

Afro 220: Introduction to Research Methods
Police Brutality, The State and the Killing of Kiwane Carrington
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Background

In the Spring of 2010, I designed and taught an introductory research methods class for undergraduates at the University of Illinois for the Dept. of African American Studies. I proposed teaching qualitative (ethnography, autoethnography, case study) and interpretive methods (textual and policy analysis) to analyze the death of a local, African-American teen, Kiwane Carrington, at the hands of the local police department. I had met Kiwane through my community work as an artist when he participated in an arts-based program I facilitated along with my daughters at the Don Moyers Boys and Girls Club. As it turned out, all three of my daughters knew Kiwane. It was through one of them that I learned of his death, calling me at 1:30 a.m. to tell me one of the boys from my program had been killed by the police. As such, I had a personal interest in understanding the life events that transpired between the time I had experienced Kiwane as a boy who eagerly waited at the door to help me carry the drums and enthusiastically played them while singing and reciting African proverbs, until his untimely death at the hands of a Champaign police officer.

Kiwane was 15 years old at the time he was shot to death by Officer Daniel Norbits after Norbits and the Chief of Police, R.T. Finney, arrived at the scene of a suspicious activity call. Kiwane and Jashaun Manning-Carter, also 15 had been released from school early that day and Kiwane returned to the home in which he had spent the night to retrieve a jacket. It was raining. When the police arrived and discovered them at the rear of the home, the officers told them to get on their knees. According to the officers, the youth refused. Allegedly Jashaun attempted to walk away, and Chief Finney used force in an attempt to subdue him. Norbits, who was with Kiwane, claims that he was distracted by the events and somehow his gun discharged. States Attorney Julia Rietz, wife of a police officer, decided not to press charges. Norbits received a 30 day suspension without pay. Lawyers for the family are filing a civil suit with the Department of Justice.

It was learned that on October 1, 2009, a few days prior to Kiwane's shooting, the Champaign Police Department had instituted a new "Use of Deadly Force" policy that reads in part: A peace officer is justified in using deadly force only when: a) he reasonably believes that such force is necessary to prevent death or great bodily harm to himself or another; or, b) Such force is necessary to prevent the arrest from being defeated by resistance or escape..."¹

¹ <http://www.archive.org/stream/ChampaignPoliceDepartmentUseOfForcePolicy/CPDUseOfForce1009#page/n0/mode/1up>

Unfortunately, young Kiwane's killing was not an anomaly. The murder of unarmed Black at the hands of the state's policing force has been a part of the social relations between whites and Blacks since the days of enslavement when paddy rollers and slave patrols would hunt down Blacks who had escaped from captivity, been involved in an insurrection or were the collateral damage in the aftermath of rebellions. These killings occurred with impunity except for in those rare cases when a property owner was compensated for their loss of property. Under certain circumstances, families are compensated through wrongful death claims and civil rights violation, but seldom are officers of the state indicted in their deaths. These acts of violence on Black citizens have precipitated several of the major race riots that occurred in the United States, i.e. the Harlem Riot of 1964, Philadelphia race riot of 1964, Watts Riots of 1965, 1967 Newark Riots, 1967 Detroit Riots and, more recently, the 1992 Los Angeles Riots following the acquittal of 4 officers in the videotaped beating of Rodney King.

In what follows, I contextualize Kiwane's death the way in which I did for the class: by discussing Kiwane in relation to other high profile police killings of unarmed citizens and by discussing the dynamics and the symbolism of what is called "The North End," the predominantly Black community just north of the university campus. I then look at juridical processes that have been used by the state to isolate and control the masses of Blacks since slavery. I use the example of contemporary anti-loitering laws, tracing them to vagrancy laws used on Blacks to return them to a form of enslavement through the convict lease system. Afro 220 student, Justin Allen, expands on this topic in his paper and website. I outline the pedagogical process and the readings used in the course followed by the title and abstracts from each student's final paper. I conclude by offering my personal *raison d'être* for doing this work as a member of multiple, overlapping communities.

Recent High Profile Cases of Police Brutality against Unarmed Black Citizens²

- February 4, 1999, four New York City policemen searching for a rape suspect knocked on Amadou Diallo's door to question him. When he came to the door he reached inside his jacket, at which point the officers shot at him 41 times, hitting him with 19 bullets. The object Diallo was reaching for turned out to be his wallet. The officers were later acquitted.
- On November 21, 2006, 92 year old Kathryn Johnston was shot 5-6 times by three police officers who had entered her home in Atlanta, Georgia on a no-knock warrant looking for someone accused of selling drugs. Allegedly, Ms. Johnston fired through the door thinking she was the victim of a home invasion. The officers returned 39 rounds. In this case, it was discovered that the officers had falsified the warrant, planted drugs after the fact and attempted to bribe a witness. All three pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate Johnston's civil rights and were convicted and sentenced. The city paid the family \$4.9M.

² For more on police shootings of unarmed Black citizens see Terry Howcott's Ravaged Cultures at the following link: <http://terryhowcott.com/closeup.asp?cid=9&pid=1235&offset=61>

- Nov. 25, 2006, Sean Bell, a 23-year-old New York City man due to be married later that day, walked out of a Queens strip club, climbed into a gray Nissan Altima with two friends who had been celebrating with him - and died in a hail of 50 bullets fired by a group of five police officers. The officers involved were acquitted. One officer, Michael Carey, who claims to have been struck by Bell's car as he attempted to flee the assault, is suing Bell's estate for his injuries in response to the wrongful death lawsuit brought against him and the other officers by Bell's family.
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/b/sean_bell/index.html
- In the early hours of New Year's Day, 2009, Oscar Grant was shot in the back as he was handcuffed along with three others on the platform in a Bay Area Rapid Transit stop by a BART police officer, Johannes Mehserle. The shooting was captured on video and circulated the globe via youtube. Perhaps due to the exposure, Mehserle was convicted on the lesser charge of involuntary manslaughter which 'could' carry up to four years when he is sentenced in November 2010.
- On May 16, 2010, police searching for a murder suspect threw a flash grenade into a home where adults and children were sleeping before shooting into the home, striking a sleeping, 7 year old, Aiyana Jones in the head. The police first attempted to claim that the officer's gun discharged during a brief altercation with the grandmother, however, the officers had been accompanied by the film crew for a popular crime reality TV show, First 48 Hours. The family's lawyer claims the video provides evidence that the officer shot from outside the home. The case is currently under investigation.

The North End Community and Black Containment Laws

In understanding the spatial and geographic location of residents in what is called "The North End," it was necessary to look at historical patterns of segregation: the way Blacks, immigrant populations and minority groups are sequestered into spaces once habited but left following neighborhood decline and the expansion of the city. In the North End of Champaign, railroad tracks, old and dilapidated housing and a lack of commercial development characterize the area. Additionally, following the concentric pattern of city development (Chaskin, 1997), the area immediately surrounding the downtown area, once an area of commerce, shows signs of decline and decay: rust, shuttered businesses and vacant lots over grown with brush and strewn with litter. In an effort to revitalize the area, newer subsidized housing has been built as well as mixed income properties, with larger, newer homes to attract solid working and middle class Black families back to the neighborhood. Despite these attempts to modify the environment and the structures that are situated therein, this area is heavily patrolled and policed with the police station located at the southern edge of the community resembling and occupying force. Students discussed this form of colonizing and colonial administration through the works of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) who argued that the elite choose to self-segregate in the better areas of the city, town, state, with access to pristine public spaces, vibrant commercial areas, healthy food and quality schools. Meanwhile, poor and undesirable populations are quarantined as if they were diseased (Foucault, 1975), festering

in areas that are compromised by environmental and sensory pollution. Foucault argues that in these instances, the police act to control the spread of disease (the diseased) to the larger social body.

The plantation economy operated on the similar logic, relegating enslaved Blacks to slave quarters that were typically located on the edges of the plantation where, following revolts and resistance movements, became monitored by “paddy rollers” and white vigilantes. These poor, uneducated whites were granted by law, powers to capture, maim and even kill Blacks with impunity. As a result of insurrections staged most notably by Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and John Brown, laws were enacted to prevent Blacks from gathering, to limit contact with northern Blacks and whites, to prohibit Blacks from owning guns and ammunition, and to enforce strict curfews that forbade Blacks to be outdoors or in specific locations at certain times of the day.

Those statutes, developed for the regulation of enslaved populations, are the genesis of contemporary laws that seek to regulate, confine and control Blacks. Following the Civil War and abolition of chattel slavery, pro-slavery forces strategized to maintain the control of a now free labor force. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery except for those convicted of a crime. The text of the 13th Amendment reads as follows:

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.
2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The construction of vagrancy laws allowed Blacks to continue to be held in involuntary servitude. These laws criminalized unemployment, poverty and Black leisure time. The first vagrancy laws originated in England as an evolution of earlier “poor laws” which sought to penalize unemployed, able-bodied individuals. Vagrancy laws were used to punish undesirable or “immoral” persons considered to be dangerous because of their “potential for engaging in criminal conduct.” These laws criminalized a person’s social status rather than bad acts. During the colonial era, the United States developed similar laws based on the English model. In 1837, the Supreme Court, in *Mayor of New York v. Miln* (1837) issued the following *obiter dictum*: “We think it as competent and as necessary for a state to provide precautionary measures against this moral pestilence of paupers, vagabonds, and possible convicts; as it is to guard against the physical pestilence....”³

In codifying practices, purportedly, in the war on drugs, numerous urban areas attempted to enact “anti-loitering” laws. For example, in 1992, the city of Chicago adopted an anti-loitering law (Chicago Municipal Code 8-4-015 (1992) that aimed to restrict gang related activity, particularly as it

³ *New York v. Miln*, 36 U.S. 102 (1837), Justia.com

related to violent crime and drug trafficking. The law defined loitering as, “remain(ing) in any one place with no apparent purpose.” Police officers were given the right to disburse such persons of, in the event of resistance/disobedience, the offenders could be jailed, fined or given community service. However, in 1999, the Supreme Court of the United States (*Chicago v. Morales*, 527 U.S. 41) ruled the law unconstitutional stating that it was ambiguous and didn’t provide citizens with clear guidelines as to what was and was not acceptable conduct. In 2000, in an attempt to circumvent charges against the unconstitutionality of the ordinance, Chicago adopted a revised version of the ordinance which defined loitering as “remaining in any one place under circumstances that would warrant a reasonable person to believe that the purpose or effect of that behavior is to enable a criminal street gang to establish control over identifiable areas, to intimidate others from entering those areas, or to conceal illegal activities.”⁴

Despite the admission of Champaign police that they do not have a gang problem—as witnessed by Afro 220 student, Brian Thompson during his ride-along with local police—groups of Black men gathered on the streets, in front of homes or on the corners, are stereotyped by the police as unemployed, mischief making, miscreants. Young men and boys who may otherwise by law-abiding citizens gathered to socialize and engage in leisure time activities are stereotyped as possible gang members and criminalized. Blacks from the North End community are routinely stopped, forced to show identification in order to have their names run through a database to check for outstanding warrants, searched, subjected to drug dogs and have their privacy and human rights violated. This was certainly the case with 17 year old Brian Chesley.

On March 30, 2007, Brian was walking an 8 year old home when he was stopped by Champaign in Frederick Douglass Park after they had left the gymnasium following a late night basketball game authorized by the Champaign Park District. Brian was attacked by three officers, pepper sprayed, and sent to the hospital. He was convicted and sentenced to serve 100 hours of community service. His lawyers sought to have the verdict overturned claiming that Champaign police officer Andre Davis was not authorized to stop Chesley, and that doing so was “selective enforcement of the law.” The park district had allowed a late, open gym causing those who had participated to have to exit through the park that the officer claims was closed. Stopping citizens, primarily Black citizens, and forcing them to present identification on demand is reminiscent of requiring enslaved Blacks to show permits to be off their plantations or South African pass laws. As a class we concluded that despite the signing of the 1865 Emancipation Proclamation and the adoption of the Reconstruction Amendments, new Jim Crow laws centered around the criminalization, incarceration and extermination of Blacks demonstrates that, as a group, African America has yet to achieve full civil and human rights.

Afro 220: The Class

⁴ Petrovic, Gang Research.net

On the first day of class, I had students read and discuss a short piece on interviewing. Towards the end of the class, I had them write down a few questions they would use to interview a classmate in order to introduce them to the rest of us. This exercise was done, not just as an icebreaker, but also as an introduction to the ideas of positionality (who has the power), voice and representation. How they represented their interviewee was how we came to know that person. The lesson learned was the moral and ethical obligations we have towards our subjects when we engage in research: “First do no harm.”

The primary readings for the course were:

- Joao Costas Vargas, *Catching Hell in the City of Angels Life and Meanings of Blackness in South Central Los Angeles*. University of Minnesota Press (2006)
- Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Zed Books (1999)
- Mazama, Ama (Ed). *The Afrocentric Paradigm*. African World Press (2003).
- Selected chapters from *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, Mazama, Ama (Ed).
- Selected chapters from D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance*. Sage Press (2005).
- Michel Foucault. Discipline & Punish (1975), Panopticism. Discipline. Foucault.Info. Retrieved January 22, 2010, from <http://foucault.info/documents/disciplineAndPunish/foucault.disciplineAndPunish.panOpticism.html>
- The State: a lecture delivered at the sverdlov university. Marxists.org. Retrieved March 11, 2010, from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jul/11.htm>
- Wacquant, L. From slavery to mass incarceration. Rethinking the ‘race question’ in the US. *New Left Review* (2002).
- Additionally, students had to identify and read literature relevant to their individual studies

The syllabus was designed to increase the students’ critical apprehension of the dynamics involved in the construction and function of the State (Lenin, 1919), the role of the police in the State (Foucault, 1975), the evolution of Black containment and criminalization from the period of enslavement to the contemporary moment (Wacquant, 2002), theories of community and neighborhood (Chaskin, 1997), and culturally sensitive ways of performing research in marginalized communities (Madison, 2005; Smith, 1999). I also provided links to youtube videos (music and documentaries), online journal and newspaper articles, documentaries and websites through email and an online learning environment, COMPASS. All of these resources combined to provide the students the analytic tools to deconstruct, make meaning of and theorize the phenomena of police violence against unarmed citizenry.

The second week of class I invited two members of the community, Brian Dolinar, editor for the local independent newspaper and Martel Miller, a local African-American male who had begun a police monitoring program. Both of these speakers had actively been involved in the case since Kiwane's death to speak to the class. They provided useful information that helped the students think about the area of research they would like to pursue as it related directly to Kiwane's death, as well as to the phenomenon of police brutality against Black citizens throughout the country. I also invited Kerry Pimblott, a doctoral student in history, to serve as guest lecturer. She had worked with a local activist organization, C-U Citizens for Peace and Justice researching the case. Professor Abdul Alkalimat lectured the students on the dynamics of the state via a 1919 transcribed lecture of Vladimir Lenin on The State. Professor Thomas Weissinger gave a presentation to the students on library resources available to them on subjects related to Kiwane's killing.

The students selected a diverse array of topics that included ethnographic studies that assessed youth perceptions of police, the role of alternative schools and their configuration in the school-to-prison pipeline theory, police-community relations from the perspective of the police, the history of policing in the Black community, community violence and its impact on Black mothers, and the ways in which Black youth are criminalized during their early developmental phases.

The final consisted of a paper and an in-class presentation. While the paper was a traditional, APA formatted document, I encouraged students to use nontraditional ways of presenting data to the class, i.e. through performance, video, autoethnography, poetry and song. Elizabeth Clark, Erica McKinney, Antionette Moore and Tolani Odutayo created edited videos. Daneke Anderson and William Arnett used raw footage formatted on DVDs. Tanesha Clausell and Kortney Fox used Powerpoint slide shows with embedded Youtube videos. Justin Allen created a website and Cleveland Pitts wrote and performed a poem.

Student Abstracts

Comparative Women Perspective: Police Brutality and Community Structure

Antionette Moore, Junior, Child and Adolescent Development (Afro minor)

My proposed research will compare the perceptions of Black women on how police brutality affects the black community structure and the black youth lives, in three very different Black communities in the state of Illinois: Austin and Lawndale in Chicago, a large urban setting, and Champaign area, a small, semi-rural, college town area where Blacks are 12% of the county population. My findings focus on the negative relationship between the police and the black community, the nurturing and protective roles of "othermothers" in the black community, and the rationale behind policing practices in the black community. My proposed research questions: Why is police brutality increasing in the black communities? What do "othermothers" perceive to be the cause of police brutality in black communities? Is racial profiling on Black youth a result of their race or the symbolic community in which they live?

Age: An Irrelevant Factor in Criminalizing Black Male Youth

Tanisha Clausell, Graduating Senior, English (Afro Minor)

Over the last century, there have been a number of violent acts inflicted on young black men stemming from police brutality. As an outsider to exactly what is to be a young black male, this project is geared toward observing issues of black masculinity among black male youth, and the role in which race plays as an antagonist for their incrimination. Upon explaining this epidemic, I will draw from case studies of Kiwane Carrington, George Stinney, and a young black male whose name has gone unreleased to the public whom I will apply the alias “Invisible Teen”, which all involve cruel and unusual treatment on behalf of the police. These cases, along with thousands of unmentioned cases that have occurred within the United States, are representative of the violence inflicted on young black men from police brutality, and has by far exceeded the expectations and rules governing the treatment of adolescents within the judicial system. These sadistic acts expose the thesis of this paper, which explains how age becomes a most irrelevant factor in ways in which police determine the young black male’s innocence, intent, punishments, future, and character.

Police Residency: Issue or Hype

Tolani Odutayo. Graduating Senior, History

It is not difficult to discover that in the United States issues consistently arise surrounding the police and African-Americans. On October 9, 2009 those issues were compounded, as an unarmed 15 year old boy named Kiwane Carrington was shot dead by a police officer in Champaign, Illinois. As expected, the North end of Champaign was filled with outrage, as this was not the first time that questionable tactics have been employed on members of their community. From that outrage came the suggestion for Champaign police to have a residency requirement for their police officers, citing negative perceptions of residents as a possible contribution to Kiwane’s death. This suggestion banks on the idea that a police officer who is from the community will understand community members more, and have a greater concern for the community itself. Despite this logical reasoning, facts supporting this theory are hard to come by, which makes it difficult for said measure to ever pass through city politicians. Yet in the place of this lack of facts to support a residency requirement would be successful, is the history of the over-policing of African-Americans, and the theological concepts which can connect the police department’s separation from the North end community to the poor quality of policing, and in effect, pinpoint it as a potential contributing factor to Kiwane’s death.

Champaign Police Perspectives on Policing

Bianca Zaharescu, Sophomore, African American Studies

This study will investigate Champaign police perspectives regarding their role in the Champaign-Urbana community, the communities themselves that they police, and instances of negative or tragic interactions between them and the community, such as the fatal shooting of fifteen-year-old Kiwane Carrington in October 2009. My analysis will be grounded in the words and responses of members of the Champaign police force, gathered first hand. This study aims to better understand what police members themselves are thinking, for the aim of opening the type of dialogue that can facilitate the aforementioned positive movement from within the police force as well as from the community. My findings show that differing understandings of the role of history between the community and the police are one of the central factors in continuing to negatively shape community-police relations through distrust and lack of understanding. The conclusion of my

research is that increased honest and meaningful conversation between the Champaign police force and members of the African American community, in particular, will be critical to making any genuine progress in police-community interactions and dynamics.

Police Disconnect: A Study of Police and Community Relations

Brian Thompson, Sophomore, Psychology

Throughout the country there have been a number of fatalities committed by the police in marginalized communities and brought down upon marginalized peoples. This seems to be a trend in American society dating back to the American Slave Trade. Continuing this trend after the abolishment of slavery with the Jim Crow era where countless individuals were beaten, murdered, and lynched on a daily basis. These tactics transitioned into the modern society creating modern forms of oppression where covert and institutional racist ideals followed by oppressive acts have reached their pinnacle. This succession of acts brings into question the role of Law Enforcement in modern society. Are they in place to ensure the safety and well-being of the individuals in the communities they serve or are they merely mid-level enforcers set in place to colonize and subjugate “deviant” American societies? In order to get the answers that many of us seek I will attempt to assess police relations with community members in hopes increasing their understanding of what is seen as black “deviant” communities.

Black youth on police brutality and lack of action

William Arnett, Junior, History

My research project involved me researching ten Black youths from both urban and suburban neighborhoods on their views of police brutality. I began my research expecting to find evidence that Blacks in America are policed more harshly than Whites. While I did acquire enough evidence to strongly support this theory, I had to rely on my interviews to help me draw a concluding solution to the issue. From them I gathered that police are viewed as positive forces to many Black Americans, but they can't be trusted to do their jobs correctly. It was generally agreed that police are above the law and as such, they often break it. Unless there are consequences for their actions, they will continue their abuse, most often at the expense of Blacks, or other minorities. The purpose of my research is to inform people about the seriousness of the situation, because many people see police brutality as a long forgotten chapter in history.

In Their Own Words

Erica McKinney, Graduating Senior, Broadcast Journalism (Afro minor)

Throughout the United States relationships between the police and black youth is both challenging and dysfunctional. This is so for many different reasons. One of the main reasons for the tension in these relationships is the heavy policing in black communities or the lack of trust between the two parties. Another reason for these attitudes: the fact that many African-American witness first hand police brutality and harassment. In the Champaign-Urbana community this is clearly seen through the relationships that North End residents have with the Champaign police department. The murder of Kiwane Carrington, a 15 year old Champaign resident that who was shot and killed by the police, has only intensified the negative relationships between the two groups. In my work, my intent was to explore how African-American teens view the police. Specifically, through in-depth interviews I sought to uncover the perceptions that young, Black females have concerning the police and how these perceptions developed.

The Death of Kiwane Carrington: North End Perspective

Daneke Anderson, Graduating Senior, Sociology (Afro minor)

Exposure to violent acts committed on youth by police is a major issue that needs to be addressed in order to prevent future occurrences. African American youth are being gunned down by individuals that have been sworn to serve and protect. A young teen named Kiwane Carrington lost his life at the hands of a Champaign officer. The proposed study is a qualitative, ethnographic study that seeks the voice of Black men who frequent the barbershop. The barbershop has historically been an important venue in the Black public sphere for critical discussion. Through these interviews, I aim to give a voice to individuals who have, heretofore, been voiceless. This study also serves the aim of discovering alternate ways or procedures the community would like to see implemented by the police that will give community members hope that another teen will not lose his or her life randomly like Kiwane Carrington.

SLAVE PATROLLING AS A PRECURSOR TO THE CURRENT POLICING OF BLACKS IN CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS: A Sociobistorical Perspective of Slave Codes, Black Codes and Illinois Laws

Justin Allen, Junior, Sociology

This study will track the progression of slave patrolling tactics to the way Blacks are being patrolled in Champaign, Illinois. The study will follow the transition of slave codes to current Illinois laws. The ways in which slave codes and current Illinois and Champaign laws were written to control, track, suppress and kill slaves will be detailed in this paper. The findings reflect that the link between slave patrolling and current Champaign policing of Blacks still exists. This study will examine how current Illinois and Champaign laws are rooted in slave and Black codes of the past. The results will show slave codes and Black codes have led to current Illinois and Champaign laws that allow, and promote the controlling, tracking, suppression and killing of blacks for economic gain and social control. This study will also explore events of Champaign police misconduct, abuse and murder ranging from 1969 to 2010.

Where is the Unity between the Campus and the Local Community? Focusing on Student Involvement at the University of Illinois in the North End of Champaign

Elizabeth Clark, Junior, African American Studies

As in the racial history of America, Champaign is still divided by train tracks separating race and class. The North End of Champaign, where the majority of the Black community is located, is constantly dealing with issues of exaggerated police surveillance, harassment, and police brutality.

In previous years, universities have been known as institutions of protest and political activism. This brings forth the question of how students of the University of Illinois respond to the injustice which takes place in their local community, outside of campus, such as the killing of Kiwane Carrington. Earnest T. Stringer (1996) states, "Community action research is a collaborative approach to inquiry or investigation that provides people with the means to take systematic action to resolve specific problems (Smith 127)." Through interviewing a diverse group of the university's students this research seeks to find the perception of students in terms of community involvement, with goals of increasing their awareness and desire to take action.

Criminalization of the black youth through the education system

Kortney K. Fox, Graduating Senior, Chemistry (Afro Minor)

Kiwane Carrington, an unarmed, 15 year old, African-American male shot and killed by police, was not only a victim of an “accidental” murder he was also a victim of criminalization by the school he attended and the location he lived in. Kiwane attended the R.E.A.D.Y. program which is an alternative school. Many students like Kiwane are quickly labeled and targeted by state and local law enforcement due to the fact that they reside in the low income communities and attend alternative schools. Examining the constructs that have created these systemic forms of oppression that have been institutionalized into the school system will better equip activists with the knowledge to make a change. I will look at all the possible constructs that cause students that attend alternative schools to be criminalized. In addition, I plan to explore the panopticon structure that is present in alternative schools along with the connection between literacy and freedom for students that attend alternative schools in hopes to draw a connection between Kiwane’s death and the criminalization of students that attend alternative schools.

Conclusion

The goal of the course, which also became the goal of individual students, was to give voice to members of Champaign’s African-American community and provide useful information to the community and concerned individuals in order to facilitate positive transformation. Though this was my first time teaching a research methods course, I used the opportunity to critically engage the students in an issue of vital importance to the Black community. As a course offered by the Department of African American Studies, I felt it was necessary to construct a dialogic pedagogical approach that combined theory and application in order that students understand how to use the power and privilege of intellectual development for the sake of their local and global communities. Politics are local. How we as scholars and researchers respond to the needs of our local communities requires us to identify, explore and create best practices that can be extended nationally and globally in the pursuit of just social relations and quality of life experiences for global citizens.

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SLAVE PATROLLING AS A PRECURSOR TO THE
CURRENT POLICING OF BLACKS
IN CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS

A Sociohistorical Perspective of Slave Codes, Black Codes and Illinois Laws

Justin Allen

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
African American Studies 220: Introductory to Research Methods
Professor Amira M. Davis, Ph.D.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Keywords	1
Link To Website	1
Introduction	2
Background	2
Purpose of Study	2
Aim of Study	2
Research Question	3
Hypothesis	3
Theory	4
Theoretical Framework	4
<i>Critical Race Theory</i>	4
<i>Conflict Theory</i>	4
Literature Review	5
Function of Slave Codes	5
<i>Controlling of Slaves</i>	5
<i>Tracking of Slaves</i>	5
<i>Suppression of Resistance</i>	6
<i>Legalize Killing of Slaves</i>	6
Duties of the Slave Patrol	7
<i>Slave Code Enforcement</i>	7
<i>Slave Deterrence</i>	7
Methodology	7

Methodological Model	8
<i>The Spradley Model</i>	8
Sample	8
Methods of Data Collection	8
Data Analysis	9
Scope and Limitation	9
Findings	9
<hr/>	
From Slave Patrolling to the Current Policing of Blacks	10
<i>Controlling of Slaves</i>	10
<i>Tracking of Slaves</i>	11
<i>Suppression of Resistance</i>	11
<i>Legalize Killing of Slaves</i>	12
Timeline of Events in Champaign, Illinois	12
<i>1969: John Cushingberry</i>	12
<i>1969: William Woods</i>	12
<i>1970: William Hoult</i>	13
<i>2000: Gregory Brown</i>	13
<i>2007: Brian Chesley</i>	13
<i>2007: Ms. Mildred Davis</i>	14
<i>2009: Oluwatofunmi “Toto” Kaiyewu</i>	14
<i>2009: Kiwane Carrington</i>	14
Discussion	15
<hr/>	
Transition from Slave Codes to Current Laws	15
Status of Hypothesis	16
Problems of Slave Patrollers & Police	16
Limitations and Recommendations	17

<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>17</u>
From Slave Patrolling to Champaign Policing	17
Community Resistance	18
Future Considerations	19
<u>Notes</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Bibliography</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>Appendices</u>	<u>24</u>
Appendix A: Articles pertaining to the City of Savannah Slave and Black codes	24
Appendix B: Articles pertaining to the murder of John Cushingberry	26
Appendix C: Articles pertaining to the murder of Edgar Hoults	27
Appendix D: Letter pertaining to the murder of Cushinberry, Hoults and Woods	31
Appendix E: Champaign Police Use of Force Policy	32

Abstract

This study will track the progression of slave patrolling tactics to the way Blacks are being patrolled in Champaign, Illinois. The study will follow the transition of slave codes to current Illinois laws. The ways in which slave codes and current Illinois and Champaign laws were written to control, track, suppress and kill slaves will be detailed in this paper. The findings reflect that the link between slave patrolling and current Champaign policing of Blacks still exists. This study will examine how current Illinois and Champaign laws are rooted in slave and Black codes of the past. The results will show slave codes and Black codes have led to current Illinois and Champaign laws that allow, and promote the controlling, tracking, suppression and killing of blacks for economic gain and social control. This study will also explore events of Champaign police misconduct, abuse and murder ranging from 1969 to 2010.

Keywords

Champaign, Illinois, Champaign Police, Slave codes, Black codes, Illinois law, Champaign law, Abuse, Murder, Beatings, Exploitation, William Hoults, Kiwane Carrington , John Cushingberry, William Woods, Gregory Brown, Brian Chesley, Oluwatofunmi Kaiyewu, Ms. Mildred Davis

Link To Website

<http://web.me.com/bmwuffgong/SlavePatrollingInChampaignIllinois>

Introduction

Background

As a student in an African American studies research class it became apparent that a study needed to be conducted in response to the killing of a 15-year-old unarmed teenager, Kiwane Carrington, by a Champaign police officer. Class dialogue and class discussions with a grass-roots activist and professor Dr. Amira Millicent Davis, Professor Abdul Alkalimat, community activist Martel Miller, community activist and student Kerry Pimblott, and community activist and professor Brian Dolinar, has led me to the conclusion that immediate change is needed within the Champaign community. Specifically, as highlighted by Martel Miller, a change between the interactions with Champaign police and the youth of Champaign is direly needed.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of my study is to show that the tactics and policing used by the Champaign police ultimately serves the same functions the slave patrols of the past did when enforcing slave and Black codes. My study will show there is currently a link between how slave patrols controlled and policed slaves and how Champaign police control and police Blacks in Champaign.

Aim of Study

The focus of my research is to provide the community of Champaign with the ideological framework needed to confront current policing tactics. Since the citizens of Champaign will be viewed as an indigenous population, I want to provide the community of Champaign with the knowledge that they are being patrolled by a force similar to forces used to patrol slaves. Furthermore, I want to aid the community in recognizing when this type of patrolling happens, and inspire them to combat slave patrolling and current policing tactics used against Blacks. It is my

hope that this research will be a catalyst in this movement. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, an indigenous researcher and writer, states;

“What is more important than what alternatives indigenous peoples offer the world is what alternative indigenous peoples offer each other. The strategies that work for one community may well work for another. The gains made in one context may well be applied usefully in another. The sharing of resources and information may assist groups and communities to collaborate with each other and to protect each other” (Smith, 2006: p. 105)

In this sense, Smith argues that the hard work of indigenous communities can, and should, be utilized to help indigenous groups elsewhere. It is through my research that I hope to synthesize research of various slave patrolling tactics, slave codes, and Black codes to illustrate the barbaric and unjust tactics used by the Champaign police, and police in general.

Research Question

The question fueling my study and research is to see if a link exists between how slave patrols controlled and policed slaves and how Champaign police control and police Blacks in Champaign. Furthermore, if a link exists, it can be attributed to the beating and killings of Blacks by the Champaign police.

Hypothesis

The ways current Illinois and Champaign laws are enforced can be traced to slave and Black codes of the past. Moreover, the incidents of police misconduct, abuse and murder in Champaign mirror policing tactics used by slave patrols.

Theory

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

The basis of my research will be focused within the Critical Race Theory. I will argue that the tactics used by the Champaign police are ultimately grounded in race. The slave patrolling techniques used during slavery and thereafter, is premised on an ideology that Whites are superior. Moreover, slave patrolling is used as a means to enforce racism, racial subordination and discrimination (Davis, 2010: p. 3). It is under this false premise that justifications were used, effectively, to support the idea that slaves and Blacks were inferior. This racial justification is the underlying motivation that fuels slave patrolling and code enforcing techniques used in the past, present, and future. This theory, when applied to slave patrolling, becomes closely intertwined with conflict theory.

Conflict Theory

The use of slave patrolling is largely premised on the exploitation of Blacks as a means of economic gain. Slave patrolling enforced slave codes, which were written to control Blacks in a way that situated them in a space of inequality. Whites used this inequality to control, suppress and track Blacks to exploit them for full financial gain. Whites maintained a position of power to write slave, and later Black codes, which criminalized acts Whites deemed to be counteractive to their values and interests. However, the codes were implemented and enforced to solidify the economic and political dominance of Whites (Vandiver, Giacomassi, & Curley, 2003: p. 70). Therefore, the primary function of slave and Black codes was to exploit Blacks, through labor, by using slave patrolling and policing to control the economic structure of the society.

Literature Review

In order to get a clear picture of how current laws within Illinois are used in the same manner slave codes were used, it is imperative that a foundation be laid that consists of the function of slave codes as well as the duties of the slave patrol.

Function of Slave Codes

Controlling of Slaves

One of the primary functions of Slave and Black codes was to control Blacks. The reasons for control take on many forms. First, slavery required the need to have a force that could help the plantation owners control their slave population (Reichel, 1988: p. 51). Slave patrols would go to the plantation to control slaves by instilling fear in the slaves. The slaves would be far less likely to act out of control if they knew the slave patrols could arrive at anytime, unannounced. This also helped prevent slaves from running away. For example, a 1705 Virginia Act made it lawful for any slave patrol to kill a runaway slave (Reichel, 1988: p. 57). Additionally, some slave codes were written to keep track of what slaves owned and kept in their home. Since reading and writing was often illegal for slaves, slave codes were written to allow slave patrols to enter the homes of slaves to assure banned material, such as books or writing instruments, were not in their homes (Williams, 1972: p. 406). A primary tool afforded to slave patrols to aid them in control was the tracking of slaves.

Tracking of Slaves

Slave codes were often written to track slaves. This was important to make sure slaves stayed in their plantations and did not escape or wander into White neighborhoods. To ensure slaves would not leave the plantation without the owners permission, slave codes made it illegal for

slaves to leave without papers stating how long they could be gone, and why they were allowed to leave. Curfews were set to keep slaves in their homes at night, and if a slave was out past the curfew, they needed these papers as well (Stokes, 2007: p. 270). If slaves were found without these papers, they could be beaten, jailed or killed. However, slave codes were also written to suppress slave resistance.

Suppression of Resistance

Resistance from slaves often took on three forms: running away, criminal acts and conspiracies or revolts (Reichel, 1988: p. 55). Slaves would often resist enslavement by committing criminal acts such as crop destruction, arson or poisoning. Furthermore, slaves would also revolt, or plan to revolt, to fight back against their oppressive owners. Slave codes were written to suppress such forms of resistance (Reichel, 1988: pp. 55-56). Slave codes typically made it illegal for slaves to congregate in one area without the supervision of White (Finkelman, 1989: p. 38). South Carolina legislation, in 1740, reflects on the fear of slave resistance; “[M]any late horrible and barbarous massacres have been actually committed and many more designed, on the white inhabitants of this Province, by negro slaves, who are generally prone to such cruel practices, which makes it highly necessary that constant patrols should be established” (Reichel, 1988: p. 55).

Legalize Killing of Slaves

Perhaps one of the most crucial elements of slave codes was the legalization of killing slaves, when “necessary”, without any legal repercussions. These codes made it legal for slave patrollers to kill runaway slaves (Reichel, 1988: p. 57). When slave patrollers encountered slaves without free papers or permits that gave them permission to be out, the slaves would be consid-

ered “runaways.” The slave patrollers then had the legal right to kill the “runaway” slave. This posed problems for slaves who lost freedom papers or exit permits, while away from the plantation. Even though they were not technically runaways, that had to proof to back it up and this problem was punishable by death.

Duties of the Slave Patrol

The duties of the slave patrol consisted of many components. However, these components can generally be understood as either enforcement or deterrence.

Slave Code Enforcement

The typical function of the slave patrol was to enforce the slave codes. The slave codes often explicitly listed the duty of the slave patrol. The slave patrol was to enforce the slave code and punish the slaves who broke the code. While the slave codes listed the range of punishments to be given to the code breakers, the slave patrols often supplemented the punishment by using physical abuse, maiming, rape and murder (Congress, 2001: p. 3).

Slave Deterrence

The slave patrol often used harsh tactics to deter slaves from breaking the codes. Slave patrols typically used violence, fear and coercion to instill fear in slaves (Stewart, 1995: p. 253). Additionally, slave patrols publicly beat or murdered slaves, who broke the codes, in order to deter others from breaking the codes as well.

Methodology

The primary purpose of my research is to track how slave patrolling has led to current policing of Blacks within America, specifically Illinois. To best understand this, I will use an interpretive method of data collection. Since many people are unaware of the link between slave patrolling

and current policing techniques, I would argue that an interpretive method, over qualitative or quantitative methods, is the best approach.

Methodological Model

The Spradley Model

I will be using the Spradley Model, with added alterations, to encompass interpretive research. The Spradley model focuses on four types of questions; descriptive, tour, structural and contrast (Madison, 2005: pp. 28-29). My descriptive questions will consist of an inquiry into the depiction of the treatment of Blacks in slave, Black, and Illinois codes and laws. My tour questions will examine how the intersection of space, time, people and events has affected how policing is used with Blacks. Structural questions will be composed of a detailed analysis on the explanation of how, and why, slave patrolling has transitioned to current policing of Blacks. Finally, my contrast questions will explore how Blacks were policed by both slave patrols and current police.

Sample

Because of the complexity of my research topic, my sample will ultimately consist of three elements that start very broadly, but are funneled down into a specific population of people. First, I will start with a sample of slave codes from across the United States during the time of slave patrolling. I will also supplement this sample with Black codes, post legal slavery, as well. I will then narrow in on a sample of current Illinois laws. Finally, I will close in on a sample of incidents, over time, within Champaign, Illinois.

Methods of Data Collection

I will be focusing on collecting historical codes, statutes and laws pertaining to slave patrolling and policing. My primary resource will be historical documents, pictures and newspaper articles

that contain slave codes, Black codes and Illinois laws. When these types of media are not available, I will revert to online sources. This same approach to data collection will be used when finding samples pertaining to incidents in Champaign, Illinois.

Data Analysis

My data analysis will consist of interpreting the codes, statutes or laws to extract the meaning, purpose and aim of them. The analysis will focus on how they have influenced both slave patrolling and current policing techniques. The data on incidents in Champaign, Illinois will focus on how the events have been affected by slave patrolling and current policing methods.

Scope and Limitation

The scope of my research is on the population of the Illinois jurisdiction, specifically within Champaign, but can be generalized to other states since many of the laws within Illinois exist in other states as well. The limitations within my research exists in the fact that my research explores the codes and statutes of various states, and then generalizes them to represent those of Illinois. However, I would argue that the codes and laws of other states are similar, if not the same, to those that existed in Illinois. For these reasons, I find my research method to be both valid and reliable in a way that allows it to be generalized to other states, cities and people within the United States.

Findings

My research yielded a great amount of data and insight about the transformation from slave patrolling to current policing of Blacks, and how this transformation has affected the community of Champaign, Illinois. I will begin by revealing my findings about the transformation from slave

patrolling to current policing of Blacks based on the areas of control, tracking and suppression. I will then report my findings on incidents within Champaign, Illinois, by date of occurrence.

From Slave Patrolling to the Current Policing of Blacks

To illustrate my findings, that slave codes and slave patrolling continue in laws of today, i will list the codes and laws in a way to reflect this transition. I will begin with slave codes, then move on to Black codes, and finish with laws that are in effect today. I will spilt them up by topic.

Controlling of Slaves

Slave code: State of Louisiana, 1835

“That in [the] future it shall be [the] duty of the Captains of Patrols to visit the various Negro huts in their respective districts at least One night in each and every month – which duty shall be performed by the Said captain of Patrols either in person or by a Substitute appointed by him for that purpose.” (Williams, 1972: p. 406)

Black code: City of Savannah, Georgia, 1835 [175.2]

“Any lawful Constable having reason to suspect that runaway slaves, or such negroes who may be charged are accused of any criminal offense, are harbored, concealed or entertained in the house or houses of such slaves or free persons of color, they or any of them are authorized to enter such house or houses and make search for the said runaway or runaways, or accused criminal or criminals.”¹ (Savannah, 1839b)

Current law: State of Illinois, 1963 [725 ILCS 5/108]

“Sec. 108-1. Search without warrant. (1) When a lawful arrest is effected a peace officer may reasonably search the person arrested and the area within such person's immediate presence for the purpose of: (a) protecting the officer from attack; or, (b) preventing the person from escaping; or, (c) discovering the fruits of the crime; or, (d) discovering any instruments, articles, or things which may have been used in the commission of, or which may constitute evidence of, an offense.”² (Illinois, 1963b)

Tracking of Slaves

Slave code: State of Louisiana, [Date Unspecified]

“[Slave patrols could] whip even free Negroes away from their home or employers business unless they produced ‘free papers’.” (Reichel, 1988: p. 63)

Black code: State of Florida, 1828 [Act of 1828]

“The law required free blacks to pay an annual head tax of \$10, register with local magistrates, and select a white guardian to function as their representative in all legal matters.” (Thompson, 1993: p. 328)

Current law: State of Illinois, 1973 [730 ILCS 5]

“(e) Upon the release of a committed person on parole, mandatory supervised release, final discharge, or pardon, the Department shall provide the person who has met the criteria established by the Department with an identification card identifying the person as being on parole, mandatory supervised release, final discharge, or pardon, as the case may be.”³ (Illinois, 1973)

Suppression of Resistance

Slave code: Indiana Territory, 1805 [An Act Concerning Slaves and Servants]

“[S]ervants and slaves found without passes could be whipped on the orders of a justice of the peace. Similarly, the law provided whippings for slaves and servants charged with trespass, riot, unlawful assembly, or giving ‘seditious speeches.’” (Finkelman, 1989: p. 38)

Black code: City of Savannah, Georgia, 1835 [173.11]

“No negroes or persons of color, being more in number than seven, shall at any time (except when attending funerals or public worship on Sunday between the rising and setting of the sun, or on any other occasions provided for by this or other Ordinances of the city,) assemble or meet together, either in any house, building, or lot within the city, unless some white person is present or stays on the premises; or in any street, lane, alley, or other public place of the City, unless some white person is with them.”⁴ (Savannah, 1839a)

Current law: State of Illinois, 1961 [720 ILCS 5]

“(a) A person commits the offense of mob action when he or she engages in any of the following: [...] (2) the knowing assembly of 2 or more persons with the intent to commit or facilitate the commission of a felony or misdemeanor; or, (3) the knowing assembly of 2 or more persons, without authority of law, for the purpose of doing violence to the person or property of anyone supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law, or for the purpose of exercising correctional powers or regulative powers over any person by violence.”⁵ (Illinois, 1963a)

Legalize Killing of Slaves

Slave code: Virginia, 1705

“A 1705 act in Virginia made it legal ‘for any person or persons whatsoever, to kill or destroy such slaves (i.e. runaways) without accusation or impeachment of any crime for the same’.” (Reichel, 1988: p. 57)

Current policy: Champaign, Illinois, 2009 [1.3.2 Use of Deadly Force]

“1. A peace officer is justified in using deadly force only when: [...] b. Such force is necessary to prevent the arrest from being defeated by resistance or escape [...]” (Police, 2009)⁶

Timeline of Events in Champaign, Illinois

1969: John Cushingberry

In April of 1969, John Cushingberry, a 31-year-old Black male, died mysteriously while being held in the Champaign County jail. It was rumored that he was beaten to death by jail guards. No one was convicted of his death. Shortly after his death was announced, rioting broke out in Champaign (Foley, 2009; McGuire, 1969).⁷

1969: William Woods

In November of 1969, William Woods, a Black male, mysteriously died in his cell while being held in the Champaign County jail. His death allegedly occurred from a fall to his head (Foley, 2009).⁸

1970: William Hoult

On April 22, 1970, William Hoult, a 23-year-old Black male, was shot in the back of the head while being pursued by the police after a traffic stop. Hoult was unarmed and had no warrants nor was he suspected of any crime. The Champaign officer who killed him, Fred Eastman claimed he accidentally fired his weapon at Hoult. Officer Eastman was indicted, but never charged with the murder of Hoult. Soon after his death, riots broke out in Champaign. Students and the community also protested and rallied against the injustice of his death ("5 Persons Wounded in Violence," 1970; Buck, 1970; Champaign Cop Indicted in Negro's Death," 1970; Foley, 2009; Pimblott, 2008).⁹

2000: Gregory Brown

In October of 2000, Gregory Brown, a developmentally disabled 45 year old black male, died while in the custody of the Champaign police department. Brown was struggling with police officers outside of an apartment complex when he died. One of the police officers involved in the incident was Dan Norbits, the same officer who shot and killed 15-year-old Kiwane Carrington (Dolinar, 2009a; Family Sues City, Officers over Man's Death," 2001).

2007: Brian Chesley

On March 30, 2007, Brian Chesley, a 17 year old Black teenager, was stopped in Fredrick Douglas Park after innocently leaving a gymnasium. He was then attacked by three Champaign police officers who beat and pepper sprayed him. He was then sent to the hospital due to his injuries. Chesley was later found guilty, by an all White jury of obstructing and resisting a peace officer. He was sentenced to 100 hours of community service. The community railed to contest the injustice of this instance of racial profiling and police abuse (Dolinar, 2008).

2007: Ms. Mildred Davis

On June 24, 2007, the home of Ms. Mildred Davis, a Black female, was fired into approximately thirty times by the Champaign police. The police officers were in pursuit of a suspect, when the suspect ran into Ms. Davis's Garden Hills home. She quickly grabbed her two-year-old great-grandson and ran for cover. The police then fired approximately thirty times into her home while her and her son sat a few feet away from where the bullets were entering her home. No one was injured, but her home was unlivable due to all the bullet holes. The community rallied to help raise money for her to move out of her home (Dolinar, 2007).

2009: Oluwatofunmi "Toto" Kaiyewu

On April 6, 2009, Oluwatofunmi Kaiyewu, a 23-year-old Black male medical student, was involved in a car chase along Interstate 74 that ended in the shooting death of Kaiyewu. The chase began in the "sundown town" of Villa Grove when the police stated they spotted a suspicious vehicle at a local convenience store, and ended on I-74. When the chase ended, Kaiyewu exited his car and supposedly resisted arrest. The police used their taser on Kaiyewu, and after the tasers were ineffective, they fired their guns at him. Kaiyewu died as a result of being shot five times by officers from three departments; University of Illinois Police, Champaign County Sheriff's Department, and Vermilion County Sheriff's Department. The community rallied to protest another incident of racial profiling (Dolinar, 2009b).

2009: Kiwane Carrington

On October 9, 2009, Kiwane Carrington, a 15-year-old Black teenager, was shot and killed as he and a friend, Jashaun Manning-Carter, were trying to enter a home of another friend. A neighbor called the police to reporting suspicious activity at the house Carrington was trying to enter. The

Champaign police arrived at the house and entered it in search of the two suspects. When Carrington and his friend were approached by Champaign police, an officer, Dan Norbits, instructed Carrington to get down. When Carrington refused the order, Norbits shot and killed Carrington. Norbits said he accidentally fired his weapon. Students and the community protested and rallied against the injustice of Carrington's death ("Kiwane Carrington Timeline," 2010; State's Attorney's Report on Death of Kiwane Carrington," 2009).

Discussion

Transition from Slave Codes to Current Laws

During slavery additional help was needed to maintain the slave population. As this task grew more difficult, the slave patrols grew larger and became a necessity to control the slaves for financial profit and control. Once slavery was abolished in various areas, Black codes were enacted to maintain the population of free labor (Reichel, 1988: pp. 51-58). The freed Blacks were disproportionately punished in order to jail them in numbers that would offset the loss of labor once slavery was abolished (Vandiver, et al., 2003: pp. 79-82). When the Civil Rights Act of 1866 overturned Black codes by claiming that everyone "shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties," Whites had to find new ways to exploit Blacks for free labor (Vandiver, et al., 2003: p. 84). To accomplish this, policing of Blacks became much more harsh and stringent to punish Blacks disproportionately to Whites. This was so Whites could maintain control of power, while Blacks were policed and punished to fill jails and maintain a population of free labor.

Status of Hypothesis

My findings support my hypothesis that the way current Illinois and Champaign laws are enforced can be traced to slave and Black codes of the past. Additionally, the incidents of police misconduct, abuse and murder in Champaign mirror policing tactics used by slave patrols. From 1969 to 2010, every instance of policing in which an unarmed person was killed consisted only of Black males. Slave codes were enacted to give unyielding power to a force that was set up to control slaves and Blacks. That form of patrolling is being used today to police Blacks in Champaign. This can be seen in Champaign's police use of deadly force to control Blacks. This becomes apparent in the practices of slave patrolling used by the Champaign police to control and kill Blacks in order to deter others from resistance. I would argue that is why within 41 years of Champaign policing, three Blacks have died in police custody, three Blacks have been shot while trying to runaway, one highly publicized beating of a Black male, and one Black home has been fired into more than thirty times, while not one single instance of these type of policing tactics have been used against Whites.

Problems of Slave Patrollers & Police

The problems with slave patrollers that existed during slavery can still be seen today within the Champaign Police Department; “[P]atrols throughout the South experienced a variety of other problems. Many of these were similar to problems confronting colonial militia: training was infrequent; the elites often avoided duty; and those that did serve were often irresponsible” (Reichel, 1988: p. 63). The Champaign police face similar problems. For example, the “accidental” shootings of William Houltts and Kiwane Carrington reflect the problem of infrequent gun control training. The mysterious deaths faced by John Cushingberry and William Woods shows the

lack of inmate protection training. The killing of Gregory Brown and the beating of Brian Chesley illustrate an absence of sensitivity training. The killing of Oluwatofunmi Kaiyewu portrays a lack of negotiation training. Finally, the shooting of more than thirty bullets into Ms. Mildred Davis's house shows blatant police irresponsibility.

Limitations and Recommendations

The limitations of my research and findings is that they compare multiple state and city statutes and codes to current Illinois and Champaign laws. Therefore, the link between slave patrolling in other states outside of Illinois is the basis of my comparison to the city of Champaign, Illinois. Therefore, the relationship between how slave patrolling in other states has affected how Blacks in Champaign are policed may be a weak link. Future research should focus on slave codes, slave patrols, and Black codes within the history of Illinois to strengthen this link.

Conclusion

From Slave Patrolling to Champaign Policing

The primary function of slave patrols was to enforce slave codes that were enacted to maintain a system of economic exploitation. Slave patrollers would use fear and intimidation to control, track, suppress and kill slaves. The fear instilled by the slave patrols can be seen in the following quote from the former slave, Lewis Clarke; “[The patrols] are the meanest, and lowest, and worst of all creation. Like starved wharf rats, they are out nights, creeping into slave cabins, to see if they have an old bone there” (Reichel, 1988: p. 62). The same fear can be seen today in Champaign. In a statement requesting the resignation of Champaign Chief of Police RT Finney, a Champaign citizen, Danielle Chynoweth, states;

“I have in my hand the most terrifying document I have seen in a long time. It is the use of force policy for the Champaign Police [...] It says, ‘A peace officer is justified in using

deadly force only when ... such force is necessary to prevent the arrest from being defeated by resistance or escape.’ I think we all know what this means. If you try to escape a police officer, they can kill you. If you are unarmed and resisting, they can kill you. If you are deaf and you appear to be fleeing, they can kill you. [...].” (Chynoweth, 2009)

The fear Danielle Chynoweth mirrors the fear of former slave Lewis Clarke. They both fear the tactics used by the policing force of their respective times. My research findings reflect that the ideology, methods and consequences of slave patrolling exist today in how Blacks in Champaign are policed. The events that took place from 1969 to 2010 in which the Champaign police intimidated, beat and murdered Champaign citizens is disastrously similar to slave patrolling tactics used during slavery.

Community Resistance

What I found most interesting in my research was the continual resistance Blacks showed concerning the intimidating and deadly tactics used by slave patrols and police. During slavery, the slaves would resist by conspiring and revolting (Reichel, 1988: p. 55). This was an extremely effective form of resistance since it scared Whites to the point they enacted slave codes to prohibit the congregation of Blacks that may revolt. This same resistance can be seen in Champaign when instances of irresponsibility, beatings and killings occur at the hands of the Champaign police. When these instances occur, citizens of the Champaign area and students and faculty of the University of Illinois show their resistance in great numbers. The resistance takes on forms of riots, protests, rallies and community organizing. While some forms are preferred to others, they all reflect the same message. The message is simple yet profoundly strong: The citizens of Champaign, the citizens of the surrounding communities, and the students and faculty of the University of Illinois object and condemn the unfair and horrific tactics, beatings and killings of Blacks by the Champaign Police. Additionally, the tremendous acts of community organizing

around these events testifies to the need of restorative justice and prevention of future unnecessary beatings and killings of Champaign citizens at the hands of the slave patrol-ish Champaign Police.

Future Considerations

I would argue that the link between slave patrolling and current policing of Blacks in Champaign should be highlighted in criminal justice texts. Currently, this link is largely missing from criminal justice texts (Turner, 2006: p. 191). This would aid in the prevention of the ideology that Blacks today should be policed like the slaves of past. In addition, this could help prevent future beatings and killings of Blacks by the Champaign Police. Concerning research, I would argue that further investigations into the continuation of slave patrolling tactics by current police forces should be carried out in other states so the suffering, beatings and murders, like those at the hands of the Champaign Police, can be avoided in other states.

Notes

¹ See Appendix A

May be downloaded from:

<http://www.ci.savannah.ga.us/Cityweb/RLibCat.nsf/67eb36a41c97009d8525683a00739771/7286e6ae0878bf4e852572f0006f431a?OpenDocument>

² May be viewed here:

<http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs4.asp?DocName=072500050HArt%2E+108&ActID=1966&ChapAct=725%26nbsp%3BILCS%26nbsp%3B5%2F&ChapterID=54&ChapterName=CRIMINAL+PROCEDURE&SectionID=61249&SeqStart=10300000&SeqEnd=11900000&ActName=Code+of+Criminal+Procedure+of+1963%2E>

³ May be viewed here:

<http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs4.asp?DocName=073000050HCh%2E+III+Art%2E+14&ActID=1999&ChapAct=730%26nbsp%3BILCS%26nbsp%3B5%2F&ChapterID=55&ChapterName=CORRECTIONS&SectionID=61674&SeqStart=15600000&SeqEnd=16700000&ActName=Unified+Code+of+Corrections%2E>

⁴ See Appendix A

May be downloaded from:

<http://www.ci.savannah.ga.us/Cityweb/RLibCat.nsf/67eb36a41c97009d8525683a00739771/7286e6ae0878bf4e852572f0006f431a?OpenDocument>

⁵ May be viewed here:

<http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs4.asp?DocName=072000050HArt%2E+25&ActID=1876&ChapAct=720%26nbsp%3BILCS%26nbsp%3B5%2F&ChapterID=53&ChapterName=CRIMINAL+OFFENSES&SectionID=60755&SeqStart=55700000&SeqEnd=56400000&ActName=Criminal+Code+of+1961%2E>

⁶ See Appendix E

May be downloaded from: <http://www.ucimc.org/sites/ucimc.org/files/files/CPDUseOfForce1009.pdf>

⁷ See Appendix D “To Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General, re: Edgar Hoult’s”

May be viewed at: <http://www.usd116.org/mfoley/strike/petition.html>

⁸ See Appendix D “To Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General, re: Edgar Hoult’s”

May be viewed at: <http://www.usd116.org/mfoley/strike/petition.html>

⁹ See Appendix C and D “To Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General, re: Edgar Hoult’s” ,”Shot Kills Man After Chase”, “Windows Smashed After Strike Rally”

All may be viewed at:<http://www.usd116.org/mfoley/strike/index.html>

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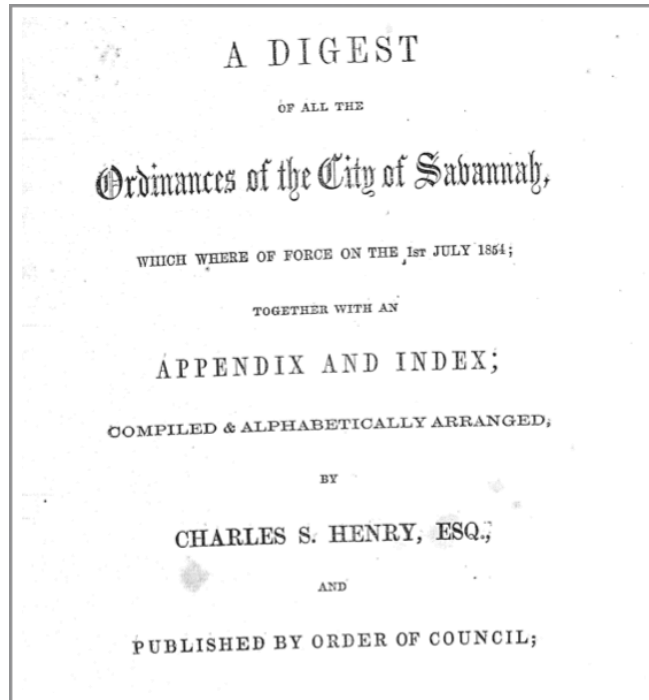
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Appendices

Appendix A: Articles pertaining to the City of Savannah Slave and Black codes



	State Law, Dec. 26th, 1835. (Cobb's Digest, page 1008.)
Free negroes punishable as slaves for harboring.	No. 175. (1.) All free persons of color within this State, who shall harbor, conceal or entertain a slave or slaves, who shall be charged or accused of any criminal matter, or shall be a runaway, shall, upon conviction, (in addition to the penalty already provided for in said section,) be subject to the same punishment as slaves are under said above 29th section of the above recited Act.
Constables may search on suspicion.	(2.) Any lawful Constable having reason to suspect that runaway slaves; or such negroes who may be charged or accused of any criminal offence, are harbored, concealed or entertained in the house or houses of such slaves or free persons of color, they or any of them are authorized to enter such house or houses and make search for the said runaway or runaways, or accused criminal or criminals.

... shall, for every such offence, forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars. Fine \$50.

(11.) No negroes or persons of color, being more in number than seven, shall at any time (except when attending funerals or public worship on Sunday between the rising and setting of Not more than seven slaves or free negroes together, unless at funerals or public worship.

182 FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

the sun, or on any other occasions provided for by this or other Ordinances of the City,) assemble or meet together, either in any house, building, or lot within the City, unless some white person is present or stays on the premises; or in any street, lane, alley, or other public place of the City, unless some white person is with them. And it shall and may be lawful to and for any Alderman, or the City Marshal, or City Constables, or any of the officers or privates of the City Watch, or any other white person to apprehend all such negroes and people of color, and any of them so assembled and met together, above seven in number, without any white person being on the premises or present with them as aforesaid, and for that purpose, they or any of them are hereby authorized and required to enter into any house, building or lot in the City where the said negroes and persons of color are so illegally assembled. And every negro or person of color apprehended as aforesaid shall be confined in jail until they are brought before the Mayor, Chairman or any two Aldermen, who may adjudge and order such corporal punishment or either for the said offence as he or they in his or their discretion may deem proper.

(12.) No assembly or meeting of slaves or persons of color,

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Appendix B: Articles pertaining to the murder of John Cushingberry

More Shooting, Fires Erupt in Champaign

BY MICHAEL McGUIRE

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Champaign, Ill., May 29 [Thursday] — Two dozen extra state and city police were sent into this city's black community last night after shooting broke out. Fires destroyed a parked car and two buildings, and three taxi drivers reported their cabs were hit with stones or bricks.

Champaign Fire Chief Willard Ashby said the flames that gutted the McCabe Brothers, Inc., tool shed and extensively damaged the office of Shapland Construction company were started by fire bombs tossed thru the windows. The buildings are about a block apart. It was not known how the auto caught fire.

No Injuries Reported

No injuries were reported, and none of the shots was fired at police or firemen.

Police and firemen answering calls of fire bombings were ordered out of the north side Negro community Monday night after snipers began firing at them. One squad car carrying a police captain and patrolman was riddled with bullets in Monday's violence, but neither man was harmed.

Reports that gangs of youths were gathering kept police busy patrolling the black area after the reserves were called last night.

All Quiet in Urbana

Meanwhile, police in Urbana reported all was quiet on their side of this twin-city complex.

The black community unrest in Champaign and Urbana started Sunday following the death of a Negro prisoner in Champaign county jail. Rumors began circulating that the prisoner was beaten to death with a flashlight while struggling with guards.

Champaign county Sheriff Russell Chaney denied this, and subsequent autopsies conducted

separately by a white and a Negro doctor indicated the death was natural and not due to mistreatment.

Probed by U. S. Agents

Federal agents yesterday began investigating the death of the prisoner, John Cushingberry, 31, after receiving a complaint that the prisoner's civil rights were violated.

An investigation into the death is also being conducted by Champaign county State's Atty. Lawrence Johnson, who said he will present the matter to the grand jury today.

Meanwhile, Steven E. Benz, a University of Illinois student whose left hand was blown off Tuesday night by a home-made bomb, was reported in satisfactory condition in a hospital.

Called Harmless Experiment

Champaign police said Benz, 19, of Paxton, Ill., was working on the bomb in his fraternity house when it exploded. Police and a campus spokesman said early yesterday they were investigating the explosion.

Benz's fraternity brothers said Benz had no connection with the campus fire bombings, and described Benz as "one of the nicest guys you ever could meet." One said Benz and one of his friends apparently were making the bomb to explode in a harmless experiment in a vacant lot.

Appendix C: Articles pertaining to the murder of Edgar Hoult

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die for Boise-Cascade's Kraft Imperial Drayage Co., Seattle, for exceeding permit authority. Police resorted to machine-generated smoke irritant called

Champaign, Ill.

5 Persons Wounded in Violence

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. (AP)—Five persons were wounded and four others were arrested in a second night of disorders which included firebombings and exchanges of shots between snipers and police in Champaign's predominantly black North End. The disorders were over by midnight Friday after local police called in about 20 state troopers for aid.

Gangs Armed

Gangs of armed black youths fired on police and one ambulance, officers reported. Most of the violence centered in the North End. A farm implement store in neighboring Urbana was heavily damaged by fire during the disorders; and, although there

were four fires in Champaign, fire officials said there was little damage.

Shooting Recalled

The violence apparently was connected with the fatal shooting Wednesday of a Negro by a Champaign policeman. Edgar Hoult, 23, was killed by police after being chased from Champaign into Urbana. A statement issued by City Manager Warren Browning of Champaign said Patrolman Fred Eastman slipped as he drew his pistol to fire a warning shot. Eastman was arrested Friday on a charge of voluntary manslaughter in connection with the

incident. He was freed on \$5,000 bond. Hoult had been employed to guard a Champaign book store overnight because of recent arson attempts on the University of Illinois campus and adjacent business area. Police said they spotted Hoult leaving the store early Wednesday and sought to question him, but he fled.



Tree Sale Total Told

Police shot kills man after chase

An Urbana man was shot and killed in Urbana, apparently by a Champaign police officer, following a high-speed chase through both cities early this morning. Champaign Police Chief Harvey Shirley said Edgar Hoult, 23, of 15 Dunbar Court, Urbana, was dead on arrival at Mercy Hospital at 5:45 a.m. today. Shirley said a Champaign officer, whose name he would not release, had fired a shot at Hoult, but he added police were waiting for the results of a ballistics test to confirm that it was a bullet from the officer's gun that killed the man. Reports that Mr. Hoult was armed and had shot at the police were denied by Shirley, but he said that some other persons' also may have been involved. An unofficial source reported that there were two other men in the car beside Mr. Hoult, but the chief of police declined to comment on this. He indicated the investigation may be completed by Thursday. Shirley said Mr. Hoult was shot in an open field northeast of Dunbar Court in Urbana at 5:30 a.m. today following a chase over city streets that originated in the area of the University of Illinois, and at times reached speeds of 70 to 80 miles per hour. "The entire incident is under full investigation, and I cannot make any more statements until that investigation is complete," Shirley said. Shirley reportedly met with City Community Relations Director Howard Michell and several members of the Human Relations Commission early today to discuss the incident. It is unknown at this time if Mitchell or the HRC will become actively involved in the investigation of the incident or will launch a separate investigation. Shirley also said he had talked to Mr. Hoult's parents and grandparents today.

Courier - April 29, 1970

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA COURIER

Windows smashed after strike rally

By David Hood
and Elise Cassel
Of The Courier

Some 1,000 University of Illinois students roved the campus Tuesday night announcing a student "strike" and did extensive damage to store windows in the campus town area on Green Street.

At a 9 p.m. rally in the university auditorium, Undergraduate Student Association President Edward Pinto proposed that the U. of I. participate in a nationwide strike of colleges and universities this weekend to protest the recent moves in Cambodia.

Pinto was vigorously overruled by the 2,500 students present who urged that the strike begin Wednesday.

Paul Wells, professor of economics and representative

of the American Association of University Professors, said his organization urged U. of I. members to endorse the strike and not to hold classes.

Further, Wells said the AAUP advocated immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and immediate disarmament of the Illinois National Guard.

Guard is menace

"Everyone knows the National Guard is a menace to the public safety," Wells said. The Illinois guard should be disarmed "just so that the events at Kent College don't have a chance to occur here," he added.

UGSA member Debbie Senn announced that a picket line would be organized outside student buildings and at the draft board to encourage students to strike. She said

picketers would also be needed to march with the nurses at Burnham Hospital. Students were asked to meet at 7 a.m. Wednesday to write the word "strike" on classroom blackboards.

David Addison, third-year law student, said students in the college of law endorsed the strike Tuesday afternoon, although the faculty had not.

He said black students could not be expected to participate in the strike unless the issue of the death of Edward Houltz in Champaign last week was given the "same level" of importance as the issues of the four students killed during demonstrations at Kent State and U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

At the close of the rally students left the auditorium

en masse for the Men's Residence Hall complex at 4th and Armory streets.

On the way a few of the approximately 500 students broke windows in the Armory building. Chanting "strike! strike! strike!" the group took the message to various dormitories on campus and went south to the Pennsylvania and Florida avenue residences.

As they traveled, their numbers increased. The mood was emotional and non-violent until they approached the campus area again. Some rocks were thrown at university cars parked by the university green houses north of Pennsylvania.

At the quad

On the Quadrangle, demonstrators bombarded the glass entranceway to Chancellor J.

W. Peltason's office on the south side of the English Building, causing extensive damage to the encasement.

As the group marched north on Wright Street, stores were thrown at the glass door of Follett's book store on the corner of Wright and Green. The side windows were still boarded from the March 2 demonstrations and two young men tried unsuccessfully to break through the wooden boards by running into them with their shoulders.

The group proceeded cautiously down Green Street expecting the arrival of police. Windows were broken extensively at Baskin's, Illini Jewelry. The most damage occurred at McBride's on the corner of 6th and Green.

Although broken windows exposed clothing, jewelry and miscellaneous merchandise in McBride's, apparently no goods were stolen.

City Manager Warren Browning said he had not expected the violence to occur and there were not enough policemen on duty to handle the large crowd. He said there were only some 45 Champaign policemen available and that the state troopers had been called.

"We knew there was a meeting at 9 p.m. but we didn't know anything like this would happen," Browning said.

CU Courier - May 6, 1970

CHAMPAIGN COP INDICTED IN NEGRO'S DEATH

Champaign, Ill., May 20 (AP)—A grand jury has indicted Fred Eastman, a Champaign policeman on charges of voluntary manslaughter in the shooting death late last month of Edgar Houllts, 23, a Negro.

The shooting, which some black leaders claimed was murder, led to several nights of unrest in the Champaign-Urbana area.

The Champaign county grand jury returned the indictment last night against Eastman for the shooting of Houllts, of Urbana, in the pre-dawn hours of April 29. A statement issued by the Champaign city manager's office two days after the shooting said that Eastman claimed he stumbled and accidentally shot Houllts during a foot chase.

More Shooting, Fires Erupt in Champaign

BY MICHAEL MCGUIRE

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

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The Struggle For Racial Equity In The Champaign County Criminal Justice System

by Kerry L. Pimblott



On the morning of April 29, 1970, Edgar Hoult, a twenty-three year old African American man was shot and killed by a local police officer near his home in Urbana. Edgar, an employee of Follett's Book Store, had been unable to sleep and decided to visit with friends who were working overnight at the store. Earlier in the week, a series of firebombings had taken place leaving Follett's in need of late night repairs. According to the store manager, Anthony Fernandez, Edgar "horsed around" briefly with his co-workers and then left.

Nearby, Champaign police officers Fred Eastman and Robert Soucie were on patrol. According to police accounts, the officers witnessed Hoult drive north on Wright Street running two stop signs. In response, the officers turned on their siren and engaged Hoult in a high-speed chase. After a few minutes, Hoult lost control of the vehicle and slammed into a fence. Despite the impact, he was able to pull himself out of the car and began to run through an open field with Eastman in pursuit on foot.

The details of what followed are contested. However, what is clear is that Eastman pulled out his .33 caliber revolver and fired. The hollow-point bullet, designed for maximum impact, traveled approximately 50 yards across the field striking Edgar Hoult in the back of the head causing his death. Eastman claimed that he had slipped while firing a warning shot in the air, accidentally causing Hoult's death. However, reports to the contrary quickly emerged. Several African-American eyewitnesses argued that Eastman hadn't stumbled, but rather had carefully taken aim at his victim. Others claimed that Hoult had put his hands in the air as a sign of surrender.

Public officials struggled to locate a reason for Hoult's evasion of local officers during a routine traffic stop. He had no outstanding warrants and had never been convicted of a crime. By all accounts Edgar Hoult was a sober family man with a promising future. Left behind was his pregnant wife, Alice, and two small children. The only motive police could identify was that he had been driving without a valid drivers license.

Many African American residents were less baffled by Hoult's frantic decision to flee from local police officers who were widely considered to be racist and corrupt. Mirroring events in cities across the country, protests against racial inequity and police brutality occurred intermittently throughout the 1960s and 1970s in Champaign-Urbana. Longstanding organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League were joined in the struggle by newer organizations like the Concerned Citizens Committee (CCC) and the Black Action Council for United Progress (BACUP).

The death of Edgar Hoult triggered a community-wide struggle for racial equity in the Champaign County crimi-

nal justice system that continues to resonate. A loose coalition of civil rights organizations, community members, and college students quickly mobilized to protest police brutality against African Americans, demand the reorganization of lily-white law enforcement, and ensure that an independent investigation into the Hoult shooting be performed. Concerned citizens flooded city council meetings expressing their outrage.

University students staged mass protests, the largest of which took place on May 11 when 1,500 people assembled on the quad. Hoult's death resonated particularly amongst black students, many of whom, due to restrictions in university accommodation, had been housed by African American families in the North End forging close experiential and political ties. As testament to these deep feelings of solidarity, black students successfully pushed for the fledgling Afro-American Culture Center to be renamed after Hoult in a ceremony facilitated by both student and community activists.

While the vast majority of students and community members engaged in nonviolent protests, some felt that different strategies were required. In the days following the shooting, fires broke out at Lincoln Square Mall and at Jos. Kuhn & Co. in downtown Champaign. While local press sought to characterize the bombings as the spontaneous acts of angry black youth, letters written to the editorial board of the *Daily Illini* indicated that they were the deliberate and carefully planned work of a revolutionary nationalist cadre called Revolutionary Force 26. In accordance with broader ideological and tactical shifts in the black liberation and student movements, Revolutionary Force 26 represented the increasing militancy of activists frustrated with the slow pace of change and disenchantment with the integrationist agenda of the movement. Elsewhere, struggles ensued between law enforcement and local gangs as police surveillance of black communities was heightened.

Widespread fears about the independence of the investigation into Hoult's death were confirmed on May 13 when Howard Mitchell, the director of the Community Relations Committee, castigated local police and city officials for their negligence. "The only city investigation that can be considered extensive," Mitchell claimed, "has been my own." When faced with demands for information

about the Hoult case, police authorities failed to cooperate forcing the Committee to seek the aid of higher authorities on numerous occasions. For their part, city officials had demonstrated a lack of consideration for the victim's family and the local African American population. "Naturally, the city was on the spot," Mitchell explained, "but a man was dead and no one seemed willing to say 'I'm sorry' without being reminded."

Though the States' Attorney, Lawrence Johnson, initially opted to file charges of voluntary manslaughter against Eastman, tremendous public pressure ensured that when the trial began in October the murder charge was resurrected. Amidst high security, Judge B. E. Morgan presided over a packed courtroom as several eyewitnesses took the stand to testify that Officer Eastman had intentionally

killed Edgar Hoult. After the prosecution presented its case, the defense brought out Eastman and several fellow police officers, none of whom had been present during the shooting, to corroborate Eastman's story of accidental death.

Despite the testimony of several eyewitnesses to the contrary, an all-white jury took less than two and a half hours and one vote to find Eastman not guilty of murder and involuntary manslaughter. At the most fundamental level, the all-white jury had been more convinced by the testimony of a white police officer than that of multiple African-American eyewitnesses. As one juror explained, "We believed he was honest when he said he slipped and fell, and that the killing was accidental." Finding no justice in the criminal proceeding, Alice Hoult filed a civil suit on April 30, 1971. Her struggle continued until 1976 when she finally reached an out of court settlement for \$59,000. After more than five years, Alice Hoult ended her bitter struggle for justice and reparations.

However, the collective struggle for racial equity in the Champaign County criminal justice system continues. The prevalence of all-white juries, the lack of police accountability, and well-established racial disparities at each stage of the process demands that we continue to work in close collaboration for the furthering of freedom and justice in our communities.



Edgar Hoult, 1970.

MBLGTACC Event

Appendix D: Letter pertaining to the murder of Cushinberry, Houltts and Woods

Petition to Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General
of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department

Attention:
Lisbon Berry

On Wednesday April 22, 1970 at approximately 5:00 a.m., Edgar Houltts, a Black man was shot and killed by a member of the Champaign, Illinois Police Department. Mr. Houltts was shot after being chased by policemen for several blocks in the city after failing to stop for several traffic signals and stop signs. The Police Department has stated that prior to the shooting Mr. Houltts was not suspected of any crime. It has also been confirmed by the department that the deceased was not armed. Affidavits of eye witnesses indicate that at the time of the shooting Houltts had both his hands raised over his head and he was shot in the back. An autopsy has shown that the deceased was shot with hollow-point ammunition.

The Killing of Edgar Houltts is the third death of a Black man within the last year in Champaign County: in April, 1969 John Cushingberry died mysteriously in the County Jail after being arrested by Champaign City Police; in November, 1969 William Woods died in a cell of the County Jail allegedly from a fall from his bed.

The Black community, the University of Illinois community and citizens of the cities of Champaign and Urbana have manifested grave concern over these events, therefore, in the interest of equal justice, we demand a full investigation by the Justice Department into the death of Edgar Houltts.

Appendix E: Champaign Police Use of Force Policy

CHAMPAIGN POLICE DEPARTMENT		ORDER NUMBER: 1.3
POLICY and PROCEDURE		EFFECTIVE DATE: 10/01/09
SUBJECT: USE OF FORCE		REVISED DATE:
REFERENCE ILEAP:	ADM.05.01 ADM.05.02 ADM.05.03	which such police use of force actions shall be reviewed.
INDEX AC:		Great Bodily Harm: Serious physical injury that creates a substantial risk of death.

1.3.2 USE OF DEADLY FORCE

- A. Officers may use lethal force against another human being when the officer, or another person, is in imminent and otherwise unavoidable danger of death or great bodily harm from the individual(s) against whom the officer is applying or is about to apply deadly force. Illinois Compiled Statutes (720 ILCS 5/7-5) define the parameters of a police officer's use of force in making an arrest, including the use of deadly force, as follows:
1. A peace officer is justified in using deadly force only when:
 - a. He reasonably believes that such force is necessary to prevent death or great bodily harm to himself or another; or,
 - b. Such force is necessary to prevent the arrest from being defeated by resistance or escape; and,
 - c. The person to be arrested has committed or has attempted to commit a forcible felony which involves the infliction of great bodily harm; or,
 - d. Is attempting to escape by use of a deadly weapon; or
 - e. Otherwise indicates that he will endanger human life or inflict great bodily harm unless arrested without delay.

Public Disconnect

A study of Police and Community Relations

Brian Thompson

5/14/2010

In partial fulfillment of course requirement for

Afro 220: Introduction to Research Methods

Dr. Amira M. Davis, Visiting Lecturer

Abstract: Throughout the country there have been a number of citizen deaths committed by the police in marginalized communities. This seems to be a trend in American society dating back to the American Slave Trade. This trend was continued following the abolition of slavery with the Jim Crow era where countless individuals were beaten, murdered, and lynched on a daily basis as a form of state terrorism and control. These tactics transitioned into contemporary society creating contemporary forms of oppression where covert and institutional racist ideals followed by oppressive acts have reached their pinnacle. This succession of acts brings into question the role of law enforcement in modern society. Are they in place to ensure the safety and well-being of the individuals in the communities they serve or are they merely mid-level enforcers set in place to colonize and subjugate so-called “deviant” American societies? In order to get the answers that many of us seek I will attempt to assess police relations with community members in hopes of increasing their understanding of what is seen as black “deviant” communities.¹

¹ Political science Cathy Cohen (2002) argues that instead of communities thought of as ghettos (characterized by its ethnic and class make-up) being characterized as deviant and pathological as social science literature tends to suggest, that the inhabitants of these marginalized spaces are enacting

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

Introduction

Since the inception of the United States of America there has been an evident mistreatment of people of African descent beginning with the American Slave Trade. Not only were they enslaved and forced to work for no gain there were laws set in place to further oppress them. For instance, a Virginia statute of 1705 states that "If any slave resists his master...correcting such a slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction...the master shall be free of all punishment...as if such accident never happened" (Virginia Slave Codes, PBS.org). Though this statute and all like it have been eliminated from public policy they have grown and transformed into loopholes and hidden discrimination in today's legal system. One example of this injustice includes Arizona's new immigration law that mandates that school resource officers can question and arrest some individuals just based on suspicion. Another is the discrepancy between sentences given for crack cocaine and powdered as well as traffic stops and tickets given to motorists with loud music. This sort of enforcement is clearly racially motivated and at the very least geared towards the demonization of certain cultures.

Fitting snugly into the panoptic model of society addressed in Michel Foucault's work, *Discipline and Punish* (1975), the government and entities of it (magistrates) produce laws which are handed down to be enforced by law enforcement personnel (intendants) on the members of the communities. This panopticonic society according to Foucault (1975) exercises

agency in their lives "as they try to secure such human rewards as pleasure, fun, and autonomy" (p. 38) as well as performing acts of resistance to an oppressive dominant culture.

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

“power over men, of controlling their relations, of separating out their dangerous mixtures.”

This is exactly how the government runs today, as a disciplinary machine punishing behavior that is outside of the norm and deemed “plagued” behaviors. Therefore, law enforcement personnel police communities deemed “deviant,” forcing the individuals within to conform to societal norms instead addressing the problems important to the members of the communities. This is where a relational divide comes into play where law enforcement personnel take on the ideals of panoptic discipline and fail to truly serve the people of the communities they patrol.

With the prior knowledge of how American society as a whole is constructed and the role of the police in society, this study attempts to explain why there are exponentially more incidences of police brutality in poor, Black communities than there are in white communities. This ethnographic study with members of the Champaign Police Department aims to assess how law enforcement personnel approach individuals in these marginalized communities. This research seeks to identify the primary reasons violence is used more often upon residents of marginalized communities, as well as if different approaches and attitudes account for the consistent abuse of marginalized individuals they can be analyzed. As a result, law enforcement approaches and attitudes can be addressed in order to decrease police misconduct.

Addressing the relational issues between police and the members of marginalized communities will make significant strides in creating a better quality of life for individuals that are devastated by the oppressive forces that are a result of this panoptic policing. First, this would vastly decrease the number of people from these communities being funneled into prison. In doing so it would also increase the police and community relations allowing the

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

community members to communicate to the law enforcement personnel what concerns they have in their communities.

Theory

Terms: Aggressive policing, marginalized, brutality

Aggressive policing: actively combating a problem in a policed community by repeatedly addressing the known disturbance and disrupting illegal activities

Marginalized people: those who are forced into a subordinate position in society, are widely oppressed with a number of constraints and obstacles hindering advancement in personal endeavors

Brutality: physical or verbal abuse that is imposed upon someone in less of a powerful position

This study is based primarily on a variation of neighborhood theory. Chaskin (1995) defines neighborhood as a “spatial construction denoting a geographical unit in which resident share proximity and the circumstances that come with it (pp. 522-523). Since enslavement Blacks had been forced to live in segregated spatial areas. As Blacks began to move in declining neighborhoods, whites moved to suburban and rural areas which restricted Black residents either through restrictive housing covenants or prohibitive pricing. My use of neighborhood theory looks at how white police officers who choose to live in neighborhoods that are racially exclusive, are assigned to police the neighborhoods that they refuse to live it. As such, my use of neighborhood theory does not look at the sense of community among individuals within a certain neighborhood, but rather the relations between marginalized neighborhoods and the

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

officers that police and attempt to control them who often lack connections to those communities and neighborhoods. This study is connected to neighborhood theory because it focuses on the relational problems neighborhoods have with the police that serve them. It focuses on how the individual officers view these neighborhoods and how their actions are shaped by these views.

This study is also heavily based on Foucault's view of modern society as a panopticon. In his work, *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault refers to a panopticon which is a prison design borrowed from English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham who developed a prison built in a circular fashion with a singular tower in the center. This tower was designed to have a one way mirror that spanned the circumference of the entire structure. From this tower one could monitor all of the prisoners at once but the key was that the prisoners never knew who or when someone was watching. The idea behind this structure was that everyone can be monitored and disciplined with the least amount of force possible.

Modern society has been fashioned in the manner, with the idea of society that every member in society is surveilled endlessly and those who are deemed deviant are treated like those in the "plagued society" which was another one of Foucault's topics. Marginalized communities are these targeted "plagued societies" where the individuals are thought of as being diseased. Force is used to either conform them to the ideals of mainstream society, as well as to rid the social body of the disease. Those who are resistant to this rule are ultimately eliminated in one of two ways: either with brutalization or imprisonment.

This study is also driven by the theory of *The State* (The State, Marxists.org) presented by Marxist Vladimir Lenin. Speaking on the primary functions of "The State" he writes:

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

“a special category of people set apart to rule others and who, for the sake and purpose of rule, systematically and permanently have at their disposal a certain apparatus of coercion, an apparatus of violence, such as is represented at the present time, as you all realise, by armed contingents of troops, prisons and other means of subjugating the will of others by force—all that which constitutes the essence of the state.”

It is evident that those who are set in place as law enforcement personnel are just what their titles suggest. As mandated by the government officers of every brand enforce the law as their primary function. As Lenin argued in 1919, they control the will of others using these forces. Following this design it would seem that even those officers with the best intentions towards those in the communities that they police operate as a force of coercion for “The State” as long as they operate within the confines of laws that directly target those of marginalized communities.

Methodology

This research was guided by the grounded theory approach. Through this approach, research will be reviewed through a critical lens which will ultimately come by reviewing a variety of sources. These sources will include, but not be limited to, transcriptions of voice recorded interviews and field notes about observations while in the presence of the represented members of the Champaign Police Department. The Grounded Theory approach is the best theoretical framework for this particular research project because it allows the researcher, where possible, to make objective, adequate, and responsible representation of the individuals studied as well as their view of how they operate in their line of work. Also by

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

evaluating the behaviors of these individuals during researcher interactions will perhaps provide significant insight to how the members of the Champaign Police force that participated in this study, feel about the topics covered during the course of the interactions. These types of observations taken through the Grounded Theory Approach may be significant because in many interactions methods of nonverbal communication hold important indicators of how the communicators feel about the subjects covered in the course of conversation.

All methods used in this study are geared to serve one main purpose. The first is to identify the primary reasons violence is used more often upon residents of marginalized communities. In order to do so the research will address a few more specific questions. Do Law Enforcement officials approach members of perceived “dangerous” communities with different attitudes and stereotypes than those in other communities? Do officers perceive more of a threat in certain communities that may trigger a heightened sense of policing?

Throughout the course of a month-long period during the month of April 2010 the researcher engaged in two main interactions with the law enforcement personnel of the Champaign Police Department. Through in-depth interviews, I sought to determine police attitudes and perceptions about the communities they police. I interviewed two individuals using an informal conversational approach. After the initial interviews and data analysis, where necessary, follow-up interviews will be scheduled via telephone. Typically I will meet with the officers individually for approximately one hour periods of time. Another means of gathering data for the study will be through participating in the everyday interactions with the interviewed officers. As a means of observing the officer’s everyday interactions I will

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

participate in the “Ride-along” program through the Champaign Police Department in order to adequately evaluate the officer’s interactions with the community members.

Following are the methods of data collection used in this study:

1. Conducted extensive research on incidents that the Champaign Police Department had been involved in. This prior background research was done to gain insight into the circumstances in which law enforcement personnel have employed force within a specific marginalized community like the predominantly Black and poor North End community of Champaign, Illinois.
2. Throughout the course of the study law enforcement personnel were studied in their work environment in order to identify some of the elements of their environments that might provide reasons for their use force during their patrol in these communities.
3. Interviews with officers were conducted in order to gain clarity on their field experiences and if there are any discrepancies in how they police different areas of the city as well why those differences exist if it is found that they do. The interview also served to find other sources of increased violence in neighborhoods of marginalized people.

The interviews began with the gathering of background/demographic information to identify the officers. The questions used to obtain this data closely followed the Patton Model for interviewing (Madison, 2005). The Patton Model for interviewing divides interview questions into six sections behavior/experience questions, opinion/value questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, sensory questions, and background/demographic questions. The Patton Model was ideal for this study because it allowed for easy analysis of the questions asked. This allowed for a better understanding of the interviewees by providing clear perceptual views of the interviewee through the use of opinion/value and feeling questions, and also accounts of the interviewee’s actions through behavior/experience questions. Then, each interviewee was asked a mixture of behavior/experience, opinion/value, and knowledge

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

questions. All of the previously mentioned questions are in accordance with the Patton Model for Interviewing. Follow-up questions were also asked in areas that required further clarification and areas where additional questions furthered understanding and captured the interviewees' meanings properly.

Once the data collection was complete, it was analyzed using line-by-line interpretations of the interviews and the incorporation of observations found while attending the ride-along with the officer of the Champaign Police Department to paint a "bigger picture" of police and civilian interactions.

Findings

During the course of this study it was evident that there are some serious issues with police and community relations. I found a few concerns that could be possible causal factors in the degradation of law enforcement personnel and community relations. Through this study's investigation the four major factors identified as having a possibly having a causal relationship to the loss of community relations with the police are 1) the lack of cultural understanding on behalf of the Champaign Police Department, 2) partial adherence to community needs, 3) biased sentiment to other officers' mistakes, 4) and the enforcement of laws that discriminately target certain populations of people.

The first factor that I see as a damaging factor for the Champaign Police Department's community relations is the lack of cultural understanding amongst the officers of the Department. For instance, while on a ride-along with Officer 1, we stopped a few individuals with the suspicion that they were part of a group of individuals who were going around the

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

community shooting paintball guns at people. Once all of the individuals were searched and there were background checks run on all of the individuals one background check came back and the person in question was on parole. As a result, the officers asked the person if they had any tattoos and if he would remove his hooded sweatshirt so the officers could check. As an observer, I didn't see this as relevant to their search, but he complied and they found no ink markings. Following the removal of the individual's hooded sweatshirt, Officer 1 noticed that there was a crown embroidered onto the individual's shirt. As a result Officer 1 speculated that this individual was affiliated with a particular gang and that the crown sewn onto the shirt was a symbol of the individual's allegiance to that gang. For me, an individual who is familiar with urban wear from buying it and seeing it in stores it was evident that the crown was just a simple design. Officer 1's lack of knowledge about urban wear and the culture that it represents made him unable to distinguish between a true gang affiliation which would most likely be airbrushed or screen printed onto a garment. This clear misconception of urban culture leads to false labeling of individuals, which in certain circumstances can lead officers to make false assumptions and demonize individuals who are without fault.

The second factor that leads to the decline of police and community relations is the partial adherence to community needs. Without fully addressing the needs of the community, faith is lost in the police department's ability and willingness to aid in community endeavors. An example of this was evident in my interview with Officer 2, a ranking officer. During this interview, he mentioned a tactic called "policing by environment" which he felt helped lower the crime in the community. He noted that during various neighborhood meetings community member in the Garden Hills area of the Champaign community complained that they needed

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

lighting in the neighborhood as well as sidewalks to improve the community's visual appeal. As a result through the "policing by environment" program they erected streetlights along Hedgerow a street that he described as a "major artery" in the community. It was clear that there was some progress but there was no mention of the erection of streetlights throughout the rest of the community or the input of sidewalks in the community.

Biased sentiment towards other officers' mistakes was the third factor that could be a potential cause in the demise of community and police relations. While in conversation with Officer 1 as we did a walkthrough of a park where suspects were spotted shooting paintball guns, we began conversing about the tragedy involving Kiwane Carrington. In conversation Officer 1, he stated that it was an "unfortunate" event that happened to a good person with whom he spoke with frequently. He also seemed to fault Kiwane in the shooting by stating that "he should have been in school" when it has been clearly noted that school was adjourned for the day during the time of the incident. He then began to speak of scenarios where juveniles may be shot because of things that may look like weapons cause them to be fired upon. This comment seemed irrelevant to the conversation seeing that no report stated that Kiwane was carrying anything that resembled a weapon. Officer 1 also showed remorse for it "happening" to Officer Norbits. Officer 1's sentiments were shared by the local Fraternal Order of Police who were reported in the local newspaper as calling Norbit's 30-day suspension over the incident, "unfair" a perspective expressed by Norbits himself in his grievance filed against the City of Champaign (Schenk, 2010). It seems that this officer was showing sentiment for the shooting officer instead of recognizing the mistakes in proper procedure that occurred. These types of

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

responses can form a sort of Us vs. Them complex pitting the community and officers against each other.

The final factor I observed that works against community and police relations is the enforcement of laws that target certain groups of individuals. The instance where I saw this was also during my ride-along with Officer 1. While routinely riding through Officer 1's patrol area we pulled behind a vehicle that was playing his radio at a high volume. It was evident that this was bothering the officer by his repeated comments on his dislike of the loud music and his statements of protocol to stop individuals whose volume was too loud. As we pulled the individual over I took note of the surroundings and recognized that we were not in a residential area and had not received a complaint due to the music. As a result the individual was cited in what seemed like a situation where no laws were broken. Simple issues such as this can result in distrust of law enforcement after enforcement of a protocol that seemed to neither hurt anyone nor help suppress crime.

Discussion

In hindsight, it seems that there is clear evidence that there are major hindrances on police and community relations, specifically in the City of Champaign. Due to various cultural barriers and four key elements limiting the police and cultural relations it is likely that these issues need to be addressed in order to advance relations. More importantly, as long law enforcement remains an intricate part of panoptic societal ruling forcefully coercing all marginalized communities to conform to "normative" white society, they will continue to be met with resistance.

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

In relation to neighborhood theory, neighborhoods such as the North End of the City of Champaign whose residents are predominantly poor Blacks and Latinos, will continue to solidify and mobilize against the Champaign Police Department in order to defend themselves against future police brutality and mistreatment. The local community mobilized across various lines, i.e. racial, class, gender, community and campus following the tragic death of Kiwane Carrington. This type of mobilization has occurred following police killings of unarmed citizens in other locations across the country as in the case of the Coalition Against Police Abuse or CAPA in Los Angeles, California during the mid-1990s (Vargas, 2006) which organized around the prevention of police violence and citizen harassment, taking their cases to courts in search of justice. This mobilization allows for communities such as Los Angeles where CAPA works and Champaign, Illinois where groups such as the Champaign Urbana Citizens for Peace and Justice (CUCPJ) operate, to make use of the same legal systems that, in some cases, are tools of oppression.

This research was also closely related to and driven by the Foucault's vision of "plagued" communities which is a societal embodiment of Bentham's panoptic prison system where marginalized communities become highly surveilled, deviant (Cohen, 2004), ethno racial prison (Wacquant, 2002) from which there is no escape.² Those deemed as problem or "plagued" communities such as the North End of Champaign, Illinois are continually harassed by members of the Champaign Police Department in order to force conformity and in essence remove and

² Loic Wacquant (2002) describes the ghetto as a "socio-spatial device that enables a dominant status group in an urban setting simultaneously to ostracize and exploit a subordinate group endowed with negative symbolic capital." Wacquant goes further to say it is "a relation of ethnoracial control and closure built out of four elements: (1) stigma; (ii) constraint; (iii) territorial confinement; and (iv) institutional encasement" (p. 50)

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

destroy all traces of these marginalized citizens culture (Smith, 22). With attacks on urban culture, clothing, and police camaraderie targeting the communities youth officers of the Champaign Police Department and those of departments like it continually attempt to strip the culture away from people in these marginalized communities.

Lenin's 1919 theory of "The State" was also an influential work for this piece that allowed for the shaping of a theoretical framework showing governmental influence as a major coercive force which gives a basis for how and where police draw their attitudes and misinterpretations of the people of marginalized communities. By drawing on influences of the hierarchy which is "The State" local law enforcement agencies aggressively coerce their patrolled communities to take on more of a Eurocentric view of society and culture that support societal inequality and white racial superiority.

Some limitations of this study were that it wasn't able to draw from both sides, the community and the Police Department, in order to contrast the views of and effects both sides feel that the sort of colonizing policing has on the member of the community. This would have been the ideal situation. There also was the big issue of time constraints where the collection and analysis of the information found was not as thorough as it may have been if this had been a year long course rather a semester long one. There were also some issues with gathering participants in order to interview them. In theory, because of the attacks the Champaign Police Department has received in response to the wrongful death of Kiwane Carrington they have become extremely guarded and are careful not to let too many "outsider's" into the department in order to stifle bad press.

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

A delimitation of this project was that I chose to limit my number of interviewees to two instead of the proposed for to five in order to scrutinize the data more carefully and to spend more time with the participants that I procured initially instead of wasting time trying to find more sources. As a result I procured one hour long interview with Officer 2 of the Champaign Police Department and an interview/ride-along with Officer 1, also of the Champaign Police Department, which lasted more than six hours and allowed for a multitude of information outside of the interview questions.

For those who may chose to go forward with such a project in the future, I would suggest that it be a much longer study where more than a few participants are interviewed and more ride-alongs are scheduled in order to get more of a scope of what may go on not only during one shift of a particular individual but multiple.

Conclusion

To summarize my study concerning law enforcement was proven to be true of the Champaign, Illinois community. As a result of my research with the members of the Champaign Police Department, I found that there are a few main factors that contribute to the demise of police and community relations. Though there may be more, the four factors I found through this research to be the most prevalent in contributing to decreased community-police relations were: the lack of cultural understanding on behalf of the Champaign Police Department, partial adherence to community needs, biased sentiment to other officers' mistakes, and the enforcement of laws that target certain populations of people.

PUBLIC DISCONNECT

Reflecting on my encounters with the officers with whom I came in contact during my research, I feel that the interviews I conducted were a great source of primary information but not the main source. I believe that the ride-along that I participated in with Officer 1 provided more of an eye opening experience to police and community relations. Not only did the in-field experience allow me view the interactions the officers had with the people in the community, but it also allowed me to view firsthand some of the thoughts the officers had of the people with whom they encountered but also the situations that we encountered during the shift.

As far as the topic of community and police relations is concerned I feel that there needs to be much more extensive research done. I believe with more results found pinpointing constraining factors of police and community relations, more pressure will be placed on the government to change policies and force them to place stronger restrictions on the members of their law enforcement agencies. Also it might force officers to become familiar with and immerse themselves in the communities that they police, not only as a colonizing force but truly to protect and serve the people of those particular communities. This would have a tremendous impact on marginalized communities. It seems that it would require changing the mindsets of many but as a result of this research I feel that mindsets aren't the primary cause for relational issues but the lack of understanding.

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PUBLIC DISCONNECT

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Criminalization of the black youth through the education system

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Research Topic Statement: To discover whether there is a link between alternative schools and increased criminalization of youth in the Champaign-Urbana area.

Abstract

Kiwane Carrington, an unarmed, 15 year old, African-American male shot and killed by police, was not only a victim of an “accidental” murder he was also a victim of criminalization by the school he attended and the location he lived in. Kiwane attended the R.E.A.D.Y. program which is an alternative school. Many students like Kiwane are quickly labeled and targeted by state and local law enforcement due to the fact that they reside in the low income communities and attend alternative schools. Examining the constructs that have created these systemic forms of oppression that have been institutionalized into the school system will better equip activists with the knowledge to make a change. I will look at all the possible constructs that cause students that attend alternative schools to be criminalized. In addition, I plan to explore the panopticon structure that is present in alternative schools along with the connection between literacy and freedom for students that attend alternative schools in hopes to draw a connection between Kiwane’s death and the criminalization of students that attend alternative schools.

Keywords: criminalization, school-to-prison pipeline, Kiwane Carrington case, alternative schools, R.E.A.D.Y. program, youth

Introduction

Across the United States, Black youth are being sent to alternative educational spaces due to over policing and lack of educational support. Alternative schools serve the purpose of creating an environment that not only educates the students but that address their behavior issues as well. They differ from the student's home-school because they are creating a more intimate setting to address the needs of the students individually. Over the years a large percentage of students enrolled in the alternative school programs in the Champaign Urbana area have been students of color, especially African American males.

The African American's within the CU community have been overly policed. The black community is under constant surveillance in a manner that is similar to the device used called the panopticon, which has been used by jails to surveil the inmates. The North-End community is like a panopticon because the individuals that live in the area are trapped due to their economic situations and the police officers are like the guards that surveil the inmates. It is important to analyze why this is occurring and the effects it is having upon the adolescents in the community. Students that experience being policed in their communities as well school environments can be dealing with a lot of damaging psychological affects (Dokparker). Researching Kiwane's school environment can shed light on the institutionalized structures that result in the criminalization of the youth.

It is important for the Unit 4 School District to be aware of the systemic structures that are institutionalized into the school system, especially alternative schools, that have caused students to be marginalized. It is important for the school staff, faculty, administration, students, and parents to be aware of the stereotypes that these students are subjected to, and how that has affected them academically, socially, and mentally. If the people are unaware of what the

problem is, they will also be unaware of how to solve; thus, it is imperative for the educational leadership to be aware of how these students, like Kiwane, are criminalized due to the image and structure of the alternative school system and how that is projected to the community, the media as well as the police.

My mother is a principal for a therapeutic alternative school so this topic is something I have been made aware of for many years. In addition, my younger brother has an Individual Educational Program (IEP) which can potentially cause him to attend an alternative school if the teachers are not able to work with him and his learning disability. It concerns me whether or not he will be criminalized or marginalized by the school system and the image that it projects to the community and its members.

Background & Statement of the Problem

Kiwane was a 15 year old black boy who attended Central High School as well as the R.E.A.D.Y. program. Kiwane's mother passed away a year prior to his death due to pancreatic cancer. After his mother's death, Kiwane stayed with his aunt and sister. His friends said that he had a great smile, laugh, and jokes. On the day Kiwane Carrington was shot and killed, school at the R.E.A.D.Y. program was cancelled due to teacher instruction day. He had eaten breakfast at his aunt's house that morning. Once he arrived home in the afternoon, the house was locked, and he had forgotten his key. It was raining outside, and the two boys, Kiwane and Jeshaun, were looking for shelter. A neighbor saw the two boys trying to gain access into the house and called the police to report a potential robbery. Once the police arrived the two boys were confronted, asked to surrender, and a shot was fired resulting in Kiwane's death. In light of these events, I would like to research how his attendance in the R.E.A.D.Y. program, an alternative school, led

to him being criminalized. I would also like to address how students that attend alternative schools in the community are systemically criminalized.

Purpose of the Study

This research is critical information for the black community. Considering that children/students are the future leaders of society it is crucial that these constructs of marginalization be examined and combatted. Students that attend alternative schools need to be aware of the stigmas attached to the labels they are given and how they are criminalized as a result. In addition, parents and community members need to be educated on how the children in the community are being categorized by the schools they attend. Once the individuals are educated, they have the power to make a change in their community.

Aims of the Study/Significance of the Study

Helping the community to become more aware of the wide range of effects that alternative schools have on the students is important. These students are stereotyped, labeled, marginalized, criminalized, and ostracized which is not good for them in any form. Kiwane was a victim of this oppression which as a result cost him his life. It is important to me as a researcher to help dispel some of this misinformation about the students that attend these schools and also help the students receive the necessary support that they truly need to be successful.

My objective is to articulate how Kiwane's enrollment into the alternative school R.E.A.D.Y influenced his death. I aim to discuss the various issues with alternative schooling which entail the quality of the program, effectiveness of the program, the way students are treated, and the correlation between alternative schooling and the juvenile justice system.

Research Questions

I interviewed a social worker from Central High School and a student that was expelled from Central High School. I asked the participants about their typical day at work or school. I discusses with the participants the way that behavior issues are addressed. In regards to the R.E.A.D.Y. program, I asked the participants how they felt about the effectiveness of the program, possible strengthens and weaknesses, and the community's perception. Furthermore, I received some feedback from the participants about the school-to-prison pipeline and how students that attend alternative schools are criminalized. Lastly, the participants were given the opportunity to share any additional information at the end of the interview. See appendices for additional questions.

Theory

Literature Review

In chapter 3 of his work *Discipline and Punish* (1975), French philosopher, sociologist, and historian Michel Foucault discusses the ways in which society acts as a panopticon structure that citizens are not aware of (p.2-3). This panopticon has been defined as, “the sentiment of an invisible omniscience (Foucault, 1975, p. 2).” It is defined as a type of prison building designed to allow an observer to observe all prisoners without the incarcerated being able to tell whether they are being watched. I argue that the school systems, both public and alternative in the CU area, are a panopticon for students of color. The school resource officers that are stationed in the public schools are constantly observing the students and handling judicial issues. Once students are labeled as being rebellious, or identified to have any tendencies for mischief, the school resource officers tend to pay closer attention to them. These school resource officers are official

police officers as well so their job goes outside of the school, so these students are being observed in their communities as well. As a result, the “bad students” are under constant surveillance both at school and in their communities. The North-End community and the high schools are the actual structure, the students that attend an alternative school or that are suspended/expelled from the public high school are the prisoners, and the police are the observers. According to Edward Borges the director of communications at NYS Office of Child and Family Services, “what use to be a trip to the principals office now becomes a visit to the local police precinct,” (Nycluclips). A trip to the principal’s office, which use to consist of a firm talking to and maybe an after-school detention or two, has now evolved into a trip to the juvenile justice center. This over-policing is causing students to be labelled, marginalized, categorized, stereotyped and ultimately criminalized.

African-centered theorist, Norman Harris (2002) discusses the importance of literacy and its connection to freedom in his chapter entitled, “A philosophical basis for an Afrocentric orientation in Ama Mazama’s Afrocentric Paradigm,” (p. 12-13). Students’ literacy is being hindered due to the lack of academic rigor in the alternative schools. Once students are stripped of their education they are crippled. Education is very valuable; it is something that can never be taken from someone once they have been given it. A lack of education puts student’s future in serious jeopardy.

Theoretical Model

Since the schools are not meeting the needs of the students, many Black students become engaged in oppositional-defiant behaviors, which ultimately increase the chances of them coming in contact with the School Resource Officer. My research will be an analysis of what these constructs are, how they are developed, the issues with alternative schooling, how they

affect the students, the manner in which students are treated in these schools, and most importantly how it played into the death of Kiwane Carrington.

A theory that is applicable to my research is critical theory. Critical theory is oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole. Through my research, I critiqued the systemic structures that continuously perpetuate the school-to-prison pipeline. In addition, conflict theory, which is a subgroup of critical theory, is also applicable. Conflict theory emphasizes the social, political, or material inequality of a social group. Conflict theory is the basis of my thesis, I am arguing that due to social, political, and material inequalities black students that attend alternative schools are criminalized.

Lastly, critical race theory is the idea of an inescapable and inherent racism in the American legal system, along with racial discrimination/ subordination in the practice of law. Following the Reagan Administration, United States schools have adapted a zero-tolerance policy which is supposed to promote drug abuse and violence prevention in schools. However, it has frequently resulted in egregiously unfair punishment against students because the policy punishes any infraction of a rule, regardless of accidental mistakes, ignorance, or extenuating circumstances.

Definition of Terms

School-to-Prison pipeline: The seepage of the punitive and overzealous tools and approaches of the modern criminal justice system into the school system, serving to remove children from mainstream educational environments and funnel them onto a one-way path toward prison.

Criminalization: To impose a criminal penalty on or for; outlaw; to treat as a criminal.

Methodology

Restatement of Purpose and Hypotheses

The purpose of my research is to prompt awareness for the black community about how students are criminalized through the education system. This information is important for the black community. Moreover, student that attend alternative schools need to understand how they are being criminalized. It is important for parents and community members to be alert on this issue and the affect it has on the children in the community. Knowledge is power; students need to be aware in order to make a change in their community. My hypothesis is that black students that attend alternative schools, especially males, are being criminalized and pushed into the school to prison pipeline. Furthermore, in relation to this specific case study, Kiwane Carrington was criminalized because of his circumstances which resulted in his death.

Methodological Model

In my research I plan to use the causal-comparative approach because it fits my study the best. This will allow me to investigate a variety of variables that can not be manipulated. These variables are the schools, legal system, family status, and community. I am exploring how high schools students that attend alternative schools are oppressed which in most cases are non-negotiable variables. I also plan to use the interpretive approach to analyze my research findings and textual sources. This will allow me to deduce some of the causes and affects of the oppression that these students feel at school. I have incorporated recorded transcripts such as the R.E.A.D.Y. handbook, mission statement, and curriculum into my research. Lastly, I have interviewed two individuals as a primary source. One individual worked at Central High school and the other individual was expelled from Central High school and attended an alternative school. These approaches will provide me with the means to investigate my topic sufficiently.

Population/Sample/Participants

The population that I am conducting my research on is high school students and high school educators that attend and/or work at an alternative school. The sample that I interviewed from this population was from Central High School. There were two participants, a student that was expelled from Central High School who attended an alternative school and a social worker from Central High School.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

I plan to collect my primary data through recorded interviews. I will transcribe the information to qualitatively analyze my data. I plan to use the library catalog and search engines to find my scholarly journals and books on my topic as well. I plan to conduct a literature review on articles on the school to prison pipeline.

Validity and Reliability

Both of my participants are very familiar with the Champaign Urbana school district. The student participant is a former student from Central High School. The participant is an African American male and resides in the North-End community. He was expelled after his first fight with students that were said to be associated with a local gang. My second participant is a social worker for Central High School. The participant is an African American female that also resides in the Champaign Urbana community. She has three children, two girls and one boy, that all attend schools in the CU school district. She has worked with multiple students that have behavioral issues and addressed several familial circumstances that have created those issues.

During my research it was difficult scheduling interviews with my participants. The social worker deals with a lot of crisis type of issues so she is constantly on call so we had to reschedule a couple of our interviews. I had to wait for IRB approval in order to interview the

student. However, I received parental consent from his parents and later discovered that he was 18 years old so he is considered an adult. Nonetheless, I was able to interview both of my participants.

Scope, Limitations and Assumptions

One limitation is the scope of my sample. I am only researching two individuals which is not a proportional representation of the entire population which could potentially cause my result to be bias.

Ethics and Human Subject Research

An ethical issue that arose was maintaining confidentiality of my interview participants. I did not want my participants to feel exploited through my presentation of the information that they have provided me with. In addition, I do not want my participants that I am interviewing to feel marginalized by the questions that I pose. I would like for them to discuss freely with me about how they feel about the school to prison pipeline as well as the Kiwane Carrington case.

In chapter 5 of Madison's article, *Methods and Ethics*, it discusses the moral and ethical principles which apply to my methods of research. It states that, "human beings are used as raw material that must be acquired or collected to successfully get the job done," (p.125). This concept is known as the "custodian's rip-off" which is basically where the researcher is only interested in collected the data with little concern about how their research affects the participant. I have no intention of just utilizing the information I collect from my interviews just to complete my research. I plan to use this research to give back to the community that I am apart of.

Findings

The R.E.A.D.Y. Program

R.E.A.D.Y. stands for Regional Educational Alternative for Developing Youth. An alternative school is an educational establishment with a curriculum and methods that are nontraditional. The mission of the R.E.A.D.Y. program is a holistic approach to education that has an integrated curriculum that includes partnerships with families, home schools, social services, agencies, and educational communities to help students find pathways to academic, occupational, and personal success (R.E.A.D.Y.). The curriculum offers more vocational education courses versus college prep courses. The program offers math up to Algebra II and only offers earth science and biology (R.E.A.D.Y.). They provide a vast array of life-skill courses such as computer applications, food, consumer education, resource study skills, and job readiness classes (R.E.A.D.Y.). These courses equip the students with knowledge that will help them survive in society. Since these students are less likely to attend college, the R.E.A.D.Y. program sees that it is important for the students to have various skills and trades to make a living and/or contribute to society. The life-skill courses aim to help the student more beyond their circumstances and make a better life for themselves. It is located on the 3rd floor of the Illinois terminal. A student has the options to attend the R.E.A.D.Y. program when they are suspended or expelled from school. It is the school administration that makes the final decision of whether or not as student is sent to the R.E.A.D.Y. program according to the social worker at Central High School. The R.E.A.D.Y. program has several behavioral specialist and social workers to help the students when they have legal troubles, problems outside of school, and behavioral issues (R.E.A.D.Y.).

Interview Feedback (Italics is interviewees responses)

Social Worker (Full Interview Transcriptions)

1. What is your typical day like?
 - a. *I don't have a typical day! I often counsel students individually and I work with students in crisis daily. I am also responsible for responding to school crises...*

like fights, medical emergencies. Yesterday, I talked to a grandmother about her child being bullied, responded to a student who had overdosed on alcohol during lunch, made a DCFS call for an alleged physical abuse and talked to a crying girl over her break up with her boyfriend. I also corrected a paper for a student and took a student to get his eyes checked for glasses. My day changes every day.

2. Why did you decide to work at Central as a social worker?
 - a. *Central was where a fulltime job was but it also was a good fit for me. I enjoy working with a diverse group of students and that's what I get here.*
3. Who is involved in making the decisions when a student from Central is sent to R.E.A.D.Y. or an alternative school?
 - a. *It is a team decision. The administrators at Central have the final decision though. Prior to that the counselors, teachers, social workers, attendance specialist and others work on interventions. Over time, if they are not productive then the administration makes the decision to try a different placement.*
4. How do you feel R.E.A.D.Y. alternative school?
 - a. *READY is a good option for many students but there are no "one size fits all" alternative school. I like their security, point system, many social workers and behavior interventionists on staff and their smaller classrooms. I think some students need that extra help.*
5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of R.E.A.D.Y. that you have observed throughout your profession and as a community member?
 - a. *As I stated before were the strengths. But the weaknesses would be that they do not have room for all of the students who need to be there. They have a limit and so sometimes my students have nowhere to go.*
6. How do you feel the community (media, schools, neighborhoods, organizations, agencies, etc) treats/view students that attend alternative schools?
 1. *The community has a misperception that these are "bad apples." They are often scared of them or have given up on them. I think the media plays a role in that.*
 - b. How do you view/ treat them?
 1. *I don't have those same feelings. Kids are kids and sometimes we have to do different things for different kids. When we send a kid to alternative school, I feel like we failed that kid. The system failed the kid. We didn't do enough in the public school whether its resources or programming or money or staff or just too many kids to help this one kid.*
7. Do you feel that students in the CU area that are required to attend alternative schools, like R.E.A.D.Y., causes them to be criminalized by the CU police department? Why?
 - a. *I think the police may sometimes have the same views as the community. Police see a different side to these kids though. Sometimes they get the anger and resistance and they have not built relationships with them. I think our community is small enough that the police know many of the kids for their actual behaviors not judging them on the school. There are some who do though.*
8. Can you discuss your knowledge of the school-to-prison pipeline?
 - a. How do you think that applies to the Champaign-Urbana schools?
 1. *Schools, for numerous reasons, often push out, kick out or students drop on their own out of school. Research and statistics show that they often*

don't graduate which is a cyclical effect often to criminal behaviors, low unemployment rates, etc. This causes many to enter the criminal justice system. It doesn't help that schools often arrest students for behaviors in school that might have been handled differently in the past.

- b. In your opinion, both professional and/or personal, are student that attend the R.E.A.D.Y. program on the "school-to-prison" pipeline?
 1. *Umm it would be interesting to look at the rates of students at READY compared to my students who enter the criminal justice system through school. I would guess that many of the READY students were already involved and that Central probably has more first time offenders. READY is able to support their students more and be more involved so it is difficult to tell. This is not a simple question to answer. There are many factors involved.*
9. Is there any last things you would like to add?
 - a. *No*
Well thank you very much!

Student (Full Interview Transcriptions)

1. So we are going to start of with just some demographic information. So if you could tell me your name, your grade, your age, and your home school.
 - a. *Cool, Uhh Dwayne Tyler Bishop, 18, what's my home school? Central, and what grade? Yes Senior*
2. So uhhh, okay so the question is why did you end up attending R.E.A.D.Y. alternative school?
 - a. *I did end up attending R.E.A.D.Y. of you didn't?*
3. Um okay well tell me what you typically day was like at Central?
 - i. *Ahh, a typical day a central it was not ahh, I didn't skip any days at Central, but when I went to Central it wasn't really a school to me. It was like the kids run the school. So it was what ever was going on wit the students was is what was going to happen. What I was thinking about before I went to school. It was really all about the kids up in the school.*
 - b. So what were like some of the things that the kids we doing in school?
 - i. *Everybody ahh... I mean ahh it was the gangs, gangs... up in there.*
4. So what classes were you taking
 - i. *I only went there for like two years and then I got expelled. But the class I was just taking any normal class that ahh, yea I don't know.*
 - b. Okay so the normal curriculum?
 - i. *Yea*
5. Okay, umm what do you think are some of the strengthens and weakness of Central, in ways you felt support and ways you felt unsupported as a student?
 - i. *Um... that's a difficult question. Like how would they support me? What do you mean by that?*

- b. Um just like if you ever felt like the school could have done more to help you academically or just to deal with the um just deal with the school like controlling the students in school.
- i. *I think they could have just started to expel people. I mean they just expelled me over one fight. When that was over built up stuff and stuff and stuff happening everyday. And they were acting like they did know what was going on because I had a lot of incidence with like the NEGs and Outlaws and stuff. And then teachers were acting like this is ahh was still under investigation or something. Me and my mom and everything, everything was like in a meeting and stuff. And I don't understand what they mean by under investigation. It's clear who is in NEG and it's clear who in Outlaw and they both through it up scream it when they fighting and stuff. So it was that's just stupid to me*
- c. Um once that incident happened did you feel like your teachers treated you differently? Or the administrators at Central versus when you first entered Central?
- i. *I fell I felt like they were ahh... I felt like I always did something to get into it first. They didn't really give me the benefit of the doubt*
- d. Umm how do you feel like the media perceive students that go to Central as well as the community and local agencies?
- i. *I mean ahh, ahh, Central basically ahh, the word is that Central is just like the hood school the whole hood high school for Champaign. Because its not, Centennial's not worse. And urbana's not worse. I mean they do, everybody does their own crazy stuff but Central is the one that is pretty much fighting everyday.*
- e. Okay, do you think it is moreso the student, faculty, or such the structure of the school that is causing Central to get this image
- i. *It's the students that make Central look like that*
- f. Um did you know Kiwane Carrington?
- i. *Umh um (No)*
- g. What is your opinion about the whole case? Do you have an opinion?
- i. *Umm yea umm, I would have to know exactly the whole detailed story, but what I got out of it, can you explain the story to me again?*
- h. So basically umm it is a lot of controversy surrounding the case but it was said that he and his friend were breaking into his house. He was living with his aunt because his mother had passed away. He had left his keys in the house so he was trying to get back in and the officer thought he was resisting arrest. So he ended up getting shot and the officer said it was an accident. The guys did not have anything on them
- i. *My opinion is that I if Kiwane did not have a gun then why was his gun pulled out. I don't believe it was an accident.*
- i. So Central has this label of being the hood school, do you feel that students that attend Central a being criminalized?

- i. *Yes because police will just pull you over for anything. Now if you walk on the wrong side of the street they can ticket you. Really I mean they just using that excuse to get people and everything. Because they really can't pull you over for anything but they do I mean but...I don't know they just be harassing people.*
 - j. Do you feel like your being harassed by the police?
 - i. *Yea I think everybody does*
 - k. Is there anything you would like to add about your experiences?
 - i. *No*
- Well thank you very much!

Discussion

Criminalization of students

There are multiple factors that contribute to the development of the black youth being criminalized. The school system, juvenile justice system, and media are three structures that are not conducive to helping black male youth become successful contributors to society. According to Dr. Sundiata Cha-Jua, an associate professor in the history department at the University of Illinois, in 1986 during Ronald Reagan's presidency there were 16,600 blacks and 22,200 whites in prison. Ten years later, after he instituted he's zero-tolerance policy there were over 134,000 blacks' incarcerated and over 86,000 whites. One contributing factor that lead to this was the fact Reagan placed harsher penalties on offenders that were charged by comparison to powder cocaine. Reagan's laws disproportionately targeted black neighborhoods; this is evident because at the time both 13% of blacks and 13% of whites were drug abusers. As a result of higher incarnation rates the number of federal prisons grew by 58%. State fund on prisons sorrowed form 17 billion to 29 billion. The school system's have adopted this same zero-tolerance policy which is only kicking students out of school; it does not address what is causing their behavioral issues. 32% of youth in that are incarcerated have been identified as having special learning needs (Nycluclips). The input that the school puts into the students equals the output the students give back to the school. The fewer resources and attention given to the students by the school will result in poor educational achievement and poor behavior (NAACP, 2006, p. 4). Majority of

the time students are defiant at school because they have learning disabilities and teachers are not educating them properly and/or their familial circumstances are triggering bad behavior. Causing students to skip classes, get into fights, miss assignments, and act out in school, etc because they are struggling with other issues making school difficult to handle, behaviorally. In some states, the number of suspensions exceeded the number students enrolled in the school in those states by 10% (Nycluclips). Suspensions and expulsions for behavior issues cause students to miss school and fall behind which impacts their behavior in school as well (NAACP, 2006, p. 5). When students are kicked out of school they are more likely repeat the same grade, drop out, commit a crime, and/or enter into the juvenile justice system. In addition, the school safety/resource officers are constantly watching the students, which cause them to develop a judgmental eye in regards to handle judicial issues in school and in the community. As Norman Harris (2003) discusses in his article, literary grants students liberation, with out it they are in bondage (p.12). In this case students are being held captive on the school-to-prison pipeline is fatal due to the lack of education they are received. As the social worker from Central discussed in our interview, the school fails the student when they suspend or expel them, going the extra to meet the students where they are or meet their needs is very important but seems to be overlooked.

Each year approximately 250,000 youth are prosecuted in the adult criminal justice system (Nycluclips). According to Juvenile Justice Project Director, Charisa A. Smith, “certain neighborhoods are policed more than others and certain schools have safety officers that criminalized behavior that did not use to be criminalized years before,” (Nycluclips). This over policing is one of the factors that cause students to be criminalized. Another structure is the government. The government allocates how much money is given to schools for funding

(NAACP, 2006, p. 4). Studies show that the government spends more money on correctional facilities than the public schools system. When the youth enter into these detention centers and jails they are taken 100 of miles away from there family into a system that has no long term interest in loving, supporting, and helping them get to the next stages. Then they are basically being sent back to their communities worse off then they were before. According to the founder and executive director of Community Connections for Youth Ruben Austria, “these kids are being pushed deeper into the system and in wealthy communities where the kids are not demonized and stigmatized the default is to see how they could be diverted and put into something positive” which is not the class for black youth in low-income communities (Nycluclips). In New York States juvenile detention facilities, black and latino youth make up 86% of the inmates (Nycluclips). Incarcerating youth in correctional facilities is not an effective approach to reducing youth crime and recidivism.

Another systemic form of oppression that caused students to be criminalized is the media. The method in which the news frames their stories about black youth in the community affects the way that they are perceived by other members in the community, educators, and police officers. In my interview with the student from Central I asked him how he feels the media perceives students, he stated, “Central basically ahh, the word is that Central is just like the hood school the whole hood high school for Champaign....” He feels that Central is viewed as the bad high school through the way the media documents the fights that occur at the school and how those stories are told to the community. I can personally relate, Central from my experience is a very good high school and the teachers show a definitely investment in their students. However, that is not how the community perceives Central. When I attended Central, there was a fight that occurred in the hallway after one of the basketball games between a group of guys from the

opposing school, Danville High School, and a group of guys from Centennial High school. The police were involved in dispelling the incident to ensure that everyone was safe. The next day when the news reported on the incident they framed the story in away that put Central in a bad light as well as the students when the individuals that were actually fighting did not attend Central. So situation like the one I experienced as well as others that the student I interviewed from Central encountered causes Central High school to be labeled and the students being stigmatized and criminalized due to the media.

Predispositions to Misguided Behaviors

Students come from several backgrounds; however there seem to be a similar pattern when it comes to students that have behavioral issues at school. These students usually come from single parent households or are being raised by a relative. In this case, one or both parents are usually incapable to raise student due to addictions, custody issues, incarcerations, divorce, separation, or death (NAACP, 2006, p. 8). These environments and circumstances can be very stressful on students leaving them with a lot of personal baggage which affects their behavior at school. Another construct that students commonly deal with that is misunderstood is learning and behavior disabilities (NAACP, 2006, p. 7). Students with these disabilities require a different method of educating. Sometimes these students need medication to address these disabilities, however some families can not afford medication for the student or the student forgets to take the medication. So with the lack of help the need causes their disability to hinder them tremendously and label them as bad students when in reality they just need additional help. There are several familial, political, and environmental conditions that contribute to a student's misguided behavior that is unique to every student's circumstances.

Effect of Criminalization of Students

Once students are expelled and/or suspended from school they typically attend alternative schools. The students that attend alternative are label because of the predisposed stigma that alternative schools have as being the school for bad kids. The R.E.A.D.Y. program, along many other alternative schools, do help students with their academics and behavior however the students have several odds against their success in programs like R.E.A.D.Y. As a community member, student that attend R.E.A.D.Y. are viewed as bad kids because in most cases they are no longer allowed to attend public schools and they are also looked at as non-college bound students. Thus, if the school is not preparing the student for college than what is the student being prepared for? This scenario is the start of how students are put on the school to prison pipeline. In today's society one must attend college in order to get a job that will provide them with standard living wages. So student that do not attend college are more likely to get involved in criminal activities or be viewed as criminals by the police causing them to be criminalized. If you are constantly treated like a criminal you start to think that you are a criminal.

Kiwane Carrington was a student who had recently lost his mother causing him to be under state supervision. Dealing with the stress and emotional baggage of losing a parent is very tough which played out in his behavior. Kiwane was sent to R.E.A.D.Y. causing him to be labeled and surveilled by the police. Kiwane was on a downward path on the school to prison pipeline. On the day he was murder, the office instantly viewed him as a criminal with out giving him the benefit of the doubt. The only thing the office saw when approaching the scene was a black male youth that attended R.E.A.D.Y. and lived on the North-End so he must be committing a crime. Unfortunately, this stigmatizing all resulted in Kiwane's untimely death.

Delimitation

I was not able to interview students that attend Central High School or the R.E.A.D.Y. program due to lack of IRB approval. The school district is very strict about parental consent to interviews and media coverage and being held liable for any issues. So I had to interview individuals where these constructs were not an issue.

Recommendations: Call to Action

The school disciplinary system, specifically the zero-tolerance policy, needs to be reevaluated because it is discriminating against particular groups of students. The schools need to create a safe environment for the students that are conducive to their academic and social growth. Resources such as personnel, funding, supplies, materials, and technology all play a major role in schools ability to serve the entire student body effectively.

Conclusion

Hypothesis Results

After extensive research and interviews, I conclude that black males in the Champaign Urbana area that have been expelled or suspended and/or attend an alternative school are given the stigma of a criminal as a result of their pathway on the school to prison pipeline.

Research Summary/Relation to Community

Kiwane was a victim of this criminalization. Since he attended an alternative school he was viewed as a bad student by the police. The in-school resource officer is able to witness student's behavior and correct it through the legal system without the school taking the time to provide alternative measures to remedy the situation. The media continues to perpetuate this marginalization. The black community is still stagnant due to the marginalization of residents. Students from these communities are being pushed out of the schools and into the streets of the community right into the jail-cells or grave.

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Appendix A- Interview Questions

1. What is your typical day like?
2. Why did you decide to work at Central as a social worker?
3. Who is involved in making the decisions when a student from Central is sent to R.E.A.D.Y. or an alternative school?
4. How do you feel R.E.A.D.Y. alternative school?
5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of R.E.A.D.Y. that you have observed throughout your profession and as a community member?
6. How do you feel the community (media, schools, neighborhoods, organizations, agencies, etc) treats/view students that attend alternative schools?
 - a. How do you view/ treat them?
7. Do you feel that students in the CU area that are required to attend alternative schools, like R.E.A.D.Y., causes them to be criminalized by the CU police department?
 - a. Why?
8. Can you discuss your knowledge of the school-to-prison pipeline?
 - a. How do you think that applies to the Champaign-Urbana schools?
 - b. In your opinion, both professional and/or personal, are student that attend the R.E.A.D.Y. program on the “school-to-prison” pipeline?
9. Is there anything you’d like to add or share?

Appendix B – Interview transcriptions

Full text transcriptions located in the findings section. See pg. 11-15

Appendix C - Copy of Consent Letters

Submitted by Antionette Moore May 14, 2010