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Michelle S. Jacobs

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THE VIOLENT STATE: BLACK WOMEN’S INVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLICE VIOLENCE

MICHELLE S. JACOBS*

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INTRODUCTION

The theme of this special issue, Women and Law Enforcement, is particularly timely. Incidents of police brutality have reached a new level of public visibility. Though not everyone agrees on whether the use of violence by the police is inappropriate, conversations about police violence are occurring everywhere. An exploration of the topic of Women and Law Enforcement would not be complete without at least one article that puts Black women at the center of the lens of analysis, particularly as it relates to the state-sponsored violence Black women experience at the hands of law enforcement. This Article is about law enforcement’s violence towards Black women specifically. The reader should not feel free to substitute the phrase “women of color” where “Black women” has been written. The Article is not about “women of color.” For decades now, mainstream feminists have attempted to discuss violence against women, while relegating the experiences of Asian women, Native American women, Latinas, and Black women into one category called “women of color.” Scholarship describes the experiences of White women as normative, all other women experiences are subsumed in those. For over twenty years now, the data (when you can find data specifically about non-White women) consistently shows that the communities of non-White women do experience violence, both at the hands of the state, as well as at the hands of intimates, but that violence manifests differently in each community.1 Intuitively, that would make sense as the women in all communities are viewed through the stereotypical lens created by Whites for each ethnic/racial community.2 The

lumping of their experiences into one homogenized category masks the complexity of violence in each community and renders the differences between the communities invisible. Black women have a very specific history with the state and law enforcement that is not replicated among other women’s communities, and it is that unique situation that is the focus of this Article.

Black women’s interaction with the state, through law enforcement, is marked by violence. Black women are murdered by the police. They are assaulted and injured by the police. They are arrested unlawfully by the police; and finally they are tried, convicted and incarcerated for defending themselves against nonpolice violence. State violence against Black women is long-standing, pervasive, persistent, and multilayered, yet few legal actors seem to care about it. This Article will bring together the strands of scholarship that exists across several fields on the dilemma of state-sponsored violence against Black women, to highlight for legal scholars the depth of the problems Black women experience. The relationship between Black women and the state was birthed in violence, through the establishment of slavery in the colonial world. Part I of this Article explores the historical roots of Black women’s interaction with the state. The historical exploration is necessary because in the foundational years of interaction between Black women and White colonists the process of dehumanization and genesis of cultural stereotypes were created. Throughout the research cited in this Article, contemporary linkages to both legal policy, as well as law enforcement behavior will be made to stereotypes fostered and maintained through slavery.

Black women are subjected to every type of law enforcement violence imaginable. The most severe violence causes death, but


3. I recently had a conversation with Caroline LaPorte of the National Indigenous Women’s Resource Center, about the use of the term “women of color.” LaPorte stated that for years she resisted using the term. From her perspective, Native women face legal issues that simply do not exist for other communities of women facing violence. For example, Native women face the issue of navigating their tribal sovereignty against limitations the federal government places on the ability to exercise sovereignty. Eventually, she accepted being included within the term, because Native women could not access VAWA funding unless they did so.

4. See infra Section II.A text accompanying notes 83–95.

5. See infra Section II.B.1 text accompanying notes 122–207.


7. See infra Section IV.B text accompanying notes 325–58.
Black women are routinely brutalized by the police in ways that do not cause death. Part II of this Article is broken into two sections. The first will cover police killings of Black women. Police killings of Black people receives national media attention today, principally as a result of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. Most of the attention focuses on the issue of the police killings of Black men. Grassroots movements and independent journalists are now tracking police killings because data from law enforcement on the number of Black people killed by the police is woefully inadequate. Even that scarce data however, rarely does a statistical gendered analysis, which means that the deaths of Black women at the hands of the police do not receive the level of attention that the killings of Black men receive. The #SayHerName project is attempting to bring these women’s stories to the forefront of the public discussion. The second part of the section will explore the conditions under which Black women are physically assaulted by the police. Here again, data is scarce and researchers few, but from what is available, disturbing trends in law enforcement become apparent.

The level of sexual violence against Black women is high, Part III of the Article seeks to highlight when the police rape and sexually assault Black women. Police rape is a complex matter on many levels. Can any woman who is raped by the police, much less a Black woman, report that rape to the police? The realities of community relationships formed with the police dramatically impact a Black woman’s ability to gain legal protection when her rapist is a cop. Intimately connected to this issue, is the law’s reaction to claims that a Black woman has been raped. Legal and social science literature demonstrates that prosecutors may be reluctant to take a case of rape forward where the victim is a Black woman. That reluctance is often tied to who or what the woman is and or how the jury will perceive the woman. In this context, vulnerable populations of women are at risk of having their cases refused by the state.

8. The former director of the FBI, James Comey, acknowledged that the lack of data on police killings was embarrassing. See Aaron C. Davis & Wesley Lowrey, FBI calls lack of data on police shootings ‘ridiculous,’ ‘embarrassing,’ WASH. POST (Oct. 7, 2015), https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/fbi-director-calls-lack-of-data-on-police-shootings-ridiculous-embarrassing/2015/10/07/c0ebaf7a-6d16-11e5-b31c-d80d6253e28_story.html?utm_term=.32a034075f80 [https://perma.cc/V3QA-LH8M].

9. Andrea J. Ritchie et al., SAYHERNAME: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women, AF. AM. POL’Y FORUM (2015), https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8e/t/555ced8e4b03d4fad3b7ea3/1432145624102/merged_document_2+281%29.pdf [https://perma.cc/589U-9CLHF] (highlighting the regularity with which black women are killed and brutalized by the police and to help ensure that the movement for racial justice also includes a gendered analysis).

10. See infra Section III.C text accompanying notes 273–303.
Ultimately, the question must be asked whether all Black women are always in the category of vulnerable women such that their rape complaints are not viewed as viable. The end of the section will also cover the more modern phenomenon of police officers trafficking Black girls and women.

Intimate partner violence (IPV) continues to be a serious problem in the United States.\footnote{11. See infra Section IV.A text accompanying note 304.} Police families are not immune from experiencing violence at the hands of police officers.\footnote{12. See IACP NAT’L LAW ENF’T POLICY CTR., DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS (2003), http://www.theiacp.org/Portals/0/documents/pdfs/MembersOnly/DomesticViolence byPolicePaper.pdf [https://perma.cc/2VJX-LH54].} Part IV begins with police violence within the home. Intimate partner violence among law enforcement and the military is higher than the rate of violence in civilian populations.\footnote{13. Id. See also Ashley Kewish & Alex Cabrero, Statistics of domestic violence, divorce higher for police families, KSL (Jan. 17, 2014), https://www.ksl.com/?nid=148&sid=28395356 [https://perma.cc/NWR2-AYFN].} Police who can batter can also batter Black women. However, obtaining any satisfying statistics about police batterers can be extremely difficult, and even more so if one is searching for data on the race of victims of police battering. The second section in Part IV will focus on violence that occurs when the police respond to Black women who complain of abuse at the hands of an intimate partner. Research, sparse as it is, shows that Black women are more likely to be arrested by the police when they report intimate violence.\footnote{14. See infra Section IV.B text accompanying notes 325–58.} In this section, the root failure of feminist and anti-violence advocates to do a complete race and gender analysis during the push for adoption of the original Violence Against Women Act will be discussed. It is argued that the push to have VAWA adopted, and to encourage greater police participation in the criminal justice response to intimate violence, led the movement to ignore serious warning signs that Black women would fare poorly under the legislation.\footnote{15. See discussion infra Section V.B of BETH RICHIE, ARRESTED JUSTICE: BLACK WOMEN, VIOLENCE, AND AMERICA’S PRISON NATION (2012).} The problems associated with mandatory arrest, dual arrest and no drop prosecution provisions for Black women will be discussed. Within Part IV, the plight of Black women who defend themselves from the batterers and are prosecuted for murder will close out the section.

Tensions can arise within the feminist movement when Black women call for their issues to be placed at the center of analysis. For predominately White organizations, there is political capital to be gained by arguing that all women are impacted by oppression,
injustice, violence in the same way. But the small amounts of data that are available consistently demonstrate quite the contrary. Black women experience these things, particularly violence from the state, in a qualitative and quantitative level that is very different from how middle class White women experience state-sponsored violence. Part V explains why it matters to specifically to Black women that their trauma be acknowledged. Secondly, I explore why mainstream anti-violence groups and other feminists organizations should be concerned about what is happening to Black women specifically. Finally, the Article concludes by highlighting why moving the discussion of violence against Black women from the dusty corners of isolation closer to the center of policy planning, drafting of legislation, and political brainstorming matters to both Black women and to the larger feminist and anti-violence communities.

I. THE HISTORICAL VIEW

The relationship between Black women and the state was birthed in violence. Both Black men and women could be killed, maimed, mutilated at the will of the slave holder with no redress or sanctuary for the so gravely injured. Certainly Black men were killed and maimed, as were Black women, but women were also violently raped and sexually abused by both the slave holder, and his employees. The raping of Black women also became an economic necessity when importation of Africans was banned in 1807. In order for the prosperity of slave holders to continue, they had to be able to procure human chattel from somewhere. When importation was banned, the holders turned towards making their own human captives, frequently by raping Black women or “breeding”

16. See infra Section IV.C text accompanying notes 359–97.
18. See A. LEON HIGGINBOTHAM, JR., IN THE MATTER OF COLOR, RACE & THE AMERICAN LEGAL PROCESS: THE COLONIAL PERIOD 36 (1978); THOMAS D. MORRIS, SOUTHERN SLAVERY AND THE LAW 1619–1860 143 (1996) (recalling that the right to kill and maim belonged only to the slave holder. Any other White, renting or leasing humans in captivity were held to account, at least financially, if the captive was killed or injured. This had little to do with mercy, but rather rested in the property rights of the slave holder. The regulation of the hiring and leasing of slaves was regulated by contract law).
20. For a discussion of “slave breeding” prior to the importation ban, see DOROTHY ROBERTS, KILLING THE BLACK BODY 24 (1997) (stating that though transatlantic importation of slaves was banned in 1807, a vibrant trade continued until 1857).
them (often against their will) with other Black male slaves.\footnote{Id.} Law supported that approach, and well-established English rules of descent and inheritance were changed so that White slave holders could produce as many children through rape as they would like without having to worry about claims upon inheritance by the children produced by the brutal action.\footnote{HIGGINBOTHAM, supra note 18, at 43–44.}

For a society that considered itself to be Christian, it was necessary for Whites to be able to justify the raping, maiming, and killing of Black women and men. Throughout the entire slave holding period, descriptions and stereotypes about Blacks played heavily in the literature and news of the day.\footnote{See S. Plous & Tyrone Williams, Racial Stereotypes From the Days of American Slavery: A Continuing Legacy, 25 J. APPLIED SOC. PSYCHOL. 795, 795 (1995).} Black men were violent savages and Black women were lascivious, wild creatures without morals, who needed to be tamed in order to get any work out of them.\footnote{See A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. & Anne F. Jacobs, The “Law Only As An Enemy”: The Legitimization of Racial Powerlessness Through the Colonial and Antebellum Criminal Laws of Virginia, 70 N.C. L. REV. 969, 1056–57 (1992) (contrasting states which defined rape specifically as a crime that could only be committed against White women, with states that had no such limiting language, but still had no cases of a prosecution for rape where a Black slave woman was the victim).} The use of such language reassured Whites who may have been uncertain about the legitimacy of holding human beings in captivity, that these individuals were not in fact human, but closer to the animal family.\footnote{Id. at 1053.} Such was the case through to the end of the Civil War in 1865, which represented almost exactly two hundred years of law normalizing violence towards Black men and women.

Americans tend to look back at the end of the Civil War as if something magical happened at that time. When General Lee surrendered his sword, the Union was saved, Blacks were emancipated, and liberty and equality for all became a reality. Of course, historically, that was not the reality. After a seven-year period of reconstruction, the country settled down into the next 100 years marked by a legal process of segregation known as Jim Crow.\footnote{MICHELLE ALEXANDER, THE NEW JIM CROW 1 (2010).} During this period of time Black women continued to be killed and sexually assaulted, and the law provided very little protection.\footnote{See Ruth Thompson-Miller & Leslie H. Picca, 'There were Rapes!': Sexual Assaults of African American Women and Children in Jim Crow, 23 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN 934, 935 (2017).} In fact, rather than providing a sanctuary for Black women from violence, the law aided those who were violent towards Black women.\footnote{Id. at 936.}

21. Id.
22. HIGGINBOTHAM, supra note 18, at 43–44.
24. See A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. & Anne F. Jacobs, The “Law Only As An Enemy”: The Legitimization of Racial Powerlessness Through the Colonial and Antebellum Criminal Laws of Virginia, 70 N.C. L. REV. 969, 1056–57 (1992) (contrasting states which defined rape specifically as a crime that could only be committed against White women, with states that had no such limiting language, but still had no cases of a prosecution for rape where a Black slave woman was the victim).
25. Id. at 1053.
28. Id. at 936.
tropes about Black women and loose sexuality continued to play a central part of the race dialogue among Whites. And law reflected the normative view that Black women were not civilized enough to be brought within the bounds of the protection of law. Stereotypes about Black women developed during this historical era are still dominant in state policy today. Public benefits law, educational law, delinquency and neglect policy, and all aspects of criminal law have embedded the stereotypes as the normative foundation for how government evaluates, judges, and punishes Black women.

A. Stereotypes About Black Women

There are many stereotypical images of Black people that developed during the slave period which were accepted into the language of legislation and governed judicial action. After Emancipation many of these tropes continued to be used both culturally and legally, and sit at the bedrock of the development of much of what is modern law today. There are three culturally held beliefs about Black women that are relevant to the legal determination of whether Black woman can be victims of police killings, of sexual assault, and of domestic violence. In the first instance, judges and jurors will wonder whether a Black woman is promiscuous and of low moral character, such that she, herself is responsible for being raped or sexually assaulted, or in the extreme, whether she is even capable of being raped or assaulted. Secondly, they will wonder whether Black women are credible such that when they report, either under oath or just at the police station, that they’ve been victimized, their words can have value and be believable. Finally, they may believe that Black women are overly aggressive and accustomed to violence within their environment, such that when they report an incident of intimate partner violence, the police, prosecutors, judges,

31. See infra Section I.A.1–3 text accompanying notes 31–78.
32. See infra Section I.A.1 text accompanying notes 35–46.
33. See infra Section I.A.2 text accompanying notes 47–63.
and jurors are more likely to see them as mutual combatants and not as victims.34

1. Black Women as Governed by Libido and Loose Morals

Throughout the colonial and slave era, White men created a caricature of Black women as sexual animals, who had no control over libido.35 Throughout literature references were made to Black women having sex with apes.36 Thomas Jefferson, himself, repeated this White man’s fantasy.37 This caricature of Black women is referred to as the Jezebel stereotype. The typical stereotypes of Black women have been well developed by scholars, but the most common explanation of the Jezebel image is that she was “a purely lascivious creature: not only was she governed by her erotic desires, but her sexual prowess led men to wanton passion.”38 The popular image of this Black oversexed creature was a convenient cover for White men brutally raping Black women.39 The women wanted them to do it! Jezebel provided a woman who could be juxtaposed against the notion of a “true” woman, a feminine, chaste, White woman.40 Law reflected the belief that Black women were promiscuous. Every colonial state that adopted a rape statute defined the crime as an offense that happened to White women.41 No White man could ever rape a slave woman.42 Even as between slaves, forcible intercourse against the consent of the Black female slave was not rape.43 One judge commenting on the attempted prosecution of a slave for raping a Black girl under ten years of age stated: “[O]ur laws recognize no marital rights as between slaves; . . . their intercourse is promiscuous, and the violation of a female slave by a male slave would be a mere assault and battery.”44

34. See infra Section I.A.3 text accompanying notes 64–78.
35. See WHITE, supra note 29, at 38.
36. Id. at 30. See infra Part III on contemporary links between dehumanization and police violence.
37. WHITE, supra note 29, at 30 (citing Thomas Jefferson, Notes on Virginia); MORRIS, supra note 18, at 306.
39. See ROBERTS, supra note 20, at 12 (exploring the Jezebel myth and the corollary that oversexed Black women breed more frequently and easier than White women. Plantation owners could thereby justify the exploitation of Black women’s reproductive capacity for economic gain).
40. COLLINS, supra note 38, at 266. Collins lists the virtues that are essential to “true” womanhood as piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Black women could not be true women as they lacked piety and purity.
41. MORRIS, supra note 18, at 305.
42. Id.
43. Id. at 306.
44. Id. (citing an 1859 case about the rape of a slave under ten years old).
After Emancipation, sexualized imagery of Black women continued to be common. “Black women continued to be perceived by [W]hite America as individuals who desired promiscuous relationships.”\footnote{WHITE, supra note 29, at 164.} Scholar Deborah White states that through more than two-thirds of the twentieth century “no Southern [W]hite male was convicted of raping or attempting to rape a [B]lack woman.”\footnote{Id. (citing the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969)). The commission looked at the prevalence of White male rape against Black women and concluded “White males have long had early institutionalized access to Negro women with relatively little fear of being reported.” Id.} The persistence of the sexualized imagery of Black women impacts today’s legal process and is certainly relevant to issues such as whether the police and/or prosecutors believe a Black woman can actually be raped or was actually raped as opposed to engaging in consensual sexual activity that she may later regret.

2. Black Women as Liars

Initially in law, all women’s testimony was treated “with suspicion and distrust.”\footnote{Marilyn Yarbrough & Crystal Bennett, Cassandra and the “Sistahs”: The Peculiar Treatment of African American Women in the Myth of Woman as Liars, 3 J. GENDER RACE & JUST. 625, 633 (2000).} Eventually, as the cult of true woman developed, White women were elevated to be virtuous, pure, and innocent, while Black women were defined as criminals.\footnote{The testimony of women, even White women, remained suspect when it was given about rape and sexual assault. Lord Hale encouraged the common law courts to eye the testimony of a complaint suspiciously and special evidentiary rules were adopted to challenge a woman’s veracity.} During slavery Blacks were not permitted to give testimony against any Christian White person.\footnote{HIGGINBOTHAM, supra note 24, at 994–97 (detailing the history of legislative changes that restricted the rights of Black people held in slavery to testify).} They were permitted to give testimony against other Black or mulattoes.\footnote{Id. at 996.} In general however, slaves were not viewed as being capable of truthfulness.\footnote{Id. at 994; MORRIS, supra note 18, at 232 (citing, for example, a nineteenth-century quote from T.R.R. Cobb, “[a slave], as a general rule, is mendacious, is a fact too well established to require production of proof . . .”).} “[African women were believed to be] ignorant, . . . treacherous, thiev[es] and mistrustful.”\footnote{Yarbrough & Bennett, supra note 47, at 635 (citing Linda L. Ammons, Mules, Madonnas, Babies, Bath Water, Racial Imagery and Stereotypes: The African-American Woman and the Battered Woman Syndrome, 1995 WISC. L. REV. 1003, 1033 (1995)).} As with the myth of the promiscuous Black woman, beliefs that Black women were natural liars continued after Emancipation. Feminist historians have provided examples of judicial comments regarding
Black women’s veracity. For example in a case from 1912, where a Black domestic alleged her White employer sexually assaulted her, the judge wrote, “[I] will never take the word of a nigger against the word of a [W]hite man.”

Professor Marilyn Yarbrough expands the stereotypical categories of Black women to include the Greek story of Cassandra, which she believes reflects the legal system’s unwillingness to find Black women credible. Yarbrough’s essay was sparked by an incident with her own lawyer, who doubted the veracity of the facts she gave concerning a lawsuit over the valuation of real property. She wrote that the African-American woman’s racial and gender identity makes her “particularly and peculiarly susceptible to being disbelieved.”

Yarbrough analyzed three cases that were contemporary during the time her article was written. All three incidents were high press coverage and national media exposure sexual harassment claims; all three involved complaints of rape or sexual harassment; and all complainants were Black women. The veracity of all three women was openly contested despite the fact that all three testified under oath. Social scientists who study prosecutions of rape cases have documented juror resistance to finding Black women victims credible. Yarbrough’s observations about the way law treats Black

53. Id. at 647 (citing the work of historian Gerda Lerner).
54. Id. at 627–28. Yarbrough relates the story of Cassandra, a beautiful Greek woman who was given the gift of foresight by Apollo who had fallen in love with her. When she rejected his advances, he added a curse that no one would believe her visions. Yarbrough links the development of the caricature Sapphire, from the Amos and Andy shows, to Cassandra. Sapphire is one of the traditional stereotypical tropes of Black women. Sapphire is routinely described as spiteful, cunning, employs trickery to deceive her husband Kingfish. Id.
55. Id. at 626.
56. Id.
57. Yarbrough & Bennett, supra note 47, at 641–54.
58. Id. The three incidents were Anita Hill’s testimony during the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, in which she testified about being sexually harassed by him when he was her supervisor at work; Desiree Washington was the Black woman who accused boxer Mike Tyson of rape; Tawana Brawley may be less well known today, but she was a young Black woman who accused a police officer of sexually assaulting her.
59. Senator Arlen Specter and others accused Hill of perjury and her testimony was received with great hostility. Id. at 641–42. Desiree Washington was reluctant to come forward with her allegations against Mike Tyson because she believed no one would believe her, and indeed both her veracity and her morals were questioned. Id. at 652–54. Tawana Brawley accused six police officers of sexually assaulting her. One of the officers committed suicide but as time passed, the prosecutors and the public were not willing to find her credible. She was accused of fabricating her own sexual assault. Id. at 651–52.
60. Yarbrough & Bennett, supra note 47, at 649 (citing GARY LAFREE ET AL., RAPE AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT 219–20 (1989)). LaFree quoted one juror who said: “[n]egros have a way of not telling the truth. They’ve a knack for coloring the story. So you know you can’t believe everything they say.”
women’s testimony is consistent with what practitioners relate.\textsuperscript{61} Legal scholars and legal practitioners also find that judges tend to weigh the testimony of their Black female clients as less credible than the testimony of their abusers.\textsuperscript{62}

3. Black Women as “Man-Like” and Aggressive

The myth that Black women are aggressive combatants is more difficult to trace to slavery, but probably has its origins in the beliefs that Black women were man-like. During slavery Black women were not spared from physically demanding work. Black women who worked in the field did the same work men did. They were subject to the same punishments male slaves received: whipping, branding, and mutilations.\textsuperscript{63} Whites believed that Black women did not have the same delicate constitutions that White women had, and that they were more suited to work as beast of burden.\textsuperscript{64} Sojourner Truth’s speech at the women suffrage convention in 1851 is often referenced because she had to bare her breast to silence those who questioned whether she was actually a woman.\textsuperscript{65} During her speech, Truth compared her ability to work with that of any man, but pointed out she was still a woman and believed women should have the rights of a man.\textsuperscript{66} White indentured women rarely worked in the field, but when they did so it was usually as punishment.\textsuperscript{67} White colonialists believed that only debased and degraded women worked in the field.\textsuperscript{68} 

\textsuperscript{61.} See generally Geneva Brown, \textit{Ain't I a Victim: The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender in Domestic Violence and the Courtroom}, 19 CARDOZO J.L. & GENDER 147 (2012).

\textsuperscript{62.} See \textit{id.} at 154–55 (contrasting the experiences of a poor Black female client seeking an order of protection versus other White clients).

\textsuperscript{63.} BELL HOOKS, \textit{AIN'T I A WOMAN: BLACK WOMEN AND FEMINISM} 16 (1981).

\textsuperscript{64.} \textit{Id.} at 23.

\textsuperscript{65.} \textit{Id.} at 159.

\textsuperscript{66.} There is controversy today over whether the form of the speech most people are familiar with, replete with Southern dialect, is representative of the actual speech she gave. Some scholars say that the summary of her speech printed right after the speech was given was the more accurate version, while the one most people are familiar with was published twelve years later by a White woman whom scholars allege added the southern dialect and changed some facts. \textit{Why is there more than one version of Sojourner Truth’s famous 1851, “Ain’t I a Woman” speech?}, THE SOJOURNER TRUTH PROJECT, https://www.thesojournertruthproject.com [https://perma.cc/Z6T3-T4E2].

\textsuperscript{67.} Hooks, supra note 63, at 22.

\textsuperscript{68.} \textit{Id.}
Racist mythology about Black women’s lack of femininity continued to appear in the press well after the end of slavery. Scholar Kali Gross documents the cases of Black women who were accused and/or convicted of crimes in Philadelphia between 1880 and 1910, and her book provides examples of the demonization of Black women.\textsuperscript{69} In Philadelphia, the news stories referred to “Colored Amazons” who attack helpless White men.\textsuperscript{70} According to Gross, Black women were described as “unflinching in their fiendishness, brutal in their attacks, and sexually unrestrained, and they enacted a greed that stripped [W]hite men of life and property.”\textsuperscript{71} She was a “dangerous urban aggressor.”\textsuperscript{72} Gross’s work is unusual, because it specifically looks at Black female offenders and because she also had access to the statistical data that was pertinent for the time. In a statement that could easily be written of today’s Black female offender, Gross found that although Black female offenders only accounted for two percent of the penitentiary population, they nevertheless appeared in crime narratives as being among the worst criminal offenders.\textsuperscript{73} She also contrasts news portrayals of White women who committed the similar offenses and showed that “[n]ews accounts rarely depicted [W]hite women as being abnormally strong, evil, or bereft of remorse. On the contrary, the descriptions of their emotional outbursts in courtrooms emphasized their womanhood and often overshadowed their criminality,”\textsuperscript{74} as contrasted with Black women’s outbursts which were considered examples of “bloody rage . . . symptomatic of [B]lack female depravity . . .”\textsuperscript{75} She argues that the Colored Amazon stereotype fueled bias among White judges which supported disparities in the way they responded to crimes committed by Black women as opposed to those by White women, leading to more severe sentences for Black women.\textsuperscript{76}

In contemporary times, judges still view Black women as aggressive and prone to violence. Unfortunately, there are no in-depth

\textsuperscript{70.} Id. In this chapter of her book she contrasts the public images of the women who were accused of crimes with the actual facts adduced during their trials. Of course, the facts, give a different impression from the racist imagery presented in the news.
\textsuperscript{71.} Id. at 105.
\textsuperscript{72.} See id.
\textsuperscript{73.} Id. at 111. She found most of the convictions were for larceny, but the press described these women as “heinous.”
\textsuperscript{74.} Id. at 117.
\textsuperscript{75.} GROSS, supra note 69, at 117. Gross also cites Lombrosco’s work in The Female Offender, where he likens the Black female offender’s criminality with the fact she is so similar in make-up to a Black male: “[S]o huge are their jaws and cheek-bones, so hard and coarse their features. And the same is often the case in their crania and brains.” Id. at 134.
\textsuperscript{76.} Id. at 123.
studies to establish why judges today endorse these stereotypes. However, advocates for Black women who are survivors of domestic violence do recount that their clients’ cases are negatively impacted by such views.\textsuperscript{77}

II. BLACK WOMEN ARE MURDERED AND ASSAULTED BY THE POLICE

A. Invisible Homicides Committed by the Police

The lives of Black women are routinely erased by the police. Lawyer and activist, Andrea Ritchie, has, for almost twenty years called the public’s attention to the killings, assaults, and rapes committed by the police against Black women, other women of color, and the transgender community.\textsuperscript{78} The consciousness and will of the public to provide broad-based support to the early effort to highlight violence against Black women was lacking. The reasons for that lack of support was complex and had as much to do with community self-censure as it did with racism/sexism in both law enforcement and media.\textsuperscript{79} Today, however, INCITE!, #BlackLivesMatter, and #SayHerName have created new opportunities to put the proper focus on the lost lives of these Black women at the hands of the state through its law enforcement mechanisms.\textsuperscript{80}

It is hard to educate the public about violence against Black women because it so rarely makes the news. The stories of their deaths may be newsworthy, but the fact that the victim or survivor is a Black woman can be buried. There is a long-standing problem with media coverage, or the lack thereof, of crimes committed against Black women. The lack of coverage was highlighted during the years when former prosecutor, turned media personality, Nancy Grace, reported on missing women. All of the women Grace reported about were White, and the obvious lack of coverage about missing Black

\textsuperscript{77}. See infra, Section IV.B.

\textsuperscript{78}. INCITE!, COLOR OF VIOLENCE: THE INCITE! ANTHOLOGY 138 (2016); Andrea J. Ritchie, \#SAYHERNAME: Racial Profiling and Police Violence Against Black Women, 41 N.Y.U. REV. L & SOC. CHANGE 187, 187 (2016). Andrea Ritchie was a student at Howard University School of Law in 1999 and my research assistant. Even then, she already had a reputation as an activist working on the issue of police violence against Black women.

\textsuperscript{79}. Black women are in the precarious situation of having to sometimes balance race loyalty against arguing for their own interests. See BETH E. RICHIE, COMPELLED TO CRIME: THE GENDER ENTRAPMENT OF BATTERED, BLACK WOMEN 36–37 (1996).

\textsuperscript{80}. INCITE! describes its organization as “a national activist organization of radical feminists of color advancing a movement to end violence against women of color and our communities through direct action, critical dialogue and grassroots organizing.” INCITE!, \textit{About INCITE!}, http://incite-national.org/page/about-incite [http://perma.cc/JM2L-C8A2].
women led the late NPR anchor, Gwen Ifill, to coin the phrase “missing White woman syndrome” to describe the media’s exclusive focus on White women.  

Few mainstream media outlets cared whether a Black woman was missing or dead. Even with the new focus on police killings of Black people, it is still difficult to find the stories about any of the twenty-eight mentioned in #SayHerName. They rarely consume media attention in the way that the killing of Black men and boys did, which is not to say that coverage of the killing of men and boys should be reduced or abbreviated, but that the media should also cover the killings of women as well.  

There was no database the authors could access to identify Black women killed or brutalized by the police. The project relied on the families of the women killed and their own researchers to compile the women’s stories.  

1. Black Women with Mental Health Issues Are Particularly at Risk

In the Bronx last summer, Deborah Danner’s death at the hands of the police provided a thirty-two-year link between her death, the death of Eleanor Bumpurs in 1984, and the history of violence against mentally ill women in New York. In an essay written in 2012, Danner referenced the death of Bumpurs, a sixty-six-year-old Black woman with mental health issues who was killed by the police as they attempted to evict her. Danner wrote: “we are all aware of the all too frequent news stories about the mentally ill who come up against law enforcement instead of mental health professionals and end up dead.” After the Bumpurs killing, the New York City Police Department allegedly revised its guidelines

81. See MIA MOODY ET AL., THE INVISIBLE DAMSEL: DIFFERENCES IN HOW NATIONAL MEDIA OUTLETS FRAMED THE COVERAGE OF MISSING BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN IN THE MID-2000S 2 (2009) (discussing the difficulty of even getting a sample of news coverage of Black women versus White women to compare, as there was so little coverage of the stories of missing Black women).

82. Ritchie et al., supra note 9, at 6.

83. One could probably host several symposia examining why the media does not give broader coverage to women’s issues in general and to Black women’s issues specifically.

84. Ritchie et al., supra note 9, at 2.


87. Id.
for how to handle emotionally disturbed persons.\textsuperscript{88} And yet, New York City police continued to kill emotionally disturbed persons just as Ms. Danner worried.\textsuperscript{89} After Danner’s death, the call went up by the mayor’s office for a quick and thorough investigation, and some immediate sanctions were placed on the officer.\textsuperscript{90} The preliminary investigation shows he failed to follow the police guidelines for interacting with emotionally disturbed persons.\textsuperscript{91} The officer did not use his Taser first and did not wait for assistance.\textsuperscript{92} This year, the Bronx District attorney, a Black woman, announced the officer involved was indicted, but the officer in the Bumpurs case was indicted as well though he was never convicted.\textsuperscript{93} While, it is important for the public to feel confident that prosecutors will value the lives of these women, it is also important for systematic and attitudinal changes to occur, such that killing Black women who are mentally ill can stop in New York or anywhere else in the country.

The issue of whether the police are equipped to perform crisis intervention in ways that reduce lethality was discussed during the hearings conducted by former President Obama’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing. At least two task force recommendations refer specifically to officer training to make sure they are competent to handle vulnerable citizens and to encourage collaborative team response to calls for crisis intervention.\textsuperscript{94} #SayHerName documented

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Thilman2012} Since Bumpurs’s death, NYPD have killed any number of individuals with mental health issues, including another Black woman named Shereese Francis. James Thilman, \textit{Did The NYPD Suffocate A Mentally Ill Woman To Death While Trying To Cuff Her?}, GOTHAMIST (Apr. 3, 2012, 5:32 PM), http://gothamist.com/2012/04/03/family_of_woman_allegedly_suffocate.php [http://perma.cc/U4A2-P2VW].
\bibitem{Rabb1985} Id.
\bibitem{Bumpurs1985} Id.
\bibitem{TaskForce2015} Washington, D.C.: Office of Cnty. Oriented Policing Services, \textit{Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing} 15–16, 44 (2015), http://files.policemag.com/documents/21stpolicingtaskforce-finalreport.pdf [http://perma.cc/67WP-H6NR] (recommending collaborative response under Recommendation 4.3 and using instruments of physical control on vulnerable populations under Recommendation 1.5.4). \textit{See also id.} at 56 (recommending that Crisis Intervention should be part of basic training as well under Recommendation 5.6). The task force pointed out that law enforcement seem particularly unprepared to deal with calls where the object of the call has mental health issues. One proposal suggests that when a call for a person with known mental health issues comes in, only a team specifically trained to interact with persons
eight cases of mentally ill women who were killed by the police when their families or neighbors called to obtain assistance for the women.\textsuperscript{95} The police “assisted” them by killing them.

\section*{2. Black Women Can Be Killed Just Because}

It is not just mentally ill Black women who are killed by the police. Grandmothers and granddaughters are killed.\textsuperscript{96} Black babies and fetuses are put at risk.\textsuperscript{97} Black women who have friends who talk too loudly are killed.\textsuperscript{98} Black women who violate gender norms are killed.\textsuperscript{99} Black women who drive are killed.\textsuperscript{100} Law enforcement can erase the life of a Black woman with ease and very little accountability. The stories of Miriam Carey and Mya Hall are perfect examples of women who law enforcement tried to erase.\textsuperscript{101} Carey’s case is instructive because it did receive media coverage of a sort. Carey’s death in Washington, D.C. in 2013 first was reported as a
breaking news story: news outlets reported that there had been a car chase after she tried to ram through a White House barricade, which ended in a fatal shooting. The United States Attorney’s Office for the District of Columbia conducted an investigation, and issued a statement concluding federal prosecutors found “insufficient evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that these officers used excessive force under the circumstances known to them at the time or that they acted with the requisite criminal intent.”

The investigation into her death was closed. The statement was less than three pages long.

A *Washington Post* investigative report about the death of Carey raised more questions than were answered by the official Justice Department investigation. The reporter noted that the public version of the event did not match either the available video camera footage or the actual facts as they were reported by witnesses, none of which was released to the public. For example, the battering incident was actually Ms. Carey trying to exit an area she mistakenly entered; as she made a U-turn to exit the area, a plainclothed individual tried to pull a fence in front of her. The high speed chase was actually not high speed. According to the reporter, who reviewed departmental policies, the officers who fired upon her fired in violation of policy prohibiting firing into moving vehicles. Although Capitol Police denied they saw the child in the back seat, the reporter concluded that the police had at least three opportunities to see the baby.

According to *#SayHerName*, Mya Hall was another Black woman killed while driving. A few days before Freddie Gray’s death, Hall made a wrong turn into a National Security Agency (NSA) parking facility. It appears that when she became aware of the error, she attempted to get out of the area, but security had already moved

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105. Id.

106. Id.

107. Id.

108. Id.

to prevent that. Hall’s car crashed into a security fence, and NSA officers fired into her vehicle, killing her. It was later reported that Hall was allegedly driving a stolen vehicle, and the media initially reported that two men in the car were “dressed as women.” Hall was a transgender woman, but, NSA security would not have known either fact at the time they made the decision to fire deadly rounds into her car. The killing of Carey and Hall seem even more unusual when contrasted with other security breaches that occurred in and around the White House. Between 1980 and 2009, White House security had been breached ninety-one times. Since that time, there have been multiple additional breaches. To find a death associated with a White House breach, one must go back to 1994, and in that instance the intruder died when the plane he tried to land crashed on the White House lawn. Several intruders have been shot and wounded, but all survived. Between 1995 and 2017 intruders to the White House and its environs have been armed with guns and explosives. Yet none of them were killed. Even the man who fired rifle rounds into the White House and fled with hundreds of rounds of ammunition was apprehended without a death. Miriam Carey was not the beneficiary of such restraint.


But Carey and Hall, neither of whom was a suspected terrorist, neither of whom were armed, neither of whom had actually threatened national security, but both of their interactions starting with what was arguably a minor traffic offense, were shot and killed. Those facts alone should have propelled both killings to major public attention, but they did not.\footnote{Montgomery suggested in his article that Carey’s killing occurred approximately one week after the Navy Yard shooting and that officers might have been afraid that Carey was a suicide bomber. Of course, in a time of heightened security and paranoia about safety, it would not be unrealistic for law enforcement to be concerned about terrorism. Nonetheless, security concerns do not provide justifiable circumstances for killing a person whose vehicle could have been incapacitated. Again, one can contrast the handling of the “suicide bomber” theory with the White farmer who claimed to have explosives. He was penned in an area and given time for a peaceful resolution to the standoff, all the while the police suspecting he might have had a tractor full of explosives. \textit{See} Holguin, supra note 115; Montgomery, supra note 104.}

The true facts of Ms. Carey’s death will probably never see the light of day. This is routine for the deaths of Black women at the hands of the police. Their deaths are not made clear, if at all, until the civil law suits, or by reading through the Justice Department’s investigations of excessive violence by law enforcement agencies or in international reports.\footnote{But at least her family may learn the truth during the discovery phase of the civil suit filed against the Capitol Police and the Secret Service.} For example, the tragic end of the life of a Black woman in Chicago would have been lost if not reported to the U.N. The Chicago police suspected the woman was swallowing contraband and feared not being able to recover it. Their solution was to choke her to force her to spit up the contraband. They strangled her to death.\footnote{\textsc{U.N. Comm. on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, In the Shadows of the War on Terror: Persistent Police Brutality and Abuse of People of Color in the United States} (2007), http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/ngos/usa/USHRN15.pdf [http://perma.cc/V3X7-D5VM] [hereinafter IN THE SHADOWS OF THE WAR ON TERROR].} Or, the woman whom the police had executed because she filed a police brutality complaint against them.\footnote{\textit{Len Davis’ arrest and conviction, as told by the Times-Picayune reporters}, \textsc{Times-Picayune} (Dec. 4, 2009, 2:00 AM), http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2009/12/len_davis_arrest_and_convictio.html [http://perma.cc/5D33-GAZL].} The true extent of how often the police kill Black women is difficult to measure and is almost always hidden.

\section*{B. Black Women Injured by Overaggressive Policing}

\subsection*{1. Police Violence Against Adult Black Women}

Not only are Black women killed by the police, but they are also arrested at a disproportionate rate compared to White women. By
2009, the rates of arrest for Black women and men began to decline.\(^{121}\) Today, the rate of arrest for Black women is 2.8 times the arrest rate of White women, down from six times the rate of arrest in 2000.\(^{122}\) Though this does reflect a decrease in the rate of arrest, it is obviously still disproportionate to the percentage of Black women in the general population.\(^{123}\) Over representation of Black women can be attributed to the war on drugs policies, broken windows strategies of policing, and aggressive over policing of Black communities. There is no centralized data that shows the impact of policing on Black women, but localized searches can help. An extreme example of policing that is racially based and targets Black women is occurring in San Francisco, California. Black women in San Francisco make up 5.8 percent of the population but they constitute 45.5 percent of women arrested.\(^{124}\) Though California is known for high rates of arrest for Black women, San Francisco’s rate is four times the rate of the state overall.\(^{125}\) Moreover, the huge disparity in the arrest rate for Black women has been empirically demonstrated in four separate reports submitted to the city, with the earliest one published in 2002, according to Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice.\(^{126}\) City officials acknowledged the disparity, yet no official city action had been taken to rectify the situation. For at least thirteen years the police were allowed to harass and arrest these women.\(^{127}\) The mayor of San Francisco was eventually forced to act in 2016 when an officer killed an unarmed Black woman named Jessica Williams.\(^{128}\) It was the third killing of an unarmed


\(^{122}\) Id.

\(^{123}\) It may be too early to celebrate the decline in arrest rates for Black women and men. Attorney General Jeff Sessions has indicated he intends to return to the “War on Drugs,” which had a major impact on the mass incarceration of Black people and the dramatic rise in rates of imprisonment for Black women. Joseph Tanfani & Evan Halper, Session restores tough drug war policies that trigger mandatory minimum sentences, L.A. TIMES (May 12, 2017), http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-politics-sessions-drugwar-20170511-story.html [http://perma.cc/NG8D-N42N].


\(^{125}\) Id. at 2.

\(^{126}\) Id. at 1.

\(^{127}\) The CJCJ report data shows that the rate of arrest exceeded California’s even though the overall rate of Black women offending was at its lowest historical levels, Id. at 3.

\(^{128}\) Ms. Williams was suspected of driving a stolen vehicle. She crashed the car and the police shot her to death as they were removing her from the wreck. Thomas Fuller &
person (one Black male, and one Latino male) in San Francisco in a two month period.\textsuperscript{129} Although empirical data is not available to validate the experiences of Black women at the hands of overly aggressive officers, social media allows us to get some rare insights into their interactions with the police.\textsuperscript{130} One of the most poignant examples we have of the perils Black women face when interacting with the police played out both on cell phone video posted to the internet and over the audio of a 911 call for a traffic offense in Houston, Texas.\textsuperscript{131} In light of the heightened media attention to police violence against Black people, the young woman became frightened when she realized a White police officer was trying to pull her over for a traffic infraction. She complied with the officer’s indication to pull over, but then called 911, to advise the police dispatcher that she was frightened and to ask for an additional officer to come to the scene. Her fear of the police officer turned out to be well-founded. While she was on the phone with 911, a passing citizen caught video of the police officer violently throwing her to the ground and arresting her for the traffic infraction.\textsuperscript{132}

The second example also comes from Texas, where a Black woman named Jacqueline Craig in Fort Worth, Texas, called the police to complain that her seven-year-old child was choked by a neighbor (White) after the boy dropped some litter on the neighbor’s lawn.\textsuperscript{133} The police officer arrived, talked with the mother and then went to speak with the White neighbor. The officer returned to the

\textsuperscript{129} Id.
\textsuperscript{130} Ironically, not even Black women who are law enforcement are protected from aggressive over policing. A Black Assistant State Attorney in Florida was recently pulled over by a police officer who ran her plates. Once he discovered who she was, he nervously tried to explain the stop. \textit{Fla. state attorney pulled over by police}, WASH. POST (July 12, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/national/fla-state-attorney-pulled-over-by-police/2017/07/12/7da1f192-6752-11e7-94ab-5b10ff459df_video.html [http://perma.cc/HU3D-GR6G].


\textsuperscript{132} Id. Video of the incident is embedded in the story.

mother and criticized her child-rearing practices.\textsuperscript{134} Ms. Craig, annoyed that the officer chose to question her child-rearing tactics as opposed to investigating the assault on her child, verbally challenged the officer, contested that even if the child littered it did not give the neighbor the right to touch her child.\textsuperscript{135} The officer immediately escalated the confrontation with the Craigs. Brea Hymond, Craig’s nineteen-year-old daughter, tried to mediate the escalation by stepping between her mother and the now enraged officer. At that point the officer pulled out his Taser and wrestled both Black women to the ground.\textsuperscript{136} Craig was charged with resisting arrest and for outstanding traffic warrants; Hymond was charged with resisting arrest and interfering with public duty.\textsuperscript{137} Again, a person not involved in the conflict recorded the event and uploaded it to social media.\textsuperscript{138} When the incident went viral, some mainstream news media outlets picked up the story. The police officer in question was wearing a body cam, however the Fort Worth police did not release the officer’s footage.\textsuperscript{139}

Despite the fact that many aggressive police actions are taken against Black women, the reports rarely specifically identify the victims of bad police behavior as Black women. Over the past several years the Department of Justice has investigated numerous police departments for using excessive force against Black communities.\textsuperscript{140} After the death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore and the unrest that followed, the DOJ led by Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch, under the Obama presidency, began to investigate the Baltimore police. The final report identified a pattern and practice of police violence and dereliction of duty.\textsuperscript{141} For example, the DOJ found that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{134} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{135} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{137} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{138} Id. The Executive Director of the Texas ACLU pointed out the inability of a Black woman to get assistance from the police after a family member is choked threatens public safety because such experiences would dissuade that woman from ever calling the police again. Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{139} The representative claimed that state law limited their ability to release the body cam footage because an internal investigation was started. Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{140} At one point, the Justice Department had seventeen open investigations against various police departments. Sarah Moughty, \textit{17 Justice Dept. Investigations Into Police Departments Nationwide}, WHRO (Sept. 20, 2011), http://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/17-justice-dept-investigations-into-police-departments-nationwide [http://perma.cc/X94C-A5U2].
  \item \textsuperscript{141} \textsc{Civil Rights Div., U.S. Dept of Just., Investigation of the Baltimore City Police Department} 3 (2016).
\end{itemize}
the police conducted over sixty strip searches in violation of people’s rights. The police conducted over sixty strip searches in violation of people’s rights. When African American or Black men were the recipients of illegal police conduct, they were specifically mentioned as African American or Black. Female victims were rarely identified as African American or Black, unless the police said something specific such as “Black b***h.” Yet, Baltimore is a city that is sixty-three percent African American or Black. It is improbable that many of the incidents of abuse towards women were not incidents involving Black women. Here again, the use of social media becomes important for locating Black women within the phenomenon of police violence in Baltimore. An example from the DOJ report that was widely covered in the media involved a traffic stop where a woman was pulled over by the Baltimore police for a broken headlight. The woman was strip searched on the street, and the police went so far as to perform an anal cavity search right out in public. Neither the DOJ report nor major media, such as the Washington Post, mentioned that the woman was Black. However, a small blog dedicated to police brutality issues identified the woman as Black in its headline. Without the blog she would be yet another Black woman sitting at the intersection of race, gender, and police brutality, who would have remained invisible.

Similar incidents can be found in other DOJ reports on police violence. As usual, Chicago provides a decent example. The Chicago police department has been accused of police brutality routinely since as early as 1951. The department has been mentioned in

142. Id. at 32.
144. CIVIL RIGHTS DIV., supra note 141, at 70.
145. Id. at 12.
146. Id. at 32.
several shadow reports to the U.N. Committee on Torture, the U.N.
Committee on the Convention to Eliminate Racial Discrimination,
and the Committee on the Convention for Civil and Political Rights. In response to the death of Laquan McDonald, a Black male, in 2015,
The DOJ opened a new investigation into the pattern and practice
of the Chicago police. The DOJ found rampant police misconduct.
But in the report, created by a Justice Department run by a Black
man as U.S. Attorney General, very few references are made about
the race of the women injured by the Chicago police. The report
for example, includes a reference to an incident where the police
tasered a pregnant woman multiple times during a stop for a traffic
infraction. This incident was used as an example of excessive and
inappropriate use of force. Just as in other DOJ reports, specific
references to Black women or girls were oddly missing, but a Google
search turns up video of a Black pregnant woman named Tiffany
Rent being assisted on her way to the hospital for medical treatment
after being tasered by the Chicago police. Yet another Black
woman whose injuries would have been rendered invisible.

It is not clear why the police are so violent towards Black
women, as their violence towards Black women has not been com-
prehensively studied. However, research on the violent interactions
between the police and Black men may provide some hints to what
drives the police towards violence. An interesting study on the use
of violence by the police examined the intersection of implicit bias,
stereotype threat, and threat to masculinity. The study concludes
that the triggering of one or more of these states can cause officers,
who otherwise consider themselves aware and free from bias, to use
excessive force against Black males. Implicit bias is being dis-

cussed more frequently recently, to help explain why individuals
who do not exhibit overt racial bias may still engage in anti-Black
behavior. Professor Song Richardson identifies not only the most commonly understood form of implicit bias, but also a concept called implicit dehumanization. These two implicit biases are then partnered with principle known as “White favoritism.” Together the three can lead police to associate Black males with criminality, while at the same time associating Whites with innocent conduct. It is significant that the implicit dehumanization allows police officers to associate Black persons closer to apes than humans. That association then causes them to engage in more violent behavior to the Black male. Social scientists have found that such implicit dehumanization is a factor in the excessive use of violence against Black juveniles. Professor Song Richardson’s work and most of the sources she cites refer to police reactions to Black males, which is a shame because many of the theories also seem applicable to police interaction with Black females. The social science theories help support the argument that the historical stereotypes of Black women need to be continuously examined to see where law enforcement policy and behavior continues to influenced by those stereotypes.

The other two factors were stereotype threat and threat to masculinity. In what seems to be a non-intuitive twist, if a police


160. Richardson states that implicit dehumanization occurs when individuals unconsciously associate Blacks with apes. Richardson, supra note 157, at 2963.

161. Richardson calls White favoritism “a sister concept to anti-Black racial bias.” Id. at 2964. She cites the work of Robert J. Smith et al., Bias In the Shadows of Criminal Law: The Problem of Implicit White Favoritism, 66 ALA. L. REV. 871 (2015). According to Smith, White favoritism is “the automatic association of positive stereotypes and attitudes with members of a favored group, leading to a preferential treatment for persons in that group.” Id. a 874–75.

162. Richardson, supra note 157, at 2965.

163. Id. at 2964. See supra note 37 and accompanying text.

164. Id.

165. Id. at 2963–64 (citing Phillip Atiba Goff et al., Not Yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences, 94 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 292 (2008), to assert “[t]he more closely police officers unconsciously associated Black youth with apes, the more likely they were to us violence against the children.”).

166. Id. at 2965.

167. Id. at 2966.
officer believes a Black person thinks the officer is racist, it actually causes the officer to use more violence. 168 In a sense, the officer’s belief that his legitimacy is being questioned triggers the use of violence. 169 On a more intuitive level, when the officer believes his masculinity is being questioned, he will also use more force. 170 It is clear why the police would believe Black men challenge their masculinity, since the violence is primarily a male phenomenon and often triggered by concepts of competing masculinities. 171 But, is it possible that Black women also produce a threat to masculinity? Of course. The studies do not discuss this aspect of police violence against Black women, 172 however, it is possible to envision a scenario where Black women would indeed create a threat to a police officer’s masculinity. One of the popular stereotypes about Black women that is repeated in media, in advertising, and in development of both social welfare policy as well as criminal justice policy, is the version of the overbearing, demeaning Black woman, who emasculates men. 173 When police officers see Black women who may not verbally submit readily to them, it could present a masculinity threat to them, thus triggering excessive use of force against the women. A re-read of any of the examples of police interaction with Black women cited above, 174 and in the instances with juveniles cited below, 175 it is clear that the police were demonstrating their masculinity, and their control over these Black female bodies. A focused study on bias, threat, and violence against Black women would be useful to help provide the empirical data to conform what personal chance videotaping of these incidents “anecdotally” reveals.

168. Stereotype threat is part of what Richardson calls “self-threat,” which involves a person’s perception of themselves and how that impact his or her behavior. Richardson, supra note 157, at 2967 (citing to research by Atiba Goff, Richardson concluding that an officer’s fear of being considered racist can lead him to engage in violence).

169. Song Richardson believes this self-threat is tied to the officer’s belief in his legitimacy. If people believe he is racist, his legitimacy is being questioned. Therefore he must use force to establish legitimacy. Id. at 2968.

170. “Masculinity threat refers to the fear of being perceived as insufficiently masculine.” Id. at 2970.

171. Id.

172. Id.


174. See supra notes 131–37.

2. Black Girls Are Black Women Too

The police do not restrict the use of excessive and aggressive force to adult Black women.\(^{176}\) Law enforcement also arrest and brutalize young Black girls.\(^{177}\) Statistics on these events are difficult to find, but the use of social media has enabled more recent events to work their way into local and national media.\(^{178}\) In McKinney, Texas, in the summer of 2015, White officers were filmed answering a call about noise at a pool party.\(^{179}\) Girls at the party used their cell phones to film the officer's actions.\(^{180}\) One officer is seen throwing a Black teenage girl, wearing only a bikini, to the ground and places his knee in her back while handcuffing her.\(^{181}\) The same officer pulled out his loaded service revolver and pointed it at the other Black girls who were guests at the party.\(^{182}\) In the fall of 2016, the D.C. police arrested an eighteen-year-old girl by knocking her to ground and handcuffing her.\(^{183}\) Her offense was that she was on the paid side of the fare gate with an open bag of potato chips, and she talked back to them.\(^{184}\) Also, in the fall of 2016, the police in Haggerstown, Maryland, pepper-sprayed and handcuffed a fifteen-year-old Black girl.\(^{185}\) The police justified it by saying she was uncooperative, although video prior to the escalating police conduct shows her cooperating with the fireman on the scene.\(^{186}\) The child’s offense was that she fell off her bike and hit a car.\(^{187}\) Neither she nor


\(^{177}\) Id.


\(^{179}\) Cole-Frowe & Fausset, supra note 175 (video embedded in article). As it turns out, White neighbors called the police because the Black girls, who were guests of a Black resident, and therefore legitimately entitled to use the pool, were “too loud.” The officer was suspended and later resigned. There is no indication whether the officer was officially punished. See Lopez, supra note 178.

\(^{180}\) Id.

\(^{181}\) Id.

\(^{182}\) Id.

\(^{183}\) Powers, supra note 176.

\(^{184}\) Id.


\(^{186}\) Id.

\(^{187}\) Id.
the driver were injured and she just wanted to continue on her way home so her mother wouldn’t worry about her. 188 Or the story out of Brooklyn, New York, where the police actually shoved a teenage Black girl through the plate glass window of a store. 189 In this instance, the original offense seemed to be that the group of girls were talking back to the police. 190 When the officer involved threw one Black girl to the ground and repeatedly slammed her face into the floor, her friend came to help her. 191 In response, the police shoved her through the plate glass window. 192 All of these incidents seem to revolve around Black girls talking back to the police or being so-called “loud.” Not only do stereotypes about Black female behavior factor in here, but it may also be possible that the girls are triggering masculinity threat or legitimacy threat in the officers.

Another possible factor in the use of police violence against girls may be connected to a recent social science study focused on the issue of whether adults attributed adult characteristics to Black girls. 193 A review of the literature on adultification of Black boys and girls preceded the analysis of the results of the study. 194 The study built on the work of other social scientists who rooted adultification of Black children to the dehumanizing conditions of Black children during chattel slavery, where children were punished for exhibiting normal childlike behaviors. 195 Though the original research focused on Black boys, Black girls were also studied. 196 One scholar used the term “age compression” to explain the phenomenon of how Black

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188. Id.
190. Id.
191. Id.
192. Id.
194. Two forms of adultification have been recognized by scholars. One is based on the child’s socialization process and the other based on cultural stereotypes of the child. The first form is “a process of socialization, in which children function at a more mature developmental stage because of situational context and necessity, especially in low-resource community environments.” This example would probably fit an instance, where a child might have to assume care of younger siblings because of a parent’s alcohol or drug addiction. The second form of adultification is “[a] social or cultural stereotype that is based on how adults perceive children ‘in the absence of knowledge of children’s behavior and verbalizations.’” Id.
195. Id.
196. Id.
girls are viewed. She stated: “Black girls are likened more to adults than to children and are treated as if they are willfully engaging in behaviors typically expected of Black women.” She concluded that the compression “renders Black girlhood interchangeable with Black womanhood.” The results of the new study were terrifying. The study participants viewed Black girls as more adult than White girls. Not only were Black girls perceived to be more adult but that perception reached all the way to Black girls as young as five! Study participants’ responses identified the following beliefs: Black girls needed less protection and nurturing; Black girls were perceived to know more about adult topics; and are more knowledgeable about sex. The authors identified the potential implications raised by the study for Black girls in the educational context and in the juvenile justice context. The incidents involving the police and Black girls seem to comport with the findings of the study, even on the perceptions about sexual knowledge.

A disturbing story arose in the District of Columbia in 2015. The Metropolitan Police Department was forced to acknowledge that they arrested an eleven-year-old Black girl when she came to report she had been raped. Even though the girl had signs of sexual trauma, the police charged her with filing a false police report.

197. Id.
198. EPSTEIN ET AL., supra note 193, at 4.
199. Id. (citing Dr. Monique Harris). Another social scientist found that Black girls who are loud could be perceived as a threat and that interpretation of how Black girls speak could be associated with the stereotype of Black women as aggressive and dominating. Id. at 5 (citing Edward W. Morris).
200. Id. at 1.
201. Id. at 8.
202. Id. at 1. Professor Monique Morris makes the connection between adultification and culturally rooted stereotypes of Black women’s sexuality, again growing out of the slave experience: “[I]n the public’s collective consciousness, latent ideas about Black females as hypersexual, conniving, loud, and sassy predominate . . . . However, age compression renders Black girls just as vulnerable to these aspervious representations.” EPSTEIN ET AL., supra note 193, at 5.
203. Black girls were 2.7 times more likely to be referred to juvenile justice than White girls; less likely to have their cases diverted; and more likely than White females to be detained. Id. at 12.
205. The incident became public in 2015 when the girl, now a teenager came forward to tell her story. Id.
206. The girl came to the police with her parents. A rape kit tested positive and the police did nothing. Over the next several months the girl was raped twice more, the third and last time by the same initial attacker. MPD spoke with the girl’s attackers who was 22. The attacker claimed the girl told him she was 16 and sex was consensual. The police
This is very much akin to what the DOJ found in Baltimore when adult women complained of sexual assault. An entire separate paper could be written on what happens to Black girls compared to White girls when they actually enter the juvenile justice system or are formally sentenced to state custody.

III. BLACK WOMEN ARE RAPED AND SEXUALLY ASSAULTED BY THE POLICE

A. Invisible Black Victims

Invisible is often a word used to describe Black women’s presence in society. It can seem overused at times, but “invisible” is just the correct word to use when Black women’s efforts to have the state respect their rights to preserve bodily integrity. Historically, as mentioned earlier, Black women did not have the right to bodily integrity. They could and were raped with impunity. The legacy of the lack of legal protection for the autonomy of Black women’s bodies is still felt today, and renders them invisible in the sexual assault literature, particularly when the assailant is a police officer. Although Andrea Ritchie called attention to police sexual assaults, it is unlikely the issue would have risen to national attention had it not been for the case of Daniel Holtzclaw, an Oklahoma police officer, convicted in 2016 of raping thirteen women while on duty. The thirteen rapes took place over a course of six months in 2014. Holtzclaw targeted women he believed to be vulnerable. When they protested his sexual advances, he would warn them that their word would not be believed over his words, the words of a police officer, then charged the girl, forced her into a plea deal and she was sent to a juvenile facility. Her parents said their daughter’s childhood ended at 11.


209. HIGGINBOTHAM, supra note 24, at 1056.

210. Id. at 1057.


212. Id.


214. Larimer, supra note 211.
Holtzclaw gambled on the probability that none of the women would report him, but one brave woman did exactly that. Fortunately, a female detective handled the complaint and a formal investigation was opened. When it became known that a case against him would go forward, other women victimized by him also came forward with complaints.

The Holtzclaw arrest prompted the Associated Press to conduct an extensive investigation about the phenomenon of police raping women while on duty. The report itself focused on the frequency of sexual misconduct by police officers, and the failure or unwillingness of law enforcement agencies to report the names of officers who were fired because of sexual misconduct while on the job. The AP report also highlighted the fact that many jurisdictions have no mandatory reporting requirement when a police officer loses his certification for criminal conduct. As a result, many offending officers simply go to other jurisdictions and are rehired as law enforcement officers, without those jurisdictions knowing that the officer in question has a prior history of rape and assault. Approximately one year after the AP report, Al-Jazeera also published an article on police sexual misconduct. The Al-Jazeera piece primarily focused on whether the leadership of various law enforcement agencies were turning a blind eye towards the problem of police rapists remaining within the ranks.

Neither the AP nor the Al-Jazeera publications, made any reference to the race of the victims of police sexual misconduct. AP stated they do not publish the names of survivors of sexual assault without permission, and of course, this is the correct policy. The mention of the racial identity of the victims, however, does not jeopardize the actual identity of the survivors. In the year between

216. Id.
217. Id.
218. Id.
220. Id.
221. Id.
222. Id.
224. Id.
225. Id.; Sedensky & Merchant, supra note 219.
226. Yoder, supra note 223.
the AP story and the Holtzclaw conviction, several of the women who complained against him identified themselves in public, including the woman previously known only as J.L., whose complaint kick-started the prosecution against Holtzclaw.\footnote{227} Al-Jazeera did publish her photo.\footnote{228} She is clearly a Black woman. The \textit{New York Times}, which covered the story at the end of the trial, was the first to clearly state all thirteen of Holtzclaw’s victims were Black.\footnote{229} Twelve were adult women and one was a teenage girl.\footnote{230} Police throughout the country rape Black women and girls.\footnote{231} There is no area of the country where women and girls are not raped by the police.\footnote{232} As the five news articles mentioned below point out, the identity of these women and girls is often hidden.\footnote{233} Nonetheless, we can recover some racially identifying information. A quick Google search produces multiple hits for the Holtzclaw case and two others as well. A Black woman in Syracuse accused a police officer of raping her in front of her newborn son.\footnote{234} The story is accompanied by a photo and her name.\footnote{235} Another story out of Texas identifies a Black woman who was sexually assaulted by the police at a gas station because she smelled like “weed.”\footnote{236} The #SayHerName project also identifies police sexual assault of Black women as a problem.\footnote{237} Rather than
print the names of victims, the report identifies two police officers who were convicted of raping Black women.\textsuperscript{238} One was Holtzclaw.\textsuperscript{239} The other was a Chicago police officer who raped a nineteen-year-old Black woman.\textsuperscript{240} In keeping with the argument that Black girls are Black women too, the internet provides numerous stories of police who sexually assault or traffic underage girls.\textsuperscript{241} As juveniles their names should never be in the news, and they were not. Local coverage however, once again can be instructive. In the past three years, for example, three police officers from the District of Columbia have been charged with sexually assaulting and/or prostituting girls.\textsuperscript{242} All of the girls were Black.\textsuperscript{243} The District is one of the jurisdictions that does not report the names of officers who have been decertified for criminal conduct.\textsuperscript{244} The Chicago police can always be counted on to provide examples of bad police behavior and also sexually abused Black girls.\textsuperscript{245} The Holtzclaw case is by no means an isolated event.

\textsuperscript{238} Id.  
\textsuperscript{239} Id.  
\textsuperscript{240} Id.  
\textsuperscript{242} Id.  
The Cato Institute, frustrated by the inability of citizens to obtain hard data on police officers who are terminated for misconduct, started a project called the National Police Misconduct Reporting Project (NPMRP). The project seeks to collect data from reported incidents of police misconduct throughout the United States. As part of the project, the institute maintains a database for credible reports of misconduct, as well as a daily feed of reported incidents of misconduct, as they appear in the news. To date in 2017, not one week has passed without a report of police misconduct. The NPMRP data set was last given a full social science study in 2015 by Dr. Anna Feigenbaum of Bournemouth University, a social scientist from the United Kingdom, who mapped the incidents of violence by state and color coded the types of incidents. Using the project’s own statistical analysis, sexual offenses were second only to excessive use of force complaints. Unfortunately, even the NPMRP statistics are not collated by race of the victim. One may ask, why does it matter that the women are Black? Shouldn’t it be sufficient to say that police rape women? Police rape is heinous no matter who the victim is, however, without a more nuanced way of understanding the context in which police rape, a full understanding of police behavior cannot be achieved. There would be no ability to identify whether only “vulnerable” women were being targeted or whether Black women are disproportionately carrying the brunt of police sexual violence against women. A break down of racial statistics would also provide an opportunity to track prosecutions of officers who rape to determine whether prosecutors are actually holding police accountable for sexual assaults on Black women to the same degree as prosecutions where White women are the survivors. The data is needed.

Both the DOJ’s office on Violence Against Women and the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) have the ability to monitor police sexual assaults by police officers while on duty.

247. Id.
248. Id.
251. Packman, supra note 246.
252. Id.
In fact, the DOJ provided a grant to the IACP to study the issue of police sexual assault. The grant was awarded in 2009 and a report published 2011, acknowledging sexual assault by police officers was a problem and issuing guidelines for police departments on how to handle complaints of a predator officer. The IACP guidelines are not mandatory. Even today, not all police agencies are required to provide names of officers accused, or convicted of sexual assault to the police decertification database. There have not been any further efforts from the Office on Violence Against Women to follow up on this issue.

B. Black Women Will Always Be in the Vulnerable Women Category

Even though IACP has no mandatory policies with regard to police officers who sexually assault, some of the language from its 2011 report is interesting. The IACP cites the following factors as reasons why the police may target certain women for sexual exploitation:

Predators select victims based on vulnerabilities and a perceived lack of credibility, and therefore, victimization is often higher among certain populations including: (1) minors; (2) individuals in prostitution and/or the commercial sex industry; (3) individuals under the influence of drugs or alcohol; (4) immigrants and undocumented persons; (5) individuals with limited English proficiency; (6) people with mental illness or developmental challenges; (7) individuals with physical disabilities; and (8) those who have been victimized previously.

This language tracks the language of feminist literature and can be found in all of the investigative reports about Holtzclaw and other predator police officers. In addition to these categories, there should be another that includes individuals under custodial or correctional control. Black women and girls who are incarcerated are also subjected to rape and other forms of sexual assault committed by corrections officers and other staff. It is certainly true that


254. Id. at 2.
255. Id. at 5.
256. Id. at 2.
257. Id. at 8.
258. Id. at 15.
259. ADDRESSING SEXUAL OFFENSES, supra note 253, at 13.
260. Testa, supra note 215.
261. Flyn L. Flesher, Cross-Gender Supervision in Prisons and the Constitutional Right of Prisoners to Remain Free from Rape, 13 WM. & MARY J. WOMEN & L. 841, 848 (2007)
many victims, not just of the police but of all predators fit well within those categories. Women who engage in sex work, particularly at the street level, have interactions with the police that can lead to sexual harassment and sexual assault. Again, the issue of police sexual abuse of these women has been known for some time. Victimization of these women has come to be accepted as normal. As feminists and/or members of anti-violence movements, it should not be tolerable that a class of women because they are poor or drug addicted, or sex workers (and therefore despised) should be permanent victims of violence. This normative acceptance of vulnerable women being targetable is very problematic for Black women. All of Holtzclaw’s victims were Black but they were not all within the categories listed above. That then begs the question: can Black women ever be outside of the vulnerable categories? It doesn’t really matter for Black women whether they actually are or are not within the vulnerable categories. What matters is the perception of the predator. All Black women in the eyes of law enforcement are deemed to be within those categories, as Jannie Ligons (J.L.) would discover. Jannie Ligons, the woman who came forward to complain about Holtzclaw was none of these. She was a grandmother without any criminal history, she was not a prostitute, a drug addict

(Providing an estimate that at least 15% of female inmates are sexually assaulted while incarcerated); Josh Guckert, Female Inmates and Sexual Assault, JURIST (Sep. 15, 2014, 7:00 PM), http://www.jurist.org/dateline/2014/09/christina-piecera-female-inmates.php [http://perma.cc/NTZ9-DAF6].


264. See IN THE SHADOWS OF THE WAR ON TERROR, supra note 119, at 47 (“Even when violence is reported, these crimes usually go unpunished because violence against sex workers is tacitly accepted.”).

265. See Fenwick & Schwarz, supra note 229.

266. See id.


or an alcoholic. Nonetheless she was still vulnerable, simply because she was Black and Holtzclaw assumed therefore she must fit one of those categories. Maleatra Montanez in Syracuse discovered that as well. It is not helpful to Black women for social scientists and legal scholars to continue to define this type of violence as violence that is explainable because its victims are vulnerable.

C. Rapes of Black Women Are Under-Reported, Under-Investigated, and Under-Prosecuted

In a sense, it is amazing that Holtzclaw was indicted and tried, much less convicted. Sexual assaults against Black women are under-reported, under-investigated, and under-prosecuted, in comparison to cases where White women are attacked. Two stereotypes of Black women intersect in the context of rape: the belief that Black women are “promiscuous” and the belief that they are “prone to lying.” Today, these beliefs still echo in the ways the

269. See Fenwick & Schwarz, supra note 229.
270. Coincidentally, this rationale also applies frequently in cases where several women have gone missing. For an example, see Stephanie Chen, 11 bodies, one house of horrors: Why Cleveland women were ‘invisible,’ CNN (Oct. 26, 2010, 2:49 PM), http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/10/26/cleveland.sowell.victims.one.year/index.html [https://perma.cc/4HHN-38RB] (discussing the case of a Cleveland serial killer). Police often assume they are prostitutes or drug addicts. Cf. id. (talking about the targeting preferences of serial killers and public reaction which “blame[d] the victims in these cases for living a vulnerable and dangerous lifestyle,” although “family members and friends say their stories are far more complicated.”). Their cases are not investigated because the police view the women as unworthy. See id. Action is normally taken when the serial killer kills someone who is not normally in the category of vulnerable and that woman’s family has the social capital to force the police to do their jobs. Cf. id. (noting community belief that the lives of African American women do not matter as much as White women, leading to the inference that things would have been different if one of the Cleveland victims was White).
criminal justice system views Black female rape survivors.\textsuperscript{275} After the Holtzclaw verdicts mainstream media was criticized for its lack of coverage of his arrest or trial, as few major media outlets deemed it a story of interest.\textsuperscript{276}

There is no shortage of literature, either in social science or in law, on the subject of rape, and prosecutions of those alleged to have committed rape.\textsuperscript{277} The vast majority of it does not particularly focus on Black women as rape survivors.\textsuperscript{278} Though most crime, including rape, is intraracial, the literature focuses mainly on interracial rape, and specifically on rapes where the victim is a White woman and the alleged perpetrator is a Black man.\textsuperscript{279} However, some studies did have relevant findings with regard to rapes where Black women were the survivors. The works of Jennifer Nash, a social scientist, and Jeffrey Pokorak, a legal scholar cite some interesting work, respectively. In a wide-ranging article, Pokorak looks at the law’s historical and contemporary treatment of the rape of Black women.\textsuperscript{280} He reviews literature dating back to the 1980s but his discussion of two studies, Cassia Spohn et al., and Spohn and Holleran from 2001 is worth noting.\textsuperscript{281} “[P]rosecutors were 4[.5] times more likely to file charges if the victim was [W]hite,’ than if . . . Black.”\textsuperscript{282} In the Spohn studies, the authors concluded that prosecutors prefer to initiate prosecution where “the defendant is Black and the victim is White.”\textsuperscript{283}
Over one half of all cases where a Black woman was the survivor prosecutions were declined and the cases dismissed, compared to only thirty-one percent of cases where a White woman was the victim. Spohn and Holleran’s work examined charging decisions in Kansas City and in Philadelphia. There the data demonstrated that prosecutors were likely to dismiss, even a stranger rape case, based on the race of the victim. Nash reviews several studies, including one by an organization called Making a Difference Project to End Violence Against Women International (MAD). The MAD project was interdisciplinary and reviewed data from 12,000 cases. As part of the project charging decisions were studied in eight jurisdictions. The study demonstrated that different results can occur for victims among communities of color, in contrast to White victims. Overall, the authors concluded victim race did impact charging decisions in the cases.

In his review of charging decisions in New York City, Professor Pokorak draws the connections between the historical treatment of Black women in slavery and contemporary prosecutorial decisions based on what he calls legally irrelevant factors (e.g., the race of the survivor). His research suggests that prosecutors are influenced where the rapist is a Black man and the survivor is a White woman. Nash asserted that it has now become difficult to obtain data on intraracial rape as it relates to Black women. The obvious comment is that yet again, research privileges conditions that impact White woman. I also discussed the dilemma of the lack of data on intraracial sexual assault versus interracial sexual assault with Caroline LaPorte. It produced another poignant moment between the two of us, where yet again our two communities were being disadvantaged on the same issue but in different ways. For Native American women, interracial rape is the main problem. See Sari Horwitz, New law offers protection to abused Native American women, WASH. POST (Feb. 8, 2014), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/security/new-law-offers-a-silver-of-protection-to-abused-native-american-women/2014/02/08/046dd1ae-8f73-11e3-84e1-276265ef5bb_story.html?utm_term=.749a9e9f8b51 [http://perma.cc/AV7J-FZQ5]. White men come onto tribal land and sexually assault native women who are unable to prosecute them. LaPorte says the Federal government has data on interracial rape of Native women but it is difficult for organizations representing Native women to gain access to the data.
when making charging decisions in rape cases on factors such as the race of the victim. Pokorak provides several suggestions on how prosecutorial discretion can be tweaked to help eliminate the legally irrelevant factors. Some of his suggestions, naturally, rely on the law such as challenges to the decision making on Equal Protection grounds. He also recommends legislative solutions, such as legislatures requiring better statistical record keeping in the prosecutors’ offices, which would help provide necessary data to track charging decisions. Pokorak suggested a multilayered process where more than one prosecutor would be involved in making the charging decision. Pokorak believed such a multilayered process would reduce the potential for legally irrelevant factors to influence decision making. His suggestions are well thought through, however they suffer from the same defects that the well-intentioned legislators who supported creating the Federal Sentencing Guidelines, which were supposed to eliminate disparity in sentencing, missed. The decisions, for example of whether something is legally relevant, cannot be unbundled from the racial stereotypes that the decision makers hold. The race of the victim is not actually legally irrelevant because of the stereotypes embedded in the law. In Pokorak’s case, it’s ironic because the first half of his article focuses so thoroughly on the historical roots of why Black women’s bodily integrity is not respected in the law. He speaks of victim advocacy and the strength of it, but here again, this is White women’s advocacy without any apparent recognition that the advocacy approach has not been successful for Black women. And the mainstream movements against sexual violence are still resistant to address the racial disparities issue.

293. Id. at 41.
294. Id. at 48–49.
295. Id. at 53.
296. Id. at 50.
297. Id. at 49.
298. Pokorak, supra note 273, at 50.
300. See Pokorak, supra note 273, at 1–2.
301. Referring to advocacy of ideas and practices that in practice only benefit White women, because they fail to take into account the experiences of racial minorities. For notes of the different experiences see Barbara Fedders, Lobbying for Mandatory-Arrest Policies: Race, Class, and the Politics of the Battered Women’s Movement, 23 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 281, 281–82 (1997).
302. See id. at 281–82, 298–99.
IV. THE POLICE AND BLACK WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The police are involved in intimate partner violence in two ways: they can sometimes be the perpetrators of violence, and they can trigger all manner of violence when they respond to a report that a Black woman has been the victim of intimate partner violence.

A. The Police as Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence

It should not come as a surprise that law enforcement officers can commit domestic violence. For some officers, the very training they receive to perform effectively as the police make them well suited to abuse their authority within their intimate sphere.\textsuperscript{303} As society was made more aware of the frequency with which women were being abused by the intimate partners, the news stories about police officers killing or abusing their spouses could not be ignored.\textsuperscript{304} The International Association of Police Chiefs (IACP) received a grant from the DOJ’s Office of Violence Against Women to study the issue of police intimate violence.\textsuperscript{305} In 2003, IACP published a policy paper on law enforcement intimate violence and released a model policy for agencies on the subject.\textsuperscript{306} All four of the statistical studies cited in the report are quite old, with the most recent one dated published in 2003.\textsuperscript{307} As the authors of one study noted, it was difficult to assess how much intimate violence was committed by law enforcement because, at the time, no benchmark study had been conducted by which a comparison could be made.\textsuperscript{308} The survey was sent to law enforcement offices to assess whether commanders were


\textsuperscript{306} Id. at 2; IACP NAT’L LAW ENFORCEMENT POL’Y CTR., DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS: MODEL POLICY 1, 1 (2003), http://www.theiacp.org/Portals/0/documents/pdfs/MembersOnly/DomesticViolencebyPolicePolicy.pdf [https://perma.cc/CDG7-M75T].

\textsuperscript{307} See DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS, supra note 305, at 2.

seeing an increase in the rate of officer perpetrated violence and to assess what policies were in place to handle reports of the same.\textsuperscript{309} Approximately twenty-nine percent of offices that responded, reported their impressions that the rate was increasing, and approximately forty-five percent of the respondents lacked official policies to handle complaints of officer perpetrated IPV.\textsuperscript{310} In another study, also dated, forty percent of police respondents “reported marital conflicts [that] involv[ed] physical aggression” within the year before participation in the study.\textsuperscript{311} The IACP model policy is completely voluntary, as is the one on police officer perpetrated sexual assault.\textsuperscript{312} The policy focuses heavily on better screening of initial hires to weed out candidates who might fit the profile of a batterer, early warning strategies should a batterer actually be hired, and guidelines for supervisors on the process that should be used to handle an incident where an officer has been accused of IPV.\textsuperscript{313}

Though the data is now dated, the problem of officer perpetrated IPV has not dissipated. The \textit{New York Times} and PBS program \textit{FRONTLINE} worked together to survey fifty-six police departments on the issue of police abusers.\textsuperscript{314} Experts stated the rate of police intimate abuse is under-reported, and departments may shield those officers who are accused.\textsuperscript{315} One of the more interesting facts disclosed in the article is that “nearly 30 percent of the officers accused of domestic violence were still working in the same agency a year later, compared with 1 percent of those who failed drug tests and 7 percent of those accused of theft.”\textsuperscript{316} On the Chicago Police Department, an officer could be fired immediately for testing positive for marijuana, but not for committing domestic violence.\textsuperscript{317} Current data on the frequency of police initiated IPV is hard to find, but Professor Leigh Goodmark provides a list, culled from media sources, of 102 incidents of police perpetrated IPV between 2013 and 2015.\textsuperscript{318} Not all spouses and partners of police officers are Black, but

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{309} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{310} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{311} Peter H. Neidig et al., \textit{Interspousal Aggression in Law Enforcement Families: A Preliminary Investigation}, 15 POLICE STUD.: INT'L REV. OF POLICE DEV. 30, 30 (1992).
  \item \textsuperscript{312} See \textit{DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS: MODEL POLICY}, supra note 306, at 1, 8; \textit{DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS}, supra note 305, at 1, 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{313} \textit{DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY POLICE OFFICERS: MODEL POLICY}, supra note 306, at 2–5.
  \item \textsuperscript{315} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{316} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{317} Id.
\end{itemize}
some are. Here again, they can be found in the news. The incidents Professor Goodmark mentions in Baltimore are Black officers. Black officers in the District of Columbia, New York, Dallas, and Chicago have also murdered their wives. Female police officers whose partners are police are also at risk for police perpetrated IPV. This is another category of invisible victims. Police culture and fear of reprisals often keep these women from reporting their abuse partners and given police preference not to punish abusive officers, it is extremely difficult to locate women, much less Black women whose violent partners are the police.

B. Violence When the Police Respond to Intimate Partner Violence and Missteps Along the Road to VAWA

When a Black woman is assaulted by an intimate partner she must think carefully about whether to seek the assistance of the police. Police intervention can be lethal for the partner, and it may also expose the woman, herself, to arrest and prosecution. Although all states, and the federal government have enacted laws to eliminate intimate partner violence, these laws have not provided the same beneficial impact for all women. The effort by Republicans in early 2013 to derail the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act provided an unusual opportunity for public assessment on the efficacy of the Act. Several articles questioned whether

319. See id. at 1219 (noting some examples of police-partner violence that received some coverage).
320. See id. at 1184–86 (describing the incidents).
323. Id. at 1–5.
VAWA legislation has been good for all women or just primarily middle class White women. The answer can be complicated as Beth Richie and Lisalyn Jacobs pointed out in an interview. In many respects the original Act signaled a “milestone” moment when Republicans and Democrats united with the domestic violence movement to recognize domestic violence as a problem that needed to be stopped. But in other respects, the reliance on criminal justice policies as the sole remedy for stopping violence against women is simply too narrow, and denies non-White women the same protection of law that White women receive.

The passage of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was the culmination a thirty-year movement to eliminate intimate partner violence against women. Organizations worked diligently during that period to educate the public and state and federal legislators about the frequency and seriousness of violence that women were experiencing in the home. The education process was necessary because the police often failed or refused to respond appropriately when a woman was injured by her intimate partner. At the same time, it was widely believed only Black women and other poor women experienced heightened levels of violence within the home. If White women were to be protected, it became important

328. Rebecca Burns, VAWA: A Victory for Women—But Which Women?, IN THESE TIMES (Feb. 28, 2013), http://inthesetimes.com/article/14668/vawa_a_victory_for_women_b ut_which_women; see also Pérez, supra note 324 (noting comments from two advocates from communities of color about how conflicted they were about supporting the passage of VAWA knowing it could have adverse police consequences in their communities).
331. See Fedders, supra note 301, at 284.
for beliefs to change. Public awareness campaigns began to emphasize that violence was something all women experienced and all women experienced it equally.\textsuperscript{334} Between 1984 and the passage of VAWA, many states enacted so-called mandatory arrest policies, based on the alleged success of a project in Minnesota.\textsuperscript{335} The authors of the study concluded that arrest reduced the incidence of domestic violence.\textsuperscript{336} The National Institute of Justice sponsored a replication of the study in six states, which produced inconsistent results.\textsuperscript{337} Nonetheless, state legislators in conjunction with anti-violence movements seized the idea of mandatory arrests as an appropriate criminal justice solution to domestic violence.\textsuperscript{338} Many states adopted legislation mandating the police make an arrest when responding to a call about domestic violence.\textsuperscript{339} As the campaign towards the adoption of federal legislation to address domestic violence went forward, pro-arrest polices were woven into the drafts of the legislation.\textsuperscript{340} During this process, advocates for women of color

\textsuperscript{334} R ICHIE, supra note 333; Goodmark, supra note 333, at 87. It was not true then, nor is it true now, that all women experience violence equally. Fedders, supra note 301, at 287.


\textsuperscript{336} Lawrence W. Sherman & Richard A. Berk, The Specific Deterrent Effect of Arrests for Domestic Violence Assault, 49 AM. SOC. REV. 261, 261, 270 (1984). In the report the authors cautioned against using the results to support wide spread mandatory arrests laws. Id. at 268–70.

\textsuperscript{337} See Franklyn W. Dunford et al., The Role of Arrest in Domestic Assault: The Omaha Police Experience, 28 CRIMINOLOGY 183, 183, 184 n.1 (1990) (discussing one of these such cases). The NJJ study found similar results in the two states where Sherman & Berk did the follow-up and the opposite results in three other states. See L AWRENCE SHERMAN, POLICING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: EXPERIMENTS AND DILEMMAS 3 (1992); see generally C Hristopher D. MAXWELL ET AL., NAT’L INST. OF JUST., U.S. DEP’T OF JUST., T HE EFFECTS OF ARREST ON INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: NEW EVIDENCE FROM T HE SPOUSE ASSAULT REPLICATION PROGRAM 1 (2001), https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/188199.pdf [https://perma.cc/TM2B-7KZJ] (discussing results generally).


\textsuperscript{339} SHERMAN, supra note 337. In a later publication Sherman suggested that mandatory arrests has a deterrent effect when the perpetrator has “a stake in conformity.” Id. at 181.

\textsuperscript{340} See Pickert, supra note 327.
were conflicted. On the one hand, Black women were experiencing violence, but on the other hand, they also knew that the police did not have the relationship with their communities as they did with White communities. They feared increased police power would lead to increased aggressive policing of their communities and could potentially lead to heightened levels of retaliatory violence. For the most part, their concerns were dismissed or undervalued by movement leaders.

The move towards pro-arrest policies contemplated mandatory arrest and “no drop” policies by the prosecutor’s office. The belief and hope of the domestic violence advocates were that these policies would force change in police departments that previously refused to arrest male batterers on a routine basis. However, the attempt to change cultural patterns of behavior and social justice policy through the use of criminal justice mechanisms is rarely successful. Domestic violence advocates were attempting to convince society to reject intimate partner violence as normative. Reliance on the most narrow means of change, criminal law, was misplaced. It does, however, reflect many of the legislative choices made by liberals in

341. See Broussard, supra note 272.
343. See Fedders, supra note 301, at 297.
344. See id. at 287–88 (relating the history of the battered women’s movement away from violence against poor women towards the agenda of violence being against middle-class White women, while ignoring the racial dynamics of the problem). Fedders stated that White women supported mandatory policies because they were suspicious of police discretion, fearing that without the policies the police would not arrest. Id. at 289. For Black and poor women, increasing police presence in their communities would not necessarily make the Black woman safer. Id. at 292–94.
345. See Donna Coker, Crime Control and Feminist Law Reform in Domestic Violence Law: A Critical Review, 4 BUFFALO CRIM. L REV. 801, 805–06 (2001). Pro-arrest encourages the police to make an arrest in every domestic violence call. See id. at 806. No-drop is the policy authorizing prosecutors to go forward with a domestic violence case, even when the complainant does not want to go forward. Id. Coker calls these two aspects of the law “mandatory policies.” Id.
346. Fedders, supra note 301, at 282.
347. See Coker, supra note 345, at 830.
348. See id. at 829–30, 841; Fedders, supra note 301, at 281.
the same time period that VAWA passed.\footnote{349} Law enforcement is not tasked with creating long-term change. Nor do the police use the language of social advocacy.\footnote{350} When the police answer a call, they are responding to an event that is in progress at that moment or has just happened, and that is all.\footnote{351} The anti-violence movement spoke of IPV as patterns of practice over a period of time in an ongoing relationship.\footnote{352} But, the language of pro-arrest policies have to do with the incident that serves as the basis for the police response at that moment.\footnote{353} The police will look for injuries at the time they arrive and not do an intensive investigation in what may have occurred in the past between the individuals involved in the call.\footnote{354} Under pro-arrest policies, the police were required to make an arrest regardless of whether the incident was a misdemeanor or a felony.\footnote{355} Anti-violence advocates had not anticipated the need to distinguish between the two, not realizing, or perhaps undervaluing the significance of arrest in misdemeanor cases.\footnote{356} In response to VAWA, two unanticipated police responses began to develop: (1) some women


351. \textit{Id.}

352. \textit{Id.} at 1456.

353. \textit{See id.} at 1458.

354. \textit{Id.} at 1456–57.


356. \textit{Id.} (critiquing the anti-violence movement’s “one-size-fits-all” mandatory arrest solution); \textit{see also Kevin Walsh, The Mandatory Arrest Law: Police Reaction}, 16 PACE L. REV. 97, 97–98 (1995) (explaining that under mandatory arrest policies, police must arrest whether the incident was observed or not).}
began to experience more violence when their intimate partners were arrested; and (2) women were arrested as “primary aggressors” or in dual arrests.\footnote{357}

\textbf{C. Black Women Trapped in the “Unintended Consequences” of VAWA}

During the period leading to the enactment of VAWA, Black women and Latinas warned that mandatory arrest policies might actually increase the rate of violence in their communities.\footnote{358} The mainstream anti-violence advocates devalued the validity of this concern, usually cloaked in eerily paternalistic language.\footnote{358} By 2002, it was clear that data was developing that suggested in some cases, advocates for Black women and Latinas were right, violence could increase as a result of mandatory arrest.\footnote{360} The authors of the original Minnesota study themselves, published a follow-up study that showed the reduction in violence caused by mandatory arrest only had a six-month effect.\footnote{361} After that, levels of violence resumed.\footnote{362} Other studies showed there were identifiable factors that predicted retaliatory violence would occur.\footnote{363} The factors were high rates of community economic instability, whether the offender was unemployed at the time of arrest, and whether alcohol and drug use were present.\footnote{364} These were factors that impacted Black and Latina communities far more than middle-class White communities.\footnote{365} All

\footnote{357. See Hirschel & Buzawa, supra note 350, at 1449 (noting the increased numbers of women arrested by mandatory arrest policies); Walsh, supra note 356, at 99, 106 (noting potential for increased violence under mandatory arrest policies). Dual arrest occurs when the police cannot “determine [who the] primary aggressor” is, so both parties are arrested. Hirschel & Buzawa, supra note 350, at 1450.}

\footnote{358. Cf. Fedders, supra note 301, at 281–82.}

\footnote{359. See id. at 281.}

\footnote{360. See Lawrence W. Sherman & Heather M. Harris, Increased death rates of domestic violence victims from arresting vs. warning suspects in the Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment (MilDVE), 11 J. EXPERIMENTAL CRIMINOLOGY 1, 1 (2015).}

\footnote{361. Sherman, supra note 335, at 2–3, 29–30, 39–40. In the six states that attempted to replicate his study, level of violence decreased in three and increased in three. Id. at 25.}

\footnote{362. See SHERMAN, supra note 337, at 192.}

\footnote{363. See Bushra Sabri et al., Factors Associated With Increased Risk for Lethal Violence in Intimate Partner Relationships Among Ethnically Diverse Black Women, 29 VIOLENCE & VICTIMS 719, 720 (2014).}

\footnote{364. See id. at 720–21, 723; see also Craig A. Field & Raul Caetano, Longitudinal Model Predicting Partner Violence Among White, Black, and Hispanic Couples in the United States, 27 ALCOHOLISM: CLINICAL & EXPERIMENTAL RES. 1451, 1451–52 (2003) (studying the impact of alcohol consumption on rate of violence). “Black and Hispanic couples [experienced] . . . three times greater risk of MFPV.” Id. at 1451.}

\footnote{365. Coker, supra note 345, at 808–12; Michelle DeCasas, Protecting Hispanic Women: The Inadequacy of Domestic Violence Policy, 24 CHICANO-LATINO L. REV. 56, 56, 61–62}
social scientists who study the phenomenon of heightened lethality after mandatory arrest state that a much more extensive study on the risks of increased violence needs to be conducted. To date, the mainstream anti-violence movement has not supported a more comprehensive look at the racialized impact mandatory arrest has on heightened lethality for Black women and Latinas.

The second unintended consequence of VAWA was the phenomenon of dual arrest. Dual arrest and the “primary aggressor” language is particularly problematic for Black women because they are less likely to be seen as victims by the police and more likely to be seen as aggressors thereby increasing the likelihood that Black women will be arrested more frequently, even if they are the ones who initiate the call for police assistance. The Office on Violence Against Women did show some concern over the increased numbers of women who were arrested under mandatory arrest policies. The office suspected some police officers were making dual arrest because they did not want to take the time or make the effort to actually determine which party was actually the aggressor. As a result of this concern the office did revise some of its grant parameters. Police agencies applying for VAWA funding had to be able to demonstrate that women were not being arrested solely to avoid having to make a determination of who the aggressor was. Some states


366. See Fedders, supra note 301, at 281, 298–300.
367. See id. at 295–96.
368. See Davis, supra note 355.
369. See Geneva Brown, Ain’t I a Victim? The Intersectionality of Race, Class and Gender in Domestic Violence and the Courtroom, 19 CARDOZO J. L. & GENDER 147, 147 (2012) (recounting the difficulty Black women have when attempting to obtain orders of protection in civil proceedings).
373. See U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, OFFICE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, OVW FISCAL YEAR 2015 GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE ARREST POLICIES AND ENFORCEMENT OF PROTECTION ORDERS PROGRAM SOLICITATION 18 (2015), https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/ovw/pages/attachments/2015/03/31/final_fy_2015_arrest_solicitation_2_19_2015.pdf [https://perma.cc/LW4C-YFT5]. In an interesting twist, early data suggested single White women living with an intimate partner, and lesbians, were more likely to be arrested
responded by clarifying procedures requiring the police to make a principle aggressor determination. The use of “primary aggressor” language can still present problems for Black women because of the stereotypical belief that Black women are more prone to violence than White women. Again, the failure to do a race analysis of how Black women are viewed within the criminal justice system allowed anti-violence advocates to believe they were addressing the problem of victims being arrested, without providing solutions for those who were most adversely impacted.

The move toward “primary aggressor language” did not change policies in states that had dual arrest. Dual arrest appears to drive much of the rise in the number of women being arrested in the IPV context. In the dual arrest context, both parties are seen as mutual combatants and, therefore, both arrested. In an analysis of arrests of women victims, one prosecutor noted that the term “mutual combat” is usually of little assistance when trying to determine who should be arrested. Mutual combatant, according to the prosecutor, would normally be where the parties are evenly matched, which is rarely the case in a domestic violence context. In addition, the prosecutor noted that the term itself is used by different actors within law enforcement in different ways. For example, the police may indicate “mutual combat” when they cannot sort a “messy” scene, versus prosecutors who may use it to mean “both parties have injuries,” and then contrast that with instances where a judge may use the term to justify a not guilty verdict. Where do Black women fit in the dual arrest context? Data is sparse. However, women from communities of color seem to experience arrest at a higher dual arrest rate than White women. In New York for example, which
does have dual arrest, seventy percent of the women affected by mandatory arrest or dual arrest policies were Black or Latina.\textsuperscript{383} Connecticut retains a disproportionately high number of arrests of women, even among the states that retain dual arrest statutes.\textsuperscript{384} Again, racial data is difficult to find, but the news stories about the problem of survivors being arrested show photographs of Black women.\textsuperscript{385} The question of the increased rate of violence against some women did not receive a comprehensive treatment.\textsuperscript{386} However, mainstream anti-violence organizations have yet to support a comprehensive study of arrests of women by race and economic class.\textsuperscript{387}

In 2012, scholar and activist Beth Richie succinctly identified why the mainstream anti-violence movement did not and more importantly, will not, move away from pro-arrest policies.\textsuperscript{388} Richie documents the history of the anti-violence movement, starting with its birth in grassroots organizing into what today is a movement run by professionals.\textsuperscript{389} She suggests that the mainstream anti-violence leaders allied themselves with law and order policies, known to adversely impact the poor and communities of color, in exchange for legitimacy, power, and access to federal dollars.\textsuperscript{390} She ties pro-arrest policies with the government’s policy of mass incarceration of Black people.\textsuperscript{391} Richie points out that the increase in rates of arrests of Black women and convictions for using self-defense when attacked by abusers is totally consistent with American criminal justice policies aimed at incarcerating large swaths of the Black community.\textsuperscript{392} Richie’s critique is damning. The problems created by mass incarceration in the Black community have been well-documented.\textsuperscript{393}

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\item \textsuperscript{383} Id. at 27.
\item \textsuperscript{384} Sarah Smith, \textit{In Connecticut, Calling For Help Carries Risks for Victims of Domestic Violence}, PROPUBLICA (Feb. 16, 2017, 9:00 AM), https://www.propublica.org/article/in-connecticut-calling-for-help-carries-risks-victims-of-domestic-violence [https://perma.cc/MH7Z-NF4K] (pointing out that the national rate of dual arrest is two percent, but in Connecticut between the years of 2011 and 2015, the rate was eighteen percent).
\item \textsuperscript{385} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{386} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{387} See RICHIE, supra note 333, at 92–98.
\item \textsuperscript{388} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{389} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{390} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{391} Id. at 99–124.
\item \textsuperscript{392} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{393} RICHIE, supra note 333, at 99–124.
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of such policies on communities of color.\textsuperscript{394} Richie’s critique is embraced by a small group of legal scholars within the anti-violence movement.\textsuperscript{395} Nonetheless, there has been no public change away from pro-arrest policies.\textsuperscript{396}

\textbf{D. Black Survivors Pay the Penalty for Failure to Do Race Analysis}

The development of the legal understanding of who a battered woman is is well-documented, as is the critique of its formulation.\textsuperscript{397} Today, the concept of who can be battered continues to present barriers to effective legal protection for those women who use violence to defend themselves from a batterer.\textsuperscript{398} Professor Leigh Goodmark sums up the problem: a sympathetic battered women is passive, White, and heterosexual.\textsuperscript{399} If a woman fights back against her abuser, she can lose the sympathy the criminal justice system has for battered women, because she defies normative stereotypes.\textsuperscript{400} Although studies now show that a significant number of abused women do attempt to defend themselves with violence, albeit much more moderate violence than men use, the idea of women using violence still seems aberrant.\textsuperscript{401} When women fight back both prosecutors

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\item \textsuperscript{394.} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{396.} Advocates, speaking confidentially, reported hearing lawyers representing abused women of color make statements such as #BlackLivesMatter is irrelevant to their work, and routinely encourage clients to support maximum punishment against Black males, particularly when the offense was a misdemeanor. This suggests that these practitioners fail to understand the complexity of violence in the Black community.
\item \textsuperscript{397.} Goodmark, supra note 333, at 84.
\item \textsuperscript{398.} Id. at 83.
\item \textsuperscript{399.} Id. at 91.
\item \textsuperscript{400.} Id. at 94.
\item \textsuperscript{401.} Id. at 92 (citing, among others, Susan L. Miller, Victims as Offenders: The Paradox of Women’s Violence in Relationships 116–20 (2005); Swan & Snow, infra note 408, at 1028 (explaining almost all women who have been abused use violence. Authors argue it is important to place women’s violence in the context of the situations they are encountering); Jane Murphy et al., Engaging with the State: The Growing Reliance on Lawyers and Judges to Protect Battered Women, AM. U. J. GENDER, SOC. POLICY & L., 499, 515 (2003) (stating eighty-two percent of women fight back); Strack, supra note 378, at 7). See also Carolyn Rebecca Black, How Can Practitioners Help An Abused Woman Lower Her Risk of Death?, 250 NAT’L INST. OF JUST. REP.: INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE 4, 7 (2003) (detailing abused women who kill have experienced more violence, have fewer
and judges can view these women as mutual combatants rather than victims of violence. In a study of the comments made by judges when sentencing women for murder and manslaughter of their intimate partners, one researcher found that judges employed two techniques to justify sentencing of the women: they minimized the seriousness of the decedent’s violence against the accused, and they described the women as being mutual participants in violent relationships—these women were violent and aggressive, and active participants in the assault.

Several studies highlighted how the myth of the fragile, passive abused woman works to the disadvantage of Black women. Historically, Black women have been excluded from the normative definition of femininity. She will “act[] like a man” and fight back, and thereby reify the belief that she is a deviant woman. She can also be seen as an “inauthentic victim” because she is “loud and angry, rather than docile and weeping.” Marissa Alexander and Bresha Meadows are not household names, although they should be. Alexander, a Black mother in Florida, who chose to defend herself from an abusive partner, by firing a warning shot into the ceiling of their residence, was arrested, charged and convicted of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, which exposed her to mandatory sentencing. The judge in the case initially sentenced her to a twenty-year term of incarceration, despite the fact the abuser was not injured. Even after she prevailed on appeal, the female prosecutor in the case threatened to retry her on more serious charges.
Alexander chose to plead, even though she had a legitimate self-defense claim, so that she could be released.\(^\text{413}\) Alexander primarily relied on her family and grassroots organizers who fought to keep her case alive.\(^\text{414}\) Her case had very low visibility among mainstream anti-violence groups.\(^\text{415}\) Alexander’s case is not unique—nor is it restricted to adult survivors.\(^\text{416}\) Survivors can be children as well.\(^\text{417}\) Bresha Meadows, a fourteen-year-old girl in Ohio, was arrested and initially charged as an adult with aggravated murder of her father, a man who had showered the family with abuse for over twenty years.\(^\text{418}\) Bresha tried on multiple occasions to get help for her family.\(^\text{419}\) She told guidance counselors at school about the violence.\(^\text{420}\) She ran away from home to a relative who was a police officer, but still no action was taken to provide relief to this child and her family.\(^\text{421}\) Three months after she first tried to get help, she killed her father.\(^\text{422}\) Again, it was a grassroots campaign of family and friends that organized to bring attention to Meadows’s case.\(^\text{423}\)
Bresha accepted a plea to an involuntary manslaughter count and will be released in late 2017. Without the anti-violence movement doing a more nuanced and comprehensive analysis of violence against all women, stories like Alexander’s and Meadows’s will continue to repeat in the Black community.

Many authors cautioned that doing a gender-neutral analysis of women’s use of violence was incorrect, but also that the analysis had to be culturally competent and take into account how non-White women are impacted by violence and their use of violence in response. The failure of the anti-violence movement to do a thorough race and class analysis of police response to IPV leaves abused survivors like Alexander and Meadows outside of the protective rhetoric of anti-violence. Professor Goodmark cautions that the failure of battered women’s advocates to address women’s use of violence has negative consequences for the survivor. The inability to tell their stories may prevent battered women from healing and exacerbate doubts about battered women’s credibility. This is particularly harmful for Black women whose credibility is already always at issue. The second problem she identifies is the silencing of women by “replacing women’s stories and experiences with professional judgments about what is best for battered women.”

How then, do Black women fare, in general, as survivors? It is now a given that data specifically focused on Black women will be inadequate. Nonetheless, there are several Bureau of Justice (BOJ)
statistical reports that may allow a picture of Black female survivors to develop.433 The relevant reports are: (1) the Special Report on Women Offenders;434 (2) Report on Felony Defendants in Large Urban Counties;435 and (3) Prisoners in 2014.436 The Bureau of Justice Special Report on Women Offenders, estimated that one in every 77,000 women committed a murder.437 Of the women who murdered, sixty percent of them killed an intimate or a family member.438 At the state level, women represented eight percent of violent felons.439 Even in 2000, the year of the report, researchers noted that at the state level, the biggest increase in violent crime for women seemed to be for aggravated assault, which the researchers thought might be related to the increase in women being arrested for domestic violence.440 The report, though old, does provide a racial break down of women in federal and state prisons.441 The number of Black women under custodial supervision exceeded the number of White women in every single custodial condition but one: probation.442 There were significantly more Black women in county jails, state prisons, and federal prisons than White women, despite the fact that Black women are only about twelve percent of the national population.443 The BOJ has not published another report specifically on women offenders, but information about Black women can be gleaned from the annual prison update.444 Reportedly, Black women are convicted of killing their abusers by a two-to-one ratio compared to White women.445 Black women were sentenced at a higher rate than White

434. Greenfeld & Snell, supra note 433.
435. Reaves, supra note 433.
436. CARSON, supra note 433.
437. Greenfeld & Snell, supra note 433, at 4. This number is contrasted with one in 8,700 men. Id.
438. Id. Only 20 percent of men killed an intimate or a family member.
439. Id. at 5.
440. Id. at 5–6.
441. Id. at 7.
442. Greenfeld & Snell, supra note 433, at 7. In the context of probation, sixty-two percent of White women were under probation while only twenty-seven percent of Black women were under probation.
443. Id. In New York in 2002, 3,133 women were incarcerated. Of those, 57 percent were African American, 27 percent were Latina and 19 percent were White. Id.
444. CARSON, supra note 433, at 15.
women for murder and aggravated assault, the two violent crimes that track most closely to survivors of domestic violence who are incarcerated.\textsuperscript{446} The BOJ data on prisons for 2014 focused primarily on the reduction of rates of incarceration under new federal and state policies.\textsuperscript{447} Very few categories in the report were broken down by gender and race, although one chart does show that the rate of imprisonment for Black women continues to outstrip the rate of imprisonment for White women in all age categories.\textsuperscript{448} The incarceration rate for murder and aggravated assault was higher, although curiously, incarceration for manslaughter was lower for Black women than White.\textsuperscript{449}

The Felony Defendants in Large Urban Counties included statistics on felonies including murder and aggravated assault.\textsuperscript{450} It also compiled data such as prior arrests or convictions by those committing felonies such as whether they were detained or bailed pretrial, rate of flight, and other factors.\textsuperscript{451} Unfortunately, gender and race differentials are only mentioned in the demographic characteristics section of the report.\textsuperscript{452} At that time, forty-five percent of all defendants were Black.\textsuperscript{453} One table shows the percentages for crime for women, but race within the gender category is not broken down.\textsuperscript{454} It is yet another example of a missed opportunity to provide data that reveals something about Black women convicted of violent crime.\textsuperscript{455} It cannot be more apparent that data focused on Black women offenders must be made available so that the factors that drive their offending, as well as the sentences they receive can be understood. Until such data is made available, it will be impossible to determine where, how, and to what degree Black survivors of domestic violence are being unfairly punished.\textsuperscript{456}

\textsuperscript{446} CARSON, supra note 433, at 15.
\textsuperscript{447} Id. at 2.
\textsuperscript{448} Id. at 15.
\textsuperscript{449} Id. at 16 (explaining the rate of manslaughter was 1.5\% for White women and .8 for Black women). It would be an interesting research question whether White women were getting the benefit of the “victimhood” at the charging or plea bargaining stage.
\textsuperscript{450} Reaves, supra note 433, at 3.
\textsuperscript{451} Id. at 15.
\textsuperscript{452} Id. at 5.
\textsuperscript{453} Id.
\textsuperscript{454} For example, the rate at which murders and assaults were recorded is eight percent and eighteen percent respectively. But there is no way to deduce which part of the nine percent is composed of Black women. Id. at 6.
\textsuperscript{455} Id. at 6.
\textsuperscript{456} Survived and Punished: End the Criminalization of Survivors of Domestic and
Finally, the failure to address women’s use of violence in self-defense is now creating barriers for Black women survivors re-entering their communities after serving out their sentences. They now find that services for battered women are not available to them, because of their criminal records. This is true, even if they become victims of violence after they re-enter. Worse still, if the woman has children in the home who are also being subjected to violence, the mother may not be able to obtain an order of protection to cover herself and her children. Surely, when the mainstream anti-violence movement was contemplating joining forces with law enforcement, it did not foresee complications such as these arising. But, they have arisen, and service providers and nonmainstream advocates have made the complications known. Now, more than ever, it seems appropriate for the anti-violence community to respond.

V. WHY DO WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT STATE VIOLENCE TOWARDS BLACK WOMEN

There is a really easy answer to the question of whether the race or ethnicity specific designation matters. The simple answer is, it does. It matters in critically important ways, both to the individual constituent groups and equally as important to the women’s organizations themselves.

A. Why It Matters to Black Women

As with any victim who suffers an injury, a significant part of healing requires that others acknowledge the injury. In international transitional justice literature, it is considered a reinjury when a survivor’s trauma is denied or ignored by the society in which she lives. Recent research with the descendants of the Holocaust have

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458. Id. at 64.
459. Id. at 77.
460. Id.
461. Id. at 95.
462. Id. at 100.
463. Cross, supra note 457, at 91.
465. See Gabriela Lopez-Zeron & Jose Ruben Parra-Cardona, Elements of Change Across Community-Based Trauma Interventions, 34 J. SYSTEMIC THERAPIES 60, 63–64 (2015). See also U.S. AGENCY FOR INT’L DEV., SNAPSHOT: INSTIGATING DIALOGUE ON
demonstrated that the trauma of genocide created a post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in its survivors. Scientists now claim that the PTSD is transmitted to descendants through genetic memory. If such is the case for survivors of a trauma and their descendants who experienced the trauma a mere seventy-five years ago, what level of transmission must be present among Blacks subjected to 400 years of active trauma? Black women need to know that their injuries are no longer going to be invisible, that the end of deniability is coming, so that they can begin the long road towards healing.

Service providers for Black women need to have the most current and complete information about the populations they serve to help shape medical support where needed, social services support, educational support, and mental health services. For example, if Black women are less likely to report they have been sexually assaulted, advocates need to be able to work with health care providers to provide avenues for women to confront their injuries and let them know services are available. Communities need to know whether they have sufficient resources on hand such as shelters and affordable housing. Accurate and concrete data is needed to help shape legal strategies across the board. Those who lobby state and federal governments for funds need information; those helping to shape legislation need information. The lawyers who help shape defenses of Black women who end up on the wrong side of a police baton, on the wrong side of a prison cell, or in a coffin, need information. Effective strategy for Black women cannot be developed around the false representation that “all women experience violence equally.”

B. Why Does It Matter to Mainstream Women’s Movements?

The million-dollar question is whether what happens specifically to Black women matters to the mainstream women’s movements,
both the anti-violence movement specifically, as well as other mainstream women’s groups. The lack of response to data and the literature about Black women seems to suggest that their experiences do not matter in the larger scope of the women’s movement.\textsuperscript{470} This is an uncomfortable conclusion, and it raises many repeated instances where opportunities for real partnerships and for the development of strong trust bonds between Black women and White women have been squandered.\textsuperscript{471} History is replete with instances in which issues of the time should have provided fertile opportunities for solid alliances between the women.\textsuperscript{472} But the political relationship between Black women and White women has always been rocky. For example, there are fiery debates about the role of White women played vis-à-vis cruelty in the plantation era south.\textsuperscript{473} There is the betrayal of Black people and Black women specifically in the suffrage movement, for example.\textsuperscript{474} There was complicity in the eugenics movement which advocated for forced sterilization of Black women, along with mentally ill women in order to legitimize the availability of birth control.\textsuperscript{475} There was White women’s enthusiastic participation in lynching celebrations and their opposition to school integration where White women, some of them mothers themselves, spat, cursed and hurled objects at Black women’s children when they attempted to go to school.\textsuperscript{476} The unwillingness or inability of mainstream women’s movements to acknowledge the depth of Black women’s victimization feels akin to a continuation of that history rather than a break from it.\textsuperscript{477}

It should matter to White women because as feminist organizations continue to pair the reduction of violence against women with police enforcement, they become complicit in the performance of state violence against Black women.\textsuperscript{478} It does not matter that policies are well-intentioned.\textsuperscript{479} Some of the worst pieces of legislation passed in

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  \item \textsuperscript{470} Cross, supra note 457, at 92.
  \item \textsuperscript{471} See, e.g., Morris, supra note 18, at 187; Roberts, supra note 20, at 56.
  \item \textsuperscript{472} See, e.g., Roberts, supra note 20, at 69.
  \item \textsuperscript{473} Morris, supra note 18, at 187 (discussing legal cases where White wives of plantation owners, beat and killed Black women and men).
  \item \textsuperscript{474} Madelyn C. Squire, Discovering Our Connections: Reflections on Race, Gender and the Other Tales of Difference, 23 Golden Gate U. L. Rev. 795, 803 (1993).
  \item \textsuperscript{475} See Roberts, supra note 20, at 56–81.
  \item \textsuperscript{477} Cross, supra note 457, at 92.
  \item \textsuperscript{478} Id. at 94.
  \item \textsuperscript{479} Id.
\end{itemize}
the last twenty years were cosponsored by well-intentioned liberals, who were ignorant of, or refused to consider the complex interaction between criminal justice in the United States and racism.\textsuperscript{480} To the extent that mainstream women’s organizations refuse to, or are unable to acknowledge the distinctiveness of violence against Black women, they will also refuse to acknowledge the distinctiveness of violence against Native American women, against Latinas, and against Asian women.\textsuperscript{481} Is this legacy of complicity in violence the legacy women’s organizations are hoping for?

From a purely interests-convergence perspective, it should matter because to the extent that there are some women who do not have the rights of White women, then the rights of all women (including White women) are weakened. It should matter to White women because many women in the United States—who are Black, who are poor, or who may have criminal records when they reacted to save their own lives from abuse and violence and violated some normative value established for women—remain outside of the bubble of feminist advocacy.\textsuperscript{482} These are the very women who need the help and support of a national women’s movement.\textsuperscript{483} But if they are not valued as women, and if their wounds are not recognized as wounds, even if they are shaped differently, women’s organizations will never be able to move from ignoring their issues to creating space for them under the women’s umbrella. And the failure of all women to work towards the elimination of state-sponsored violence against Black women, and women from communities of color, would be a failure of epic proportions for the women’s movements of today.

\textsuperscript{480} Ashley Nellis, Judy Greene & Marc Mauer, Reducing Disparity in the Criminal Justice System: A Manual for Practitioners and Policymakers 7 (Ashley Nellis et al. eds., 2d ed. 2008).


\textsuperscript{482} Goodmark, supra note 333, at 120.

\textsuperscript{483} Id. at 121–22.