



AFRICAN AMERICAN
POLICY FORUM

SAY HER NAME

**RESISTING POLICE
BRUTALITY AGAINST
BLACK WOMEN**

AFRICAN AMERICAN
POLICY FORUM

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dysis of Racialized Rac
etc Violence*

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RESISTING POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST BLACK WOMEN

AFRICAN AMERICAN POLICY FORUM

www.aapf.org // info@aapf.org

CENTER FOR INTERSECTIONALITY AND SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES

www.intersectionality-center.org // intersectionality@columbia.law.edu

435 West 116th St. - Box E7 New York, NY 10027

BY Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw and Andrea J. Ritchie
WITH Rachel Anspach and Rachel Gilmer

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This document is dedicated to Black women who have lost their lives to police violence and their families who must go on without them. We are greatly indebted to the family members who have bravely spoken out to shed light on their loved ones' stories. We would like to thank each and every family member we spoke to, along with all family members who have lost loved ones to police violence.

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SAYHERNAME

RESISTING POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST BLACK WOMEN

The August 9th police killing of 18-year old Michael Brown sparked a previously smoldering nationwide movement against police violence, and more broadly, anti-Black racism. As Mike Brown, Eric Garner and Tamir Rice have become household names and faces, their stories have become an impetus for public policy debates on the future of policing in America.

However, 2014 also marked the unjust police killings of a number of Black women including Gabriella Navarez, Aura Rosser, Michelle Cusseaux, and Tanisha Anderson. The body count of Black women killed by the police continued in 2015 with the killings of Alexia Christian, Meagan Hockaday, Mya Hall, Janisha Fonville and Natasha McKenna.

The lack of meaningful accountability for the deaths of unarmed Black men also extended to deaths of unarmed Black women and girls in 2015. Just as the officers who killed Mike Brown and Eric Garner escaped punishment for these homicides, officers who killed Black women and girls were not held accountable for their actions. Joseph Weekley, who killed a sleeping seven-year-old Aiyana Stanley-Jones, escaped prosecution after a jury failed to convict him in his second trial. Dante Servin, an off-duty officer who shot Rekia Boyd in the back of the head was cleared by a judge of all charges. Other officers faced no charges whatsoever, such as those who killed Mya Hall, a Black transgender woman.

Neither these killings of Black women, nor the lack of accountability for them, have been widely lifted up as exemplars of the systemic police brutality that is currently the focal point of mass protest and policy reform. The failure to highlight and demand accountability for the countless Black women killed by police over the past two decades, including Eleanor Bumpurs, Tyisha Miller, LaTanya Haggerty, Margaret Mitchell, Kayla Moore and Tarika Wilson, to name just a few among scores, leaves Black women unnamed and thus under-protected in the face of their continued vulnerability to racialized police violence.¹

Say Her Name sheds light on Black women's experiences of police violence in an effort to support a gender inclusive approach to racial justice that centers all Black lives equally.

The resurgent racial justice movement in the United States has developed a clear frame to understand the police killings of Black men and boys, theorizing the ways in which they are systematically criminalized and feared across class and irrespective of circumstance. Yet Black women who are profiled, beaten, sexually assaulted and killed by law enforcement officials are conspicuously absent from this frame even when their experiences are identical. And they remain invisible when their experiences are distinct--uniquely informed by race, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation.

Say Her Name sheds light on Black women's experiences of police violence in an effort to support a gender inclusive approach to racial justice that centers all Black lives equally. It is our hope that this document will serve as a tool for the resurgent racial justice movement to mobilize around the stories of Black women who have lost their lives to police violence.



BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

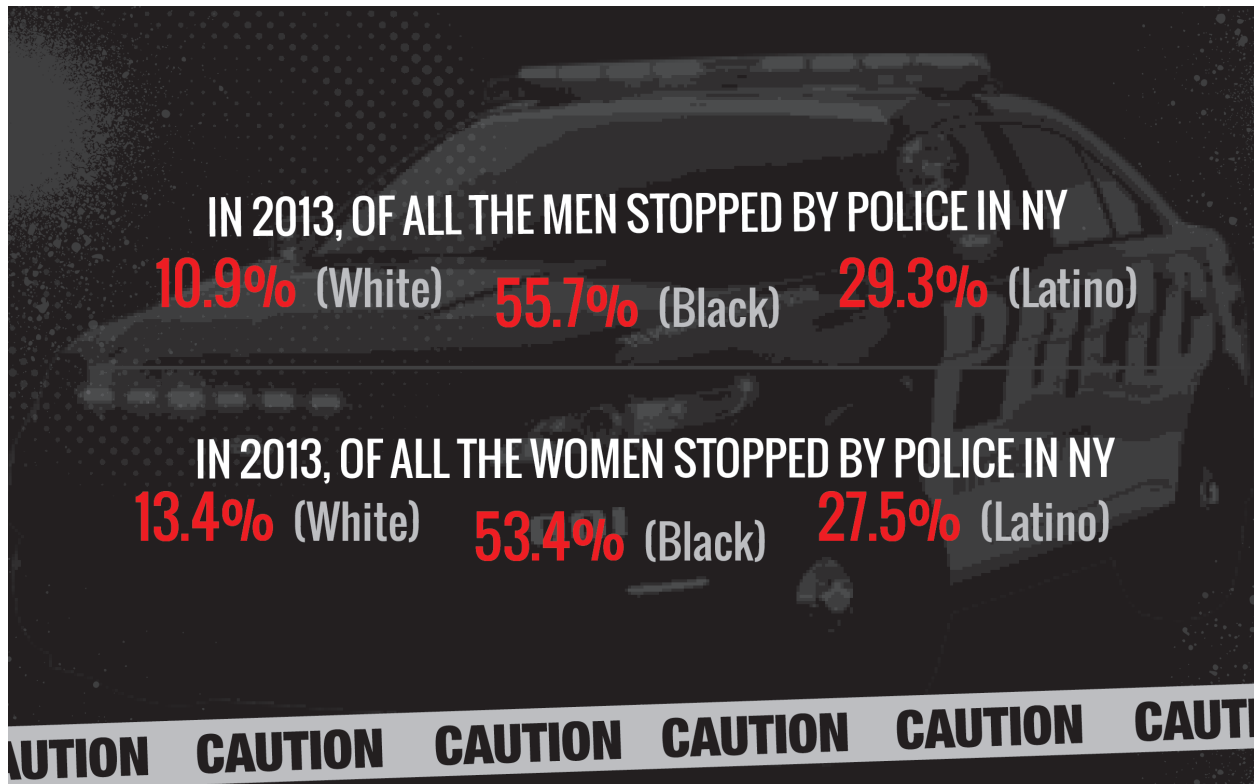
BUILDING ON THE WORK OF SCHOLARS AND ACTIVISTS WHO HAVE CALLED FOR INCREASED ATTENTION TO BLACK WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF POLICING OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES, SAY HER NAME OFFERS A NUMBER OF STORIES THAT REVEAL THE WAYS GENDER, RACE, AND SEXUALITY CAN OPERATE TOGETHER TO INFORM POLICE ABUSE OF BLACK WOMEN.^{ii,iii}

Our goal is not to offer a comprehensive catalogue of police violence against Black women - indeed, it would be impossible to do so as there is currently no accurate data collection on police killings nationwide, no readily available database compiling a complete list of the cases of Black women's lives lost at the hands of police, and no data collection on sexual or other forms of gender and sexuality based police violence. Moreover, the media's exclusive focus on police violence against Black men makes finding information about Black women of all gender identities and sexualities much more difficult. Given these limitations, our goal was simply to illustrate the reality that Black women are killed and violated by police with alarming regularity. Equally important, our hope is to call attention to the ways in which this reality is erased from our demonstrations, our discourse, and our demands, to broaden our vision of social justice.

As a result of the paucity of data, the stories of police violence included in this document are essentially a result of the information gathered through online research or cases that have come to the attention of the report's authors. Many more cases have never seen the light of day, and even those that have surfaced momentarily have received little sustained national or local attention. Many more women who have been killed by the police are missing from these pages, but their lives are certainly no less valuable.

The erasure of Black women is not purely a matter of missing facts. Even where women and girls are present in the data, narratives framing police profiling and lethal force as exclusively male experiences lead researchers, the media and advocates to exclude them. For example, although racial profiling data is rarely, if ever, disaggregated by gender *and* race, when race and gender are considered together, researchers find that "for both men and women there is an identical pattern of stops by race/ethnicity."^{iv} In New York City -- one of the jurisdictions with the most extensive data collection on police stops -- the rate of racial disparities in stops, frisks and arrests are identical for Black men and Black women. But media, researchers and advocates tend to focus only on how profiling impacts Black men.

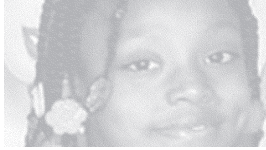
Similarly, a 2012 Malcolm X report, *Operation Ghetto Storm*, revealed that police, security guards, and vigilantes killed 313 Black people that year, which represents a Black person being killed every



28 hours.^{vi} The cases cited in *Operation Ghetto Storm* explicitly include Black people of all genders, but the report is often cited to support the premise that a Black *man* is killed every 28 hours, thereby explicitly erasing the killings of Black women.^{vii}

Our hope is that this document will honor the intention of the #BlackLivesMatter movement to lift up the intrinsic value of *all* Black lives by serving as a resource to answer the increasingly persistent call for attention to the Black women killed by police. This document offers preliminary information about the police killings of Black women that have not galvanized national attention or driven our analysis. The information presented here is organized around two themes. First, we seek to highlight the fact that many killings of Black women could be understood within the existing frames surrounding racial profiling and use of lethal force. The solution to their absence is not complex; Black women can be lifted up across the movement through a collective commitment to see what is in plain sight. Second, we present cases that highlight the forms of police violence against Black women that are invisible within the current focus on police killings. The challenge here is to expand the existing frames so that this violence is legible to activists, policymakers and the media.

Addressing Black women's experience of police violence requires a broadening of the public conversation, informed by robust research, analysis and advocacy. Toward this end, we will offer a more detailed analysis of Black women's experiences of policing in a forthcoming research report. In the meantime, we hope that this document will be used by the media and policymakers, advocates and organizers, to begin to break the silence around Black women's experiences off police violence. But the first step in breaking this silence is now within the reach of all of us. We need only answer the simple call to #SayHerName.



WHY WE MUST SAY HER NAME: THE URGENT NEED FOR A GENDER INCLUSIVE MOVEMENT TO END STATE VIOLENCE

THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS WHY THE RESURGENT RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT MUST PRIORITIZE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GENDER INCLUSIVE LENS.

First, including Black women and girls in the narrative broadens the scope of the debate, enhancing our overall understanding of the structural relationship between Black communities and law enforcement agencies. In order to comprehend the root causes and full scope of state violence against Black communities, we must consider and illuminate all the ways in which Black people in the US are routinely targeted for state violence. Acknowledging and analyzing the connections between anti-Black violence against Black men, women, transgender and gender nonconforming^{viii} people reveals systemic realities that go unnoticed when the focus is limited exclusively to cases involving Black non-transgender men.^{ix}

Secondly, both the incidents and consequences of state violence against Black women are often informed by their roles as primary caretakers in their communities. As a result, violence against them has ripple effects throughout families and neighborhoods. Black women are positioned at the center of the domestic sphere and of community life, yet their marginal position with respect to economic and social power relations creates the isolating and vulnerable context in which their struggle against police violence, mass incarceration and low wages occurs. In order to ensure safe and healthy Black communities, we must address police violence against Black women with equal outrage and commitment.

Third, centering the lives of all segments of our community will permit us to move away from the idea that to address police violence we must “fix” individual Black men and bad police officers. Moving beyond these narrow concepts is critical if we are to embrace a framework that focuses on the complex structural dimensions that are actually at play. Through inclusion it becomes clear that the problem is not a matter of whether a young man’s hands were held up over his head, whether he had a mentor, or whether the police officers in question were wearing cameras or had been exposed to implicit bias trainings. It becomes clear that the epidemic of police violence across the country is about how police relations reinforce the structural marginality of all members of Black communities in ways that are similar and unique to one another.

Fourth, including Black women and girls in this discourse sends the powerful message that indeed all Black lives do matter. If our collective outrage is meant to serve as a warning to the state that its agents cannot kill without consequence, our silence around the cases of Black women and girls sends the message that certain deaths do not merit repercussions.

Our failure to rally around Black women's stories represents a broader failure to demand accountability for all Black lives targeted by the state. Families who lose Black women to police violence are not regularly invited to speak at rallies and do not receive the same level of community support as families who lose Black men. This leaves the families of Black women killed to mourn not only the loss of their loved ones, but also the fact that no one seems to care. Yet the killings of Black women are no less troubling than the killings of their male counterparts. Their families mourn no less and should not be left to suffer in solitude.

Black women have consistently played a leadership role in struggles against state violence -- from the Underground Railroad to the anti-lynching movement to the current Black Lives Matter campaign -- yet the forms of victimization they face at the hands of police are consistently left out of social movement demands. Black women leaders are often asked to speak only about their fears of losing their sons, brothers, partners, and comrades. Yet their experiences of police violence are equally real, and their leadership should translate to the inclusion of their experiences alongside those of the Black men in their lives.



RE-FRAMING STATE VIOLENCE: PATTERNS OF POLICE KILLINGS AGAINST BLACK WOMEN

What follows are several brief frames that highlight Black women's experiences within commonly understood narratives of racial profiling and police violence. Together, they illuminate Black women's unique experiences of police violence in gender and sexuality specific contexts and forms. Each is illustrated by several cases intended to demonstrate how race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and class sometimes work in conjunction with gendered racial stereotypes to inform violent responses to Black women by law enforcement officials. While in many cases Black women killed by police were alleged to be armed or dangerous, witness accounts often dispute officers' version of the facts, and suggest that less lethal force could have been employed - particularly in cases where Black women were experiencing mental health crises, or in the context of responses to domestic disputes. Yet perceptions of Black women as menacing and their bodies as superhuman inform police interactions with them in much the same way as they do those with Black men. These fears are often perceived to be reasonable no matter how vulnerable or in need of assistance these women might be, reflecting the unique forms of discrimination against women who are Black. All too often such perceptions are further amplified and reinforced when the Black woman in question is poor, transgender or gender nonconforming, or alleged to be engaged in criminalized activity.

DRIVING WHILE BLACK

All Black people experience racial profiling while driving. Black men as well as women are commonly stopped as minor traffic violations serve as a pretext criminal investigations. In the worst-case scenarios, allegations of more serious traffic violations—speeding, failing to pull over, or driving a stolen car—can turn exceptionally deadly when race-based perceptions of Black drivers as inherently dangerous lead the police to use unwarranted lethal force. Victims of such deadly encounters are typically imagined to be men, but Black women also pay the ultimate penalty for driving infractions committed while Black.

Mya Hall

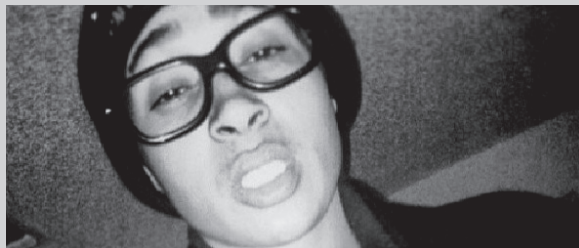
March 30, 2015 / Baltimore, MD



Mya Hall was a Black transgender woman killed by National Security Agency (NSA) police just weeks before Freddie Gray's case grabbed national headlines. Alleged to be driving a stolen car, she took a wrong turn onto the National Security Administration property and was shot to death by officers after the car she was driving crashed into the security gate and a police cruiser. No effort to use non-lethal force was made even though there was no threat to the facility and neither person in the car was armed. Friends remembered her as a kind and caring woman struggling to make ends meet in the face of pervasive and entrenched structural discrimination against Black transgender women.^x

Gabriella Nevarez

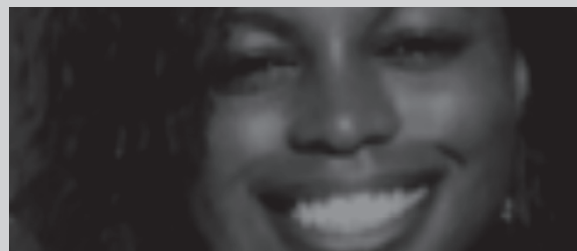
March 2, 2014 / Sacramento, California



Police attempted to pull over 22-year-old Gabriella Nevarez after her grandmother called the police because Nevarez had taken her car after they had an argument. After attempting to apprehend her, officers at the scene claimed that she led them on a high-speed chase and attempted to ram her car into their vehicle. They claimed to have opened fire in self-defense. Passengers reported that Nevarez lost control of the car and crashed after she was shot. Since her death, many have questioned why the police failed to use nonlethal force to subdue her.^{xii}

Natasha McKenna

February 8, 2015 / Fairfax County, VA



37-year-old Natasha McKenna died in the hospital several days after she was TASERed by officers in the Fairfax County Jail. McKenna, who weighed 130 pounds, was restrained with handcuffs behind her back, leg shackles and a mask when a sheriff's deputy shocked her four times. She suffered from mental illness. Officers claimed she was being uncooperative, which led them to restrain and then TASER her. Within minutes of being TASERed McKenna stopped breathing. She died a few days later.^{xi}

Miriam Carey

October 3, 2013 / Washington D.C.



Federal agents killed Miriam Carey, a 34-year-old dental hygienist and suburban mother, after she allegedly sped away from a White House checkpoint. Secret Service officers claimed that they had approached her and told her to stop at the checkpoint site, and that she had refused to do so. Valarie Carey, Miriam's sister, and her attorney Eric Sanders, claim that the official report of the incident shows that the altercation actually started when an undercover agent moved a large object into Carey's path, and she swerved to avoid him, hitting a barricade instead. They say that Carey likely tried to drive off from the scene out of fear, and became increasingly frantic as officers chased and shot at her from behind.^{xiii} Officers fired several shots as they pursued her, and they continued to fire even after her car had stopped. She was hit in the back of her head, three times in the back and once on her left arm. Her one-year-old baby was in the car with her. Carey's representatives claim that the narrative presented by the police is false, and that the media's failure to interrogate official accounts of the incident helped to justify her senseless killing. No charges have been filed against the officers.^{xv}

Shantel Davis

June 14, 2012 / Brooklyn, New York



Detective Philip Atkins, a plainclothes detective, fatally shot Shantel Davis, an unarmed 23 year old woman, in East Flatbush, Brooklyn. Police in the area noticed her erratic driving and proceeded to follow her. The car chase came to a halt when she collided with a minivan. Detective Philip Atkins then fatally shot Davis in the chest. Atkins later claimed that he had accidentally fired his gun as he struggled with her to shift the car she was driving into "park." Witnesses contradicted his statements, saying the shooting was not actually an accident. Davis was pronounced dead at the hospital following the incident.^{xvi}

Sharmel Edwards

April 21, 2012 / Las Vegas, Nevada



Police followed Sharmel Edwards on the suspicion that she was driving a stolen car. They claimed that when she finally stopped driving and exited the car, she pointed a gun at them and that they opened fire on her in self-defense.^{xvii} At least three witnesses disputed the account that she pointed a gun at the officers, and two claimed that Sharmel had no weapon.^{xviii} The Clark County DA Office ignored this witness testimony and ruled that the officers who had killed Edwards had acted "reasonably and lawfully."^{xix}

Kendra James

May 5, 2003 / Portland, Oregon

Three police officers stopped a car Kendra James was riding in and removed the driver after they found he had an outstanding warrant. After her friend was arrested, James moved up to the driver's seat of the car. Without apparent reason, Officer Scott McCollister then began struggling with James to remove her from the vehicle. He later claimed that he had tried to use nonlethal methods to subdue James, including pepper spray, but that these methods had failed to work. What is known is that McCollister held a gun to James' head and fired a single, fatal shot. Afterward he claimed he shot her in self defense because the vehicle was moving while his body was partially inside the car. He was cleared of all charges related to her death by a federal grand jury but found liable in the civil case James' family filed against him.^{xx}

LaTanya Haggerty

June 4, 1999 / Chicago, Illinois

LaTanya Haggerty was shot by Chicago Police Officer Seyrena Daniels after the car she was a passenger in failed to stop when asked to pull over by police. The officer claimed she thought Haggerty pulled a gun, but no weapon was found on the scene. The young computer analyst was speaking on her cell phone at the time she was gunned down. Three of the officers were fired, one was suspended, and the family was awarded \$18 million in a settlement by the City of Chicago.^{xxi}

POLICING POVERTY: POLICE BRUTALITY AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, RACE AND CLASS

Black women's encounters with police often take place against a backdrop of disproportionate poverty among Black women: overall, Black women are poorer than Black men and white women. Even in the face of the economic recovery in America, Black women continue to face grave socio-economic disparities, and are the only group whose unemployment rate failed to decrease in 2014.^{xxii} Consequently, many Black women are abused and killed by police are among the low-income and homeless people have increasingly been targeted for intensified policing under "broken windows" policing practices and the policing of poverty. The criminalization of poor people, when coupled with negative stereotypes about Black women, may result not only in police harassment but also in police killings.

Shelly Frey

December 6, 2012 / Houston, TX



Louis Campbell, an off-duty sheriff and Houston area minister, shot and killed Shelly Frey because he suspected that a friend she was riding with had stolen items from a Wal-Mart store. After failing to stop the group from leaving the store, Frey and her friend got into a car and attempted to drive away. Campbell fired shots into the car in which she was a passenger, hitting Frey in the neck. Frey's two small children were in the car at the time.^{xxiv} Camp-

bell later claimed that he fired shots in self-defense because the driver of it had attempted to run him over. Sharon Wilkerson, Frey's mother, explained that Frey's body was left in the car without medical attention for eight hours, and believes that if she had received immediate care she might still be alive today.^{xxv} Frey had moved to Houston after Hurricane Katrina and had struggled to make ends meet as a single mother. As public resources continued to dwindle, she was left with few options in a setting disinclined to give her the benefit of the doubt.^{xxvi} Her death was not only a tragic consequence of petty theft but of the broader social dynamics that left her without the resources to meet her needs and those of her family. Wilkerson, who now takes care of her children, shared that, "I feel like I'm babysitting her kids, I don't feel like she's gone."^{xxvii}

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



Margaret LaVerne Mitchell

May 21, 1999 / Los Angeles, CA



Described by Amnesty International as “a frail, mentally ill homeless African American woman in her 50s,” Margaret LaVerne Mitchell, was shot dead by a LAPD police officer on the streets where she lived.^{xxx} Ms. Mitchell was well known in the area, and local residents who affectionately called her “Mom,” described her as sweet and harmless.^{xxxi} Based on eyewitness accounts, there appears to have been no “reasonable suspicion” to justify the officer’s stop of a homeless woman pushing a shopping cart down the street.^{xxxii} When an eyewitness sought to intervene to protect her from the officers’ harassment, Mitchell walked away from the officers who then proceeded to shoot her in the back.^{xxxiii} The officers later claimed that Ms. Mitchell -- who was 54 years old, weighed 102 pounds, and was a diminutive 5’ 1” -- lunged at them with a screwdriver causing them to fear for their lives.^{xxxiv} The shooting was found to have violated LAPD rules, but the officer was acquitted of all criminal charges.

Eleanor Bumpurs

October 29, 1984 / Bronx, New York



Police arrived at the home of Eleanor Bumpurs, a 66-year-old grandmother, in response to a city-ordered eviction notice. She was four months behind on her monthly rent of \$98.65 for her Bronx apartment. When she refused to open the door for the police the officers broke in to her apartment. In the struggle to subdue her, an officer fatally shot Bumpurs twice with a 12-gauge shotgun. In March 1990, the city of New York, as part of a settlement agreement, agreed to pay \$200,000 to Bumpurs’ estate as compensation for the loss of her life.^{xxxv} Her case represented one of the first around which protests concerning the police shooting of a Black woman took place, but Bumpurs’ death never made it to the national stage or served to drive our collective analysis of the causes and contexts of police violence.

CASUALTIES OF THE WAR ON DRUGS: BLACK WOMEN AS DRUG “MULES”

Some are familiar with the impact of the war on drugs on Black women through stories such as those of Kemba Smith and Dorothy Gaines -- women who were given long prison sentences under mandatory minimum guidelines despite their peripheral involvement in the drug trade.^{xxxvi} Yet there has been relatively little attention to the law enforcement interactions which drive these phenomena -- interactions informed by perceptions of Black women's bodies as vessels for drugs ingested, swallowed or concealed -- or their homes as drug factories. These interactions have taken the lives of Black women as old as 92 and girls as young as 7.

Kathryn Johnston

November 21, 2006 / Atlanta, Georgia



Undercover police shot and killed 92-year-old Kathryn Johnston in her home during a botched raid. When they arrived unannounced at her home Johnston fired shots in self-defense, hitting no one. In response, the police opened fire and released 39 bullets several of which hit Johnston. Afterwards, the three Atlanta police officers involved in the shooting attempted to cover up the incident. One went so far as to plant marijuana in Johnston's house and cocaine in the evidence file. All three officers were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 5 to 10 years for conspiracy to violate civil rights resulting in death. Two of the officers were further charged with voluntary manslaughter and making false statements. The city of Atlanta paid a \$4.8 million settlement to Johnston's family.^{xxxvii}

Alberta Spruill

May 16, 2003 / Harlem, NY



Fifty-seven year old Alberta Spruill died of a heart attack after the police broke down her

door and threw a concussion grenade into her apartment. The police were acting on misinformation about drugs and guns inside her apartment. Spruill's family filed a wrongful death lawsuit, which the city ultimately settled for \$1.6 million.^{xxxviii}

Danette Daniels

June 8, 1997 / Newark, NJ

Danette Daniels, a pregnant Black woman, was arrested for dealing drugs by New Jersey police officers, and was then shot to death by police officers as she sat in the police squad car after an alleged "scuffle." Witnesses deny that Ms. Daniels was involved in any drug transaction at the time of her death.^{xxxix}

Frankie Perkins

March 22, 1997 / Chicago, IL

Frankie Perkins, the mother of three daughters, aged four, six, and sixteen, was walking home one evening when the police stopped her. They claimed that they had seen her swallowing drugs, and tried to get her to spit them up. Witnesses state that the officers simply strangled her to death, a claim consistent with autopsy photos revealing bruises on her face and rib cage, eyes swollen shut. The hospital listed the cause of death as strangulation. No drugs were found on her. Perkins' mother reported that police subsequently harassed young men in the neighborhood in an effort to prevent them from speaking out about her case. The City of Chicago settled a lawsuit with the family for \$637,000.^{xii}



VIOLENCE INSTEAD OF TREATMENT: POLICE KILLINGS OF BLACK WOMEN SUFFERING FROM A MENTAL HEALTH CRISIS

In the absence of adequate mental health resources for the vast majority of Black communities, law enforcement officers often serve as the first and only responders to mental health crises experienced by Black women. Police officers, however, are not mental health professionals, and often lack the skills and training necessary to handle these situations. This lack of training, compounded with a take-charge-at-all-costs attitude on the part of some officers, has led to the tragic loss of life of those who the police were called to serve. In some interactions, Black women experiencing a mental health crisis are perceived as “superhuman” and posing a deadly threat rather than being afforded compassionate support. Rather than being viewed as a woman in need, they are instead met with deadly force. The fact that Black women are rarely viewed as women in distress can cost them their lives.

Tanisha Anderson

November 13, 2014 / Cleveland, OH



The family of 37 year-old Tanisha Anderson reached out for assistance to escort their daughter to St. Vincent Charity Medical Center. Tanisha voluntarily got in the police car, but then grew anxious and tried to run away from the vehicle. A police officer then performed a “takedown” move on her, slamming her head against the concrete sidewalk and causing her to lose consciousness. He placed his knee on her back and handcuffed her as she lay face-down on the pavement. She was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital. The Cuyahoga County medical examiner ruled her death a homicide.^{xlii} Anderson suffered from bipolar disorder, but her mother, Cassandra Johnson, explained that as long as she was on her medication, “you wouldn’t know anything was

wrong with her.”^{xliii} Johnson explained that despite false media narratives, Anderson was not violent, and that it was the behavior of the police in isolating her from her family that made her feel panicked. The officers refused to permit Anderson’s family to comfort her as she lay dying and exposed on the snow-covered street. Anderson’s family has filed a wrongful death lawsuit against the City of Cleveland and two of its police officers. Johnson shared that, “Tanisha was always making us laugh, she always had something funny to say.”^{xliv}

Michelle Cusseaux

August 13, 2014 / Phoenix, Arizona



Michelle Cusseaux’s mother, Frances Garrett, describes her as a “mama’s girl; she told me she would always take care of me, never leave me.”^{xlvi} Police shot Michelle Cusseaux to death in front of her

home while they were attempting to take her to a psychiatric facility in response to a court order. Officers claimed that Cusseaux threatened them with a hammer, yet her mother explained that Cusseaux was changing the lock on the door, and that was why she had tools out.^{xlvii} Moreover, the police knew when they arrived at her home that she suffered from mental illness and had struggled with drug addiction, but they were ill prepared to preserve her life.^{xlviii} In February 2015, Cusseaux' mother filed a lawsuit against the City of Phoenix, arguing that the police sergeant either ignored Michelle's condition, or was inadequately trained to respond to it.

Pearlie Golden

May 7, 2014 / Hearne, Texas



Police officer Stephen Stem fatally shot Pearlie Golden, a 93-year-old woman, after her nephew called to report that she was waving a gun. Her nephew said that Golden was upset because he had taken her car keys after she failed a driving test. When Stem saw Golden waving the gun around -- even though she had not fired any shots -- he fired three rounds at her, hitting her at least twice. Four days later he was fired from the police department. However, a grand jury failed to indict him for the killing.ⁱ

Kayla Moore

February 12, 2013 / Berkeley, California



In remembering her sister, Maria Moore explained, "I cry every day... She had so many positive goals and dreams."ⁱⁱ Kayla Moore, a Black transgender woman, was taken from her family at a young age after police arrived in response to her roommate calling for help because Kayla was experiencing a mental health crisis. Instead of escorting Kayla to a medical facility as requested, the officers attempted to arrest her on a warrant for a man 20 years her senior, suffocating her to

death. Activists in Berkeley have organized to publicize her case; and her family has filed a lawsuit against the Berkeley police officers responsible for her death.ⁱⁱⁱ

Shereese Francis

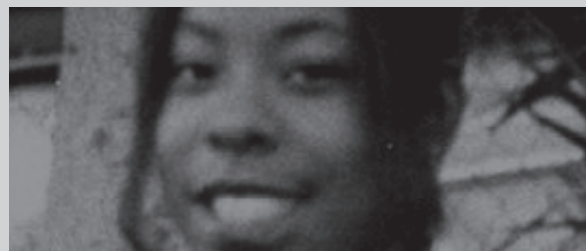
March 15, 2012 / Queens, N.Y.



Shereese Francis' family called for an ambulance after she became emotionally distraught following an argument with her mother. Francis was schizophrenic and at the time was not taking her medication. Four police officers arrived at their home in Queens and tried to convince Francis to go to the hospital, but she refused. The officers reported that she was uncooperative and that she lunged at them. In response, all four officers pinned her down and attempted to handcuff her. Francis stopped breathing during this altercation and the hospital pronounced her dead shortly afterward. The coroner's report concluded Francis had died due to the "compression of [her] trunk during agitated violent behavior." Her family has filed a wrongful death lawsuit while the police department has yet to release the records in response to a Freedom of Information Act request.^{liv}

Tyisha Miller

December 28, 1998 / Riverside, California



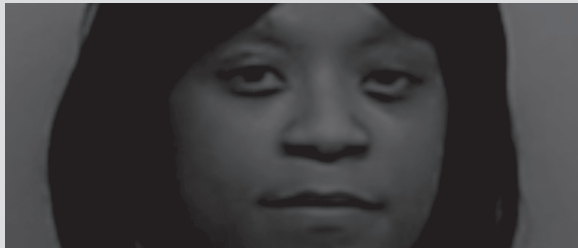
Three days after Christmas police officers fatally shot 19-year-old Tyisha Miller after finding her unconscious in a car that had broken down. A gun rested on Tyisha's lap -- friends said likely because a man had been harassing her when they left to get help. Police arrived and broke a side window of the car rousing Miller. After she awoke officers fired 24 shots at her, striking her with 12 bullets. Following the shooting the officers were placed on administrative leave but none were charged with the shooting.^{lv}

DEATH WHILE IN CUSTODY: BLACK WOMEN AS SUBHUMAN AND INCAPABLE OF FEELING PAIN

A 2014 study in *Social Psychological and Personality Science* found that white people were more likely to “implicitly and explicitly super-humanize” Black people.^{lvii} In the context of law enforcement incarcerations, this “superhuman” trope can lead Black women to be denied help despite pleading for assistance and left to suffer in unbearable circumstances while in police custody. This failure to assist – difficult to imagine were a middle class white woman involved – was no doubt informed by narratives that frame Black women as somehow “superhuman” and who, as a result, don’t feel pain in the same ways as their white counterparts.^{lviii}

Alexia Christian

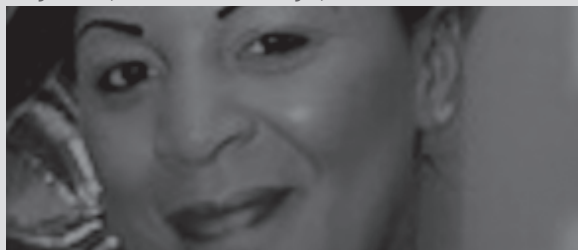
April 30, 2015 / Atlanta, Georgia



The details of this case are still emerging however what is known is that police officers in Atlanta were investigating a stolen vehicle call and found 26-year-old Alexia Christian inside the vehicle. The officers arrested Christian and placed her in the backseat of their patrol car. At some point they fatally shot her. They claim that she escaped from her handcuffs and shot at the officers with a stolen gun. For reasons unknown, the officers claim that they failed to fully search her while putting her in the car.^{lx}

Kyam Livingston

July 24th, 2013 / Brooklyn, New York

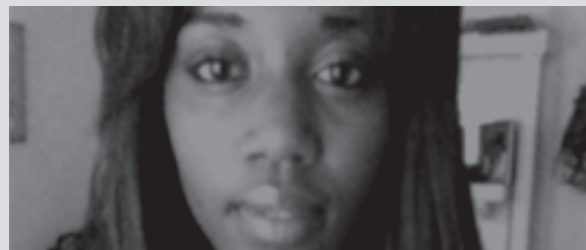


NYPD officers left Kyam Livingston in a holding cell after they arrested her for fighting with her grandmother. While in custody she complained of cramps and diarrhea, but officers ignored

her pleas for help for hours. After 20 hours in the cell, police finally called for medical assistance when they noticed that Kyam was suffering from “apparent seizures.” She was pronounced dead upon arrival at the hospital. A medical examiner found that the cause of death was an alcohol-induced seizure. She was 37-years-old and a mother of two.^{lxi} In 2013, Livingston’s family filed a wrongful death lawsuit in Brooklyn Federal Court.

Sheneque Proctor

Bessemer, Alabama / November 1, 2014



18-year-old Sheneque Proctor was arrested for disorderly conduct, and the police took her to Bessemer City Jail. When Proctor -- who suffered from asthma -- called her mother from the jail she complained that the police had treated her roughly. She informed the police that her asthma was bothering her, but they ignored her requests for medical attention. She was found dead in her cell the next morning. Her cell was videotaped during this entire period, but the police department has refused to release the footage to her family. The family’s lawyer, Hank Sherrod, told *The Guardian* that “This young woman was denied medical treatment while being recorded on videotape right before police eyes. The fact that they won’t hand the film over makes us wonder what they have to hide.”^{lxii} Proctor was the mother of an infant boy.



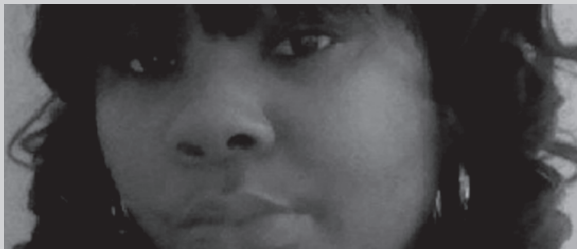
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GUILT BY ASSOCIATION: WHEN BLACK WOMEN ARE KILLED AS “COLLATERAL DAMAGE”

In the age of mass incarceration and the “war on drugs,” Black women are often killed even when they are not the main targets of police as “collateral damage.” While this pattern of behavior is real and deeply troubling, contrary to popular discourse which frames virtually all police violence against Black women as the product of simply being next to the “real target” -- Black men -- it is by no means the only or even primary way in which Black women experience state sanctioned violence.

Rekia Boyd

December 6, 2012 / Houston, TX



Off-duty Chicago police detective Dante Servin fatally shot 22-year-old Rekia Boyd in the back of the head. Boyd was standing in an alley with friends when Servin told them to quiet down. Words were exchanged with one of Boyd's friends and Servin then fired five rounds from his gun into the group, who had their backs turned to him at the time. Boyd was left mortally wounded in the street as police threatened a friend who sought to comfort her with arrest. Boyd died within 24 hours of being shot. Servin continued to work for the Chicago Police Department until he was officially charged with involuntary manslaughter, and the reckless discharge of a firearm on November 25, 2013. His trial was held in April 2015, and the judge issued a directed verdict effectively clearing Servin of all charges. In 2014, the City of Chicago awarded Boyd's family a \$4.5 million wrongful death settlement.

Aiyana Stanley-Jones

May 16, 2010 / Detroit, MI



In 2010 Detroit police officer Joseph Weekley shot and killed seven-year-old Aiyana Stanley-Jones in her sleep during a raid on her grandmother's home. Weekley claimed that he pulled the trigger accidentally during a struggle with the girl's grandmother, Mertilla Jones. Jones claimed that she was reaching out to protect her granddaughter; and another officer testified that there was no struggle over the weapon. Weekley was tried twice and cleared of all charges, most recently in January, 2015.

Tarika Wilson

January 4, 2008 / Lima, Ohio



Police conducted a SWAT Team raid of twenty-six-year-old Tarika Wilson's home, in search of Wilson's boyfriend -- a suspected drug dealer. Moments after entering her home a police officer opened fire on Wilson and her 14-month year old son, killing her and wounding her baby. Wilson was not involved in the illicit drug trade, and it is unclear why the officer opened fire on a mother and her baby. Sergeant Joe Chavalia, who killed Wilson, was acquitted of two misdemeanors: negligent homicide and negligent assault. Wilson's family received a \$2.5 million wrongful death settlement.



EXPANDING THE FRAME - GENDER SPECIFIC FORMS AND CONTEXTS OF POLICE VIOLENCE

As the frames and cases described above demonstrate, Black women are killed by police in many ways and situations very similar to Black men. Yet Black women are also killed in gender specific contexts -- such as responses to domestic violence. Black women, and particularly Black transgender women, are also less likely to be protected by police when they are being murdered, beaten and abused by their partners. A fuller exploration of the non-response to violence against Black women is beyond the scope of this report, but it is clear that police involvement in the death of Black women involves both action as well as inaction.

Expanding the analysis of police violence beyond lethal and excessive force to include sexual harassment and assault, policing of gender and sexuality, and profiling and targeted enforcement in the context of prostitution-related offenses brings the breadth Black women's experiences of profiling and policing into sharper focus. In order to better visualize and act on Black women's experiences of policing and achieve accountability for all forms of state violence, our attention must turn to police violence which takes gender specific forms or takes place in gender specific contexts.

CRIMINALIZING BLACK WOMEN SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE

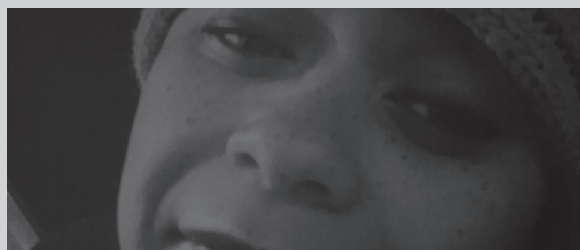
Black women are disproportionately at risk for domestic violence, sexual abuse and death at the hands of family members, partners and people they know. A 2014 Time Magazine article revealed that they are almost three times as likely to experience death as a result of domestic violence than white women. While they comprise only 8 percent of the population, they make up 22 percent of domestic violence homicides. In fact, a leading cause of death of African American women ages 15-34 is homicide at the hands of a current or former intimate partner.

When Black women do turn to the police for support, they often fail to secure safety from their abusive partners. Even more disturbing, an alarming number of police killings of Black women take place in the context of police responses to domestic violence situations. Similarly, Black women's experiences of sexual or homophobic and transphobic violence - leading to death of almost 10 transgender women of color nationally in the first few months 2015 alone and a total of 12 in 2014 - fail to result in protection or prevention.

The reflexive criminalization of Black women seems at times to foreclose the possibility in police officers' eyes that they are simply survivors of violence and not somehow as much of or even more of a threat than their abusers. As a result, Black women survivors of violence -- and particularly poor, lesbian, gender nonconforming, and transgender Black women -- find that police responses to violence all too often result in further - and sometimes deadly - violence against them.

Aura Rosser

November 9, 2014 / Ann Arbor, MI

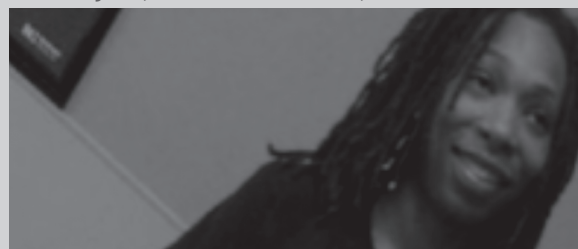


When Aura Rosser's boyfriend called the police to his apartment over a domestic dispute, and Rosser was fatally shot upon their arrival. They later claimed she had attacked them with a knife compelling them to use deadly force. Her boyfriend contradicted the police, telling reporters "It doesn't make any sense...me and her, we had an argument. Glass was being broke, so I called the police to escort her out...the police said 'police,' so I stopped. She walked towards them. They said 'freeze' and the next thing I know I heard [gunshots]." One officer shot Rosser while the other attempted to use a Taser to subdue her. Rosser suffered from chemical dependency and mental health issues, but her sister disputes that she was a

threat to the police. "She would have fainted at the sight of [guns] being drawn on her. She would have been extremely docile, no aggression whatsoever towards police." The officer who shot Rosser was not charged with her death, but her family is moving forward with a civil suit.

Janisha Fonville

February 18, 2015 / Charlotte, North Carolina

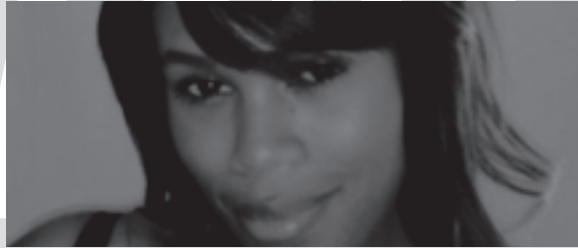


Janisha Fonville was a Black woman who was shot to death by a Charlotte, NC police officer responding to a domestic violence complaint involving Fonville and her girlfriend. The officer, who had previously been involved in questionable shootings, claimed that Fonville lunged at him with a knife. Her girlfriend, the only other person on the scene, maintains that

Fonville was over six feet away from officers, and stood a mere 5 feet tall, posing no direct threat the officer who shot her. Neighbors questioned why officers could not have used non-lethal force to subdue her.

Meagan Hockaday

March 28, 2015 / Oxnard, California



A police officer fatally shot 26-year-old mother Meagan Hockaday when responding to a domestic dispute call from her boyfriend. Within 20 seconds of entering her home, the officer fatally shot Hockaday, who he claimed was advancing at him with a knife drawn. Hockaday had three young children who were all in the house when the incident occurred. The official investigation into this case is still ongoing.

Yvette Smith

February 16, 2014 / Bastrop County, Texas



Police officers arrived at 47-year-old Yvette Smith's home in response to a domestic disturbance complaint. Smith, a single mother of two, opened the door for the officers and was shot almost immediately. The motive for the shoot-

ing is unclear. The officers first alleged that she had a gun, but that claim was retracted the next day. Deputy Daniel Willis, who fatally shot Smith, has been indicted for murder.

New Jersey 7

The New Jersey 7 are a group of 7 Black lesbian and gender nonconforming women who were physically assaulted and threatened with rape by a man because they were lesbians, only to be arrested and charged with "gang violence" when they defended themselves -- an outcome which would be unimaginable were they a group of straight, gender conforming, wealthy white women. Four of the women went to trial in the midst of a media circus characterizing them as a "seething sapphic septet" and "lesbian wolfpack," in which the man who threatened them with rape, ripped handful of locs out of one woman's head, burned another with a cigarette and choked a third was painted as a victim of a "heterosexual hate crime." They were found guilty and sentenced to up to 11 years in prison until a campaign for justice won an acquittal, new trials and shorter sentences.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY POLICING

Along with cisgender and heterosexual Black women, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and gender nonconforming Black women have been largely absent from the discourse around racist state violence. The intersections of sexism, racism, homophobia and transphobia place Black LGBTQ and gender non-conforming people of color in a precarious position at the intersection of constructs around gender, race, and sexuality that fuel police violence against them.

For instance, police often punish actual or perceived sexual or gender nonconformity with physical and sexual violence. These acts are sometimes accompanied by homophobic, transphobic and misogynist slurs like “dyke ass bitch,” or assertions that if they want to “act like a man” they will be “treated like a man,” and threats to “rape them straight.” In one particularly egregious case, a Black lesbian in Atlanta reported being raped by a police officer who told her the world needed “one less dyke.” Profiling of Black transgender women, along with Black nontranswomen for prostitution-related offenses is rampant -- sometimes based on the mere presence or possession of a condom. Black transgender women and gender nonconforming women are also routinely subjected to transphobic verbal harassment and abuse, unlawful and degrading searches to assign gender based on anatomical features, and dangerous placement in police custody. According to the National Transgender discrimination survey, 38% of Black transgender people who had interactions with police reported harassment, 14% reported physical assault, and 6% reported sexual assault.

Duanna Johnson

February 12, 2008 / Memphis, TN

Duanna Johnson was a Black woman living in Memphis, Tennessee who had been turned away from jobs, drug treatment, and every shelter in the city because she was transgender. Johnson was profiled and arrested for prostitution as she walked down the street one night, even though there was no alleged client, and no documented exchange of money for sex. While she was being booked, Officer Bridges McRae called her over to be fingerprinted by referring to her as “faggot” and “he-she.” When she refused to answer to the slurs, McRae responded by putting on a pair of gloves, wrapping a pair of handcuffs around his knuckles, and savagely beating Johnson about the face and head while rookie Officer James Swain held her down, and then pepper sprayed Johnson, pushed her down on the floor, and handcuffed her. A security video captured the entire incident, but failed to galvanize national attention or protest. Rev. Dwight Montgomery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), later made a statement that the SCLC was “appalled. . . Duanna as an individual, as a human being, has our support.” But, he added, “I certainly don’t condone transgender or homosexuality.” McCrae was federally prosecuted, ultimately pled of a single count of violating Johnson’s civil rights after a mistrial, and sentenced to two years for both Johnson’s beating and tax evasion. Just days after President

Obama was elected the first Black President of the United States, Johnson was found dead, shot execution style, the third Black transgender woman to be killed in Memphis in 2 years. Some speculated police were involved in her killing.

Nizah Morris

December 24, 2002 / Philadelphia, PA



Nizah Morris, a Black trans woman, was found injured and unconscious a few minutes after three Philadelphia police officers gave her a ride home. One of the officers, Thomas Berry, returned to the scene where she was reported to be bleeding and unconscious. But instead of helping or reporting that a crime had taken place he covered “her face while she was still alive.” She was left at the scene of the crime for 40 minutes before finally being taken to a hospital where she was pronounced dead hours later. The police claimed they had no idea what happened. Their disclaimer remains highly suspect given that Morris had been beaten with the butt of a gun and the officers were the last ones to see her prior to the incident.

UNSEEN AND UNSUPPORTED: BLACK WOMEN AS TARGETS OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

An entirely hidden dimension of police violence against Black women is reflected in victim reports of sexual abuse perpetrated by officers. The CATO Institute's 2010 Annual Report on police misconduct found that: "Sexual misconduct was the second most common form of reported police misconduct after excessive force reported throughout 2010... 618 officers were involved in sexual misconduct complaints during that period... 354 of which involved forcible non-consensual sexual activity such as sexual assault or sexual battery." When the existing--though limited--data on police sexual assault are compared to FBI crime statistics, the results indicate that "sexual assault rates are significantly higher for police when compared to the general population."

The uneven power dynamic between an officer and his victim, combined with the officer's belief that since he is the law, he is above the law, have been hypothesized as root causes of this type of police abuse. Black women are particularly vulnerable to sexual assault by police due to entrenched presumptions of promiscuity and sexual availability. Historically the American legal system has not protected Black women from sexual assault, thereby creating opportunities for law enforcement officials to sexually abuse them with the knowledge that they are unlikely to suffer any penalties for their actions.

Unfortunately, no official data on how often police officers commit these crimes exists. Existing studies are largely based on media coverage, criminal convictions and civil cases. The lack of data collection by police departments and civilian oversight bodies is compounded by underreporting of sexual assaults in general. If a police officer sexually assaults someone, the victim is even less likely to report the crime. "The women are terrified," says Penny Harrington, the former police chief of Portland, Oregon. "Who are they going to call? It's the police who are abusing them."

Sexual harassment and assault have been reported to be particularly pervasive during traffic stops. It is also reported to take place with alarming frequency in the context of responses to requests for assistance or investigation of domestic violence or sexual assault.

Daniel Holtzclaw

Perpetrator

In Oklahoma, officer Daniel Holtzclaw raped and/or sexually assaulted at least 13 Black women over a period of several years, often in the context of traffic stops. His misconduct came to light after he stopped a 57-year-old grandmother on her way home from a game of dominoes with friends. He publicly strip searched her, ostensibly looking for drugs, and then forced her to perform oral sex, prompting her to file a complaint. Holtzclaw generally preyed on women with criminal records or caught with drug paraphernalia, which inhibited them from coming forward. A Facebook group in his defense has garnered hundreds of "likes," revealing widespread sympathy for the perpetrator instead of his victims.

Ernest Marsalis

Perpetrator

Ernest Marsalis had an openly abhorrent record of abusing women while serving as a Chicago police officer. Prior to kidnapping and raping a 19-year-old African American woman he arrested. Marsalis had been accused of violent or threatening behavior in more than 20 cases. Most of the charges were lodged by women, and two involved rape. Despite these multiple complaints, Marsalis was never prosecuted.

THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE AGAINST BLACK MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

The presence of children, even when Black women are holding their babies, does not necessarily prompt the police to proceed with caution where pregnant and mothering Black women are concerned. This lack of concern is consistent with a longstanding historic pattern of devaluing Black motherhood and the loving bonds that tie mothers and children together. Damaging stereotypes that cast Black women as criminal and unfit mothers share a common genealogy with practices that deprive Black women of protection typically associated with motherhood during police encounters, sometimes leading to the use of lethal force.

Denise Stewart

August 1, 2014 / New York, NY



Denise Stewart, a 47-year-old grandmother, answered the door when the police knocked on the wrong apartment on the door of the wrong apartment in response to an allegation that a child was being harmed. She informed them that they had the wrong apartment and that she had just come out of the shower. Nonetheless New York City police officers dragged her half naked into a hallway as she asked for her inhaler, and neighbors protested their behavior. Police dragged Stewart's four children out into the hall and handcuffed them also. Minutes passed as they investigated what ultimately proved to be unfounded accusations against an innocent person who was unwarrantedly cast as a dangerous figure.

Rosann Miller

July 26, 2014

Just weeks after NYPD officers choked Eric Garner to death on camera, a Black pregnant woman was placed in a chokehold by officers who initially approached her to tell her she couldn't barbeque in front of her house. Community activists and politicians expressed outrage at the use of a prohibited chokehold on a visibly pregnant Black woman. Although the case received some attention, there was no accountability for the officers involved.

Sonji Taylor

December 16, 1993 / Los Angeles, CA

Police officers shot 27-year old Sonji Taylor after they cornered her and her three-year old son in a rooftop parking lot where she had parked her car. Sonji Taylor was a college graduate, cheerleader, homecoming queen, and church choir member, and she was about to start a new job at the time of her death. She was a mother returning from Christmas shopping with her small child. The officers claimed that she was holding her son hostage with a kitchen knife while repeating the words "the blood of Jesus." At some point, the officers charged Ms. Taylor, shooting her with pepper spray, and tearing her son away from her. The officers claimed that they shot Ms. Taylor in self defense after she "lunged" at them, no doubt while trying to protect her child. According to her family, the officers surrounded Ms. Taylor for half an hour before she was killed. Her family stated that the knife was a Christmas present, her son was never harmed, and "the blood of Jesus" was a phrase Ms. Taylor had learned from her Pentacostal upbringing to repeat when in danger. The autopsy revealed that she was shot twice in the chest, and seven times in the back. The fact that several shots had "mushroomed" indicated that she had been shot while lying facedown on the ground. That Ms. Taylor had been shot in the back was found to not be probative of any wrongdoing, on the grounds that she may have "twisted around" as police unleashed their gunfire. The confusion that led Ms. Taylor to rightfully fear for her life is easy to imagine -- a terrified Black woman, holding a Christmas present, trying to protect her child, surrounded by strange men in a lonely parking lot, seeking protection from a higher power—is shot to death. No officers were prosecuted for the shooting.



Miriam Carey
Was A

CAREY
person!

amCarey

Miriam Carey
Was A



#Justice4M



CONCLUSION

Our efforts to combat police violence must expand to address the experiences of all Black people. An intersectional, Black feminist perspective -- one that recognizes that categories such as race, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation are not mutually exclusive -- demands the inclusion of Black women and girls, transgender and not transgender, lesbian, bisexual and heterosexual --in the dominant discourse around police violence. When the lives of marginalized Black women are centered, a clearer picture of structural oppressions emerges. No analysis of state violence against Black bodies can be complete without including all Black bodies within its frame.

Until we say the names and tell the stories of the entire Black community we cannot truly claim to fight for all Black lives.

Recommendations: Building a Gender-Inclusive Agenda for Addressing Anti-Black State Violence

The frameworks and stories presented in Say Her Name point to specific actions community organizers, policy makers, researchers and the media can take to build a comprehensive approach to fighting state sanctioned violence that is inclusive of cis, trans and gender nonconforming Black women.

What follows are some initial recommendations for those involved in various aspects of the work to make all Black lives matter:

Recommendations:

- At protests, demonstrations and other actions calling attention to state violence, include the faces, names and slogans of Black women alongside Black men.
- Local and national organizations and social movements must find ways to support all of the families and the surviving victims of state violence.
- Policy platforms should be developed using an intersectional gender and racial lens to ensure comprehensive solutions to state violence are being built, that address the various ways in which it impacts the lives of all Black people.

- Spaces must be created to discuss the ways in which patriarchy, homophobia and transphobia impact Black communities as a whole; and hold individuals and organizations accountable for addressing the various ways our communities sometimes recreate systems of oppression.
- Skills to talk about the multiplicity of ways in which state violence affects cis, trans and gender non conforming Black women and girls should be continuously developed. In so doing, stakeholders can move beyond a frame that only highlights killing.
- Domestic violence is a leading cause of death for Black women aged 15-34. There is a need to acknowledge that both public and private forms of violence are devastating the lives of women and girls of color.

Some examples of gender specific and inclusive policy demands to address Black women’s experiences of policing could include:

- 1.** Calling for passage of the End Racial Profiling Act of 2015, which for the first time, includes a ban on racial profiling based on gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation, and urging local police departments to adopt and enforce a gender and sexuality inclusive racial profiling ban;
- 2.** Calling for enactment and enforcement of a “zero tolerance” policy toward sexual harassment and assault of members of the public by police officers;
- 3.** Calling for a comprehensive ban on confiscation or use of mere possession or presence of condoms as evidence of any prostitution-related offense;
- 4.** Calling for adoption and enforcement of police department policies explicitly banning officers from searching people to assign gender based on anatomical features and requiring officers to respect gender identity and expression in all police interactions, searches, and placement in police custody, and;
- 5.** Calling for use of force policies clearly prohibit use of TASERs and excessive force on pregnant women or children.

#SayHerName: Sample Questions for a Community Conversation

Building a gender inclusive frame for addressing state sanctioned violence requires that communities come together with the purpose of focusing on this issue.

The following questions can serve as a starting place for communities interested in taking action on this issue.

- 1.** #SayHerName: Toward a Gender-Inclusive Analysis of Racialized State Violence articulated several frames to expand our analysis of state violence to include Black women, other women of color, and gender nonconforming people of color. What frames and/or individual stories from Say Her Name stood out most to you and why?
- 2.** What forms of state violence against women do we see playing out in our own community?
- 3.** What forms of private violence do we see playing out in our community?
- 4.** What can we do to draw attention and concern to the state and private violence Black women face?
- 5.** How do we see a patriarchal mentality play out in our community organizing and within the media?
- 6.** What impact would expanding our frame of state violence to include women and gender nonconforming people have locally and nationally?
- 7.** As we go about our daily work and conversations, what can each of us do to expand the frame on state violence to include women and girls of color?
- 8.** Does anyone here want to share an experience they have had with police violence personally or through a loved one? Why are sharing these stories so important?
- 9.** How can we come together to support the families and surviving victims of state violence of all genders?
- 10.** What steps can we take to pressure local law enforcement officials to collect data on police violence that is gender and race specific? And what about data on sexual assault and rape by law enforcement officials?
- 11.** What concrete actions can we take to increase awareness around the issues raised in this discussion? Who is willing to commit to specific actions to further the concerns raised this evening? And, for those willing to make such a commitment, what will those actions be?

RESOURCES:

Say Her Name: A Webinar on Black Women and Police Violence. By the African American Policy Forum. 2015. (available at: <http://www.aapf.org/sayhername>)

Invisible Betrayal: Police Violence and the Rapes of Black Women in the United States. By Black Women's Blueprint. 2014. (available at www.ushrnetwork.org/sites/ushrnetwork.org/files/36-police-wapb.pdf)

Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation. By Beth E. Richie. New York: New York University Press. 2012

Organizer's Toolkit on Law Enforcement Violence Against Women and Transgender People of Color. By Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (available at: http://www.incite-national.org/sites/default/files/incite_files/resource_docs/3696_toolkit-final.pdf)

Queer (In)justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States. By Joey L. Mogul, Andrea J. Ritchie and Kay Whitlock. Beacon Press. 2011.

Andrea J. Ritchie, Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color, in *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology* (South End Press 2006).

American Civil Liberties Union, Break the Chains, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU, *Caught in the Net: The Impact of Drug Policies on Women and Families* (2005).

Anannya Bhattacharjee, *Whose Safety? Women of Color and the Violence of Law Enforcement*, American Friends Service Committee (2001), available at: <http://www.afsc.org/document/whose-safety>

ⁱ Our reference to Black women throughout the brief includes cisgender, trans and gender nonconforming, lesbian, bisexual and queer women as well as women with disabilities.

ⁱⁱ See, e.g. INCITE!, *Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color and Transgender People of Color: A Critical Intersection of Gender and State Violence - An Organizer's Toolkit* (2008), available at: http://www.incite-national.org/sites/default/files/incite_files/resource_docs/3696_toolkit-final.pdf; Andrea J. Ritchie, *Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color*, in *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology* (South End Press 2006); American Civil Liberties Union, Break the Chains, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU, *Caught in the Net: The Impact of Drug Policies on Women and Families* (2005); Anannya Bhattacharjee, *Whose Safety? Women of Color and the Violence of Law Enforcement*, American Friends Service Committee (2001), available at: <http://www.afsc.org/document/whose-safety>; Gore, Damayo, Tamara Jones & Joo-Hyun Kang, *Organizing at the Intersections*, Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City, McCardle and Erzen, eds. (NYU Press 2001); Angela Davis, *Violence Against Women and the Ongoing Challenge to Racism*, The Angela Y. Davis Reader, Joy James, ed. (1998); Angela

Davis, *Reflections on Race, Class, and Gender in the USA*, The Angela Y. Davis Reader 308, Joy James, ed. (1998); Joy James, *Resisting State Violence: Radicalism, Gender, and Race in U.S. Culture* (University of Minnesota, 1996).

ⁱⁱⁱ See supra at n 1.

^{iv} R. Lundman and R. Kaufman, "Driving While Black: Effects of Race, Ethnicity and Gender on Citizen Reports of Traffic Stops and Police Action," *Criminology* 41, 1 (2003): 195-220

^v New York Civil Liberties Union, "Women Demand End to Discriminatory NYPD Stop-and-Frisk," *Press Release*, April 3, 2013; Women of Color Policy Network, "Women of Color: Two-Thirds of all Women in New York City Still Invisible in Policy - The 2nd Annual Report on The Status of Women of Color in NYC," *Wagner Institute for Public Policy at New York University* (2003).

^{vi} Arlene Eisen, "2012 Annual Report on the extrajudicial killing of 313 Black people by police, security guards and vigilantes," *Operation Ghetto Storm*, 2014, 3.

^{vii} For instance, in 2013, AlterNet published an article titled, "1 Black Man Is Killed Every 28 Hours by Police" based on this study.

^{viii} The word trans or transgender refers to people whose gender identity and/or gender expression are different from the sex assigned to them at birth. The word cis or cisgender is used to refer to people whose gender identity and expression matches the gender they were assigned at birth. In other words, transgender is a term used to describe people whose way of understanding their own gender, or whose way of expressing their gender (clothing, hairstyle, etc.), is different from what society expects based on the gender they were identified with when they were born. This term includes a wide range of people with different experiences — those who change from one gender to another as well as those who sometimes express different gender characteristics, or whose gender expression is not clearly definable as masculine or feminine. When speaking about transgender people, always refer to their current gender as they describe it -- which may include not identifying with any gender.

^{ix} In this context, "Black men" refers to nontransgender Black men throughout the brief.

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