian steps from within the door and uses his left hand to push the deputy. The civilian uses his right hand to push the door open in continuity with shoving the deputy[0:34]*
 *[0:34]
 C: >dont touch me<
 The deputy steps back with his right foot and shifts his weight up onto the curb. When the deputy moves his left leg to maintain his balance, it is clipped by the swinging door. The arch of his left foot makes contact with the curb and he stumbles away from the civilian[0:35]*
 *[0:35]
 C: >DONT FUCKING {TOUCH} ME DUDE<
 As the deputy falls to the ground, his right hand is extended with the CEW pointed at the civilian. The deputy discharges the weapon at the civilian. The deputy continues falling off backwards landing in a seated position on the ground[0:36]*

Figure 29.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:36]

*[0:36]
 (:): ((CEW discharge))
 The deputy keeps his weapon pointed at the civilian and scrambles to his feet and the civilian reacts to being struck by the CEW[0:37]*
 End of Excerpt

The civilian clutches his left shoulder and falls against the car after being struck by the CEW. In response to the deputy's escalation of coercive force, the civilian summons the wherewithal to fight against the pain inflicted by the CEW. The civilian is not immobilized or incapacitated by the CEW and intensifies his aggression towards the deputy. The civilian lunges at the deputy, yelling and challenging the deputy to fight: "You want to fuck with me mother- fucker!"

The civilian attempts to take hold of the deputy and punch at the deputy. In response to the civilian's assault, the deputy turns away and flees in the opposite direction. Perhaps, this is an effort to create separation. Nonetheless, the civilian gives chase and runs after the deputy for a distance of forty or fifty yards (see, Figure 30). Another witness, also speaking in African American Vernacular English, comments on the situation: "This dude got a death wish."

From the man's statement a few points of emphasis arise. First, the witness identifies that such action by a civilian towards law enforcement can result in death. Second, the sentiment gives a measure of reality that police are equipped with lethality and the skills required to kill. Third, the witness acknowledges by his words, there is an expectation that the encounter will result in a killing based on the civilian's resistance to law enforcement. The witness' statement expresses a common knowledge that police are trained in the use of weaponry and the technical capability to use deadly force.

As the civilian runs after the deputy, the woman holding the camera says, "he's chasing [the deputy]; the Taser; the Taser didn't even phase him [the civilian]." What the witness does not understand is that police use of a CEW is not always effective at incapacitating a person. The statements made by these witnesses hold in common a disbelief at the civilian's actions, his resistance to coercive force practices, and the propensity for an unfavorable PCE outcome. There is a consensus among witnesses that charging at police is shocking and ill-advised were they to do the same thing.

Start of Excerpt

*[0:37]

C: ((guttural noise)) {grunting}

(): ((weapon cycling))

The deputy is standing with both hands on the weapon, and moves to gain distance, as the civilian steps up on the curb and lunges at the deputy[0:38]*

*[0:38]

C: ((yelling)) {Inhale}

The civilian is striding towards the deputy with his hands clinched and the deputy continues to back away from the civilian[0:39]. The civilian out paces the deputy and closes the distance to within a couple feet. The deputy lowers his weapon and starts running in the opposite direction[0:40]*

*[0:40]

C: YOU WA:NNA FU:CK WI:TH ME MU:THA FU:CKER↑

The two bystanders witnessing the PCE re-enter the camera frame (right to left) as the deputy runs in their general direction while the civilian is sprinting after the deputy[0:41]*

*[0:41]

C: YO:U: WA:NT TO: FU:CK WI:TH ME NIGGA↑

The deputy is looking over his left shoulder at the civilian while running across the pavement headed towards a landscaped area with bushes and trees that are bordered by a tall chainlink fence[0:42]*

*[0:42]

C: Yo:u Want To Fu:ck Wi:th Me<

The bystanders in the distance turn in a circle following the foot chase and move to the camera's right as the deputy and civilian go running past their location[0:43]. One bystander moves, followed in turn by the second bystander[0:44]. The civilian momentarily catches up to the deputy when the chase travels along the fence line.[0:45]

Figure 30.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:45]

The camera jostles in place as the deputy and civilian begin to distort from view near a tree in the distance [0:46]*

*[0:46]

→W2: Thi:s du:de go:t a dea:th wi:sh↑

The bystanders are seen in the foreground, then the civilian, and followed by the deputy in the distance [0:47]. The camera jostles left to the vehicles and pans back to the right. The officer runs past bystanders in the area, through bushes, and around trees. The civilian continues to yell and aggress towards the officer. The woman holding the camera is amazed by what she is witnessing: “The Taser didn’t even faze him.” The deputy and civilian are separated by several yards and the space where bystanders are located [0:48]*

*[0:48]

W1: He:s chasing the/(.) He:↑ di:nt/(.) the Taser↑ didn’t pha:se hi:m<↑

End of Excerpt

At this point, the civilian is aggressively fighting against police. Only after relinquishing his defensive position, due to an unexpected attack by the civilian, the deputy escalates coercive force by firing his CEW. The civilian is non-responsive to verbal commands, undeterred by pain, and operating in a manner that dismisses the deputy's law enforcement authority to compel an arrest.

The civilian shrugs off the deputy's CEW and wantonly attacks the deputy in response to the escalation of coercive force practices. Police are trained to create separation from immediate threats, and at times, this can include running. The deputy abandons his offensive position, and deescalates coercive force practices when he turns to run. The space created by the deputy's retreat keeps the civilian at bay long enough for a transition to his primary duty weapon; a firearm. During this transition, the deputy is subject to the civilian's advances.

The civilian's resistance to coercive force practices exposes a bubble within the interaction that appears unscripted compared to the previous cases highlighted in this dissertation. Sensing the interactional gap, created by the deputy's retreat, the civilian takes advantage of the situation and turns towards the unoccupied vehicles (see, Figure 31). The civilian runs away from the deputy, and the deputy begins chasing the civilian (see, Figure 32).

The civilian's reversal in direction prompts the woman to respond, "he's [the deputy] going to shoot [the civilian]." This statement is in anticipation that the deputy will use his firearm to stop the civilian from resisting any further. The civilian uses his lead over the deputy to enter a patrol vehicle (see, Figure 33). Once the civilian is seated inside the patrol vehicle, he closes the driver's door. The deputy opens the driver's door with one hand while holding a gun in the other hand. The deputy positions himself outside the vehicle and points his firearm at the civilian.

Start of Excerpt

The civilian takes a couple steps backing away from the deputy[0:49]. The civilian turns around and starts running back towards the vehicles[0:50]. The deputy chases after the civilian and runs past the bystanders [0:51]* The bystanders exit the camera's frame left to right[0:52]*

*[0:52]

W2: ye:ah/{unitelligible}

The civilian begins to slow down and reach towards the vehicles with both hands[0:53]*

*[0:53]

→W1: he:s >fi:tte:n to< sho:ot hi:m (...) he:s go:nna: sho:ot

Figure 31.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:53]

The civilian stops chasing the officer, turns back in the direction of the vehicles, and successfully enters a patrol vehicle. The civilian comes to a stop and opens the driver's door of the patrol vehicle[0:54]*

*[0:54]

W1: ((gasp))

Figure 32.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:54]

The civilian enters the patrol vehicle as the deputy closes the distance[0:55]*

*[0:55]

W1: O:h Sh:T!

The deputy stops running several feet away from the patrol vehicle and removes his duty weapon from it's holster[0:56]*

*[0:56]

→W2: **wha:t is he: o:n**

The deputy comes within arms length of the vehicle and takes hold of the driver's side door with his left hand[0:57]. The deputy opens the door and quickly shuffles away from the patrol vehicle[0:58]. The door bounces back towards the civilian who proceeds to push the door open[0:59].

Figure 33.



Bystander PCE Video Image [0:58]

The door bounces back towards the civilian who proceeds to push the door open [0:59].

*****End of Excerpt*****

The deputy's restraint of coercive force, although momentarily escalated by brandishing a deadly weapon, is remarkably uncharacteristic of the previous encounters discussed in this dissertation. Not only are the civilian's actions a reason for concern by the deputy, but for witnesses too. The unfolding interaction cause the woman to express disbelief in the civilian's uncontrolled actions and her anticipation of a lethal response from the deputy. Initially, the woman thought the deputy would fire his gun at the civilian, "he's going to shoot." Then she was aghast when the civilian entered the patrol vehicle, "Oh shit!" The man standing next to her is equally trying to process the civilian's actions, "what is he on?" These statements give rise to the possibility that the civilian is doped up on drugs, due to his outlandish actions towards the deputy and seeming ability to fight through being struck by the CEW. It is known that people under the influence of drugs or alcohol have increased levels of pain tolerance and are capable of highly irrational behavior.

There is a momentary break in the PCE video and the interaction skips ahead to the civilian now located in the driver seat of his own car. How the interaction between the civilian and the deputy progressed to this point is unknown. It is also unclear how much time elapsed before relocating the interaction to the civilian's car. What can be ascertained from the PCE video to this point is the deputy issued at least thirteen verbal commands for the civilian to "get on the ground" that were ignored by the civilian; and the deputy fired his CEW at the civilian. We can also determine the civilian's actions pose an immediate threat to the deputy from the opening frame. The deputy only escalated coercive force on two occasions. Once after being knocked off balance by the civilian and falling to the ground. Then again after the civilian entered the driver's seat of the patrol vehicle and the deputy drew his gun. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the civilian's unwillingness to meet the deputy's expectations prolongs a resolution to this PCE.

It seems likely that the civilian returned to his vehicle of his own accord and was not directed to do so by the deputy. Once again, the deputy is positioned outside the civilian's car and continuing to give verbal commands while pointing his firearm at the civilian: "Get out of the car, now!" The civilian refuses to listen to the verbal commands to exit his car and is undeterred by the gun pointed in his direction. The woman holding the camera is able to see what is happening and assesses the deputy's actions in response to the civilian's behavior, "he's [officer] trying not to use his gun." The civilian starts the car and begins to accelerate in reverse (see, Figure 34). Recognizing the severity of the situation, the woman believes the deputy should use his firearm to stop the civilian's car from moving; she says, "shoot his tires out."

*****Start of Excerpt*****

[1:00 - 2:00]

The deputy is standing on the sidewalk directly outside the civilian's car and the civilian is seated in the driver's seat. [01:00]*

*[1:00]

O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r Now!

The deputy moves slightly to his right and then back to his left[1:01]. The deputy takes two short steps away from the civilian's car[1:02]. The deputy moves slightly to his left and then back to his right.[1:03]*

*[1:03]

→W1: He:s try:ing not to u:se hi:s gu:n

The deputy takes one small step towards the civilian's car begins to move in reverse[1:04]*

*[1:04]

O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r

The civilian's car rolls backward towards the patrol vehicle[1:05]. The deputy shuffle steps to his right at pace with the civilian's car[1:06]*

*[1:06]

O: Now↑

The civilian's car stops and the officer holds his position outside the civilian's window[1:07]*

*[1:07]

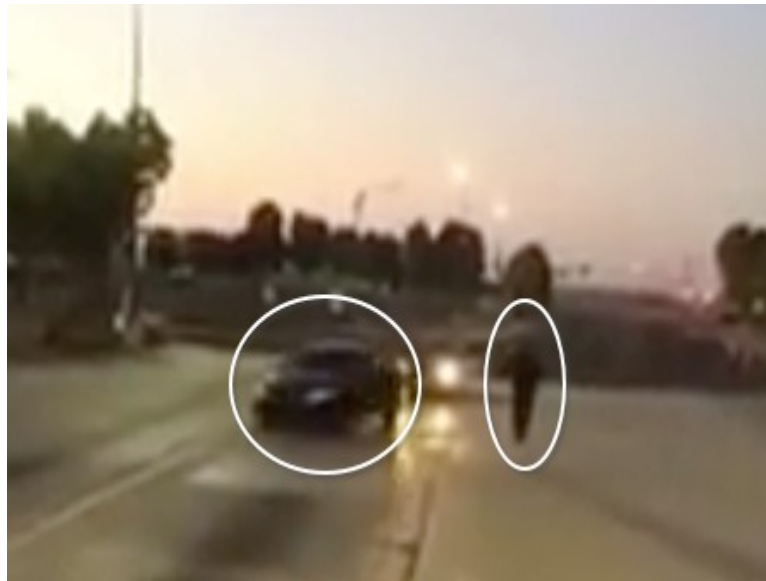
C: {no}

The deputy settles his feet while leaning back and forth from side to side[1:08]*

*[1:08]

O: Get Out (.) Get//
 The civilian's car rolls a few feet closer to the patrol vehicle and stops[1:09]*
 *[1:09]
 →W1: [Shoot his tires//out]=
 The deputy bends over at the waist and crouches down[1:10]*
 *[1:10]
 W2: [Maybe]
 The civilian's car accelerates in reverses towards the patrol vehicle[1:11]*
 *[1:11]
 →W1: =shoot//his tires out=
 →W2: [may:be he:s go:t a gu:n]
 W1: ((gasp))
 The civilian's car turns to the camera's right and continues accelerating ((tires screeching)) along a path of travel in-between the patrol vehicle and deputy[1:12].

Figure 34.



Bystander PCE Video Image [1:12]

*****End of Excerpt*****

The deputy is standing on the sidewalk directly outside the civilian's car, he is pointing his firearm at the civilian, and peering into the vehicle. The deputy repeats to the civilian several times, "get out of the car, now!" The woman holding the camera interprets the interaction as a conscious effort on the deputy's part to restrain the escalation of coercive force, "he's [the deputy] is trying not to use his gun."

As she is speaking the man standing next to her comments on the deputy's reluctance to shoot at the civilian's car, "maybe he's [the civilian] got a gun." The woman makes two successive calls for the deputy to shoot the civilian's tires out. The deputy does not act on his display of deadly force at this time. Instead, the deputy holds

his defensive position outside the civilian's car. The deputy is not stationary. He is moving back and forth and crouching up and down. Police are trained to move in this manner so that they do not present themselves as a stationary target.

The civilian reverses his car towards the patrol vehicle and then turns in the direction of the open roadway by driving in-between the patrol vehicle and the deputy. The rapid acceleration of the civilian's car causes the tires to screech. The woman holding the camera' comments that the civilian is going to kill himself due to the recklessness of his own actions. Believing the civilian is preparing to leave the area in his car, the woman again calls for the deputy to disable the vehicle by shooting at the tires.

Although the deputy is steadily pointing his firearm at the civilian, he does not discharge his weapon. The erratic operation of the car prompts the woman to say, "he's [the civilian] is going to kill himself." The civilian whips his car in a circle and broadsides the patrol vehicle with the front end of his car (see, Figure 35). Both vehicles suffer significant damage as a result of the collision. The deputy is no longer giving verbal commands to the civilian. The deputy stands at a distance with his weapon drawn and surveys the collision.

*****Start of Excerpt*****

*[1:15]

→W1: He:s go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf

The civilian's car reverses in an arch to the left side of the camera's frame[1:16]*

*[1:16]

W1: Oh↑(.) he:re co:me the >heli:co:pters↓

The car stops behind the patrol vehicle and perpendicular to the camera's frame[1:17].

The civilian's car is now facing to the camera's right and in the general direction of the bystanders near the landscaping[1:18]*

*[1:18]

W2: {tha:ts a helico:pter}

The deputy moves closer to the passenger side of the civilian's car[1:19]*

*[1:19]

W1: >Ye:ah tha:ts a helico:pter↓

The deputy angles himself toward the rear of his patrol vehicle[1:21]*

*[1:21]

W1: yep (.) he:re the:y co:me

The deputy takes a couple small steps forward[1:22]. The deputy turns to his right and moves towards the civilian's car[1:23]. The deputy walks up to the passenger doors of the civilian's car, and when he closes to within several feet, the civilian drives forward[1:24]*

*[1:24]

→W1: Sho:ot his ti:res o:ut (.) du:de< Don't let Hi:m dri:ve Awa:y↑

The civilian's car accelerates in a wide circle behind the patrol vehicle[1:25]. The deputy moves toward the rear of the civilian's car as it pulls away from the deputy[1:26]. The deputy turns to his left and watches the civilian's car turn away and circle back[1:27]*

*[1:27]

→W1: Oh↑ he go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf↑

The deputy moves to his left and back in the direction of his patrol vehicle[1:29]*

*[1:29]

→W2: He↓ go:nna kill somebody else↑

The deputy takes several large steps backwards and moves away from the patrol

vehicle[1:31]*

*[1:31]

W2: O:h↑ WA:tch OUT↑

The car continues accelerating and collides with the passenger side doors of the patrol vehicle[1:32]. The camera pans to the left following the deputy's movement and the civilian's car exited the frame (right to left)[1:33]*

*[1:33]

W2: He:s stu:pi:d<

The camera pans back to the left and the civilian's car enters the frame (left to right)[1:34]. The deputy turns away from the collision[1:35]. The deputy moves further away from the collision and steps back on the curb[1:36].

Figure 35.



Bystander PCE Video Image [1:36]

*****End of Excerpt*****

After reversing his car between the deputy and patrol vehicle, the civilian stops his car and comes to rest in the roadway. The deputy moves towards the civilian's car with his firearm pointed at the vehicle. The deputy approaches cautiously as he closes the distance. The deputy eventually comes within several feet of the civilian's car. Without warning the civilian shifts his car into gear and accelerates forward. The woman holding the camera raises her voice and says, "shoot his tires out, dude, don't let him drive away." This statement signals her belief that the civilian is in the process of leaving the scene and needs to be stopped by the deputy. However, the woman does not understand that discharging a weapon will not automatically disable the vehicle from moving. The deputy takes several steps away from the car and does not fire his weapon.

As the civilian's car begins to drive off, the woman repeats her earlier statement that the civilian is going to kill himself. The man standing next to her acknowledges the threat to life posed by the civilian's erratic behavior by adding, "he's going to kill somebody else." The civilian's car pulls away from the deputy and makes a big arching loop to the far side of the roadway. After completing the half circle, the civilian's car straightens out and heads directly for the passenger side of the deputy's patrol vehicle. Responding to the unfolding events, the woman exclaims, "watch out!" The civilian's car broadsides the patrol vehicle knocking it sideways. The civilian's car is rendered inoperable by the impact of the collision.

In the background a police helicopter is heard circling the area, and the woman tells the man, "yep, here come the helicopters." The addition of a helicopter indicates a heightened response by law enforcement to the PCE. Shortly after the collision the man standing next to the woman says, "he's stupid;" referring to the civilian. Again, the statements by witnesses are aligned to the fact that the civilian's actions are reckless and dangerous. The deputy moves towards the driver side of his patrol vehicle and peers at the collision with his weapon drawn, but does not advance his position or escalate coercive force.

In addition to air units arriving in the area, a second patrol unit turns onto the roadway from the intersection in the distance and approaches the collision. The civilian begins revving the engine of his car. The man standing next to the woman holding the camera comments again, "Oh, he's stupid!" The man then says to the woman, "look at this fool;" referring to the civilian. The second deputy stops his car just shy of the collision, opens his door, and exits towards the rear of his patrol vehicle. The civilian jumps out of his car and begins running away from the collision (see, Figure 36).

*****Start of Excerpt*****

The deputy momentarily bends over at the waist and then stands upright[1:37]. Off in the distance emergency lights of a second patrol unit enter the camera's frame (left to right)[1:38]*

*[1:38]

W2: O:h↓ he:s stu:pi:d<

The deputy shifts side to side and leans back and forth[1:39]*

*[1:39]

(): ((Engine revving up and down))

A second patrol unit turns at the intersection in the distance and begins heading towards the collision[1:40]. The deputy takes two large steps towards the civilian's car[1:41]. The deputy takes another series of large steps[1:42]. The deputy walks closer to the civilian's car by moving to the driver's side of his patrol vehicle[1:43]. The deputy slowly comes to a stop several yards away from the patrol vehicle[1:44]. The camera zooms in on the deputy and the wrecked vehicles[1:45]. The deputy is standing with his back to the camera[1:46]. The deputy raises his hands and extends his arms towards the civilian's car[1:47]. The deputy steps to his left and then back to his right[1:48]. The second patrol vehicle is pulling up to the collision as the civilian opens his car door and exits the vehicle[1:49]. The civilian starts walking toward the second patrol unit[1:50]*

*[1:50]

W2: Lo:ok↑ >at thi:s fo:ol<

The second patrol unit stops in the roadway behind the collision and a deputy gets out

from the driver's seat [1:51]. The civilian turns to the camera's left and begins running away from the deputies[1:52]*

*[1:52]

W2: He:s↓ Ru:ni:g↑

The deputy stops momentarily at the rear of his patrol vehicle[1:53]*

*[1:53]

→W2: Good thing he a:nt black (.) he would have been dead=

The civilian continues running until he exits the camera's frame (right to left)[1:54].

Figure 36.



Bystander PCE Video Image [1:54]

The deputy turns around the end of his patrol vehicle and runs after the civilian[1:55]*

*[1:55]

→W1: =Oh↑(.) Yeah↑(.) He::d< be:e:n↑ ki:lle:d hi:m<↓

→W2: ((Chuckle)) I:t'd< be: a wra:p↑ [1:56]

The camera pans to the left following the deputy and the civilian enters the camera's frame (left to right)[1:57]. The civilian keeps jogging away from the collision[1:58]*

*[1:58]

W1: A::HH? He:s↓ >Co:ming Back in the Build↑//

The deputy runs after the civilian, and the second deputy emerges from behind his patrol vehicle running[1:59]. The camera pans quickly to the left, distorting the image, and the video stops[2:00].

*****End of Excerpt*****

The arrival of helicopters and additional ground units heightens the law enforcement response to the PCE. The primary deputy holds his defensive position next to his patrol vehicle and restrains the escalation of coercive force as the civilian revs his engine several times. The man witnessing the encounter expresses to the woman holding the camera, “Oh, look at this fool” and “he’s stupid.” These statements are made in disbelief of the civilian’s actions. As the civilian exits his car, the woman holding the camera says, “he’s running.” At this point the deputy begins to follow the civilian on foot. He is soon joined in his foot pursuit of the civilian by another deputy.

Both witnesses are taken aback by the civilian’s actions and the deputy’s restraint of coercive force practices. The seriousness of the interaction cannot be overstated, nor can the witnesses’ sentiments towards the encounter be ignored. The man standing next to the woman holding the camera says, “good thing he [the civilian] isn’t black, he would have been dead.” The woman responds, “Oh yeah, he’d [the deputy] been killed him [the civilian].” The man quickly retorts, “It’d be a wrap.” This series of statements by the witnesses signals a common expectation that were the civilian black, he would not be able to act in the same manner and expect to live through the PCE. Before the onlookers’ finish speaking about the encounter, the woman cuts the exchange short, “Ahh, he’s [the civilian] coming back in the buil[ding]!” The camera jostles and stops recording.

The San Joaquin County Sheriff’s Department responded to the PCE in the following way: “Our deputies must routinely make split-second decisions on the use of force. In this instance, the deputy made an assessment that it was not required.”¹⁵ During the PCE, witnesses are heard commenting on the civilian’s uncontrolled actions and the deputy’s restraint of coercive force.

At points, witnesses plead for the deputy to stop the civilian. This is made clear through several statements that the civilian was going to kill himself or someone else. The witnesses question why the deputy held back from discharging his firearm. Ultimately the witnesses, a black woman and black man, conclude that had the civilian also been black, the deputy would have already shot and killed the man. The solemnness of their observations of this PCE also highlight an expectation that they would not be treated with the same regard for their life by law enforcement.

The witnesses’ statements draw our attention to the contradiction that escalation of coercive force is solely a response to civilian provocation. This is at odds with the previous PCE videos examined by the research. In earlier cases, opposed to analysis of the current PCE video, police indicated they use coercive force because of violent actions initiated on the part of civilians or threats of violence towards police and interference or resisting. In this instance, however, a civilian exhibited extremely violent behavior that jeopardized the lives of multiple people, and police did not escalate the use of coercive force.

This counter example helps to accentuate the fact propelled escalation of coercive force is not simply an automatic response to all civilian behavior or lack of deference toward police. This finding requires consideration of alternative explanations for the disproportionate use of coercive force against black people. In the next chapter, the dissertation will conclude with a discussion of the research findings in greater detail and draw connections to additional points of distinction concerning the study of PCE.

CHAPTER 7: Beyond the Hook

This dissertation traversed several aspects of anti-black policing to observe Police-Civilian Encounters (PCE) and the escalation of coercive force practices by law enforcement. Throughout, metaphors and analogies guided the research to consider the work of police and the practices of law enforcement as a way to reconcile questions raised by anti-black policing outcomes. As we move away from the fishing dock along the water's edge, we are equipped with an observational knowledge grounded in video analysis of PCE. In the final chapter of this dissertation, a brief discussion of empirical frameworks is offered to situate points of future intervention. In retrospect, one can only aspire to conceive of a society apart from the law enforcement oriented policing of black people who are otherwise peaceful; let bystanders find a heuristic interpretation of their own to imagine the possibilities for the U.S. beyond coercive force.

Conclusion

To assist with the remaining discussion let's revisit for a moment what qualifies as a usual way to account for compelled arrests by police. Alpert & Dunham (2004) write: "The consensus among law enforcement officials and researchers is that force can be defined as physical action taken to control the movement or freedom of another" (p. 20). This offers a thin portrayal of "force" in general, but it does not provide a full descriptive basis for understanding coercive force practices observed and described in the body of this dissertation. At best, "force" is a blanket term that obscures the brutal reality where police demonstrate talk and touch that configure PCE outcomes to meet law enforcement expectations during interactions with marginalized communities and people who live in those neighborhoods.

It is difficult to accurately determine at what point common force becomes unilaterally inappropriate and excessive, let alone how to describe the nature of that force (Kuhn's & Knutsson, 2010). As used in the current research the concept of coercive force is aligned with the actual show of force (threat of violence) without provocation and use of force (act of violence) without cause observed in the PCE video data; a generative practice that represents but one system among a matrix of oppressive discourses. A series of events made visible and recognizable due to attributes of talk and touch demonstrated by police in the current set of PCE videos. Again, this study builds on previous research by uncovering the process through which police enact anti-blackness in the U.S.

Observation of coercive force practices evidenced in this dissertation bring to light anti-black policing in a new way. This due to centering the particular experiences of black women who have been targets of brutish violence by law enforcement. The research has shown the tools police use to construct racialized control of black people in this country by focusing on the suffering of black women compelled to arrest similar to the traumatic abuse of black men during PCE.

Through observation of PCE and compelled arrests of black women digitized by film, we are now in a position to mark the ways law enforcement training and experience develop police mindsets and hone professional tools police exercise to control people. For Example, McElhinny (1994) writes:

Most female officers, while recognizing differences in physical differences between themselves and male officers, argue that on serious calls one rarely needs to act without back-up and can cooperate with other officers to bring the situation under control. Female police officers also tend to distinguish between physical strength (which they agree they do not have) and institutional force (which they argue they do). (p.161).

In the case of Sandra Bland, the research observed a female officer coordinate with her partner to subdue Sandra by means of coercive force. Although the officer displayed concern for the wellbeing of her partner, she was cruel and insensitive to the suffering Sandra experienced during her arrest. McElhinny summarizes why this is the case in the following manner:

For the female officer, the expenditure of emotion on others, especially sympathy or empathy, is understood as support lost for her. If she allowed herself to feel too much for others she would be torn apart herself, so she has to take care to isolate herself, not to get involved, not to allow herself to see her clients as people. Emotion is here understood as a limited commodity, and using it means losing it. Being impartial and suppressing one's own reaction is in her eyes also being professional, as doctors, lawyers and coroners are with their clients (McElhinny, p.164).

This account takes into consideration some gendered components of law enforcement practices, but it falls short of providing a way to make sense of the racialized dynamics observed in this dissertation. In her work, *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color*, Crenshaw (1991) provides the following analysis:

The concept of political intersectionality highlights the fact that women of color are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. The need to split one's political energies between two sometimes opposing groups is a dimension of intersectional dis-empowerment that men of color and white women seldom confront. Indeed, their specific raced and gendered experiences, although intersectional, often define as well as confine the interests of the entire group" (Crenshaw, 1991, pp.1251-1252)

Personal motivations for selecting a career in law enforcement may never be fully known; yet the language, skill-sets, and proficiency displayed by police on a day-to-day basis indicate coercive force practices require learned patterns of behavior and acquired knowledge. Law enforcement accountability must remain in focus while examining PCE

to balance coercive force practices exhibited by police. Whether as a byproduct of socialization into the police culture, a long held personal worldview, or training and experiences acquired while working in the profession, police clearly use coercive force practices and propel the escalation of coercive force in ways that generationally impact PCE in the black community.

Chronicling police making compelled arrests without provocation puts on record how law enforcement operationalizes power over civilians, and in turn, brings to the forefront violent mechanisms of social control. The data evidenced in this dissertation indicates, at a minimum, civilians are not responsible for law enforcement oriented policing nor the outcomes that law enforcement achieves by means of propelled escalation of coercive force against black people. This assertion challenges notions that civilian behavior drives anti-black policing and illuminates how police escalate coercive force practices in service to white supremacy.

Although a greater part of PCE go unobserved by the vast majority of people in this country, policing technology has unequivocally brought to light what historically was once dismissed as hearsay, rumor or fallacy. Due to the availability of smart technology in the hands of civilians, the increase of *third-party* video recordings of policing outcomes in the 21st century is increasingly available and open for analysis. In other words, the camera's line of sight has unearthed a plethora of raw material that center aspects of PCE previously hidden from detailed observation. For example, those instances where coercive force against black women perpetuate anti-black policing outcomes.

The PCE videos examined in this research bring forth a rudimentary glimpse into the fear, mistrust, and resentment, resulting from propelled escalation of coercive force practices during PCE. Police accomplish this feat with certain familiarity because law enforcement oriented policing equips them with a skill set designed to quell expected opposition to command presence (a locution for social power). The use of that skill set when there is no civilian opposition exposes anti-blackness in application of coercive force practices. There are several explanatory frames that offer a way to make sense of the particular suffering black women experience as an extension to the targeted policing of black men. These frameworks may offer bystanders a point of reference and a place of solace in light of burgeoning PCE video data that indicate, as Crenshaw & Ritchie (2015) argue: "Black women are not only subjected to police violence under conditions akin to Black men, Black women are also less likely to be protected by police" (p. 23).

The PCE depicted in the current research support this determination in the following ways. We know that, second to police initiate action typified by the case of Sandra Bland, civilians regularly call on the police for a myriad of reasons. In the Treble Hook example, the research observed a black mother hail the police for assistance; her status as a parent was denied to her by police. In the aftermath, violence, in the form of coercive force ultimately spread from police to the mother asking for help as well as to members of her family. Her children were denied the right to be children by police. They were criminalized and adultified by coercive force and compelled to arrest.

In 2012, Elijah Anderson wrote a synopsis of racial tensions in this country to open his discussion of *The Iconic Ghetto*:

In the minds of many Americans, the ghetto is where “the black people live,” symbolizing an impoverished, crime-prone, drug-infested, and violent area of the city. Aided by the mass media and popular culture, this image of the ghetto has achieved an iconic status, and serves as a powerful source of stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination. The history of racism in America, along with the ascription of “ghetto” to anonymous blacks, has burdened blacks with a negative presumption they must disprove before they can establish mutually trusting relationships with others. The poorest blacks occupy a caste-like status, and for the black middle class, contradictions and dilemmas of status are common, underscoring the racial divide and exacerbating racial tensions. (p. 8)

Pausing for a moment to consider police are hegemonic embodiments of power, we can make visible the institutional violence and oppression that coalesce into the lives of people, and begin to address micro-interactions where hierarchical power extrudes itself through policing. We know police are highly adept at observing human behavior and recognizing when events are out of sync with their worldview; and law enforcements’ principle expectations of civilians will define the nature of the interaction and create the choices made in reference to the encounter (Tyler, et. al., 1997).

To this end, Anderson does remind us, “[m]any white people express dissonance, and sometimes resentment, when blacks occupy positions at odds with ordinary expectations” (p. 12). Perhaps, future research efforts can take into consideration the benefits of video analysis to advance parallel studies concerned with sequential social activity and authority-based relationships to explicate power differentials and the latent interactions where they take place. Research in this area can lead to more sophisticated ways of identifying vocational practices adversely impacting historically disenfranchised populations in other settings.

The current research shows how PCE can result in an atmosphere of domination that adds to the disadvantages of black women who are seeking to use their voices for protection against harm; they are deemed to be transgressive and expeditiously criminalized. Anderson (2012) goes on to say:

Typically, the black man is treated as a dangerous outsider until he proves he is worthy of trust. And his blackness itself often disqualifies him from white society’s superficial standards for common courtesy.... The other notorious and persistent ghetto stereotype is the “welfare queen,” an overweight, hyperfertile, openly sexual, and improperly aggressive black woman who obtains benefits that she does not deserve while lazing around and enjoying luxury consumer goods.... The images of black criminal and the welfare queen hold a threatening or transgressive status and these stereotypes simultaneously encourage the wider society to pigeonhole

blacks and relegate them to the category of “other.” ...In initial encounters with blacks, whites may apply a deficit model to the black person, who is then required to prove that he or she is worthy of decent regard, not to mention respect.” (Anderson, 2012, p. 16–17)

In the case of Sandra Bland, she attempted to proclaim her status as an educated woman to police, “I am at school.” This last-ditch effort on her part to assert herself as a person unworthy of further degradation and maltreatment was summarily ignored. In the Treble Hook example, a mother attempted several times to assert her rights and responsibilities as a parent to request cooperation from police to help protect her son from harm; yet her pleas were ineffectual and summarily denied. A child proclaimed, “I’m fifteen years old, I didn’t know.” Again, she was denied the right to be an unknowing child, and kicked into the back seat of a patrol car by police. The provisional status of these black women could not be overcome in the eyes of law enforcement.

The work of Waltz, Hoffman, & Trawler (2015) to empirically investigate whites’ perception of black people finds racialized misgivings along two simultaneously occurring trajectories, dehumanization and superhumanization; they note:

Dehumanization’s consequential nature has spurred much research on how this process contributes to bias, discrimination, and prejudice.... Superhumanization similarly involves depriving others of human character and attributes, superhumanization involves representing others as nonhuman, but not as subhuman animals or objects—superhumanization implies characterization of other as beyond human. (original emphasis, p. 352)

Through the course of their writings, the researchers indicate superhumanization of blacks in relation to how whites perceive black people occurs on implicit and explicit levels, and with certainty, denies pain that blacks experience relative to whites; the researchers gather superhumanization of blacks has implications for continued acceptance and tolerance of police brutality; the researchers speculate, “perhaps people assume that Blacks possess extra (i.e., superhuman) strength [that]enables them to endure violence more easily than other humans” (Waltz, Hoffman, & Trawler, 2015, p.358). This would suggest police are likely to use greater amounts of coercive force on black bodies and deny black people the freedom to be human. That is, in the case of Sandra Bland and the Treble Hook example chronicled by the research, we can observe black women (and girl) are not only threatened, they are physically punished with more coercive force than a violent male counterpart who is not black.

When added together, these frameworks offer a way to make sense of the research findings. One realization induced by review of the research is unavoidable: Law enforcement in the U.S. is a predominately white male occupied policing apparatus fraught with the *iconic superhumanization* of coercive force practices and the *iconic dehumanization* of black people. The data presented in this research calls into question law enforcement practices used to organize social activity in this way. Aided by

technology, the magnification of PCE has proven useful in surfacing how police compel arrests in the absence of resistance or provocation from black women; akin to the treatment of black men who offer no less of a target for anti-black policing. Stated differently, anti-black policing in this country perpetuates tyranny in the lives of black people; a phenomenon that is a recognizable and foreseeable outcome because there are unmistakable commonalities to the language used by police and a striking uniformity to the propelled escalation of coercive force practices that holds across law enforcement jurisdictions.

In this country the overuse of coercive force by police on black bodies is problematic because we know the practice results in anti-black policing outcomes and the reproduction of social inequality. Law enforcement actions of this kind are propelling the escalation of coercive force discriminately on black women and black men. The PCE video data analyzed in this research highlights coercive force practices used by police that produced outcomes in service to the racial control of black women that extended beyond the immediacy of the interaction. Police Settin' the Hook on black women by propelled escalation of coercive force practices cause justice and equality to vanish while taking on the form of anti-black policing.

Going one step further, the transferability of this knowledge to other types of social interactions where authority-based relationships exist may help further the understandings of social inequality more deeply and more broadly in this country. For example, what does it look like when a teacher sets the hook on a student and removes that child from class? A question that challenges widely held understandings about how teachers discipline and control students. It is commonly known that teachers develop and maintain professional skillsets that consistently achieve disproportional outcomes in schools that are contrary to the objections raised by unwilling or unruly children who refuse to go along with the status quo. For now, whether or not studying Police-Civilian Encounters will inform teacher-student encounters (or vice versa) remains a mystery to the academic world.

References

- Alpert, G. P., & Dunham R. G. (2004). *Understanding Police Use of Force: Officers, Suspects, and Reciprocity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Alpert, G. P., Dunham, R. G., & MacDonald, J. M. (2004, December) Interactive Police Encounters that Result in Force. *Police Quarterly*, 7(4), 475–488. <http://goi.org/10.1177/1098611103260507>
- Alpert, G. P., & Smith, W. (1994). How Reasonable is the Reasonable Man: Police and Excessive Force. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 85(2), 481-501. <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc/vol85/iss2/5>
- AL.com (2017, January 26) Bodycam footage from viral Fort Worth arrest shows 15-year old being pushed by officer's foot [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Szy7tUMyb_A&has_verified=1bj7960
- Anderson, E. (2012). The Iconic Ghetto. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 642(1), 8–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212446299>.
- Banks, D., Hendrix, J., Hickman, M., & Kyckelhahn, T. (2016, April). *National Sources of Law Enforcement Employment Data*. [A program report revised on October 4, 2016]. Bureau of Justice Statistics (NJC 249681). <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/nsleed.pdf>
- Braga, A. A, Winship, C., Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J, & Meares, T. L (2014). The silence of Social Contextual Factors in Appraisals of Police Interactions with Citizens: A Randomized Factorial Experiment. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 30, 599–627. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-014-9216-7>
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2001) *Whose Safety? Women of Color and the Violence of Law Enforcement* [Executive Summary]. American Friends Service Committee / Committee on Women, Population, and the Environment. <https://www.afsc.org/document/whose-safety>
- Brunson, R. K., & Weitzer, R. (2011). Negotiating Unwelcome Police Encounters: The Intergenerational Transmission of Conduct Norms. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 40(4), 425–456. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241611409038>
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2016, July). *State and Local Enforcement Training Academies, 2013*. (NCJ 249784). Washington, DC: U.S Government Printing.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2018). FAQ Detail: *How many persons had contact with police in 2015?* [Text file]. <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=qa&iid=721>
- Burris, J. L., & Whitney, C. (1999) *Blue Vs. Black: Let's End the Conflict Between Cops and Minorities*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin.

- Chappell, A., MacDonald, J., & Manz, P. (2006, April). The Organizational Determinants of Police Arrest Decisions. *Crime & Delinquency*, 52(2), 287-306. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128705278329>
- Covington, C., & Phua, R. (2015). Law enforcement in Texas still a man's world. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from http://res.dallasnews.com/graphics/2015_05/texas-racial-divide/women.html
- Crenshaw, K. (1991, July). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039>
- Crenshaw, K. W., & Ritchie, A. J. (2015) *Say Her Name Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women* [Brief]. African American Policy Forum / Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies. <https://aapf.org/sayhernamereport>.
- Davis, E., Whyde, A., & Langton, L. (2018, October). *Contacts Between Police and the Public, 2015*. Bureau of Justice Statistics [NCJ 251145]. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpp15.pdf>
- Emmerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing Ethnographic Field Notes* [2nd edition]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fernandez, M., & Martinez, M. T. (2018, September 14). A Dallas police officer shot her neighbor, and a city is full of questions. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/14/us/botham-jean-dallas-shooting-amber-guyger.html>
- Fernandez, S., & Garnham, J. (2019, October 1). Former Dallas police officer Amber Guyger found guilty of murder in shooting of Botham Jean. *The Texas Tribune*. <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/10/01/amber-guyger-verdict-former-dallas-police-officer-found-guilty-murder/>
- Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010). Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing: A Study of Inner-City Young Men's Perceptions of Police Legitimacy. *Police Quarterly*, 27(2), 255-279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820902763889>
- Gladwell, M. (2019). *Talking to Strangers: What We Should Know About the People We Don't Know*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Glaser, J., & Charbonneau, A. (2018). Law enforcement: Finding common purpose. In L. R. Tropp (Ed.), *Making research matter: A psychologist's guide to public engagement* (p. 105– 121). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000066-008>
- Gurusami, S. (2019). Motherwork Under the State: The Maternal Labor of Formerly Incarcerated Black Women. *Social Problems*, 66, 128–143. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spx045>

- Heath, C. H., Hindmarch, J., & Luff, P. (2010). *Video in Qualitative Research: Analyzing Social Interaction in Everyday Life*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Heilbroner, D., & Davis, K. (Producers), Heilbroner, D., & Davis, K. (Directors). *Say Her Name: The Life and Death of Sandra Bland* [Documentary]. United States: HBO Documentary Archives.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2013). *Transcription*. In Sidnell, J., & Stivers, T. (Eds). *Blackwell Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp 57-76). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hickman, M., Atherly, L., Lowery, P., & Alpert, G. (2015). Reliability of the Force Factor Method in Police Use-of-Force Research. *Police Quarterly*, 18(4), 368-396.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611115586175>
- Hickman, M.J., & Reaves, B.A. (2006, May). *Local Police Departments, 2003*. Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics. Bureau of Justice Statistics [NCJ 210118]. <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/lpd03.pdf>
- Huo, Y.J., & Tyler, T. R. (2000). *How Different Ethnic Groups React to Legal Authority*. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California.
- Hyland, S., Langton, L., & Davis, E. (2015, November). *Police Use of Nonfatal Force, 2002–11* [Special Report]. Bureau of Justice Statistics [NCJ 249216].
<https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/punf0211.pdf>
- Jefferson, G. (2004). *Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction*. In G. H. Lerner (Ed). *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*. (pp: 13-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jones, N., & Raymond, G. (2012). “The camera rolls”: Using third-party video in field research. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 642(1), 109–123.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212438205>
- Klein, G. C. (2018). On the Death of Sandra Bland: A Case of Anger and Indifference. *Journal of Police Emergency Response*. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018754936>
- Kuhns, J. B., & Knutsson, J. (Eds.) (2010) *Police Use of Force: A Global Perspective*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Langton, L., & Durose, M. (2016, October 27). *Police Behavior During Traffic and Street Stops, 2011*. [Revised, October 27, 2016]. Bureau of Justice Statistics (NCJ 242937). Retrieved from www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pbtss11.pdf
- Martinot, S. (2003). *The Rule of Racialization: Class, Identity, Governance*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- McElhinny, B. (1994). An Economy of Affect: Objectivity, Masculinity, and the Gendering of Police Work. In A. Cornwall, & N. Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (pp. 159-171). London, UK: Routledge.
- Mondana, L. (2008, September). Using Video for a Sequential and Multimodal Analysis of Social Interaction: Video Taping Institutional Telephone Calls. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9(3), Art. 39 [88 paragraphs].
- Pelz, P. J. (1902a). Official Seal of the U.S. [blueprint]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., USA.
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/95861089/>.
- Pelz, P. J. (1902b). Official Seal of the U.S. [blueprint]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., USA.
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/95861089/>.
- Prairie View A&M University. (2015) Enrollment Statistics. [Graphic illustration] Retrieved from <https://www.pvamu.edu/ir/enrollment-statistics/>
- Reaves, B.A. (2012, October). Hiring and Retention of State and Local Law Enforcement Officers, 2008 – Statistical Tables. Bureau of Justice Statistics [NCJ 238251]. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/frslleo08st.pdf>
- Shazzam1294 (2015, July 15) Sandra Bland's Arrest [Video]. Youtube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IYim6pDZV0Y>
- Sivasubramaniam, D., Goodman-Delahunty, J (2008). Ethnicity and Trust: Perceptions of Police Bias. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 10(4), 388-401.
<https://doi.org/10.1350/ijps.2008.10.4.094>
- Solomon, D. (2015, May 12). One in Twenty DPS Officers Is Female and Other Staggering Texas Law Enforcement Statistics. *Texas Monthly* [The Daily Post]. Retrieved from <https://www.texasmonthly.com/the-daily-post/one-in-twenty-dps-officers-is-female-and-other-staggering-texas-law-enforcement-statistics/>
- Terrill, W., & Mastrofski, S. (2002) Situational and Officer-based Determinants of Police Coercion. *Justice Quarterly*, 19(2), 215–248.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820200095221>
- Terrill, W., & Reisig, M. (2003) Neighborhood Context and Police Use of Force. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 40(3), 291-321.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427803253800>
- Texas Commission on Law Enforcement (2018). *Current Statistics* [webpage]. TCOL [webpage]. Retrieved from <https://www.tcole.texas.gov/content/current-statistics>.

- Texas Department of Public Safety (2015, July 22) Sandra Bland traffic stop [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaW09Ymr2BA>
- Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tyler, T., Boeckmann, R., Smith, H., & Huo, Y. (1997). *Social Justice in a Diverse Society*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Tyler, T. R. (2011). *Why People Cooperate: The Role of Social Motivations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2018) 2011-2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables [Graphic illustration, B01003] Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/ACS/15_5YR/DP05/1600000US4859336
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2018) 2011-2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables [Graphic illustration, DP05] Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/ACS/15_5YR/DP05/1600000US4859336
- US Department of Justice. (n.d.). *Local Police Department series*. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=6706>
- Waytz, A., Hoffman, K. M, & Trawalter, S. (2015). A Superhumanization Bias in Whites' Perception of Blacks. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6(3), 352–359. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550614553642>.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. (2004). Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct. *Social Problems*, 51(3), 305-325. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2004.51.3.305>
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2006) *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- White, M. D. (2007). *Current Issues and Controversies in Policing*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Wintersmith, R. (1974) *Police and the Black Community*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books
- Worden, R. E., & Catlin, S. E. (2002) *The Use and Abuse of Force by Police*. In K. M. Lersch, (Ed.), *Policing and Misconduct*. (pp. xx-xx). Prentice Hall.
- (2017, October 6). Video: Sheriff's Office Responds To Viral Video Of Deputy Running Away From Suspect. *Blue Lives Matter*. <https://www.themaven.net/bluelivesmatter/news/video-sheriff-s-office-responds-to-viral-video-of-deputy-running-away-from-suspect-39xEC-R11Eu5ypc8RFOZOQ/?full=1>
- (2017, October 15) sheriff runs from man after he is tased Mountain House next to Tracey ca [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oqj9FiflNQc>

Endnotes

¹ Pelz, P. J. (1902a). Official Seal of the U.S. [blueprint]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., USA. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/95861089/>.

² Pelz, P. J. (1902b). Official Seal of the U.S. [blueprint]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., USA. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/95861089/>.

³ Fernandez, M., & Martinez, M. T. (2018, September 14). A Dallas police officer shot her neighbor, and a city is full of questions. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/14/us/botham-jean-dallas-shooting-amber-guyger.html>

⁴ See Appendix F

⁵ Fernandez, S., & Garnham, J. (2019, October 1). Former Dallas police officer Amber Guyger found guilty of murder in shooting of Botham Jean. *The Texas Tribune*. <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/10/01/amber-guyger-verdict-former-dallas-police-officer-found-guilty-murder/>

⁶ PCE is an acronym used to describe interactions police have with people in society. Police, compared to civilians, are generally recognizable as anyone authorized under the law to use coercive force to make an arrest in the performance of their state sanctioned duties. (Even military personnel are civilians when they encounter police outside the confines of a military base.) The term civilian is used instead of citizens in the present research to acknowledge the political trappings of categorizing people according to citizenship. The nomenclature Police-Citizen Encounters, discussed elsewhere in the PCE literature, is improper for this project because it confabulates questions about exclusionary practices and coercive force. For these reasons, and many others that are too expansive to list in this document, the term civilian(s) is most appropriate as a way to denote PCE.

⁷ *Rodney King Video, video footage of arrest by Los Angeles police officers on March 3, 1991*. FBI Records: The Vault. Retrieved from <https://vault.fbi.gov/rodney-king/video/rodney-king-video>

⁸ U.S. Census Bureau. (2018) 2011-2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables [Graphic illustration, B01003] Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/ACS/15_5YR/DP05/1600000US4859336

⁹ (2015, May 8). In diverse Texas, Whites dominate Police Ranks. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

University of Texas, (2015). A Racial Divide in Texas: Do police reflect your community? *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

Norris, C., Rahman, F., Covington, C., Mioli, T. (2015) Dallas suburbs lag in racial parity between officers and their communities. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

Mioli, T., Wilson, C. (2015). Analysis shows East Texas has some of the lowest racial disparities. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

University of Texas, (2015). Texas law enforcement often doesn't mirror the communities it serves. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

Covington, C., & Phua, R. (2015). Law enforcement in Texas still a man's world. The Dallas Morning News. Retrieved from http://res.dallasnews.com/graphics/2015_05/texas-racial-divide/women.html

Solomon, D. (2015, May 12). One in Twenty DPS Officers Is Female and Other Staggering Texas Law Enforcement Statistics. Texas Monthly [The Daily Post]. Retrieved from <https://www.texasmonthly.com/the-daily-post/one-in-twenty-dps-officers-is-female-and-other-staggering-texas-law-enforcement-statistics/>

¹⁰ Prairie View A&M University. (2015) Enrollment Statistics. [Graphic illustration] Retrieved from <https://www.pvamu.edu/ir/enrollment-statistics/>

¹¹ U.S. Census Bureau. (2018) 2011-2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables [Graphic illustration, DP05] Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/ACS/15_5YR/DP05/1600000US4859336

¹² US Department of Justice. (n.d.). *Local Police Department series*. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=6706>

¹³ Chiquillo, J., Farmer, L. (2017, January). Fort Worth police drop criminal charges against black family detained in viral video; officer won't face charges. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <https://www.dallasnews.com/>

Boyd, D. (2018, January 30). He's accused of a Class C misdemeanor, so why's everyone so interested in his trial? *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. Retrieved from <https://star-telegram.com/>

¹⁴ (2017, October 10). Video: Suspect Chases San Joaquin Co. Deputy, rams into patrol car. *KRCA*. <http://www.krcr.com/article/on-video-suspect-chases-deputy-rams-into-patrol-car-in-san-joaquin-county/12790579>

¹⁵ (2017, October 6). Video: Sheriff's Office Responds To Viral Video Of Deputy Running Away From Suspect. *Blue Lives Matter*. <https://www.themaven.net/bluelivesmatter/news/video-sheriff-s-office-responds-to-viral-video-of-deputy-running-away-from-suspect-39xEC-R11Eu5ypc8RFOZOQ/?full=1>

Appendix A

IRB Letter of Exemption

Ophs Departmental

May 16, 2018 at 15:54



Re: SD*Re: Formal Letter of Exemption

To: Damien Mason

Dear Damien,

As described in your email correspondence, your project does not meet the threshold definition of "human subjects" research set forth in Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.102(f). Specifically, "human subject" means a living individual about whom an investigator (whether professional or student) conducting research obtains:

- (1) data through intervention or interaction with the individual, or
- (2) identifiable private information.

The Office for Human Research Protections of the Department of Health and Human Services considers private information to include information about behavior that occurs in a context in which an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or recording is taking place, and information which has been provided for specific purposes by an individual and which the individual can reasonably expect will not be made public (e.g., a medical or school record).

Accordingly, your project does not fall within the scope of the Committee's responsibilities, and you are free to proceed with your research without further approval from this office. Please note, however, that should the parameters of your project change to include human subjects research, you will need to submit a new protocol for approval. Information on what constitutes human subjects research can be found on our website: <http://cphs.berkeley.edu/review.html>.

Best,
-Sarah

Office for Protection of Human Subjects
University of California, Berkeley
1608 4th Street, Suite 220
Berkeley, CA 94704-5940
510-642-7461
510-643-6272 fax
ophs@berkeley.edu
<http://cphs.berkeley.edu>

Appendix B

Transcription Symbols

Transcription Convention	Convention Transcription
[Text]	Overlapping Talk
=	Continuous talk from one speaker to the next, after one utterance with slight overlap before the second.
:	Extended Vowel Tone
(.)	Micro pause
(...)	Pause less than .5 second
(.....)	Pause equal to, or greater than, .5 second
(1unit)	Timed pause
text	Normal talk
Text	Emphasis on part of word
<u>text</u>	Emphasis on part of talk, tone of word
TEXT	Loud talk – Shouted words
><	Fast talk – Hurried words
<>	Slow talk or drawn out words
//	Interruption of speaker – Final fall
/	Slight Fall
(())	Describe parts of talk not attributable to words
↑	Rise in intonation
↓	Drop in intonation
→	Line of interest
{ }	Distorted verbalizations – Non lexical sounds

Additional Symbols Used in Summary Transcription

Symbol	Meaning
(00:00)	Time
[00:00]	Time Stamp
T:	Identified Speaker
T2:	Next Identified Speaker
():	Unidentified speaker
O:	Police
C:	Civilian

Appendix C

Summary/Transcription

Texas Department of Public Safety published a dashcam video to YouTube in July of 2015. The video lasts approximately forty-nine minutes and twelve seconds, and the video was downloaded for analysis. In this recording, the focus of the lens is directed outward from a point of view inside the patrol vehicle. Time stamps are used to locate conduct and dialogue memorialized in the PCE video. [00:00 – 00:55]

The video begins with a civilian seated in the driver seat of a red vehicle stopped alongside the right curb line of the roadway. The patrol vehicle is stopped behind the civilian's vehicle and slightly off-set towards the center of the roadway. (This is a tactic used by police that creates a buffer zone to reduce the likelihood of an officer being struck by another vehicle traveling on the roadway.) The officer enters the frame from left to right, and walks towards the driver side of the vehicle [00:05]. The officer taps the back left quarter panel with his right hand [00:10]. (This is a motor reflex response supported by the officer's training to check the vehicle's trunk on approach. Checking the trunk is a tactic used by police to reduce the likelihood of an ambush during traffic stops.) The officer begins speaking to the civilian before arriving at the driver's window [00:11]*

*[00:11]

O: Alright you're gonna' need to see if you can get with your dad, and he can give you that uh, he can send you an email or something, you know what I mean, to get that copy of the insurance, okay.

The officer holds the ticket book in his left hand, and uses his right hand to position the ticket book in the direction of the civilian [00:13]. The officer steps closer to the vehicle and leans his upper body towards the civilian [00:16]. The officer raises his right hand to the right side of his face before reaching across his body with his right hand to remove a pen from the left pocket of his lapel [00:22]*

*[00:22]

O: You Okay? (chuckle)

C: {non-verbal response}

O: This here is a warning, there is no fine, there is no penalty, but you just need to follow the posted speed limit, okay.

He then places the pen on the ticket book [00:23], and extends the ticket book towards the civilian [00:25]. The civilian extends her right hand and receives the ticket book from the officer [00:26]. The civilian signs the ticket and extends the ticket book towards the officer with her left hand [00:32].*

*[00:32]

O: What year are you here at school?

C: Uh, Sophomore

O: Sophomore (.) are you here for summer school (.) taking a lot of classes

C: Just two

O: Just two (.) okay

The officer accepts the ticket book from the civilian with his left hand [00:33]. The officer simultaneously uses his right hand to return the driver license to the civilian [00:34]. The civilian accepts the driver license from the officer with her right hand [00:34]. The officer uses his right hand to reposition the ticket book [00:36], and returns the pen to the left pocket of his lapel [00:37]. The officer separates the paperwork with his right hand, and extends a copy of the citation to the civilian [00:41]*

*[00:41]

O: Here's a copy of the warning there's no fine, no penalty, okay... and there's your driver license, alright, and be careful alright.

The civilian receives the paperwork with her left hand [00:42]. The officer steps away from the vehicle, shifts the ticket book from his left hand into his right hand, and turns away from the civilian [00:46].

Upon turning away from the driver's window, the officer places his left hand against the driver's door [00:47]. This action is supported by the officer's directional gaze looking back over his left shoulder, which is the side closest to the vehicle and in proximity to the civilian [00:47]. (Again, this appears to be another tactic used by the officer to make sure the civilian does not open the door while the officer moves towards the rear of the vehicle.) The officer completely turns away from the civilian, and walks in the direction of the patrol vehicle [00:48]. The officer looks back over his left shoulder towards the civilian's vehicle [00:49]. The officer walks three steps towards the patrol vehicle before turning his directional gaze away from the civilian's vehicle [00:50]. The officer continues to walk towards the patrol vehicle as he turns his directional gaze over his right shoulder and towards another vehicle traveling on the roadway [00:51]. The officer nods his head in the direction of the vehicle [00:52], returns his directional gaze towards the patrol vehicle, and exits the frame from right to left [00:53]. The civilian drives away from the curb line, and enters the roadway [00:54]

(10 seconds)

[01:04]

((AUDIO STOPS))

[01:13]

The patrol vehicle pulls away from the curb line and enters the roadway [01:14]. A grey civilian vehicle enters the frame from left to right and turns onto the roadway from an adjacent street [01:15]. The civilian vehicle passes the patrol vehicle, heading in the opposite direction, and momentarily out of view of the dashcam [01:20]. The patrol vehicle makes a U-turn in the roadway and accelerates in the direction of the civilian vehicle [01:25]. The civilian vehicle is stopped at the red light of a traffic controlled intersection [01:45]. The patrol vehicle continues moving towards the civilian vehicle as the traffic light turns green and the civilian vehicle enters the intersection [01:47]. The civilian vehicle traverses the intersection and enters the number one lane of the roadway [01:52]. The patrol vehicle briefly accelerates, enters the intersection, and follows the civilian vehicle into the number one lane of the roadway [01:54]. The civilian vehicle turns from the number one lane, and enters into the number two lane of the roadway [01:55]. The patrol vehicle follows the civilian vehicle from the number one lane and into the number two lane [01:58].

[02:02]

((AUDIO STARTS))

The brake lights of the civilian vehicle are activated [02:06], and the civilian vehicle slows to a stop along the right curb line of the roadway [02:16]. The patrol vehicle comes to a stop behind the civilian's vehicle and slightly off-set towards the center of the roadway [02:18]. (This is a tactic used by police that creates a buffer zone to reduce the likelihood of an officer being struck by another vehicle traveling on the roadway.) The officer enters the frame from left to right, and walks in front of the patrol vehicle towards the passenger side of the civilian vehicle [02:31]. The officer taps the right side of the trunk lid with his left hand [02:36]. (This is a motor reflex response supported by the officer's training to check the vehicle's trunk on approach. Checking the trunk is a tactic used by police to reduce the likelihood of an ambush during traffic stops.) The officer places his left hand on

the passenger side door and leans forward as he turns his directional gaze towards the civilian [02:40]*

*[02:40]

O: Hello Mam

C: Hi:

The officer turns his body and moves closer to the passenger side window [02:42]*

*[02:42]

O: We're with Texas Highway Patrol the reason for your stop is you didn't fail, you failed to signal the lane change, you got your driver's license and insurance with you.

(3 seconds)

O: What's wrong

(3 seconds)

C: nothing's wrong

The officer looks down [02:55]. The officer looks up [02:56]. The officer looks down [02:58]. The officer looks up [02:59]. The civilian leans towards the right front passenger seat of the vehicle and opens the glovebox {audible noise} with her right arm [03:00]. The civilian sits up [03:05] and hands documentation to the officer [03:10]. The officer stands upright and reaches inside the passenger compartment with his right hand [03:11]. The officer looks down at the documentation [03:12].*

*[03:12]

O: How long you been in Texas

The officer leans forward and turns his directional gaze back inside the vehicle and toward the civilian [03:15].*

*[03:15]

C: I got he:re ye:sterda:y

O: Oka:y,

The officer looks down at the documentation [03:17]. The officer looks up at the civilian [03:18]. The officer stands up and looks down at the documentation [03:19].

(8 seconds)

[03:27]

O: Do you have a dri:vers license

The officer leans forward and looks at the civilian [03:29].*

*[03:29]

C: I didn't give you my driver's license.

O: No Ma:m:

(3 seconds)

C: I'm sorry.

The officer turns his torso and reaches inside the vehicle with his right hand [03:33].*

*[03:33]

O: You're okay

The officer stands up and looks at the documentation [03:36]. ((break in action)) The civilian touches her head with her left hand [03:43] and strums her hair [03:44].*

*[03:44]

O: okay.

(4 seconds)

[03:48]

O: Where you headed to now?

The officer looks up and turns his head to the left looking in the direction of the patrol vehicle [03:50]*

*[03:50]

C: Wa:lma:rt

The officer looks down and leans closer to the vehicle [03:51], then bends further into the passenger side window [03:52]*

*[03:52]

O: n:oka:y.

The officer stands upright and looks down at the documents [03:54]*

*[03:54]

O: well: give me a few minutes, alright

C: I'm tired.

The officer looks in the direction of the civilian [03:56], and leans forward into the passenger side window [03:57]. The officer stands upright and moves away from the vehicle [03:58]. The officer walks to the front of the civilian vehicle [04:00], turns his head and looks at the front bumper of the civilian vehicle [04:01]. The officer changes direction [04:02], maintains his directional gaze on the interior of the civilian as he walks towards the patrol vehicle [04:03]. The officer continues to walk past the civilian vehicle [04:04], and looks over his right shoulder at the civilian vehicle as he moves closer to the patrol vehicle [04:05]. The officer looks up at the patrol vehicle [4:06], and then down towards the paperwork [4:07]. The officer looks up [4:08] as he walks between the vehicles and towards the roadway. The officer continues to walk forward as he looks over his right shoulder [04:09] towards the civilian vehicle. He then looks up across the roadway [04:09], and exits the frame from right to left [04:10].

((Break in Action))

[08:33]

The officer enters the frame from left to right and walks towards the driver side of the civilian vehicle [08:33]. The officer is holding his ticket book in his left hand as he looks down and repositions the ticket book with his right hand [08:35]. The officer looks up at the civilian vehicle, walks to the left rear quarter panel, and touches the left rear quarter panel of the civilian vehicle with his right hand [08:38]. (This is a motor reflex response supported by the officer's training to check the vehicle's trunk on approach. Checking the trunk is a tactic used by police to reduce the likelihood of an ambush during traffic stops.) The officer turns his directional gaze towards the civilian [04:39], and walks to the driver side window [04:40]*

*[04:40]

O: Okay mam

The officer turns his body, and faces the civilian [04:41]. The officer extends the ticket book towards the driver's window while simultaneously retrieving a pen from the pocket of his left lapel [08:42].

The officer places the pen on his ticket book and extends the ticket book into the driver's window [08:44]. The officer holds the ticket book in this position [04:45], and leans slightly forward towards the civilian [04:46]*

*[04:46]

O: You okay?

C: I'm waiting on you..you..this is your job..i'm waiting on you what do you want me // {to do}

O: well...you seem very irritated=

C: =I am, I: really am=

The officer closes the pen, removes the ticket book from inside the vehicle, and rests the ticket book against his belt line with both hands [08:55]*

*[08:55]

C: =because I feel like its crap for what i:m getting a ticket for, I was getting out of your way you were speeding up:=-

The officer nods in the direction of the civilian as he lowers his right hand away from the ticket book [08:58]*

*[08:58]

C: =tailing on me:..so I move over, and you stop me:.. so yeah I am a little irritated but, that doesn't stop you from giving me a ticket..so..write the ticket. {shoot}

(2 seconds)

O: Are you done.

The officer extends the ticket book with his left hand [09:11]*

*[09:11]

C: you asked me what wa:z wrong and I told you//=-

O: =okay=-

C: =,so now i:m done: yea:h {huff}

The officer looks down as he opens the pen [09:13]*

*[09:13]

O: okay.

The officer places the pen over his ticket book [09:16]. The officer looks up at the civilian and points the tip of the pen towards the civilian [09:18].

*[09:18]

O: Do you mind putting out your Cigarette, p:lee:se. if you don't mind.

The officer withdraws the pen, and places his right hand on top of his holstered firearm [09:19], and looks down at his ticket book [09:20]. The officer moves his right hand back to the ticket book and looks up at the civilian [09:23]*

*[09:23]

C: i'm in my: car why do I have to put out my: cigarette=-

The officer closes the pen and places it back into the left pocket of his lapel as he turns his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the patrol vehicle [09:26].

*[09:26]

O: =well you can step on out now.=-

The officer turns his gaze back towards the civilian and steps away from the vehicle with his left foot [09:27]*

*[09:27]

C: =I don't have to step out of my// car.

O: [Step Out of the Car]

The officer then steps towards the front of the vehicle with his left foot [09:29], and places the ticket book on the hood of the vehicle with his left hand [09:30]. The officer repositions himself at the driver's door [09:31], places his left hand on the door handle [09:32]*

*[09:32]

C: why am and i=-

The officer opens the driver's door [09:33].

*[09:33]

C: =N//o: you don't have=-

The officer steps inside the open door and points towards the rear of the vehicle with his right hand [09:34]*

*[09:34]

O: [Step Out of the Car]

C: =No: you don't have the right=

The officer places his right hand on top of his holstered firearm and points his left hand at the civilian by extending his left hand inside the passenger compartment of the vehicle [09:35]*

*[09:35]

O: =Step // Out Of The Car

The officer leans forward towards the civilian and motions with his left hand towards the rear of the vehicle [09:36]*

*[09:36]

C: [You Do: not have the Right to do that=

O: =I Do have the Right=

The officer places his left hand back inside the vehicle and in the direction of the civilian while nodding his head [09:40]*

*[09:40]

O: =Now Step Out// or I: Will Re:mo:ve: Yo:u:.

C: [I refuse to say.. I refuse to talk to you.. other than to identify myself//{unintelligible}

O: Step Out, Or // I Will Remove You

C: [I'm. I am getting re:mo:ved for A// fai:lur:e: to si:gna:l?

O: [Step Out Or I will remove you >i'm giving you a lawful order<

(2 seconds)

O: Get Out Of The Car No:w //or I'm going to Remove You.=

C: [and i'm calling my lawyer](...) =and i'm calling my lawyer.=

While placing his right hand against the B-pillar of the vehicle, the officer reaches towards the civilian with his left hand and extends his upper body inside the passenger compartment of the vehicle [09:56]*

*[09:56]

O: =I'm Gonna Yank You Outta Here.

C: Okay You Gonna Ya:nk Me O:ut of my Ca::r:?// o:ka:y alri:ght.

O: [get out

The officer removes his right hand from the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle and activates the portable radio attached to his lapel [10:00].

*[10:00]

O: 25//{send a second unit}

C: [le:ts, le:ts do this

The officer places his right hand back against the B-pillar [10:02]*

*[10:02]

O: yeah we're going to=

The officer makes an attempt to pull the civilian out of the vehicle with his left hand [10:03]*

*[10:03]

C: =Yeah.

The civilian leans towards the front right passenger seat, and the officer jerks his upper body out of the vehicle's passenger compartment [10:04]*

*[10:04]

C: don't, Don't Touch Me.

The officer reaches into the vehicle with his left hand, and repositions his right hand against the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle [10:05]*

*[10:05]

O: Get //Out Of The Ca:r=

C: [Don't Touch Me

The officer attempts to take hold of the civilian's left arm, and the civilian moves further towards the front right passenger seat [10:06]*

*[10:06]

C: =Don't Touch Me. I'm not Under Arrest, You Don't Have The Right // To Take Me Out My Ca:r.

O: [You Are Under Arrest]

The officer removes his hand from the B-pillar and activates the portable radio attached to his lapel [10:08]*

*[10:08]

C: I'm under Arrest For What?=

O: 25 // {code 7} county fm, 10-98, // for 290, send me another unit.=

C: [for what] [for what]

The officer places his right hand back against the B-pillar [10:16]*

*[10:16]

C. =for what=

O: =Get O:u:t. Of The Ca:R.

(2 seconds)

O: Ge:t O:ut Of The Car, No:w

C: wh:y am I being Apprehended, You trying to give me a// ticket for a Fai:lur:e

O: [I Said Get Out Of The Car=

C: =Why am I being apprehended // you just open my car door=

O: [I'm Giving You A Lawful Order]

C: =y//ou just Open My Car Door.

O: [I'm Go:nna Dra:g You Ou:tta Her:e.

The officer removes his left hand from inside the vehicle and places it onto his Conducted Energy Weapon (CEW)[10:28]*

*[10:28]

C: So, you're gonna=

The officer stands upright as he removes his left hand from the B-pillar of the civilian vehicle [10:29]*

*[10:29]

C: =so you're threatening=

The officer unholsters the CEW with his left hand, and points it towards the civilian by extending the CEW inside the passenger compartment of the civilian vehicle [10:30]*

*[10:30]

C: =to drag me out of my own ca:r

The officer leans forward, placing the CEW within close proximity to the civilian [10:31]*

*[10:31]

O: GET OUT OF THE CAR

The civilian sits upright in the driver seat [10:32]*

*[10:32]

C: And// Then you gonna Stun Me=

The officer pulls his left arm back while keeping the CEW in close proximity to and pointed at the civilian [10:33]*

*[10:33]

O: [I Will Light You Up]

The officer points at the civilian with his right hand and rapidly motions towards the rear of the civilian vehicle [10:34]*

*[10:34]

O: =GET OUT

C: Wow

The officer lowers his right hand alongside his body, and steps away from the civilian vehicle with his right foot [10:35]*

*[10:35]

O: NOW

The civilian steps out of the vehicle with her left foot [10:36]*

*[10:36]

C: Wow

The civilian stands up out of the vehicle (holding a cellular telephone, in her right hand, and at the level of her head), as the officer motions with his right arm towards the rear of the vehicle [10:37]*

*[10:37]

O: GET OUT OF THE CAR=

C: =Re:a:lly >for a failure to signal<=

The officer walks three steps with the civilian and points towards the sidewalk with his right hand [10:39]*

*[10:39]

C: = >you doing all this< for// a Fai:lur:e

O: Get Over There=

The civilian raises her left hand and adjust her sun glasses [10:42]*

*[10:42]

C: =Right, Yeah, yeah let's take this to Court=

The civilian looks at her cell phone as she exits the frame from left to right [10:43]*

*[10:43]

C: =Let's do it//

The officer points with is right arm towards the sidewalk as he exits the frame from left to right [10:44]*

*[10:44]

O: [Go Ahead

C: for a failure to signal, Yep For A Failure To Signal // =

O: [Get off the Phone]

C: =I'm At School

O: Get off the Phone

C: I'm not on the phone, I have the right // to record this is my property.

O: Put Your Phone Down

C: th//is is my property

O: Put Your Phone Down

C: Sir

O: Put Your Phone Do:wn:, Ri:ght No:w: (1 second) Put Your Phone do:wn

The civilian enters the frame from right to left [10:58], holding here cell phone in her right hand, and places it on the trunk of her vehicle [10:59]. The officer enters the frame from right to left with his back towards the camera [11:00]. The civilian steps back away from the vehicle with her right foot and lowers her right arm alongside her body [11:01]. The civilian shifts her weight to her left and towards the officer as she moves back and forth from side to side [11:02]*

*[11:02]

C: You:all are ridiculous

The civilian moves to her right away from the officer [11:03] The officer steps towards the direction of the civilian and stops [11:04]*

*[11:04]

O: Co:me O:ver He:re:

C: Ya:all ain't //even got

O: [Come Over He:re No:w

The civilian turns in the direction of the camera and walks towards the officer out of view [11:07]*

*[11:07]

C: You feeling good a//bout yourself

O: [Stand Right He:ere:

The officer lowers his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the ground as he extends his right arm out towards the object of his focus [11:08]*

*[11:08]

O: You need to Stand Right He:ere=

The officer looks away from the ground, in the direction of the civilian, and lowers his right hand back to his side [11:09]*

*[11:09]

C: =You feeling good about yourself=

The officer shift his feet closer together and stands upright [11:10]*

*[11:10]

O: =sta: stand right there=

C: =you gonna {in audible} you should feel real good//about your//self don:t ch:you=

O: [T:u:rn Around] [Tu:rn Around]

C: =you feel good about yourself=

O: =Tu:rn Aro:und No:w

C: what:what//are you

O: [PU:t yo:u:r hands//behind your back and Turn Around

C: [Why are you=

The officer extends his right hand towards the civilian [11:19]*

*[11:19]

O: =Turn Around=

C: =Why ca:nt yo//u tell me

The officer lowers his right hand back to his side [11:20]*

*[11:20]

O: [I'm giving you a Lawful order // and I will tell you

C: [Wh:y am I be:ing a:Re:sted

The officer raises his right hand in the direction of the civilian [11:21] and then lowers his right hand

alongside his body [11:22]*

*[11:22]

O: T//urrrn Around

C: [Why won't You tell me that Pa:rt

O: I'm giving you a lawful order turn around=

C: =Why would you not tell me=

O: =You: are not compliant

The officer shifts his balance to the right with his feet and raises his right hand towards the civilian [11:29]*

*[11:29]

C: I'm not compliant cause You Just Pulled me out of my C:a:R

The officer continues to move to his right and steps in the direction of the civilian [11:30]*

*[11:30]

O: TU:RN A:RO:UND

The officer keeps moving forward and exits the screen from left to right [11:31]*

*[11:31]

C: Are you Fucking kidding me: Thi:s is some bu:l//lshi:t >You Know it is<

O: [Put Your Ha:nds//Behi:nd your ba:ck

C: [Cau:se You Know This Is Stra:ight Bu:llshi:t And You Full Of Shit (...)

The civilian enters the screen from right to left with her left foot and stepping in the direction of the vehicle [11:37].

*[11:37]

C: Full Of Straight Shit (..)

The civilian's forward motion is stopped by the officer[11:38] and then the civilian steps back with her left foot and exits the screen from left to right [11:39]*

*[11:39]

C: That:s All:Ya'all Call Your Asses Some Scarry Fucking Cops South carolina Got You'All Bitch Asses Sca:red (.) That's All it Is (.....) {ratcheting sound} Fuckin Scared of a Female {inaudible}

O: If you just Wo:uld have Liste:ned

C: I Was try:i:ng to si:gn the fu:cking Ti:ket wha:te:ver

O: STOP MoVi:ng

C: Are You Fucking Serious=

O: =STO:P Mo:vi:n:=-

C: =Ahh I cai:n't wait until we go to court O::oh I cai:n't wa:it (..) I can Not WA:iT until we go to court (.) I can't Wa:i:t O::oh I ca:a:n:nt wa:ai:t >you want me to sit down now<=

O: =No:wa=

C: >Or yo:wa g:a< you:s just goin: Thro:w me to the floor:a (.) That Would Make you feel Better about Yourself

O: nock it o:ff

C: Nah That would Make You feel Better About Yourself (..) That: make you fe:el re:al go:od won't it (...) >pussy ass< (..) fu:cking pu:ssy (.) for a failure to signal you doing all of this (.) In little Ass prairie view texas (.) My God they//they must gonna let ya://

O: [You Were Gettin:] a Warning [Until Now You're Going to Jai:l=

C: =So I'm get:n: Fo:R WHAT

O: You C//an come read=

C: [FOR WHAT]

The officers right hand enters the frame from right to left with his index finger extended in the direction of the vehicle [12:23]*

*[12:23]

O: =>Come Read right here<

The officers directional gaze is facing the ground as he steps into frame with his right foot and stops, the civilian enters the frame from right to left with her right foot, while the officer is holding her right wrist with his left hand [12:24]*

*[12:24]

C: I'm Getting a Warning For WHAT=

The civilian walks towards the vehicle with her left foot and then her right foot, as the officer steps forward with his left leg and leans backward pulling the civilian's arms away from her body; his directional gaze moves away from the ground and in the direction of the civilian [12:25]*

*[12:25]

O: =stay Right here:=

The officer steps next to his left foot with his right foot and pivots to his right circling the civilian away from the vehicle [12:26]*

*[12:26]

C: =For WHAT=

The officer steps forward with his left foot and completes his turn facing away from the vehicle [12:27]*

*[12:27]

O: =stay Right here:=

C: =You Just Pointed Me Over TH:ERE

The officer places his feet together, and while pointing towards the ground with his right hand, he looks away from the civilian and towards the ground before looking back up at the civilian [12:28]*

*[12:28]

O: I said stay right here=

The civilian steps to her left and begins to turn away from the officer [12:29]

C: =Get your fucking mind right Let me

The civilian steps with her right foot as she completes turns to her left and moves in a forward direction away from the officer [12:30]*

*[12:30]

C: O:o:h

The officer steps forward with his left foot as he places his right hand on the handcuffs and removes his left hand from the civilian's right forearm [12:31]*

*[12:31]

C: I swear on my

The officer places his left hand on his radio and he shifts his directional gaze away from the civilian and towards the roadway [12:32]*

*[12:32]

C: Life you all some Pussies (.)

The officer then moves his directional gaze towards his left hand [12:33]*

*[12:33]

C: A Pussy Ass Cop

The officer looks up as he moves his left hand away from his radio and to the lapel mic affixed to his

left shoulder [12:34]*

*[12:34]

C: For a fucking ticket//you gonna take me to jail (.) What a pu:ssy (.)

O: [I got her controlled she's in handcuffs]

The officer lowers his directional gaze towards the handcuffs as he moves his left hand away from his lapel mic [12:37]*

*[12:37]

C: What a pu:ssy

The officer moves his directional gaze away from the civilian and looks in the direction of the camera as he turns his upper body to his right [12:39]*

*[12:39]

C: What a p:uA

The officer turns back toward the civilian and looks down with his directional gaze [12:41]*

*[12:41]

C: You About to break My Fucking Wrist=

O: =StO:p MO:vi:n

C: I'm Standing Still Y//o:U: Keep Moving ME G:o:d:dam//mit

O: [stand right there] [stay right there]

The officer steps back away from the civilian [12:47]*

*[12:47]

C: Don't touch Me (.)

The officer releases the civilian, turns towards and walks towards the vehicle with his directional gaze facing the ground [12:48]*

*[12:48]

C: Fucking Pu:ssy

The officer looks up towards the vehicle with his directional gaze [12:49]*

*[12:49]

C: For a Traffic ticket

The officer walks alongside the vehicle and towards the front [12:50]*

*[12:50]

C: You do:ing all this bullshit (..)

The officer steps in front of the vehicle [12:51]*

*[12:51]

C: {fucking pussy}

The officer walks from right to left towards the front left quarter panel of the vehicle [12:52]. The officer turns in the direction of the camera and begins walking towards the rear of the vehicle [12:53]. The officer reaches with his left hand and retrieves his ticket book from the hood of the vehicle [12:54], and pushes the front driver side door closed with his right hand as he continues to walk in the direction of the camera [12:55]*

*[12:55]

C: (.....) all this for a traffic ticket

The officer places both hands on the ticket book and lowers his directional gaze in the direction of his hands [12:56] The officer then turns, walks behind the vehicle from left to right, and looks up with his directional gaze towards the civilian [12:57]*

*[12:57]

O: Come Read right over here (.)

The looks towards the vehicle with his directional gaze [12:58] as he places the the ticket book on the trunk of the vehicle with his left hand, and then focuses his directional gaze towards the civilian [12:59]*

[12:59]*

O: This Right here says A Warning (.)

The officer extends his right hand with his index finger extended in the direction of his gaze

[13:00]*

*[13:00]

O: YOU Started Creating the Problems=

The officer lowers his right hand [13:01], while walking forward, and moves off screen from left to right [13:02].*

*[13:02]

C: =You Asked Me What Was WRONG // I'm trying to Tell You

O: [Do you have anything//on your person thats illegal

C: [I'm trying to tell you (.) Do if Feel like I have Anything on me//this a Fucking maxi dress

O: [I'm gonna remove your I'm gonna remove your glasses.

C: This a maxi dress

O: Come o//n over here

C: [what do I have on me (..) fucking assholes (..) for a fu: Your About to Break My Wrist Ca//n You STOP

O: COME HERE

C: You ARE ABOUT TO FUCKING BREAK MY {Gasp} FU: ST//O:O:O:OP {Gasp} {Crying}

O: [STOP MOVIN (...) STOP NOW (..) STOP I//T

FO: [ma:me Stop Re:sistin' mam:e

O: IF YOU WOULD STOP AND I WILL TELL YOU=

C: =for a fucking traffic ticket// {crying} your are such a pussy /=/ {gasp} {crying}

O: [NOW STOP]

FO: ={inaudible}

C: **you are such a pussy // for a fucking traffic signal** {crying}

FO: [No You Are /=/ You Should Not Be Fighting

O: =[You:re Yanking Around

C: {gasp} **for a traffic signal** {crying}

O: You Are Yanking' Aroun//d WHEN You Pull AWAY FROM ME /=/ You:re RESISTING Arrest

C: {gasp} [**for a fucking traffic signal**] {crying} =[right does this make you feel real good this make you feel real good don:t it a female fo//r a traffic signal

O: [keep her right here=

FO: =[>i got er<>i got er< //>i got er<>i got er< go ahead take care of yourself

C: [for a traffic signal I know that make you feel good officer encinia I know it make you feel real good you:re //=[

FO: [i got her]

C: =a real man now you do:ne sla:m:med me {gasp} knock my **head** in the ground I got **epilepsy** you mother fucke:a

O: Good // Good

C: [I Hope I **GO:O:D // IS IT GO:O:D Okay Alright Alright=**

FO: [You Should Have Thought About That Before You Start Resisting]
C: =**Yeah**This is Real Good (.) Real Good For A Female Yeah (.) Ya:all Strong O:o:h {gasp} //
ya:all re:al strong
FO: [go ahead i got a cage in my car]
O: I Want ch:you to wait Right here
C: ya:all real strong
O: Wait Right Here=
C: =I Cai:nt go No:where with you:r Fucking knee in my Back D:u:h:
O: I'm going to open your door=
FO: =okay
C: {fucking pussies}
O: You Need To Leave (.) You Need T:a: Leave (.) You Need t:a: Leave
O: For A Warning=
C: =whatever=
O: =You:re going to Jail for Resisting Arrest=
C: =whatever whatever=
O: =Stand Up
C: If I Co:u:ld // I Cant even I Cai:nt even fucking Feel My Arm
O: [Okay >ro:l:e o:v:er<
FO: T//uck your knee up under y:a:
O: [Tuck your kn:ee in:
C: G:o:d dam:n // **I cain:t** {gasp} {crying}
FO: [tuck you:re kn:ees up under y:a:
O: listen listen your gonna // sit up on your butt
C: [**you just slammed my head into the ground // do you not even care about that**
O: [sit up on you:re butt]
FO: listen to how he:s telling you to get:up
C: **I can:t Even He:Ar**
FO: yes you can
C: **H//e slammed my fucking head into the gr:ou:nd** Wh:at the Hell
O: [sit:up on you:re butt (.) sit:up on you:re butt (..) now >st:and up<
C: **All this for a tra:ffi:c si:gn:a:l** {gasp} **I swear to G:o:d all of this for a tra:ffice sig:nal**
Thank You For Recording **THANK** You for A **Traffic** Signal He Sla:m:med me into the
Gro:un:d AND **E:VE:RYTHING**
FO: {mo}
C: Everything I Ho:pe you:all F//eel Go:od
O: [This officer saw everything//=
C: [And I:m so glad you put that]
FO: =[I saw everyth//ing
C: [You just got on Sce:ne s//o Wh:ate:ver
FO: [no I was:a (.) I w//as I saw what happened
C: [No you wasn:t you we:re pu//lling over
FO: [get:over:it
C: no you didn:t=
FO: =no mam:e // I
C: [You didn't:t se:e everything // leading up to it

FO: [You Know what (.) I:m not ta:lking to yo:u

C: You don't have to:o You don:t have to:o

END OF SUMMARY/TRANSCRIPTION

[33:32 Remaining]

Dialogue Summary/Transcription

*[02:40]

O: Hello Mam

C: Hi:

*[02:42]

O: We're with Texas Highway Patrol the reason for your stop is you didn't fail: you failed to signal the lane change (...) you got your driver's license and insurance with you.

(3 seconds)

O: What's wrong

(3 seconds)

C: nothing's wrong

(15 seconds)

*[03:12]

O: How long you been in Texas

(3 seconds)

*[03:15]

C: I got he:re ye:sterda:y

O: Oka:y,

(8 seconds)

*[03:27]

O: Do you have a dri:vers license

(1 second)

*[03:29]

C: I didn't give you my driver's license.

O: No Ma:m:

(3 seconds)

C: I'm sorry.

(1 second)

*[03:33]

O: You're okay

(10 seconds)

*[03:44]

O: okay.

(4 seconds)

*[03:48]

O: Where you headed to now?

(1 second)

*[03:50]

C: Wa:lma:rt

(1 second)

*[03:52]

O: n:oka:y.

(1 second)

*[03:54]

O: well: give me a few minutes, alright

C: I'm tired.
 ((Break in Action))
 *[08:40]
 O: Okay mam
 (4 seconds)
 *[08:46]
 O: You okay?
 C: I'm waiting on you..you..this is your job..i'm waiting on you what do you want me // {to do}
 O: well...you seem very irritated=
 C: =I am, I: really am=
 *[08:55]
 C: =because I feel like its crap for what i:m getting a ticket for, I was getting out of your way
 you were speeding up:=
 *[08:58]
 C: =tailing on me:...so I move over, and you stop me:. so yeah I am a little irritated but, that
 doesn't stop you from giving me a ticket..so..write the ticket. {shoot}
 (2 seconds)
 O: Are you do:n:e.
 *[09:11]
 C: you asked me what wa:z wrong and I told you//=
 O: okay
 C: =,so now i:m done: yea:h {huf}
 *[09:13]
 O: okay.
 (5 seconds)
 *[09:18]
 O: Do you mind putting out your Cigarette, p:lee:se. if you don't mind.
 *[09:23]
 C: i'm in my: car why do I have to put out my: cigarette=
 *[09:26]
 O: =well you can step on out now.=
 *[09:27]
 C: =I don't have to step out of my// car.
 O: [Step Out of the Car
 *[09:32]
 C: why am and i=
 *[09:33]
 C: =N//o: you don't have=
 *[09:34]
 O: [Step Out of the Car=
 C: =No: you don't have the right=
 *[09:35]
 O: =Step // Out Of The Car
 *[09:36]
 C: [You Do: not have the Right to do that=
 O: =I Do have the Right=

*[09:40]

O: =Now Step Out// or I: Will Re:mo:ve: Yo:u:.

C: [I refuse to say.. I refuse to talk to you.. other than to identify myself//{unintelligible}

O: [Step Out, Or // I Will Remove You

C: [I'm. I am getting re:mo:ved for A// fai:lur:e to si:gna:l?

O: [Step Out Or I will remove you >i'm giving you a lawful order<

(2 seconds)

O: Get Out Of The Car No:w //or I'm going to Remove You.=

C: [and i'm calling my lawyer] (...) =and i'm calling my lawyer.=

*[09:56]

O: =I'm Gonna Yank You Outta Here.

C: Okay You Gonna Ya:nk Me O:ut of my Ca:r:?// o:ka:y alri:ght.

O: [get out]

*[10:00]

O: 25//{send a second unit}

C: [le:ts, le:ts do this

*[10:02]

O: yeah we're going to=

*[10:03]

C: =Yeah.

*[10:04]

C: don't, Don't Touch Me.

*[10:05]

O: Get //Out Of The Ca:r=

C: [Don't Touch Me

*[10:06]

C: =Don't Touch Me. I'm not Under Arrest, You Don't Have The Right // To Take Me Out My Ca:r.

O: [You Are Under Arrest]

*[10:08]

C: I'm under Arrest For What?=

O: 25 // {code 7} county fm, 10-98,// for 290, send me another unit.=

C: [for what] [for what]

*[10:16]

C. =for what=

O: =Get O:u:t: Of The Ca:R.

(2 seconds)

O: Ge:t O:ut Of The Car, No:w

C: wh:y am I being Apprehended, You trying to give me a// ticket for a Fai:lur:e

O: [I Said Get Out Of The Car=

C: =Why am I being apprehended // you just open my car door=

O: [I'm Giving You A Lawful Order]

C: =y//ou just Open My Car Door.

O: I'm Go:nna Dra:g You Ou:tta Her:e.

*[10:28]

C: So, you're gonna=

*[10:29]
C: =so you're threatening=
*[10:30]
C: =to drag me out of my own ca:r
*[10:31]
O: GET OUT OF THE CAR
*[10:32]
C: And// Then you gonna Stun Me=
*[10:33]
O: [I Will Light You Up]
*[10:34]
O: =GET OUT
C: Wow
*[10:35]
O: NOW
*[10:36]
C: Wow
*[10:37]
O: GET OUT OF THE CAR=
C: =Re:a:lly >for a failure to signal<=
*[10:39]
C: = >you doing all this< for// a Fai:lur:e
O: [Get Over There=
*[10:42]
C: =Right, Yeah, yeah let's take this to Court=
*[10:43]
C: =Let's do it//
*[10:44]
O: Go Ahead
C: for a failure to signal, Yep For A Failure To Signal //=
O: [Get off the Phone]
C: =I'm At School
O: Get off the Phone
C: I'm not on the phone, I have the right // to record this is my property.
O: [Put Your Phone Down]
C: th//is is my property
O: [Put Your Phone Down]
C: Sir
O: Put Your Phone Do:w:n., Ri:ght N:o:w: (1 second) Pu:t Your Phone do:wn
*[11:02]
C: You:all are ridiculous
*[11:04]
O: Co:me O:ver He:re:
C: Ya:all ain't //even got
O: [Come Over He:re No:w
*[11:07]

C: You feeling good a//bout yourself
 O: [Stand Right He:ere:
 *[11:08]
 O: You need to Stand Right He:ere=
 *[11:09]
 C: =You felling good about yourself=
 *[11:10]
 O: =sta: stand right there=
 C: =you gonna {in audible} you should feel reel good//about your//self don:t ch:you=
 O: [T:u:rn Around] [Tu:rn Around]
 C: =you feel good about yourself=
 O: =Tu:rn Aro:und No:w
 C: what:what//are you
 O: [PU:t yo:u:r hands//behind your back and Turn Around
 C: [Why are you=
 *[11:19]
 O: =Turn Around=
 C: =Why ca:nt yo//u tell me
 *[11:20]
 O: I['m giving you a Lawful order // and I will tell you
 C: [Wh:y am I be:ing a:Re:sted
 *[11:22]
 O: T//urrrn Around
 C: [Why won't You tell me that Pa:rt
 O: I'm giving you a lawful order turn around=
 C: =Why would you not tell me=
 O: =You: are not compliant
 *[11:29]
 C: I'm not compliant cause You Just Pulled me out of my C:a:R
 *[11:30]
 O: TU:RN A:RO:UND
 *[11:31]
 C: Are you Fucking kidding me: Thi:s is some bu:l//lshi:t >You Know it is<
 O: [Put Your Ha:nds//Behi:nd your ba:ck
 C: [Cau:se You Know This Is Stra:ight Bu:llshi:t And You Full Of Shit (...)
 *[11:37]
 C: Full Of Straight Shit (..)
 *[11:39]
 C: That:s All:Ya'all Call Your Asses Some Scarry Fucking Cops South carolina Got You'All
 Bitch Asses Sca:red (.) That's All it Is (.....) {ratcheting sound} Fuckin Scared of a Female
 {inaudible}
 O: If you just Wo:uld have Liste:ned
 C: I Was try:i:ng to si:gn the fu:cking Ti:ket wha:te:ver
 O: STOP MoVi:ng
 C: Are You Fucking Serious=
 O: =STO:P Mo:vi:n:=

C: =Ahh I cai:n't wait until we go to court O::oh I cai:n't wa:it (..) I can Not WA:iT until we go to court (.) I can't Wa:i:t O::oh I ca:a:n:nt wa:ai:t >you want me to sit down now<=

O: =No:wa=

C: >Or yo:wa g:a< you:s just goin: Thro:w me to the floor:a (.) That Would Make you feel Better about Yourself

O: nock it o:ff

C: Nah That would Make You feel Better About Yourself (..) That: make you fe:el re:al go:od won't it (...) >pussy ass< (..) fu:cking pu:ssy (.) for a failure to signal you doing all of this (.) In little Ass prairie view texas (.) My God they//they must gonna let ya://

O: You Were Gettin: a Warning Until Now You're Going to Jai:l=

C: =So I'm get:n: Fo:R WHAT

O: You C//an come read=

C: FOR WHAT

*[12:23]

O: =>Come Read right here<

*[12:24]

C: I'm Getting a Warning For WHAT=

*[12:25]

O: =sta:y Right here:=

*[12:26]

C: =For WHAT=

*[12:27]

O: =sta:y Right here:=

C: =You Just Pointed Me Over TH:ERE

*[12:28]

O: I said stay right here=

C: =Get your fucking mind right Let mE

*[12:30]

C: O:o:h=

*[12:31]

C: =I swEaR on my=

*[12:32]

C: =Li:fe you all some Pu:ssies (.)

*[12:33]

C: A Pussy Ass Cop

*[12:34]

C: For a fucking ticket//you gonna take me to jail (.) What a pu:ssy (.)

O: [I got her controlled she's in handcuffs]

*[12:37]

C: What a pu:ssy

*[12:39]

C: What a p:uA=

*[12:41]

C: =You About to break My Fucking Wrist=

O: =StO:p MO:vi:n

C: [I'm Standing Still Y//o:U: Keep Moving ME G:o:d:dam//mit

O: [stand right there] [stay right there]
 *[12:47]
 C: Don't touch Me (.)
 *[12:48]
 C: Fucking Pu:ssy
 *[12:49]
 C: For a Traffic ticket
 *[12:50]
 C: You do:ing all this bullshit (..)
 *[12:51]
 C: {fucking pussy}
 (1 second)
 *[12:55]
 C: (.....) all this for a traffic ticket
 *[12:57]
 O: Come Read right over here (.)
 [12:59]*
 O: This Right here says A Warning (.)
 *[13:00]
 O: YOU Started Creating the Problems=
 *[13:02]
 C: =You Asked Me What Was WRONG // I'm trying to Tell You
 O: [Do you have anything//on your person thats illegal
 C: [I'm trying to tell you (.) Do if Feel like I have Anything on me//this a Fucking maxi dress
 O: [I'm gonna remove your I'm gonna remove your glasses.
 C: This a maxi dress
 O: Come o//n over here
 C: [what do I have on me (..) fucking assholes (..) for a fu: Your About to Break My Wrist Ca//n
 You STOP
 O: [COME HERE
 C: You ARE ABOUT TO FUCKING BREAK MY {Gasp} FU: ST//O:O:O:OP {Gasp}
 {Crying}
 O: [STOP MOVIN (...) STOP NOW (..) STOP I//T
 FO: [ma:me Stop Re:sistin' mam:e
 O: IF YOU WOULD STOP AND I WILL TELL YOU=
 C: =for a fucking traffic ticket// {crying} your are such a pussy /=/ {gasp} {crying}
 O: [NOW STOP
 FO: =[{inaudible}
 C: **you are such a pussy // for a fucking traffic signal** {crying}
 FO: [No You Are /=/ You Should Not Be Fighting
 O: =[You:re Yanking Around
 C: {gasp} **for a traffic signal** {crying}
 O: You Are Yanking? Aroun//d WHEN You Pull AWAY FROM ME /=/ You:re RESISTING
 Arrest
 C: {gasp} [**for a fucking traffic signal**] {crying}] =[right does this make you feel real good
 this make you feel real good don:t it a female fo//r a traffic signal

O: [keep her right here]=
FO: =>i got er< >i got er< // >i got er< >i got er< go ahead take care of yourself
C: for a traffic signal I know that make you feel good officer encinia I know it make you feel
real good you:re //=
FO: i got her
C: =a real man now you do:ne sla:m:med me {gasp} knock my **head** in the ground I got
epilepsy you mother fucke:a
O: Good // Good
C: I Hope I **GO:O:D // IS IT GO:O:D Okay Alright Alright**=
FO: [You Should Have Thought About That Before You Start Resisting]
C: =**Yeah**This is Real Good (.) Real Good For A Female Yeah (.) Ya:all Strong O:o:h {gasp} //
ya:all re:al strong
FO: [go ahead i got a cage in my car
O: I Want ch:you to wait Right here
C: ya:all real strong
O: Wait Right Here=
C: =I Ca:in:t go No:where with you:r Fucking knee in my Back D:u:h:
O: I'm going to open your door=
FO: =okay
C: {fucking pussies}
O: You Need To Leave (.) You Need T:a: Leave (.) You Need t:a: Leave
O: For A Warning=
C: =whatever=
O: =You:re going to Jail for Resisting Arrest=
C: =whatever whatever=
O: =Stand Up
C: If I Co:u:ld // I Cant even I Cai:nt even fucking Feel My Arm
O: [Okay >ro:l:e o:v:er<
FO: T//uck your knee up under y:a:
O: Tuck your kn:ee in:
C: G:o:d dam:n // **I cain:t** {gasp} {crying}
FO: [tuck you:re kn:ees up under y:a
O: listen listen your gonna // sit up on your butt
C: [**you just slammed my head into the ground // do you not even care about that**
O: [sit up on you:re butt]
FO: listen to how he:s telling you to get:up
C: **I can:t Even He:Ar**
FO: yes you can
C: **H//e slammed my fucking head into the gr:ou:nd** Wh:at the Hell
O: [sit:up on you:re butt (.) sit:up on you:re butt (..) now >st:and up<
C: **All this for a tra:ffi:c si:gn:a:l** {gasp} **I swear to G:o:d all of this for a tra:ffic sig:nal**
Thank You For Recording **THANK** You for A **Traffic** Signal He Sla:m:med me into the
Gro:un:d **AND E:VE:RYTHING**
FO: {mo}
C: Everything I Ho:pe you:all F//eel Go:od
O: [This officer saw everything//=

C: And I:m so glad you put that
FO: =[I saw everyth//ing
C: You just got on Sce:ne s//o Wh:ate:ver
FO: [no I was:a (.) I w//as I saw what happened
C: No you wasn:t you we:re pu//lling over
FO: [get:over:it
C: no you didn:t=
FO: =no mam:e // I
C: [You didn't:t se:e everything // leading up to it
FO: [You Know what (.) I:m not ta:lking to yo:u
C: You don't have to:o You don:t have to:o
END OF DIALOGUE SUMMARY/ TRANSCRIPTION
[33:32 Remaining]

Appendix D

Summary/Transcription

The PCE video is recorded via a body mounted camera worn by police. In this recording, the focus of the lens is directed outward from a point of view located on the upper torso.

[00:00 - 12:25]

The audio and visual recording begins with the officer making his approach on foot [00:00]. The officer's right hand enters the frame from bottom to top [00:06]. The officer adjusts his equipment and lowers his right hand off frame in a downward direction [00:07]. The officer continues walking and turns towards his right along a sidewalk [00:10]. The officer's right hand enters the frame from bottom to top [00:11]. As the officer adjusts his equipment he continues to walk down the sidewalk, and then he lowers his hand off frame in a downward direction [00:14]. There is a ladder on the ground and two buckets of paint are resting on the sidewalk [00:15].

((Audio Starts))

There are multiple people present in the area, one can be seen standing next to the buckets of paint wearing a grey shirt and dark colored pants, the rest are standing in the roadway; the officer initiates a conversational dialogue with the group [00:16]*

*[00:16]

O: where:s h:e at

The adult female (AF1) wearing a white t-shirt and dark colored pants, that is standing, closest to the officer raises her right arm and points in the direction of the paint buckets [00:17]*

*[00:17]

AF1: {he:s right there}

The officer continues to walk on the sidewalk in the direction of the paint buckets, a juvenile female (JF1; long sleeve grey jacket and dark colored pants) standing on the sidewalk moves to her right and enters the roadway [00:20]*

*[00:20]

AF1: {move}

Another juvenile female (JF2; dark colored t-shirt and tan pants) is standing in the roadway when she begins jumping up and down while moving her arms back and forth [00:23]. As the officer approaches the buckets of paint, he engages a conversational dialogue [00:31].*

*[00:31]

O: so wh:ut:s go:in on:<

There is an adult male (AM; blue t-shirt and blue jeans) standing next to an alcove in the fence, and he does not initially respond to the officer's presence [00:32]. As the officer moves closer, the AM turns to his right towards the officer and steps away from the fence with his right foot [00:34]*

*[00:34]

AM: He:y:

O: so www:t:s go:ing on:<

The AM is holding a paint sprayer, that he places on the ground with his left hand as the officer moves next to AM's right side [00:36]*

*[00:36]

AM: {wh:el}

The AM looks up from the paint sprayer and in the direction of the camera [00:37]*

*[00:37]

AM: wh:elp (.) ok:ay I got a problem with these pe:o:pl:e he:re=

O: =o:k

The AM stands upright, takes a few steps towards the officer and points along the fence line with the index finger of his right hand extended [00:40]*

*[00:40]

AM: {has to be the pattern} of thro:wing trash he:re=

O: =o:k

The camera pans to the right in the direction of where the AM was pointing [00:41]. The motion of the camera moves the AM off frame to the left [00:43]*

*[00:43]

AM: the:y ma:ke a:l:l the big: fu:s o:ut of i:t: {as in} the:y ju:st (.) the:y do:n:t wa:nt: to pi:c it: (...) the:y wa:a:nt to de:ci:de to tel:l me >im< tou:chi:ng hi:m: (.....)

The camera begins to pan again to the officer's right [00:55]*

*[00:55]

O: =okay=

The camera continues panning towards the officer's right side [00:56]*

*[00:56]

O: =so (.) wh:uz go>ing o:n wit:h y:ou<

Eight civilian females enter the frame (right to left) as the camera moves to the right with the officer's forward motion. There are three adults (AF1; AF2, who is wearing a long sleeve dark colored shirt and pants; AF3, who is wearing a long sleeve grey sweatshirt and purple pants), along with five juveniles who present in the conversational space (JF1; JF2; JF3; who is wearing a long sleeve dark colored jacket; JF4, who is wearing a pink tank-top and dark colored pants; JF5, who is wearing a light colored long sleeve sweatshirt and blue jeans) [00:57]*

*[00:57]

AF1: u:hm my:=

The camera pans towards the officer's right side, and the officer walks forward towards the street [00:58].

*[00:58]

AF1: =daug:hter and so:n ca:me ho:m:e saying this (.)=

The officer comes to a stop, and then the camera pans towards the officer's left side as the officer turns to his left [01:00] The officer comes to rest with the camera facing in the direction of AF1, who is standing on the curb-line with her right hand next to her chin and her left hand tucked on her left hip (JF1 is standing in the street behind AF1, JF2 is standing to the right of JF, and AF2 is standing in the distance behind JF1 and JF2.) [01:01]*

*[01:01]

AF1: =ma:n gra:bbed hi:m and cho:ked him (.)=

AF1 turns her head and looks to the officer's left side as she points towards the direction of the fence with the index finger of her right hand still located next to her chin [01:03]*

*[01:03]

AF1: =I ca:me around here and asked hi:m (.) I sai:d (.)=

JF2 while facing the officer, steps with her left foot to the officers right side and continues to walk exiting the frame from left to right. AF1 looks beyond the officer's left shoulder, opens the fingers of her right hand and closes them, while keeping her hand next to her chin. [01:05]*

*[1:05]

AF1: =wh:y did you put your ha:nds on my so:n (.)=

AF2, who is standing behind AF1 and JF1, steps with her left foot and walks several paces towards the camera [01:07]*

*[01:07]

AF1: =he said (.) O:h he thr:e:w so:me pAper (.)=

JF3 steps with her right foot and enters the frame (right to left). AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin and her head back towards the camera [01:09]*

*[01:09]

AF1: =I said an:and=

AF1 points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin [01:11]*

*[01:11]

AF1: =I told him to pick:it U:p.=

AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin and her head back towards the camera [01:12]*

*[01:12]

AF1: =He said my son didn't pick it up (.)=

AF1 points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin [01:14]*

*[01:14]

AF1: =He defi:ned him (.)=

AF1 points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin [01:15]*

*[01:15]

AF1: =so that:s Why he did it (.)

AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, she moves her right arm in a counter clockwise circle, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin and her head back towards the camera [01:16]*

*[01:16]

AF1: =instead of following him hO:me (.) he said but yo:wl don:t e:ven live he:re (.)=

AF1 points with the index finger of her right hand towards the ground, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin [01:19]*

*[01:19]

AF1: =it doesn't:t matter Wh:ere W:e li:ve (.)=

AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence, and then returns her head back towards the camera [01:21]*

*[01:21]

AF1: =Yo:u do:n:t have the Right=

The camera pans when the officer turns to the right [01:22]. JF3 is standing off-set behind the right side of JF4, and AF3 is standing on the right side of JF4. JF2 is walking in front of AF3, while facing away from the camera as she moves towards JF4 [01:23]*

*[01:23]

AF1: =to gra:b=

The camera pans with the officer as he turns back to his left [01: 24]*

*[01:24]

AF1: =and ch:oke no:body:s so:n

O: n:nkay

AF1 stands with her right hand pointing towards the ground, and remains in this position as she continues to look in the direction of the camera. JF1 looks to the camera's right as she begins to motion with her right hand while speaking {in audible} [01:28]*

*[01:28]

AF1: no:body:s (.)

JF1 points with the index finger of her left hand in the direction over the officer's left shoulder. JF3 looks in the direction where JF1 is pointing and moves next to JF3. AF2 turns to her right and steps up out of the roadway. AF1 begins pointing towards the ground and nodding her head at the same time [01:29]*

*[01:29]

AF1: so I hA:ve a problem with thA:t (.) my so:n is Se:ven years o:ld (.)=

AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence [01:33]*

*[01:33]

AF1: =you don:t have the Ri:ght=

JF3 places her right foot on the carbine as AF2 completes her turn and faces towards the camera. JF3 turns her head towards her right and looks past the right side of the camera. AF1 returns her right hand to a position next to her chin and her head back towards the camera [01:34]*

*[01:34]

AF1: = to GrA:b hi:m (.) ChO:ke hi:m=

AF1 points with the index finger of her right hand towards the ground, and then returns her right hand to a position next to her chin [01:35]*

*[01:35]

AF1: =BehI:nd no pA:per that h:e Thre:w (.)=

JF1 looks in the direction of the fence as JF3 turns her head towards AF1, while AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence [01:36]*

*[01:36]

AF1: =wha:t you sho:uld have do:ne=

JF1 looks away from the fence and towards the camera's right side. JF3 turns her head and looks to the the right side of the camera. AF1 turns her head to her right and points with the index finger of her right hand towards the fence [01:38]*

*[01:38]

AF1: =because we=

AF1 continues to point towards the fence, extending her hand further away from her body, as she looks back in the direction of the camera [01:39]*

*[01:39]

AF1: =ha:ve been li:ving he:re for a yea:rs (.)=

AF1 turns her head towards the fence and moves her right hand in a counter clockwise circle [01:41]*

*[01:41]

AF1: =so yo:u kn:o:w that=

AF1 continues pointing towards the fence as she looks back in a direction of the camera [01:42]*

*[01:42]

AF1: =my house is the door in between you:rs (.)=

JF1 and JF3 look towards AF1 as AF1 pulls her right hand close to her body and then opens the palm of her had towards the camera [01:43]

*[01:43]

AF1: =you could have=

AF1: lowers her right hand alongside her right hip [01:44]*

*[01:44]

AF1: =cA:me to me (.)=

A vehicle enters the frame (right to left) and proceeds down the street in a direction heading away from the camera. JF3 turns her head and looks to her left. AF1 nods her head and leans forward towards the camera [01:45]*

*[01:45]

AF1: =don't pu:t yo:u:r ha:nds on my so:n

JF1 looks at the camera, and JF3 back to her right before looking at the camera. AF2 and AF1 are also focused towards the camera [01:47]*

*[01:47]

O: E:mh:m: (.) well why don't you teach your son not to litter.

AF1 stands upright, looks in a direction to the left side of the camera, and then looks at the camera as she lowers her chin with her mouth open [01:48]. AF2, that is watching and listening to the dialogue from a position behind AF1, reacts by opening her mouth with her eyebrows raised and then returns to her previous expression [01:49]*

*[01:49]

AF1: U:h: I didn't He cA:n't prove to me that my son litter:ed But It Doesn:t Matter if he DI:d or DI:dn:t=

JF3 turns her head to her left and then back to her right facing the camera [01:55]*

*[01:55]

AF1: =it doesn't give him the Right to put his Hands on hi:m

O: >why:not<

AF2, makes another facial expression similar to her previous response, her mouth opens and her forehead is furrowed for roughly seven seconds. AF1 lowers her head towards the ground as she furrows her forehead before looking up at the camera [01:57]*

*[01:57]

AF1: Be: // cA:us:e He: DO:n:t

AF2: {gasp}

JF3 stands up straight raises her chin [01:58], and then looks to her left [01:59]*

*[01:59]

AF1: Wh:a:t Yo:u: Me:an:

JF1 looks to her left, and then turns immediately back towards the camera at the same time and in unison with JF3 [02:00]*

*[02:00]

O: h:m: (.) I:m ju:st ask:in:

AF1: Because It DOn:t

O: h:m: (.) >h//e broke< th:e: la:w:

AF1: [It don:t

JF3 leans to her right as she turns her head to her left and mutters {in audible} before stepping back with her left leg and moving away from the camera [02:05]*

*[02:05]

AF1: He:s No:t His PA:ren:t=

JF1 turns her head to her left and towards JF3 [02:06]*

*[02:06]

O: ={well}=

AF1: =He:s No:t His PAren:t=

O: =Ok=

JF1 and JF3 look back in the direction of the camera [02:07]*

*[02:07]

AF1: =B//cause he don't need to put his

O: [wh:y (.) wh:y (.) why are yo:u yel:l:in: at m:e

The civilian moves her left hand from behind her left hip and in front of her as she switches the cellphone she's holding from her left hand and into her right hand [02:09]*

*[02:09]

AF1: Because Why would you A:sk me u:h:=

JF3 raises the palm of her left hand upward, and then returns it to her left side as JF3 steps towards the camera with her right foot and moves closer while looking towards the ground [02:10]*

*[02:10]

AF1: =Why >don't I teach him< (.) YO:u DO:n:t knO:w WhA:t I teA:ch Hi:m=

O: =>n:okay<=

JF1 looks towards her left as AF1 raises her left hand and points in the direction of the camera with the index finger of her left hand extended [02:14]*

*[02:14]

AF1: = And You {radio beep} don:t Know {radio beep} Wha:tever YO:u TE:ach YO:ur Kids=

AF1 lowers her left hand alongside her left leg [02:15]*

*[02:15]

AF1: =DOn:t MeA:n Th:E:y Go By You:re Rules=

JF1 turns her head towards the camera as JF3 looks up and in the direction of the camera and steps away with her right foot [02:17]*

*[02:17]

AF1: =When thE:re nO:t in yO:ur sI: //ght

O: [Why are you Yelling at Me=

AF1: =B//ecA:use Yo:u JU:st pI:ssed mE O:ff Te:lli:ng mE WhA:t I Tea:ch M:y Kids // and WhA:t I DO:n:t=

O: [if You teach] [If You teach]

O: =If You keep yelling at me your gonna piss me off and I'm going to take you to jail=

AF1 looks to her right and shifts a cell phone from her right hand into her left hand as she turns back towards the direction of the camera [02:24]. AF2 reaches into her purse with her right hand and removes a cellphone, at the same time JF3 leans towards the camera [02:25]*

*[02:25]

AF1: =O//kA:y

JF3: {n:o: yo:u:re n:o:t}

JF1 raises her left hand in front of JF3, who is standing to her left, and looks at her while beginning to point away from the officer with her left hand. JF1 is speaking {inaudible} to JF3 while continuing to maintain her directional focus away from the camera and her arm in front of JF3. JF4 walks into the frame from right to left as she unfolds her arms from across her chest, and then claps her hands as she walks towards the space in-between the officer and AF1 [02:27]*

*[02:27]

AF1: O:hkay

JF4 turns away from the officer and stands directly in-front of AF1 with her hands outstretched towards AF1's arms [02:28]*

*[02:28]

O: Ok

JF4: {mom}

((microphone static and yelling))

The officer's right hand enters the frame from bottom to top and hooks JF4's right shoulder. The officer pulls JF4's shoulder backward, JF3 then steps past JF1's outstretched arm as the officer's hand circles up and over JF4's head towards AF1. [02:29]*

*[02:29]

O: yOu:re Un:de:r Ar:e:st

The officer is holding AF1's right elbow with his left hand when he takes a hold of her right wrist with his right hand. JF4 is facing away from the officer with her left hand against AF1's right wrist [02:30]. The officer pulls AF1's right arm down and towards the ground, which encircles JF4 inside his arms. JF3 continues moving past JF1, and towards the left side of AF1 where she comes into contact with AF1's left forearm that is placed across her chest [02:31]*

*[02:31]

AF1: {stop}

AF1 uses her left forearm to move JF3 away from coming any closer to the center of the encounter. JF4 is facing AF1 and JF3 when she reaches up with her right hand and overlaps the officer's right hand. The officer releases AF1's left elbow and moves his left hand to AF1's right wrist. The officer pulls AF1's right hand tightly into JF4's chest causing AF1's wrist to fold under the pressure. AF1 pulls her elbow backward removing her hand from JF4's chest, as the officer releases his left hand from AF1's right wrist. The officer's right hand is holding AF1's right wrist with JF4's right hand overlapped and her fingers holding onto the web of the officer's right hand. The officer circles to his left as he pushes JF4 to the back of her left shoulder with his left hand while he rotates his right hand upward. AF1 is facing the officer and standing towards his right side when AF3 and JF2 are seen standing in front of the camera. AF3 reaches towards the right side of AF1 with her left hand as the officer pulls his right arm backwards towards the camera and in the direction of JF4's right shoulder. The officer releases his right hand from AF1's right wrist [02:32]*

[*02:32]

O: GE:T O:FF.

JF4 releases the officer's right hand as she ducks her head while turning away from inside the officer's grasp by stepping forward and to the right side of AF3 with her left foot. AF3 is standing directly in front of the officer holding a cell phone with her right hand, and holding onto AF1's right forearm with her left hand. The officer turns in the direction of AF1 and moves towards AF1's left side as AF3 releases AF1's right forearm [02:33]. The officer continues to move until he is in a position behind AF1's left shoulder. AF1 is facing away from the officer and in the direction of AF2, JF4, and AF3 [02:34]. AF3 takes a hold of AF1 by the forearm with her left hand. JF4 has her hands open and extended towards AF1. The officer's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) holding a conducted energy weapon (CEW) [02:34]. The officer raises the CEW to the top of the frame. JF1 and JF2 are standing next to each other in the street, reaching towards each other. The officer then lowers his arm and points the CEW directly at JF4 as she turns to her left and moves behind AF3 [02:35]*

*[02:35]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

((Screams))

The officer retracts his right arm away from the juvenile and places the CEW in the middle of the civilians shoulder blades [02:36]*

*[02:36]

O: GET ON THE GRO:UND NO:W

The civilian sits on to her right hip and lays down on to her right side, while the officer's left hand is against her left shoulder and the CEW is against her back[02:37]. The officer releases the civilian with his left hand and continues to point the CEW towards the civilian who is now on the ground[02:38]. The officer places his CEW to the civilians body just beneath her left elbow [02:38]. The officer takes hold of the civilians left forearm with his left hand and moves the CEW against the civilian's left elbow[02:38]. The officer pushed the CEW against the backside of the civilian's left elbow, as the civilian turns towards her stomach the officer moves the CEW away from the civilian's elbow and places it to the civilian's upper back[02:39]*

*[02:39]

O: YOU WILL RESIST ARREST (.) YOU:RE GOING TO JAIL.

The officer drives the CEW into the civilians back[02:40]. AF3 is moving towards the right of the camera, and JF3 is standing in front of AF1 [02:41]*

*[02:41]

AF3: {You On Live}

AF1 is looking up and to her right as the officer raises his right hand holding the CEW[02:42], and points it at a JF4, who is standing behind JF3[02:43]*

*[02:43]

O: YOU (.) GET ON THE GROUD NOW

JF3 steps back with her right foot and slowly moves away from the officer [02:44].*

*[02:44]

O: O:N THE GRO:UND NOW

JF4 moves to her left away from JF3 and places the fingertips of her left hand on the ground as the officer's arm tracks her motion. AF1 turns her head to her right and looks over her right shoulder towards the camera [04:45]*

*[04:45]

AF1: How About You Listen Already

AF3: {SHUT THE FUCK UP}

JF3 turns to her right and walks away from the camera as AF1 looks up and away from the camera [02:47]*

*[02:47]

AF3: {SHU:T THE FU:CK U:P} (.) {DO:N:T MO:VE}

AF1 looks to her left and towards the right side of the frame as JF3 continues to turn to her right and then steps backwards onto the curb-line with the heel of her right foot [02:48]. JF4 is on her left side with her legs outstretched [02:49]*

*[02:49]

AF3: {DO:N:T MO:VE} (.) {YO:U O:N LI:VE}

The officer holsters his CEW [02:51]*

*[02:51]

AF3: {E:VE:RYTHI:NG YO:U JUST DI:D IS O:N LI:VE} (.)=

The officer removes handcuffs from his duty belt[02:52]*

*[02:52]

AF3: **{I PROMISE YOU THAT}**

The officer is holding handcuffs in a preparatory position with his right hand [02:53]*

*[02:53]

AF1: I know I didn't do nothing (=

The officer takes hold of the civilians left hand with his left hand and places handcuffs on to the civilians left wrist [02:54]*

*[02:54]

AF1: = I got a lawyer(.)

The officer transitions the handcuffs to his left hand and takes hold of the civilians right hand, with his right hand [02:55]*

*[02:55]

O: Hands behind your back//=

AF3: **[BITCH]**

The officer and pulls the civilians right arm behind her back [02:56]*

*[02:56]

AF1: =I //got a lawyer

AF3: **[YOU ON LIVE]**

The officer finishes handcuffing the civilians right wrist [02:58]*

*[02:58]

AF1: I got a lawyer

AF3: Bitch (.) I'm Glad I'm Glad (.)

JF4: **{crying}**

The officer releases the civilian, and stands up from a side handcuffing position [03:00]*

*[03:00]

AF3: Yo:u On Li:ve (.) Bi:tc:h (.) Yo:u On Li:ve

The officer walks towards the AF3 who steps back with her right foot. JF4 is behind AF3 and backing away from the camera as she crouches down reaching for the ground with her left hand outstretched [03:01]*

*[03:01]

O: Come here

JF4 squats all the way down towards the ground and sits with her left palm flat on the ground [03:02]*

*[03:02]

JF4: I didn't know that

O: **[GET ON THE GROUND]**

The officer take hold of JF4's left forearm with his left hand and places his right hand behind her left shoulder [03:03]*

*[03:03]

JF4: what are you (.) what

The officer pulls JF4's left arm away from her body as he moves his right hand to the back of her neck [03:04]*

*[03:04]

O: Anybody Else That Interferes (.) You're Going To Jail To:o

The officer circles to his right as he pushes JF4's head towards the ground and her body into a flattened position [03:05]. The officer pulls JF4's left arm behind her back [03:06]. JF4's legs are twitching rapidly as the officer moves into a preparatory handcuffing position along JF4's left

side[03:07]*

*[03:07]

JF4: {**cr**ying and **sc**reaming}

JF3 enters the frame (right to left) hoping to her right with her fists clinched by her sides [03:08]*

*[03:08]

JF3: (**cr**ying and **sc**reaming)

The officer removes handcuffs from his duty belt with his right hand as JF3 exits the frame (right to left)[03:09]*

*[03:09]

AF3: S:T:O:P (.) STO:P FU:CKI:NG SCRE:AMI:NG

The officer places handcuffs onto JF4's left wrist[03:10]*

*[03:10]

JF4: {**ple:as:e** } {gasp}

The officer transitions the handcuffs to his left hand[03:11]*

*[03:11]

JF4: {**I didn't:t do any:thi:ng**}

The officer takes hold of JF4's right wrist with his right hand and pulls JF4's right arm behind her back[03:12]*

*[03:12]

AF3: YO:U A: BI:TC:H

The officer places handcuffs onto JF4's right wrist[03:13]. The officer secures the handcuffs onto JF4's right wrist [03:14]. The officer stands up, after releasing JF4's wrists[03:15]. The officer takes hold of JF4's left arm with his right hand[03:16]*

*[03:16]

O: Ge:t U:p

The officer places his left hand on JF4's left shoulder, alongside his right hand, and pulls her to her feet so that she is facing away from the camera[03:17]*

*[03:17]

O: Ge:t U:P

The officer walks towards AF1 with JF4 facing away from the camera, while also holding onto JF4's left arm with his right hand [03:18]*

*[03:18]

JF4: **So Un:tI:E This PL:E:A:S:E** {gasp}

JF1 enters the frame (top to bottom) and is standing in the middle of the street covering her face with her hands[03:19]*

*[03:19]

AF3: I Go:t Th:e Who:le Thi:ng Re:co:rde:d Pi:g (.)

MA enters the frame (top to bottom) and is standing in the alcove facing towards the camera as it pans to the right away from JF1 [03:20]*

*[03:20]

O: {inaudible} ((radio dispatch)) ca:n you send me ano:ther unit

The camera moves to the right as the officer turns towards JF1 who is on her stomach and looking up towards the camera [03:21]*

*[03:21]

AF3: Ge:t O:ff Of My: Sis:ter (.)

JF4 looks back over her left shoulder and in the direction of the camera[03:22]*

*[03:22]

JF4: **I di:dn:t to:uc:h y::o::u::**

JF4's face is distraught, she is crying, and she looks down towards the ground as the camera pans right to left [03:23]. The legs of MA and the stocking feet of AF1 enter the frame (left to right) as the camera continues to pan to the left and towards the ground[03:24]. The bare feet of JF4 and the officer's boots enter the frame (bottom to top)[03:25]*

*[03:25]

O: >Ge:t Up<

The camera pans across AF1 in a prone position on the ground and moves upward as JF1 enters the frame (top to bottom)[03:26]*

*[03:26]

JF1: **O:h M:y: G:o::d** {crying}

JF1 walks to the left of the camera and infant of a car stopped on the roadway[03:27]*

*[03:27]

O: {inaudible} ((radio dispatch))

The camera pans down and AF1, still in a prone position, enters the frame (bottom to top)[03:28]*

*[03:28]

O: >Ge:t UP<

JF1 remains in the middle of the street with her arms outstretched and she is crying as the officer takes hold of AF1's left arm and pulls her to her feet [03:30]*

*[03:30]

O: >Ge:t UP<

The feet of JF3 enter the frame (top to bottom)[03:31]*

*[03:31]

O: Do: Yo:u Wa:nt to Go to Ja:il To:o(.)

JF3 is standing in the street in front of AF3 and JF1 facing towards the camera [03:33] JF3 steps back with her left foot and moves her right arm across her body to the right as the camera pans to the left [03:34]*

*[03:34]

O: >Co:me O:n<

The camera is facing the ground as the officer walks forward in the direction of his patrol vehicle [03:35].

*[03:35]

AF3: YOUR A PIG FUCKING PIG ASS BITCH AND I JUST RECORDED EVERY MUTHER FUCKING THING ON LIVE (.) EVERYTHING YOU JUST DID IS ON LIVE BITCH (.) EVERYTHING YOU MUTHER FUCKING SAID IS ON LIVE BITCH(.)

A vehicle stopped in the roadway enters the frame (top to bottom) as JF3 runs along the side walk and away from the camera (bottom to top) [03:48].

*[03:48]

AF3: I PROMISE YOU=

AF3: =HEY(.) STOP FUCKING CRYING

The officer turns to his left away from the vehicle in the roadway, up on the curb-line[03:49], and towards his patrol vehicle that enters the frame (top to bottom)[03:53]*

[03:53]

O: Yo:u Are Under Arre:st For an Ou:tsta:nding War:ra:nt

(2 seconds)

O: Yo:u are un:der ar:rest for interfering

AF2 is standing on the sidewalk next to the patrol vehicle, when she turns to her right and steps out into the street as the officer move towards the curb-line [03:57]*

*[03:57]

JF4: I was trying to back my momma off // what are you saying

O: [Y:ea:h]

JF4: I // was try:ing to pu:sh he:r away from yo:u (.)

O: [Its called interfering]

JF4: I di:dn:t Tr:u:st Y:o:u

The officer walks with AF1 and JF4 towards the front of his patrol vehicle [04:00]. JF3 walks from behind the rear of the patrol vehicle, holding a cell phone in her right hand, and stands next to the driver side rear tire facing the camera[04:04]*

*[04:04]

O: GE:T BA:CK O:r: Yo:ur Go:ing to J//a:il To:o(.)

(1 second)

JF3: [I do:n:t ca:re

The officer extends his right hand, and pushes JF3 backwards with the web of his hand against her neckline[04:06]*

*[04:06]

O: GE:T BA:CK

The officer pulls AF1 and JF4 closer together as AF1 looks to her right and the camera pans down [04:08]*

*[04:08]

AF1: Move (.) Move (.) Move (.)

The officer releases the left arm of JF4, and then reaches for his duty belt [04:09]. The camera pans further to the right before moving back to the left as the right shoulder of JF4 enters the frame (left to right) [04:10]. The officer's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) holding a CEW [04:11].

AF3 and JF3 enter the frame (top to bottom), AF3 is turning away from the camera and in the direction of JF3, when they exit the frame (bottom to top) [04:13]*

*[04:13]

O: Ge:t Ba:ck

The officer's right hand holsters the CEW as the camera pans to the right [04:15]. The camera continues to pan to the right as the officer turns towards his right side and faces the front of the patrol vehicle [04:17]*

*[04:17]

AF1: Go in the Ho:use

(1 second)

JF4: oka:y this is hur:ting my ar:m: I a//m fite:en yea:rs old this is fucking reta:rted

O: [Y:e:ah:]

The officer opens the driver side door of the patrol vehicle [04:22]. The officer reaches with his right hand towards the instrument panel on the driver's door[04:23]. The officer removes his right hand from the instrument panel and places it on the outside of the door, and closes the door [04:25]. The officer turns to his right and opens the driver side passenger door [04:26]*

*[04.26]

O: Ge:t in the ca:r

The officer points towards the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle with his right hand

extended and holding keys[04:28]*

*[04:28]

JF4: oh that's I:t (.) fuck it

O: Ge:t in the Ca:r

JF4 is standing in front of the open door and facing away from the camera [04:29]. JF4 moves towards the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle, and the officer uses the knuckles of his right hand to push JF4 against the backside of her right shoulder [04:30]*

*[04:30]

O: Yo:u All Sta:rted Thi:s

JF4 turns to her left and looks over her left shoulder towards the camera [04:31]*

*[04:31]

JF4: I didn:t start no:thing // I wa:s {unintelligible}

JF4 continues turning to her left and faces the camera as she sits down on the rear passenger seat [04:32]*

*[04:32]

O: [Ge:t I:n No:w]

JF4 wiggles backwards on the seat as AF3 enters the frame (left to right) [04:33]*

*[04:33]

O: Ge:t In

JF4 raises her right leg and moves it into the patrol vehicle as she turns to her right [04:34]*

*[04:34]

JF4: how do I Ge:t In He:re {unintelligible}

JF4 looks further to her right, and then back towards the camera as she begins to pick her left leg off the and towards the interior of the vehicle [04:36]*

*[04:36]

O: GE:T IN TH:E: CA:R

The officer raises his right foot and kicks JF4 to the upper part of her left leg and closes the door of the patrol vehicle with his right hand [04:38]*

*[04:38]

O: Ge:t In Th:e Ca:r

JF4: {**screaming unintelligible**}

The camera pans to the left as the officer turns towards AF3 [04:39]. The officer opens the driver side door of the patrol vehicle [04:40]. As the offer reaches inside the vehicle, JF3 enters the frame (bottom to top) walking away from the camera [04:41]. AF3 moves to her right as the officer closes the driver side door [04:43]. AF3 begins jumping up and down in the street as the officer's right hand enters and then exits the frame (bottom to top) [04:44]*

*[04:44]

AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g

O: Oka:y Me To:o

AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g

AF3 exits the frame (right to left) as the camera pans to the officers right and his right hand enters and then exits the frame (top to bottom) [04:45]. As the officer walks to his right, passing in front of the patrol vehicle, JF3 turns and faces the camera stepping up onto the curb-line when AF2 enters the frame (top to bottom) [04:46]*

*[04:46]

AF1: {Go In the House} (.)

JF3 and AF2 exit the frame (right to left) and JF1 enters the frame (top to bottom) as the officer turns and walks towards the passenger side of the patrol vehicle [04:47]. The camera pans towards the ground as JF1 exits the frame (right to left) [04:48]*

*[04:48]

AF1: {Go In the House}

The officer walks to the front passenger door of his vehicle and opens the door with his right hand [04:52]*

*[04:52]

AF3: YO:UR A BI:TCH

A lunch box falls out of the patrol vehicle and hits the ground [04:53]*

*[04:53]

AF3: YO:UR A PI:G ASS BI:TCH (.) I JU:ST RE:CORDED EVE:RY MU:THER FU:CKING THI:NG

The officer bent over and picks up the lunch box with his right hand and tosses it back into the patrol vehicle [04:55]. The officer steps back away from the vehicle and closes the front passenger door [04:56]*

*[04:56]

AF3: YO:UR A PI:G AS BI:TCH

The officer turns to his left in the direction of AF1 and walks towards the rear passenger door [04:57]. The officer opens the rear passenger door with his right hand and turns to his right [04:58]*

*[04:58]

O: Ge:t in the Ca:r

The officer steps back away from the door and moves AF1 towards the passenger compartment by her right arm [04:59]*

*[04:59]

O: Ge:t in the Ca:r

AF1 walks inside the open door and towards the rear passenger seat of the patrol vehicle [05:00].

AF1 steps into the vehicle with her left foot [05:01]. AF1 sits down on the rear passenger seat as she pulls her right leg inside the vehicle [05:02]*

*[05:02]

AF3: YO:UR FU:CKED U:P

The officer closes the door of the patrol vehicle with his right hand [05:03]*

*[05:03]

AF3: YO:U PI:G ASS BI:TCH

The camera pans to the right as the officer turns towards the front of his patrol vehicle [05:04]*

*[05:04]

AF3: AND I RE:CORDE:D EVE:RY MU:THER FU:CKING THI:NG YO:U JU:ST DI:D

The officer continues to turn to his right and AF2 enters the frame (right to left) [05:05]. The officer opens the front passenger door of his vehicle and holds it open with his right hand [05:06]. AF3 enters the frame (right to left) and is standing in a yard next to the sidewalk [05:07]*

*[05:07]

AF3: WHE:N YO:U KIC:KED HE:R BIT:CH

The officer closes the front passenger door of the patrol vehicle with his right hand [05:08]*

*[05:08]

AF3: IT WA:S RECO:RDE:D

AF2 turns and walks along the sidewalk in a direction heading away from the camera as she exits the

frame (right to left) [05:09]. The officer turns in the direction of AF3 and walks towards her as she backs away into the front yard, when the officer's hand enters the frame (bottom to top) and takes a hold of AF3's right wrist [05:10]*

*[05:10]

O: Oka:y your: go:ing to Jai:l to:o

The officer circles to his left as he steps behind AF3 as JF3 enters the frame (right to left) and holding a cellphone in her right hand [05:11]*

*[05:11]

AF3: I don:t give a fu:ck=

O: =Fo:r interfering

The officer pushes AF2 forward towards the passenger side of the patrol vehicle [05:12] The officer removes his left hand from AF2's left arm and reaches inside her right arm towards her right wrist [05:14]. The officer holds onto AF3's right arm with his left hand as he reaches up and towards the cellphone with his right hand [05:16]*

*[05:16]

O: You:r Pho:ne is Evi:dence

The officer grabs a hold of the cellphone and pulls it towards the ground [05:17]. The officer then pulls the cellphone backwards while AF3 is holding on to it with her right hand [05:18]. AF3 is looking over her right shoulder and towards the camera [05:19]*

*[05:19]

O: Le:t Go: of the Pho::ne

AF3: He: Ca:n:t Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:↑

The officer looks over his left shoulder towards JF3 [05:21]*

*[05:21]

O: Yo:u touch me again (..) You:re Go:ing to Ja:il

AF3: He: Ca:nt Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:(.)

The officer and AF3 continue to struggle over the cellphone [05:24]*

*[05:24]

AF3: He: Ca:nt Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:(.)

O: Yes I Can (.) No:w let go: of the pho:ne

The officer and AF3 pivot to the right [05:29] As the camera pans, AF2 and JF3 enter the frame (right to left) each of them are holding cellphones up towards the officer and AF3 [05:30]*

*[05:30]

JF3: I got you (.) I got you

The officer raises his right hand and activates his lapel mic [05:32]. AF2 moves towards JF3 and uses her left arm to shew JF3 back as JF1 enters the frame [05:33]*

*[05:33]

O: {unintelligible}

AF2, JF3, and JF1 step away from the officer and back up onto the grass along the sidewalk [05:35]*

*[05:35]

AF3: Re:co:rd It (.) Ple:as:e Re:co:rd it (.) Ca:n Yo:u Ple:as:e Re:co:rd it

The officer's right hand reaches towards his belt line and retrieves a pair of handcuffs [05:37]. The officer manipulates his handcuffs into a preparatory position for handcuffing [05:38]*

*[05:38]

JF3: and I:m still recording

The officer lowers the hand cuffs towards AF3's wrists and exits the frame (top to bottom) [05:40]*

*[05:40]

O: Me: To: o Except Mi: nes in H D

AF3's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) [05:41], with her right wrist encircled by a handcuff and the officer holding the remaining section of the handcuffs in his right hand [05:42]. The camera pans to the left as the officer turns [05:43]. The officer is holding AF3's left wrist with his left hand and pulls AF3's right arm and begins to place the handcuff on AF3's left wrist [05:44]. The officer uses his right hand to secure the handcuff on AF3's left wrist [05:45] AF3 rotates her upper body towards the officer while she is being handcuffed [05:46]*

*[05:46]

AF3: Yo: u Reco: rded Ba: by: (.) Yo: u Reco: rded (.) Yo: u Reco: rded

The officer and AF3 rotate to their right as the officer finishes hand cuffing [05:47] The officer moves his left hand to the inside of AF3's upper left arm [05:48], and moves his right hand up to his lapel mic [05:49]*

*[05:49]

AF3: Yo: :u A: Pi: :g

The officer escorts AF3 towards the rear of his patrol vehicle and into the street [05:51]*

*[05:51]

O: we: l we: go: t (.) I: go: t th: re: e in cu: sto: dy (.)

As the officer continues to move forwards the camera pans to the right as a burgundy vehicle drives past the incident [05:52] The officer walks into the center of the roadway, turns to his right, and walks next to the driver's side of his patrol vehicle [05:54]*

*[05:54]

O: I think its starting to calm down > a little bit <

The officer moves his right hand away from his lapel mic [05:56]*

*[05:56]

O: O: h kay

He walks along the patrol vehicle towards the driver's door [05:57]. The officer stops at the driver side door of the patrol vehicle [05:58]*

*[05:58]

AF3: You: (.) You: Go: nna: Ge: t Fi: rre: d

O: how old are you

The camera pans to the left and AF3 enters the frame (left to right) [6:00]*

*[06:00]

AF3: Yo: u: Go: nna: Ge: t Fi: rre: d

The officer steps behind AF3 and places his right hand on the chain of the handcuffs [06:01]*

*[06:01]

O: Yo: u

The officer turns to his right and moves his left hand to the outside of AF3's upper left arm [06:02]*

*[06:02]

AF3: Re: CO: rd Thi: s

The officer turns AF3 towards the driver side window of his patrol vehicle and removes his left hand from her shoulder [06:03]*

*[06:03]

O: Are // Under Arrest

AF3: [Co: me ArOu: nd HE: re

AF3's hands enter the frame (bottom to top) while the officer is holding on to the chain of his

handcuffs[06:04]*

*[06:04]

O: Do You Understand

The officer raises his left hand to his lapel mic and AF3's hands exit the frame(top to bottom)[06:05]*

*[06:05]

AF3: Co:me ArOu:nd HE:re

O: I go:t thre:e in cu:stody I ne:ed a ba:ck se:at

(1 second)

AF3: {cough} Co:me ArOu:nd HE:re

(1 second)

O: a:nybo:dy else co:mes o:ver he:re {radio traffic} the:y:re go:ing to ja:il to:o

(1 second)

AF3: JE:ss Re:CoO:rd M:e:

The officer activates his portable radio with his left hand[06:19]*

*[06:19]

O: {unintelligible}

The officer turns to his right and AF3 enters the frame (right to left)[06:21]*

*[06:21]

AF3: You: You: O:n You: Reco:rded

The officer transitions his grip on the handcuffs and moves his right hand to the inside of AF3's upper left arm[06:22]*

*[06:22]

AF3: My: Ni:gga:

The officer pulls AF3 to her left and towards the patrol vehicle[06:23]*

*[06:23]

AF3: Yo:u Rec:o:rded

The officer removes his right hand away from AF3's upper arm and down to the handcuffs[06:24]*

*[06:24]

AF3: You: Rec:o:rded

The officer removes his left hand from the handcuffs, steps behind AF3, and moves her closer to his patrol vehicle[06:25]. The officer turns his head to the right, looks at AF3, and raises his left hand towards his body camera[06:26]*

*[06:26]

O: See thI:s rI:ght He:re // Thi:s a Ca:me:ra To:o=

AF3: [Yo:u O:n Li:ve] (..) =Yo:U O:n LI:ve:

The officer lowers his left hand away from his body camera[06:29]*

*[06:29]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

The officer looks away from AF3[06:31]*

*[06:31]

AF3: Yo:U O:n LI:ve:

The officer raises his left hand, adjusts his sunglasses, and lowers his left hand [06:32]*

*[06:32]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

JF3 enters the frame (left to right) walking along the sidewalk [06:33] on the opposite side of the

patrol vehicle from where the officer and AF3 are standing [06:33]. She looks back over her right shoulder[06:35]*

*[06:35]

AF2: Oh: Do:n:t Wo:rry: Hi:s Serg:ea:nt Is O:n Hi:s Wa:y(.)

O: Ye//aH

AF3: [I KnO:w (.) I AlreA:dy KnO:w (.) PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

AF3 looks back over her left shoulder towards the officer[06:43]*

*[06:43]

AF3: Th:E:y Bu:i:lt Fo:r Yo:U:

The officer turns towards AF3 and adjusts his grip on the hand cuffs[06:44]*

*[06:44]

AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l

(1 second)

AF3: A:N:d I: A:iN:t WO:r:r:ied (..) I: A:iN:t WO:r//:R:ied

O: [Ho:w old A:re you

AF3: A:N:d I: GO:t Y:O:u Ki:ck H:e:r=

O: =Ho:w Old A:re you(.)=

AF3: =I: SA:w Y:O:u Ki:ck H:e:r=

O: =Ho:w O//ld A:re you(.)=

AF3: [I G:ot Yo:u O:n Liv:ve] =// Ki:ck H:e:r=

O: [okay:] =How o:ld a:re yo:u

AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve// Kick:ing He:r

O: [What:s Yo:ur Na:me]

AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve Kick:ing He:r

The officer turns his head and looks at AF3 [06:57]*

*[06:57]

O: Wha:t:s Yo:ur Na:me

The officer places his left hand on AF3's forearm, lifts the handcuffs by the chain, rotates his grip upward and pushes AF3's hands above her head[06:58]*

*[06:58]

AF3: I ha:ve yo:u on live kick:ing he:r

The officer steps closer to AF3, and slides his left hand beneath AF3's left shoulder [06:59]*

*[06:59]

O: WhA:T I:s YoU:r N:a:M:e:

AF3: I have you on live kicking her

O: Yo:ur You wa:nt to te:ll me Yo:ur na:me Wha:t yo:ur Na:me is

The camera pans back and the officer's left hand enters the frame(left to right)[07:04]*

*[07:04]

AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up

O: O:ka:y Go:od

The officer's left hand is closed and the knuckles are driving into AF3's left armpit[07:05]*

*[07:05]

AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up

The officer moves his left hand away from AF3's armpit and grabs AF3's left elbow[07:06]*

*[07:06]

O: Ge:t O:ver He:re

The officer transitions his right hand way from the handcuffs and lowers AF3's arms[07:07]*
*[07:07]

AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve

The officer transitions his right hand to AF3's left wrist, releases his left hand from her arm, and begins escorting her away from his patrol vehicle[07:08]*

*[07:08]

AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve

The officer walks towards the center of the roadway with AF3 as a mother police vehicle with its light activated enters the frame (top to bottom)[07:09]*

*[07:09]

AF3: I Go:t Ev:er:ey Thing On Li:ve (.) O:n M:y: Mo:m:ma:

(1 second)

AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve

The patrol vehicle comes to a stop[07:13] The officer's right hand enters the frame (bottom to top) holding AF3's left wrist[07:14]*

*[07:14]

O: Ge:t I:n The:re

AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve

The officer opens the rear passenger compartment of the vehicle with his left hand[07:15]*

*[07:15]

O: G:E:t I:n TH:e:R

The officer turns to his left and pulls AF3 towards the vehicle as he finished opening the door[07:16]*

*[07:16]

AF3: Eve:ry Thi:ng Is On Li:ve

AF3 turns and enters the open door as the cover officer exits his patrol vehicle[07:17]*

*[07:17]

O: GE:T I:N TH:E CA:R

The primary officer moves his right hand to the outside of AF3's upper left arm[07:18]*

*[07:18]

AF3: Everything Is on Live RecO:rded

AF3 sits down [07:19] and pulls her feet inside the vehicle[07:20]. The primary officer closes the door of the patrol vehicle[07:21]*

*[07:21]

AF3: Eve:rythi:ng

The primary officer turns and faces the cover officer and begins to walk back towards his patrol vehicle[07:22]*

*[07:22]

O: Ca:n you ID her(.)

CO: Yea:h

END OF SUMMARY/TRANSCRIPTION

[05:03 Remaining]

Dialogue Summary/Transcription

*[00:16]

O: where:s h:e at

*[00:17]

AF1: {he:s right th:ere}

*[00:20]

AF1: {move}

*[00:31]

O: so wh:ut:s go:in on:<

*[00:34]

AM: He:y:

O: so www:t:s go:ing on:<

*[00:36]

AM: {wh:el}

*[00:37]

AM: wh:elp (.) ok:ay I got a problem with these pe:o:pl:e he:re=

O: =o:k

*[00:40]

AM: {has to be the pattern} of thro:wing trash he:re=

O: =o:k

*[00:43]

AM: the:y ma:ke a:l:l the big: fu:s o:ut of i:t: {as in} the:y ju:st (.) the:y do:n:t wa:nt: to pi:c it:
(...) the:y wa:a:nt to de:ci:de to tel:l me >im< tou:chi:ng hi:m: (.....)

*[00:55]

O: =okay=

*[00:56]

O: =so (.) wh:uz go>ing o:n wit:h y:ou<

*[00:57]

AF1: u:hm my:=

*[00:58]

AF1: =daug:hter and so:n ca:me ho:m:e saying this (.)=

*[01:01]

AF1: =ma:n gra:bbed hi:m and cho:ked him (.)=

*[01:03]

AF1: =I ca:me around here and asked hi:m (.) I sai:d (.)=

*[1:05]

AF1: =wh:y did you put your ha:nds on my so:n (.)=

*[01:07]

AF1: =he said (.) O:h he thr:e:w so:me pAper (.)=

*[01:09]

AF1: =I said an:and=

*[01:11]

AF1: =I told him to pick:it U:p.=

*[01:12]

AF1: =He said my son didn't pick it up (.)=

*[01:14]

AF1: =He defi:ned him (.)=

*[01:15]

AF1: =so that:s Why he did it (.)

*[01:16]

AF1: =instead of following him hO:me (.) he said but yo:wl don:t e:ven live he:re (.)=

*[01:19]

AF1: =it doesn't:t matter Wh:ere W:e li:ve (.)=

*[01:21]

AF1: =Yo:u do:n:t have the Right=

*[01:23]

AF1: =to grab=

*[01:24]

AF1: =and choke nobody:s son

O: n:nkay

*[01:28]

AF1: no:body:s (.)

*[01:29]

AF1: so I hA:ve a problem with thA:t (.) my so:n is Se:ven years o:ld (.)=

*[01:33]

AF1: =you don:t have the Ri:ght=

*[01:34]

AF1: = to GrA:b hi:m (.) ChO:ke hi:m=

*[01:35]

AF1: =BehI:nd no pA:per that h:e Thre:w (.)=

*[01:36]

AF1: =wha:t you sho:uld have do:ne=

*[01:38]

AF1: =because we=

*[01:39]

AF1: =ha:ve been li:ving he:re for a yea:rs (.)=

*[01:41]

AF1: =so yo:u kn:o:w that=

*[01:42]

AF1: =my house is the door in between you:rs (.)=

*[01:43]

AF1: =you could have=

*[01:44]

AF1: =cA:me to me (.)=

*[01:45]

AF1: =don't pu:t yo:u:r ha:nds on my so:n

*[01:47]

O: E:mh:m: (.) well why don't you teach your son not to litter.

*[01:49]

AF1: U:h: I didn't He cA:n't prove to me that my son litter:ed But It Doesn:t Matter if he DI:d or DI:dn:t=

*[01:55]

AF1: =it doesn't give him the Right to put his Hands on hi:m

O: >why:not<

*[01:57]

AF1: Be: // cA:us:e He: DO:n:t

AF2: {gasp}

*[01:59]

AF1: Wh:a:t Yo:u: Me:an:

*[02:00]

O: h:m: (.) I:m ju:st ask:in:

AF1: Because It DOn:t

O: h:m: (.) >h//e broke< th:e: la:w:

AF1: [It don:t]=

*[02:05]

AF1: =He:s No:t His PA:ren:t=

*[02:06]

O: ={well}=

AF1: =He:s No:t His PAren:t=

O: =Ok=

*[02:07]

AF1: =B//cause he don't need to put his

O: [wh:y (.) wh:y (.) why are yo:u yel:l:in: at m:e

*[02:09]

AF1: Because Why would you A:sk me u:h:=

*[02:10]

AF1: =Why >don't I teach him< (.) YO:u DO:n:t knO:w WhA:t I teA:ch Hi:m=

O: =>n:okay<=

*[02:14]

AF1: = And You {radio beep} don:t Know {radio beep} Wha:tever YO:u TE:ach YO:ur Kids=

*[02:15]

AF1: =DOn:t MeA:n Th:E:y Go By You:re Rules=

*[02:17]

AF1: =When thE:re nO:t in yO:ur sI: //ght

O: [Why are you Yelling at Me=

AF1: =B//ecA:use Yo:u JU:st pI:ssed mE O:ff Te:l:li:ng mE WhA:t I Tea:ch M:y Kids // and WhA:t I DO:n:t=

O: [if You teach] [If You teach]

O: =If You keep yelling at me your gonna piss me off and I'm going to take you to jail=

*[02:25]

AF1: =O//kA:y

JF3: {n:o: yo:u:re n:o:t}

*[02:27]

AF1: O:hkay

*[02:28]

O: Ok

JF4: {mom}

((microphone static and yelling))

*[0:29]

O: yOu:re Un:de:r Ar:e:st

*[02:31]

AF1: {stop}

[*02:32]

O: GE:T O:FF.

*[02:35]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

((Screams))

*[02:36]

O: GET ON THE GRO:UND NO:W

*[02:39]

O: YOU WILL RESIST ARREST (.) YOU:RE GOING TO JAIL.

*[02:41]

AF3: {You On Live}

*[02:43]

O: YOU (.) GET ON THE GROUD NOW

*[02:44]

O: O:N THE GRO:UND NOW

*[04:45]

AF1: How About You Listen Already

AF3: {**SHUT THE FUCK UP**}

*[02:47]

AF3: {**SHU:T THE FU:CK U:P**} (.) {**DO:N:T MO:VE**}

*[02:49]

AF3: {**DO:N:T MO:VE**} (.) {**YO:U O:N LI:VE**}

*[02:51]

AF3: {**E:VE:RYTHI:NG YO:U JUST DI:D IS O:N LI:VE**} (.)=

*[02:52]

AF3: {**I PROMISE YOU THAT**}

*[02:53]

AF1: I kno:w I di:dn:t: Do: No:thin: (.)=

*[02:54]

AF1: = I got a lawyer(.)

*[02:55]

O: Hands behind your back//=

AF3: [**BITCH**]

*[02:56]

AF1: =I //got a lawyer

AF3: [**YOU ON LIVE**]

*[02:58]

AF1: I got a lawyer

AF3: Bi:tch (.) I:m Glad I:m Glad (.)

JF4: {**crying**}

*[03:00]

AF3: Yo:u On Li:ve (.) Bi:tc:h (.) Yo:u On Li:ve
 *[03:01]
 O: Come here
 *[03:02]
 JF4: I didn't k//now that
 O: [GE:T O:N TH:E GRO:UN:D]
 *[03:03]
 JF4: what are you (.) what
 *[03:04]
 O: Anybo:dy Else That Interfe:res (.) Yo:ur Go:ing To Jail To:o
 *[03:07]
 JF4: {**cr**ying and **sc**reaming}
 *[03:08]
 JF3: (**cr**ying and **sc**reaming}
 *[03:09]
 AF3: S:T:O:P (.) STO:P FU:CKI:NG SCRE:AMI:NG
 *[03:10]
 JF4: {**ple:as:e** } {gasp}
 *[03:11]
 JF4: {**I didn't:t do any:thi:ng**}
 *[03:12]
 AF3: YO:U A: BI:TC:H
 *[03:16]
 O: Ge:t U:p
 *[03:17]
 O: Ge:t U:P
 *[03:18]
 JF4: **So Un:tl:E This PL:E:A:S:E** {gasp}
 *[03:19]
 AF3: I Go:t Th:e Who:le Thi:ng Re:co:rde:d Pig (.)
 *[03:20]
 O: {inaudible} ((radio dispatch)) ca:n you send me ano:ther unit
 *[03:21]
 AF3: Ge:t O:ff Of My: Sis:ter (.)
 *[03:22]
 JF4: **I di:dn:t to:uc:h y::o::u::**
 *[03:25]
 O: >Ge:t Up<
 *[03:26]
 JF1: **O:h M:y G:o::d** {crying}
 *[03:27]
 O: {inaudible} ((radio dispatch))
 *[03:28]
 O: >Ge:t UP<
 *[03:30]
 O: >Ge:t UP<

*[03:31]

O: Do: Yo:u Wa:nt to Go to Ja:il To:o(.)

*[03:34]

O: >Co:me O:n<

*[03:35]

AF3: YOUR A PIG FUCKING PIG ASS BITCH AND I JUST RECORDED EVERY MUTHER
FUCKING THING ON LIVE (.) EVERYTHING YOU JUST DID IS ON LIVE BITCH (.)
EVERYTHING YOU MUTHER FUCKING SAID IS ON LIVE BITCH(.)

*[03:48]

AF3: I PROMISE YOU=

AF3: =HEY(.) STOP FUCKING CRYING

*[03:53]

O: Yo:u Are Under Arre:st For an Ou:tsta:nding War:ra:nt
(2 seconds)

O: Yo:u are un:der ar:rest for interfering

*[03:57]

JF4: I was trying to back my momma off // what are you saying

O: [Y:ea:h]

JF4: I // was try:ing to pu:sh he:r away from yo:u (.)

O: [Its called interfering]

JF4: I di:dn:t Tr:u:st Y:o:u

*[04:04]

O: GET BACK O:r: Yo:ur Go:ing to J//a:il To:o(.)
(1 second)

JF3: I don't ca:re

*[04:06]

O: GE:T BA:CK

*[04:08]

AF1: Move (.) Move (.) Move (.)

*[04:13]

O: Ge:t Ba:ck

*[04:17]

AF1: Go in the House

(1 second)

JF4: oka:y this is hur:ting my ar:m: I a//m fifte:en yea:rs old this is fucking reta:rted

O: [Y:e:ah:]

*[04:26]

O: Ge:t in the car

*[04:28]

JF4: oh that:s I:t (.) fuck it

O: Ge:t in the Ca:r

*[04:30]

O: Yo:u All Sta:rted Thi:s

*[04:31]

JF4: I didn't start nothing // I was {unintelligible}

*[04:32]

O: [Ge:t I:n No:w]
*[04:33]
O: Ge:t In
*[04:34]
JF4: how do I Get In Here {unintelligible}
*[04:36]
O: GE:T IN TH:E: CA:R
*[04:38]
O: Ge:t In Th:e Ca:r
JF4: {**screaming unintelligible**}
*[04:44]
AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g
O: Oka:y Me To:o
AF3: I Ju:st Re:co:rded e:v:e:r:y:t:h:i:n:g
*[04:46]
AF1: {Go In the House} (.)
*[04:48]
AF1: {Go In the House}
*[04:52]
AF3: YOUR A BITCH
*[04:53]
AF3: YOUR A PIG ASS BITCH (.) I JUST RECORDED EVERY MUTHER FUCKING THING
*[04:56]
AF3: YOUR A PIG AS BITCH
*[04:58]
O: Ge:t in the Ca:r
*[04:59]
O: Ge:t in the Ca:r
*[05:02]
AF3: YOUR FUCKED UP
*[05:03]
AF3: YOU PIG ASS BITCH
*[05:04]
AF3: AND I RECORDED EVERY MUTHER FUCKING THING YOU JUST DID
*[05:07]
AF3: WHEN YOU KICKED HER BITCH
*[05:08]
AF3: IT WAS RECORDED
*[05:10]
O: Oka:y your: go:ing to Jai:l to:o
*[05:11]
AF3: I don:t give a fu:ck=
O: =Fo:r interfering
*[05:16]
O: You:r Pho:ne is Evi:dence
*[05:19]

O: Let Go: of the Pho::ne
AF3: He: Ca:nt Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:(.)
*[05:21]
O: Yo:u touch me again (..) You:re Go:ing to Ja:il
AF3: He: Ca:nt Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:(.)
*[05:24]
AF3: He: Ca:nt Ta:ke My: Pho:ne Can He:(.)
O: Yes I Can (.) No:w let go: of the pho:ne
*[05:30]
JF3: I got you (.) I got you
*[05:33]
O: {unintelligible}
*[05:35]
AF3: Re:co:rd It (.) Ple:as:e Re:co:rd it (.) Ca:n Yo:u Ple:as:e Re:co:rd it
*[05:38]
JF3: and I:m still recording
*[05:40]
O: Me: To:o ex:cept mi:nes in H D
*[05:46]
AF3: Yo:u Reco:rded Ba:by: (.) Yo:u Reco:rded (..) Yo:u Reco:rded
*[05:49]
AF3: Yo::u A: Pi::g
*[05:51]
O: we:l we: go:t (.) I: go:t thre:e in cu:sto:dy(.)
*[05:54]
O: I think its starting to calm down a little bit
*[05:56]
O: O:h kay
*[05:58]
AF3: You: (.) You: Go:nna: Ge:t Fi:rre:d
O: how old are you
*[06:00]
AF3: Yo:u: Go:nna: Ge:t Fi:rre:d
*[06:01]
O: You
*[06:02]
AF3: Re:CO:rd Thi:s
*[06:03]
O: Are //under arrest
AF3: [Co:me ArOu:nd HE:re
*[06:04]
O: Do you understand
*[06:05]
AF3: Co:me ArOu:nd HE:re
O: I go:t thre:e in cu:stody I ne:ed a ba:ck se:at
(1 second)

AF3: {cough} Co:me ArOu:nd HE:re
(1 second)
O: a:nybo:dy else co:mes o:ver he:re {radio traffic} the:y:re go:ing to ja:il to:o
(1 second)
AF3: JE:ss Re:CoO:rd M:e:
*[06:19]
O: ((activates radio)) {unintelligible}
*[06:21]
AF3: You: You: O:n You: recorded
*[06:22]
O: My: Ni:gga:
*[06:23]
O: Yo:u Rec:o:rded
*[06:24]
O: You: Rec:o:rded
*[06:26]
O: See thI:s rI:ght he:re // Thi:s a ca:me:ra To:o=
AF3: [Yo:u O:n LI:ve] (..) =Yo:U O:n LI:ve:
*[06:29]
AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l
*[06:31]
AF3: Yo:U O:n LI:ve:
AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l
*[06:35]
AF2: Oh: Do:n:t Wo:rry: Hi:s Serg:ea:nt Is O:n Hi:s Wa:y(.)
O: Ye//aH
AF3: [I KnO:w (.) I AlreA:dy KnO:w (.) PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l
*[06:43]
AF3: Th:E:y Bu:i:lt Fo:r Yo:U:
*[06:44]
AF3: PO:li:C:e CA:meRa:s AI:n:t ReA:l
(1 second)
AF3: A:N:d I: A:iN:t WO:r:R:ied (..) I: A:iN:t WO:r//:R:ied
O: [Ho:w old A:re you
AF3: A:N:d I: GO:t Y:O:u K:iCk H:e:r=
O: =Ho:w Old A:re you(.)=
AF3: I: SA:w Y:O:u K:iCk H:e:r=
O: =Ho:w O//ld A:re you(.)=
AF3: [I G:ot Yo:u O:n Liv:ve] =// K:iCk H:e:r=
O: [okay:] =How o:ld a:re yo:u
AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve// Kick:ing He:r
O: [What:s Yo:ur Na:me]
AF3: I Ha:ve YO:u O:n LI:ve Kick:ing He:r
*[06:57]
O: What:s Yo:ur Na:me
*[06:58]

AF3: I have you on live kicking her
*[06:59]
O: WhA:T I:s YoU:r N:a:M:e:
AF3: I have you on live kicking her
O: Yo:ur You wa:nt to te:ll me Yo:ur na:me Wha:t yo:ur Na:me is
*[07:04]
AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up
O: O:ka:y Go:od
*[07:05]
AF3: The:re Go: Yo:ur Ba:ck Up
*[07:06]
O: Ge:t O:ver He:re
*[07:07]
AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve
*[07:08]
AF3: I Go:t Yo:u On Li:ve
*[07:09]
AF3: I Go:t Ev:er:ey Thing On Li:ve O:n M:y: Mo:m:ma:
(1 second)
AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve
*[07:14]
O: Ge:t I:n The:re
AF3: Ev:er:ey Thing I:s On Li:ve
*[07:15]
O: G:E:t I:n TH:e:R
*[07:16]
AF3: Eve:ry Thi:ng Is On Li:ve
*[07:17]
O: GE:T I:N TH:E CA:R
*[07:18]
AF3: Everything Is on Live RecO:rded
*[07:21]
AF3: Eve:rythi:ng
*[07:22]
O: Ca:n you ID her(.)
CO: Yea:h

END OF DIALOGUE SUMMARY/TRANSCRIPTION

[05:03 Remaining]

Appendix E

Summary/Transcription

[0:00 - 1:00]

The PCE video originated from a cellphone and the camera's gaze is facing outward. The sunset can be seen in the background and it appears to be dusk. Streetlights are on in the distance. An unoccupied vehicle is parked alongside a curb and facing in the direction of the camera. Several car lengths behind sits a patrol vehicle with its headlights shining. A civilian and a deputy are standing next to each other in the space between the two vehicles. The civilian is wearing shorts and a sleeveless shirt. The deputy is wearing a patrol uniform with long sleeves. The civilian is standing closest to the camera and looking in the opposite direction at the deputy who is located just beyond. The civilian steps up on the curb and turns towards the camera with his arms outstretched[0:01]*

*[0:01]

O: {O:wN↓}=

O: =Get On the FUcking< GrOUnd Now!

The deputy has a conducted energy weapon (CEW) out of the holster and pointed at the civilian with both hands. The CEW light aperture is activated and shining. The deputy steps up on the curb in close proximity to the civilian[0:02]*

*[0:02]

C: {I love you}

The civilian looks over his right shoulder and slightly turns his body in the same direction as he begins to jump and skip away from the deputy. The civilian completes his turning motion and comes to a resting position facing the deputy. The civilian's arms are raised and in a position to strike or grab the deputy[0:03]*

*[0:03]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

C: {I:ll show you}

The civilian lowers his arms and moves to his right[0:04]*

[0:04]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian side steps to his right and the deputy mirrors the civilian's movement by side stepping to his left[0:05]*

[0:05]*

O: Get On the FUcking< GrOUnd Now!

The civilian moves his right hand towards the camera, then turns sideways before slightly extending his arms, and reaches toward the ground[0:06]. The deputy continues to move to his left as the civilian squats down into a kneeling position on the ground[0:07]*

*[0:07]

O: g/Ge:t o/O:n the GrOUnd

The civilian places both hands on the ground while kneeling and starts to move towards placing his belly on the ground[0:08]*

*[0:08]

C: {come cuff me}

The deputy continues to move to his left around the civilian[0:09]*

*[0:09]

C: {hurry}=

The deputy shuffles back and forth and leans side to side [0:10]*

*[0:10]

O: =Put Your Feet/(.)=

The civilian is flat on the ground with his legs outstretched[0:11]*

[0:11]

C: = {Come cuff me} =

O: =Put Your Hands/(.) Put Your Hands on Your Back.(.)=

The civilian momentarily places both hands to the small of his back and the officer moves back to his right[0:12]*

*[0:12]

O: =Now↑

The deputy moves towards the civilian, as he does this, the civilian slaps his palms on the ground[0:13]*

*[0:13]

C: ((Slapping Sound))

The civilian jumps to his feet[0:14]*

*[0:14]

C: ((Scuffing Sound))

The deputy steps back from the civilian[0:15]*

*[0:15]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

The civilian turns to his right and begins to walk away from the deputy while looking over his left shoulder[0:16]*

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian stops and turns to face the deputy. The civilian's arms are raised at chest level and his body is offset with his right foot back [0:17]*

*[0:17]

C: {unintelligible}

The deputy moves to his left and steps away as the civilian leans in the deputy's direction[0:18]*

*[0:18]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian relaxes his arms and begins motioning at the deputy with his left hand[0:19]*

*[0:19]

C: YOU HAVE (...)=

The civilian lowers his arms to his sides and steps to his right[0:20]*

*[0:20]

C: =No {Heart}/=

The deputy move to his left and takes several deliberate steps to back away while keeping the CEW trained on the civilian[0:21]*

*[0:21]

C = {unintelligible} //

Two bystanders enter the camera's frame (right to left), they are standing in the distance, and to the right of the deputy[0:22]*

*[0:22]

O: [Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian moves away from the deputy and turns to walk towards his car[0:23]. The civilian looks over his left shoulder at the deputy and continues moving towards his car[0:24]*

*[0:24]

O: Get On the GrOUnd Now!

The deputy moves to his left and closer to the camera. The civilian turns back towards the deputy and raises his hands[0:25]*

*[0:25]

C: {I'm leaving}

The civilian motions with the palms of his hands towards the deputy[0:26]*

*[0:26]

W1: Du:de ge:t o:n the gro:und

The civilian keeps moving sideways towards his car and the deputy continues to follow[0:27]*

*[0:27]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian stops and motions with his outstretched arms towards the deputy[0:28]*

*[0:28]

C: {I love you}

The civilian turns completely away from the deputy and walks towards his car[0:29]*

*[0:29]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian looks at the camera and lowers his arms[0:30]. The deputy walks after the civilian[0:31]*

*[0:31]

C: >{listen (.) i:m leaving}<

The civilian steps off the curb and into the street[0:32]*

*[0:32]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

The civilian reaches with his left hand and opens the door to his car. The deputy closes the distance and places his left hand on the door[0:33]*

*[0:33]

C: Wa:tch i:m >going to leave<

The deputy pushes the door causing it to close slightly. The civilian steps from within the door and uses his left hand to push the deputy. The civilian uses his right hand to push the door open in continuity with shoving the deputy[0:34]*

*[0:34]

C: >dont touch me<

The deputy steps back with his right foot and shifts his weight up onto the curb. When the deputy moves his left leg to maintain his balance, it is clipped by the swinging door. The arch of his left foot makes contact with the curb and he stumbles away from the civilian[0:35]*

*[0:35]

C: >DONT FUCKING {TOUCH} ME DUDE<

As the deputy falls to the ground, his right hand is extended with the CEW pointed at the civilian. The deputy discharges the weapon at the civilian. The deputy continues falling off backwards landing in a seated position on the ground[0:36]*

*[0:36]

(): ((CEW discharge))

The deputy keeps his weapon pointed at the civilian and scrambles to his feet and the civilian reacts to being struck by the CEW[0:37]*

*[0:37]

C: ((guttural noise)) {grunting}

(): ((weapon cycling))

The deputy is standing with both hands on the weapon, and moves away to gain distance, as the civilian steps up on the curb and lunges at the deputy[0:38]*

*[0:38]

C: ((yelling)) {Inhale}

The civilian is striding towards the deputy with his hands clinched and the deputy continues to back away from the civilian[0:39]. The civilian out paces the deputy and closes the distance to within a couple feet. The deputy lowers his weapon and starts running in the opposite direction[0:40]*

*[0:40]

C: YOU WA:NNA FU:CK WI:TH ME MU:THA FU:CKER↑

The two bystanders witnessing the PCE re-enter the camera frame (right to left) as the deputy runs in their general direction while the civilian is sprinting after the deputy[0:41]*

*[0:41]

C: YO:U: WA:NT TO: FU:CK WI:TH ME NIGGA↑

The deputy is looking over his left shoulder at the civilian while running across the pavement headed towards a landscaped area with bushes and trees that are bordered by a tall chainlink fence[0:42]*

*[0:42]

C: Yo:u Want To Fu:ck Wi:th Me<

The bystanders in the distance turn in a circle following the foot chase and move to the camera's right as the deputy and civilian go running past their location[0:43]. One bystander moves, followed in turn by the second bystander[0:44]. The civilian momentarily catches up to the deputy when the chase travels along the fence line[0:45]. The camera jostles in place as the deputy and civilian begin to distort from view near a tree in the distance [0:46]*

*[0:46]

→W2: Thi:s du:de go:t a dea:th wi:sh↑

The bystanders are seen in the foreground, then the civilian, and followed by the deputy in the distance[0:47]. The camera jostles left to the vehicles and pans back to the right. The deputy and civilian are separated by several yards and the space where bystanders are located[0:48]*

*[0:48]

W1: He:s chasing the/(.) He:↑ di:nt/(.) the Taser↑ didn't pha:se hi:m<↑

The civilian takes a couple steps backing away from the deputy[0:49]. The civilian turns around and starts running back towards the vehicles[0:50]. The deputy chases after the civilian and runs past the bystanders [0:51]*

The bystanders exit the camera's frame left to right[0:52]*

*[0:52]

W2: ye:ah/{unitelligible}

The civilian begins to slow down and reach towards the vehicles with both hands[0:53]*

*[0:53]

→W1: he:s >fi:tte:n to< sho:ot hi:m (...) he:s go:nna: sho:ot

The civilian comes to a stop and opens the driver's door of the patrol vehicle[0:54]*

*[0:54]

W1: ((gasp))

The civilian enters the patrol vehicle as the deputy closes the distance[0:55]*

*[0:55]

W1: O:h ShI:T!

The deputy stops running several feet away from the patrol vehicle and removes his duty weapon from it's holster[0:56]*

*[0:56]

→W2: wha:t is he: o:n

The deputy comes within arms length of the vehicle and takes hold of the driver's side door with his left hand[0:57]. The deputy opens the door and quickly shuffles away from the patrol vehicle[0:58]. The door bounces back towards the civilian who proceeds to push the door open[0:59].

[VIDEO BREAK]

The video resumes and the civilian and deputy are no longer engaged at the patrol vehicle.

[1:00 - 2:00]

The deputy is standing on the sidewalk directly outside the civilian's car and the civilian is seated in the driver's seat. [01:00]*

*[1:00]

O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r Now↑

The deputy moves slightly to his right and then back to his left[1:01]. The deputy takes two short steps away from the civilian's car[1:02]. The deputy moves slightly to his left and then back to his right.[1:03]*

*[1:03]

→W1: He:s try:ing not to u:se hi:s gu:n

The deputy takes one small step towards the civilian's car begins to move in reverse[1:04]*

*[1:04]

O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r

The civilian's car rolls backward towards the patrol vehicle[1:05]. The deputy shuffle steps to his right at pace with the civilian's car[1:06]*

*[1:06]

O: Now↑

The civilian's car stops and the officer holds his position outside the civilian's window[1:07]*

*[1:07]

C: {no}

The deputy settles his feet while leaning back and forth from side to side[1:08]*

*[1:08]

O: Get Out (.) Get//

The civilian's car rolls a few feet closer to the patrol vehicle and stops[1:09]*

*[1:09]

→W1: [Shoot his tires//out]=

The deputy bends over at the waist and crouches down[1:10]*

*[1:10]

W2: [Maybe]

The civilian's car accelerates in reverses towards the patrol vehicle[1:11]*

*[1:11]

→W1: =shoot//his tires out=

→W2: [may:be he:s go:t a gu:n]

W1: ((gasp))

The civilian's car turns to the camera's right and continues accelerating ((tires screeching)) along a path of travel in-between the patrol vehicle and deputy[1:12]. The civilian's car nearly misses

colliding with the patrol vehicle and deputy[1:13]. As the civilian's car continues to reverse towards an intersection in the distance, the deputy follows on foot[0:14]. The deputy steps down off the curb and into the roadway[1:15]*

*[1:15]

→W1: He:s go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf

The civilian's car reverses in an arch to the left side of the camera's frame[1:16]*

*[1:16]

W1: Oh↑(.) he:re co:me the >heli:co:pters↓

The car stops behind the patrol vehicle and perpendicular to the camera's frame[1:17]. The civilian's car is now facing to the camera's left and in the general direction of the bystanders near the landscaping[1:18]*

*[1:18]

W2: {tha:ts a helico:pter}

The deputy moves closer to the passenger side of the civilian's car[1:19]*

*[1:19]

W1: >Ye:ah tha:tts a helico:pter↓

The deputy angles himself toward the rear of his patrol vehicle[1:21]*

*[1:21]

W1: yep (.) he:re the:y co:me

The deputy takes a couple small steps forward[1:22]. The deputy turns to his right and moves towards the civilian's car[1:23]. The deputy walks up to the passenger doors of the civilian's car, and when he closes to within several feet, the civilian drives forward[1:24]*

*[1:24]

→W1: Sho:ot his ti:res o:ut (.) du:de< Don't let Hi:m dri:ve Awa:y↑

The civilian's car accelerates in a wide circle behind the patrol vehicle[1:25]. The deputy moves toward the rear of the civilian's car as it pulls away from the deputy[1:26]. The deputy turns to his left and watches the civilian's car turn away and circle back[1:27]*

*[1:27]

→W1: Oh↑ he go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf↑

The deputy moves to his left and back in the direction of his patrol vehicle[1:29]*

*[1:29]

→W2: He↓ go:nna kill somebody else↑

The deputy takes several large steps backwards and moves away from the patrol vehicle[1:31]*

*[1:31]

W2: O:h↑ WA:tch **OUT**↑

The car continues accelerating and collides with the passenger side doors of the patrol vehicle[1:32]. The camera pans to the left following the deputy's movement and the civilian's car exited the frame (right to left)[1:33]*

*[1:33]

W2: He:s stu:pi:d<

The camera pans back to the left and the civilian's car enters the frame (left to right)[1:34]. The deputy turns away from the collision[1:35]. The deputy moves further away from the collision and steps back on the curb[1:36]. The deputy momentarily bends over at the waist and then stands upright[1:37]. Emergency lights of a second patrol unit enter the camera's frame (left to right) off in the distance[1:38]*

*[1:38]

W2: O:h↓ he:s stu:pi:d<

The deputy shifts side to side and leans back and forth[1:39]*

*[1:39]

(.): ((Engine revving up and down))

A second patrol unit turns at the intersection in the distance and begins heading towards the collision[1:40]. The deputy takes two large steps towards the civilian's car[1:41]. The deputy takes another series of large steps[1:42]. The deputy walks closer to the civilian's car by moving to the driver's side of his patrol vehicle[1:43]. The deputy slowly comes to a stop several yards away from the patrol vehicle[1:44]. The camera zooms in on the deputy and the wrecked vehicles[1:45]. The deputy is standing with his back to the camera[1:46]. The deputy raises his hands and extends his arms towards the civilian's car[1:47]. The deputy steps to his left and then back to his right[1:48]. The second patrol vehicle is pulling up to the collision as the civilian opens his car door and exits the vehicle[1:49]. The civilian starts walking toward the second patrol unit[1:50]*

*[1:50]

W2: Lo:ok↑ >at thi:s fo:ol<

The second patrol unit stops in the roadway behind the collision and a deputy gets out from the driver's seat [1:51]. The civilian turns to the camera's left and begins running away from the deputies[1:52]*

*[1:52]

W2: He:s↓ Ru:nni:g↑

The deputy stops momentarily at the rear of his patrol vehicle[1:53]*

*[1:53]

→W2: Good thing he a:int black (.) he would have been dead=

The civilian continues running until he exits the camera's frame (right to left)[1:54].

The deputy turns around the end of his patrol vehicle and runs after the civilian[1:55]*

*[1:55]

→W1: =Oh↑(.) Yeah↑(.) He::d< be:e:n↑ ki:lle:d hi:m<↓

→W2: ((Chuckle)) I:t'd< be: a wra:p↑ [1:56]

The camera pans to the left following the deputy and the civilian enters the camera's frame (left to right)[1:57]. The civilian keeps jogging away from the collision[1:58]*

*[1:58]

W1: A::HH? He:s↓ >Co:ming Ba:ck in the Bui:l↑//

The deputy runs after the civilian, and the second deputy emerges from behind his patrol vehicle running[1:59]. The camera pans quickly to the left, distorting the image, and the video stops[2:00].

END OF PCE VIDEO

Dialogue Summary/Transcription

[0:00 - 1:00]

*[0:01]

O: {O:wN↓}=

O: =Get On the FUcking< GrOUnd Now!

*[0:02]

C: {>I love you<}

*[0:03]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

C: {>I:ll show you<}

[0:04]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

[0:05]*

O: Get On the FUcking< GrOUnd Now!

*[0:07]

O: g/Ge:t o/O:n the GrOUnd

*[0:08]

C: {come cuff me}

*[0:09]

C: {hurry}=

*[0:10]

O: =Put Your Feet/(.)=

*[0:11]

C: ={Come cuff me}=

O: =Put Your Hands/(.) Put Your Hands on Your Back/(.)=

*[0:12]

O: =Now↑

*[0:13]

C: ((Slapping Sound))

*[0:14]

C: ((Scuffing Sound))

*[0:15]

O: GET ON THE GROUND

*[0:16]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

*[0:17]

C: {unintelligible}

*[0:18]

O: Get On the GrOUnd

*[0:19]

C: YOU HAVE (...)=

*[0:20]

C: =No {Heart}/=

*[0:21]

C ={unintelligible}//

*[0:22]
O: [Get On the GrOUnd
*[0:24]
O: Get On the GrOUnd Now!
*[0:25]
C: {I:m leaving}
*[0:26]
W1: Du:de↑ >ge:t o:n the gro:und
*[0:27]
O: Get On the GrOUnd
*[0:28]
C: {I love you}
*[0:29]
O: Get On the GrOUnd
*[0:31]
C: >{listen (.) i:m leaving}<
*[0:32]
O: Get On the GrOUnd
*[0:33]
C: Wa:tch i:m >going to leave<
*[0:34]
C: >dont touch me<
*[0:35]
C: >DONT FUCKING {TOUCH} ME DUDE<
*[0:36]
(): ((CEW discharge))
*[0:37]
C: ((guttural noise)) {**grunting**}
(): ((weapon cycling))
*[0:38]
C: ((yelling)) {Inhale}
(1 second)
*[0:40]
C: YOU WA:NNA FU:CK WI:TH ME MU:THA FU:CKER↑
*[0:41]
C: YO:U: WA:NT TO: FU:CK WI:TH ME NIGGA↑
*[0:42]
C: Yo:u Want To Fu:ck Wi:th Me<
(3 seconds)
*[0:46]
→W2: Thi:s du:de go:t a dea:th wi:sh↑
(1 second)
*[0:48]
W1: He:s chasing the/(.) He:↑ di:nt/(.) the Taser↑ didn't pha:se hi:m<↑
(2 seconds)
*[0:52]

W2: ye:ah/{unitelligible}
*[0:53]
→W1: he:s >fi:tte:n to< sho:ot hi:m (...) he:s go:nna: sho:ot
*[0:54]
W1: ((gasp))
*[0:55]
W1: O:h ShI:T!
*[0:56]
→W2: **wha:t is he: o:n**
(2 seconds)

[VIDEO BREAK]

[1:00 - 2:00]
*[1:00]
O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r Now↑
*[1:03]
→W1: He:s try:ing not to u:se hi:s gu:n
*[1:04]
O: Ge:t Ou:t Of The Ca:r
(1 second)
*[1:06]
O: Now↑
*[1:07]
C: {no}
*[1:08]
O: Get Out (.) Get//
*[1:09]
→W1: [Shoot his ti:res//out]=
*[1:10]
W2: [Maybe]
*[1:11]
→W1: =shoot//his ti:re out=
→W2: [may:be he:s go:t a gu:n]
W1: ((gasp))
(): ((tires screeching))
(3 seconds)
*[1:15]
→W1: He:s go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf
*[1:16]
W1: Oh↑(.) he:re co:me the >heli:co:pters↓
(1 second)
*[1:18]
W2: {tha:ts a helico:pter}
*[1:19]
W1: >Ye:ah tha:tts a helico:pter↓
(1 second)
*[1:21]

W1: yep (.) he:re the:y co:me
 (1 second)
 *[1:24]
 →W1: Sho:ot his ti:res o:ut (.) du:de< Don't let Hi:m dri:ve Awa:y↑
 (2 seconds)
 *[1:27]
 →W1: Oh↑ he go:nna: ki:ll hi:mse:lf↑
 (1 second)
 *[1:29]
 →W2: He↓ go:nna kill somebody else↑
 (1 second)
 *[1:31]
 W2: O:h↑ WA:tch **OUT**↑
 (1 second)
 W2: He:s stu:pi:d<
 (5 seconds)
 *[1:38]
 W2: O:h↓ he:s stu:pi:d<
 *[1:39]
 (:): ((Engine revving up and down))
 (10 seconds)
 *[1:50]
 W2: Lo:ok↑ >at thi:s fo:ol<
 (1 second)
 *[1:52]
 W2: He:s↓ Ru:nni:g↑
 *[1:53]
 →W2: Good thing he a:int black (.) he would have been dead=
 (1 second)
 *[1:55]
 →W1: =Oh↑(.) Yeah↑(.) He::d< be:e:n↑ ki:lle:d hi:m<↓
 →W2: ((Chuckle)) I:t'd< be: a wra:p↑
 (1 second)
 *[1:58]
 W1: A::HH? He:s↓ >Co:ming Ba:ck in the Bui:l↑//

END OF PCE VIDEO

Capais

THE STATE OF TEXAS

Redacted

THE STATE OF TEXAS)
)
COUNTY OF DALLAS) AFFIDAVIT FOR ARREST WARRANT OR CAPIAS

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared the undersigned affiant who, after being duly sworn by me, on their oath stated:

My name is [REDACTED] Armstrong, and I am a peace officer employed by the Texas Department of Public Safety, Dallas County, Texas as a Texas Ranger. I am the Affiant of this Affidavit for Arrest.

On September 06, 2018 at about 09:59 P.M., [REDACTED] Guyger committed the offense of Manslaughter, a violation of the T.P.C 19.04 a Felony of the 2nd degree against Complainant Botham Shem Jean, when the suspect, Guyger, shot and killed the Complainant during an encounter. The offense occurred at 1210 S Lamar apartment # 1478 in Dallas, Dallas County, Texas.

The facts of the case are as follows:

Complainant Jean is the resident tenant of apartment #1478. Guyger, who is a Dallas Police Officer, lives in the same apartment complex, directly beneath the Complainant, in apartment #1378. Apartment #1378 and apartment #1478 and their respective interior floorplan are in most ways identical or extremely similar to the exterior surroundings, structure, and description of each other. Complainant Jean was home alone when Guyger, who had just ended her shift, but was still in her Dallas Police uniform, arrived at the apartment complex and parked her vehicle on the fourth floor of the parking garage, which should correspond to the floor the resident lives on. Guyger entered the building and walked down the fourth floor hallway to what she thought was her apartment. She inserted a unique door key, with an electronic chip, into the door key hole. The door, which was slightly ajar prior to Guyger's arrival, fully opened under the force of the key insertion. Upon the door being opened, Guyger observed that the apartment interior was nearly completely dark. Additionally, the door being opened alerted Complainant Jean to Guyger's presence. Believing she had encountered a burglar, which was described as a large silhouette, across the room in her apartment; Guyger drew her firearm, gave verbal commands that were ignored by Complainant Jean. As a result, Guyger fired her handgun two times striking the Complainant one time in the torso. Guyger then entered the apartment, immediately called 911, requesting Police and EMS, and provided first aid to Complainant Jean. Due to the interior darkness of the apartment, Guyger turned on the interior lights while on the phone with 911. Upon being asked where she was located by emergency dispatchers, Guyger returned to the front door to observe the address and discovered she was at the wrong apartment (#1478). Guyger called 911 from her cell phone requesting an ambulance and police to the offense location. Complainant Jean was transported to Baylor Hospital where he died as a result of his injury. Guyger remained at the scene and informed the responding officers and the 911 operator that she thought she was at her apartment when she shot the Complainant. Guyger believed she was in her apartment and confronted by a burglar when she fired her handgun, striking and killing him.

WHEREFORE, Affiant requests that an arrest warrant or capias be issued for the above accused individual (s) in accordance with the law.



AFFIANT

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME on the 9th day of September, 2018.



MAGISTRATE, IN AND FOR DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS

MAGISTRATE'S DETERMINATION OF PROBABLE CAUSE

On this the 9th day of Sept, 2018, the undersigned Magistrate hereby acknowledges that he has examined the above affidavit and has determined that probable cause exist for the issuance of a capias for the individual (s) accused therein and hereby orders the Clerk of the Court of proper jurisdiction to issue a capias for the arrest of said individual (s).



MAGISTRATE, IN AND FOR DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS

OFFICER'S RETURN

Redacted