Testimony of
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Before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary
Subcommittee on Oversight, Agency Action, Federal Rights and Federal Courts

Hearing on
“War on Police: How the Federal Government Undermines State and Local Law Enforcement”

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I. Introduction

Good afternoon Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Coons, and Members of the Subcommittee. On behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF), I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify about the crucial role that the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) has played in both investigating and supporting this country’s law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. LDF is the nation’s oldest and foremost civil rights legal organization. For 75 years, it has relied on the Constitution and federal and state civil rights laws to pursue equality and justice for African Americans and other persons of color in the areas of education, voting, employment and housing. Additionally, LDF has fought to address racial bias at every stage of the criminal justice system - from police stops to sentencing to reentry.\(^1\)

LDF’s work to address unlawful and discriminatory policing practices dates back to its inception, when founder Thurgood Marshall represented African-American men who were brutally beaten by police and forced to confess to crimes they did not commit.\(^2\) Since then, LDF has advocated for unbiased and responsible policing through litigation and policy advocacy.\(^3\) Importantly, during this time it has represented members of law enforcement in a long line of cases as they sought to enforce their rights to equal employment opportunities within their own local police agencies.\(^4\)


\(^5\) See Waisome v. Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, 999 F.2d 711 (2d Cir. 1993) (class action on behalf of African-American police officers at the Port Authority regarding discrimination in promotions). See also Police Ass’n of New Orleans Through Cannatella v. City of New Orleans, 100 F. 3d 1159 (5th Cir. 1996) (defended decree entered in settlement of class action by African-American police officers in New Orleans regarding discrimination in hiring and promotions).
Today’s hearing comes at a time when public trust in police is at its lowest since 1993, after the highly publicized beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers was captured on video and aired nationwide.\(^6\) The public’s plummeting confidence in police is not surprising given sustained news reports and graphic videos of police-involved deaths and assaults of unarmed men, women and children. A disproportionate number of the victims of these assaults and killings are African American. The videos of the police shootings of 12-year-old Tamir Rice as he played with a toy gun in a park in Cleveland in 2014, and of Walter Scott, who was shot in the back as he ran for his life in North Charleston, South Carolina earlier this year, and many others, have raised the legitimate concern of Americans across the country about the link between policing and racial discrimination.

Underlying that concern is the absence of accountability for police officers who use excessive or deadly force on unarmed citizens. For example, in 2012, Rekia Boyd, an unarmed African-American woman, was fatally shot in the head by a Chicago, Illinois police officer as she innocently stood with a group in a park. This year, a judge acquitted the officer of involuntary manslaughter charges.\(^7\) Also, in August 2015, the jury trial of a Charlotte police officer who shot and killed Jonathan Ferrell, an unarmed African-American man, resulted in a mistrial.\(^8\) Even DOJ’s federal criminal investigations of law enforcement officers who used deadly force against a civilian have often resulted in no indictments or acquittals.\(^9\)

These are not isolated incidents. Many communities have experienced consistent and repeated occurrences of police use of excessive force against unarmed citizens with little or no accountability for this pattern of conduct. Consequently, many community leaders, elected officials, and in some cases police chiefs, have recently asked DOJ to use its authority under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, 42 U.S.C. § 14141,\(^10\) to conduct civil rights investigations of law enforcement agencies whose officers have a track record of using excessive force or engaging in unlawful policing practices. These civil rights investigations have

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\(^10\) Under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, 42 U.S.C. § 14141, the Attorney General has the authority to investigate and eliminate a pattern or practice of conduct by law enforcement officers who deprive persons of their rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and federal law.
the potential of building trust between police and the communities they serve by advancing policies and practices that will result in fair and lawful policing.

There is no war on police. Instead this has been a year in which we have been compelled to face what Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director James Comey earlier this year called “hard truths” about law enforcement and race. Many of the communities that are most often subject to excessive force by police also welcome reliable, competent and unbiased policing. Their advocacy, engagement and willingness to speak publicly about clear and serious problems in policing have raised the consciousness of law enforcement, lawmakers and Americans across the country. Most agree that law enforcement would benefit from increased, specialized and ongoing training, a uniform system of data collection around police-involved killings, and the implementation of a body-worn camera program. The promotion of these innovations in police departments around the country are a direct result of citizen activism and demand for reforms in policing practices.

Without question, we are in a moment of heightened consciousness and demand for improved policing practices. It is impossible to view some of the encounters between police and unarmed citizens without concluding that some changes must be made. From the chokehold death of Eric Garner at the hands of police in Staten Island, New York, to the police shooting death of Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina, video recordings of police officers’ use of deadly force against unarmed African Americans and other people of color have provoked a national conversation about policing and demand for reforms. The airing of these images, the subsequent and sustained peaceful protests they provoked, and DOJ’s ongoing investigations of police departments do not constitute a “war” on police. Instead they represent a collective and important effort to address illegal policing practices and to create the conditions for the development of trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve.

II. Federal Oversight of State and Local Law Enforcement Is Needed Now More than Ever

It is important to remember what motivated Congress to empower DOJ to review patterns of discrimination and excessive force in local police departments. Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 as a response to an urgent concern about unchecked police abuse against the public. The Committee Report for a predecessor bill containing almost identical language to §14141, the Police Accountability Act of 1991, described the brutal beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officers in detail, and emphasized that, “[u]nfortunately, the . . . King incident [w]as not an aberration . . . . [Instead] . . . ‘there [were] a significant number of officers in the LAPD who repetitively use excessive force against the public.” Even worse, the Report concluded that “the problem [w]as not limited to Los Angeles . . . [but rather] . . . [p]olice chiefs from 10 major cities convened

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soon after the King incident and emphasized that ‘the problem of excessive force in American policing [wa]s real.’”

The Committee Report noted that, notwithstanding pervasive police violence, “[t]he Justice Department . . . lack[ed] the authority to address systemic patterns or practices of police misconduct.” It “c[ould] only prosecute individual police officers, whom juries are often reluctant to convict.” And, “[i]f an officer was poorly trained, or was acting pursuant to an official policy, it [wa]s difficult to obtain a conviction, and Justice ha[d] no authority to sue the police department itself to correct the underlying policy.”

Since Congress enacted § 14141, DOJ has carefully exercised its authority to investigate cases, often limiting their probes to agencies that appeared to engage in a pattern or practice of unlawful policing. In 21 years, DOJ has investigated approximately 64 law enforcement agencies and has entered into an agreement in some form with approximately 35 of those agencies. In other words, in two decades, a mere 0.19% of the almost 18,000 law enforcement agencies nationwide had consent decrees or out-of-court settlement agreements with DOJ to improve their policing practices. Certainly, the relatively few federal civil rights investigations of state and local law enforcement agencies strongly indicates that rather than declaring “war” on police, DOJ is using its enforcement authority to challenge civil rights violations by police in a measured way.

Despite rhetoric to the contrary, killings of police officers have been on a steady decline. Preliminary estimates for 2014 and figures for 2013 are consistent with the average number of such killings in recent years. Every killing of a police officer is a tragedy and

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13 Id.

14 Id. at 137.

15 Id.

16 Id.


constitutes a threat to the strength of law enforcement. But recent scrutiny of illegal police practices cannot be credibly connected to an increase in killings or assaults on police officers.

By contrast, while there is no reliable official census of civilians killed by police, an accounting by The Washington Post reveals that over 840 civilians have been killed by police this year. Twenty-four percent of persons killed by police were African American, even though they comprise only 13 percent of the country’s population. Twenty-nine were unarmed. Earlier this year, FBI Director James Comey lamented the lack of reliable national data on police-involved killings of civilians. He noted that, “[d]emographic data regarding officer-involved shootings is not consistently reported . . . . Because reporting is voluntary, our data is incomplete and therefore, in the aggregate, unreliable.”

More recently, Director Comey opined that the uptick in violent crime reported in some cities across the country positively correlates with law enforcement’s reluctance to enforce laws because communities of color and local and federal officials are scrutinizing police actions. This has been referred to as a “Ferguson Effect,” in reference to Ferguson, Missouri, which became the epicenter of citizen protests against police killings of unarmed citizens in 2014. No reliable criminology data supports Director Comey’s claim. Even if Comey’s speculation proves to be supported by data, it reveals the need to engage even more intensely with police departments and with communities to build trust, to promote reforms and to facilitate a culture of collaboration between law enforcement and the communities they serve.

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22 Id.

23 Id. See also Appendix, infra.


III. DOJ’s Civil Rights Investigations Help Law Enforcement Agencies to Adopt and Carry Out Best Policing Practices and Is Among Several Tools

DOJ’s investigative power is undoubtedly a critical tool for ensuring lawful and fair policing practices nationwide, particularly in communities of color. As in every other area of civil rights enforcement, the statutory authority provides the federal government an independent ability to assess the extent of civil rights compliance and to take action where necessary. Ultimately, DOJ’s investigations serve to assist state and local police agencies in achieving full compliance with civil rights laws, a goal that Congress should welcome.

For example, all but 4 of the 22 law enforcement agencies investigated by DOJ under the Obama Administration voluntarily entered into agreements, suggesting that the elected officials and police chiefs understood the benefits of the policy and practice reforms detailed in the agreements. Additionally, DOJ concluded five investigations of law enforcement agencies without finding constitutional or statutory violations, demonstrating that consent decrees or out-of-court settlement agreements are entered into only when violations are found.

The terms of many of the agreements emphasize several common goals: ending the unlawful use of excessive force and racially-biased policing; advancing recruitment, hiring and promotion practices that will build diverse and capable police forces; promoting additional and meaningful training programs for police focused on encounters with the mentally ill and with youth; and fostering community-oriented problem solving policing. These investigations offer an opportunity for meaningful and substantial engagement in designing and implementing changes to help build positive community-policing relations. Given the current climate of distrust between law enforcement and the communities they serve in many areas in the country, we have urged DOJ to engage in more, not fewer, civil rights investigations of state and local police departments, in order to support a more widespread adoption of these important interventions. For example, LDF recently requested that DOJ open a probe of the North Charleston Police Department following the police-involved shooting death of Walter Scott.

Federal investigations are certainly not the only tool that DOJ has used to reform policing at the state and local level. Since 2011, its Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office...

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28 Id.


has administered a Collaborative Reform Initiative for Technical Assistance,\textsuperscript{31} which allows police personnel to proactively assess and change its policing practices in a non-adversarial process. To date, COPS has completed assessments of several agencies at the request of their police chiefs, including the St. Louis County Police Department and the Philadelphia Police Department.\textsuperscript{32} Collaborative reform is an opportunity for police chiefs to identify problems, such as increased use of force incidents, and invite independent assessors to come in to evaluate the problem and make suggestions for reform. The assessments are public documents allowing member of communities to review and support the recommended changes to policing policies and practices.

IV. Conclusion

At a time when police violence against civilians, often with impunity, is on the rise, and public confidence in the police has fallen to the lowest level in over two decades, it is our view that DOJ should be doing more, not less, when it comes to federal oversight of state and local law enforcement agencies. It is imperative that Congress provide DOJ with all the necessary funding, resources and tools to ensure that police agencies across the nation are doing everything within their power to ensure full compliance with civil rights laws by all individuals associated with law enforcement. This includes investigations into wrongdoing, but also includes more support in terms of proper recruitment and training of officers, and data collection and reporting of police-involved use of force. While the investigative and enforcement authority is a critical component in addressing racial bias in policing, it is incumbent upon Congress to ensure that the federal government is doing all it can to promote accountability of state and local law enforcement agencies.


Appendix:
List of Unarmed African Americans Killed by Police in 2015

Source: Investigation: Police Shootings, The Washington Post, 

1. Bennie Lee Tignor, an unarmed 56-year-old black man, was shot on Oct. 31, 2015, in Opelika, Ala. After Opelika police attempted a traffic stop, Tignor led police on a short chase. The shooting occurred as an officer was trying to take him into custody.

2. Junior Prosper, an unarmed 31-year-old black man, was shocked with a stun gun and shot on Sept. 28, 2015, on a street in Miami, Fla. A Miami-Dade police officer responded to a traffic accident involving a taxi cab that had struck a light pole. The driver fled on foot, ran onto an interstate ramp and then bit the officer who approached him.

3. Keith Harrison McLeod, an unarmed 19-year-old black man, was shot on Sept. 23, 2015, in Reisterstown, Md. Police were called to a pharmacy after the man attempted to fill a prescription that had been forged. After a short chase, officers confronted the man.

4. India Kager, an unarmed 28-year-old black woman, was shot on Sept. 5, 2015, in Virginia Beach, Va. Kager was driving a car in which a homicide suspect was the passenger. When Virginia Beach police approached the car while it was parked at a convenience store, the suspect, Delano Perry, began shooting at officers. Police returned fire, killing Perry and Kager.

5. Felix Kumi, an unarmed 61-year-old black man, was shot on Aug. 28, 2015, on a street in Mount Vernon, N.Y. New York police were conducting an undercover gun sting operation. When the suspect pointed a gun at an officer’s head, the officer opened fire. He shot the suspect and accidentally killed Kumi, who was a bystander.

6. Christian Taylor, an unarmed 19-year-old black man, was shot on Aug. 7, 2015, in a store in Arlington, Tex. He drove his SUV into a car dealership and a security company reported a burglary in progress at the business. Arlington police confronted him in the showroom.

7. Samuel DuBose, an unarmed 43-year-old black man, was shot on July 19, 2015, in Mt. Auburn, Ohio. A University of Cincinnati police officer struggled with DuBose after stopping him for a missing license plate. DuBose tried to drive away, and the officer shot him in the head.

8. Darrius Stewart, an unarmed 19-year-old black man, was shot on July 17, 2015, on a street in Memphis, Tenn. Memphis police said Stewart fought back when an officer attempted to handcuff him during a traffic stop.

9. Albert Joseph Davis, an unarmed 23-year-old black man, was shocked with a stun gun and shot on July 17, 2015, in an apartment building in Orlando, Fla. Orlando police officers attempted to arrest Davis after they were called to a fight. Davis fled and then struggled with police.

10. Salvado Ellswood, an unarmed 36-year-old black man, was shocked with a stun gun and shot on July 12, 2015, in a parking lot in Plantation, Fla. A Plantation police officer was patrolling an area behind an office building when he encountered him. He punched the officer in the face when he was told to leave.
11. **Victor Emanuel Larosa**, an unarmed 23-year-old black man, was shot on July 2, 2015, in a yard in Jacksonville, Fla. Larosa struck a Jacksonville police officer with his vehicle and rammed a police cruiser during a drug sting. He fled on foot and reached for his waistband as he turned toward police.

12. **Spencer McCain**, an unarmed 41-year-old black man, was shot on June 25, 2015, in an apartment in Owings Mills, Md. Baltimore County deputies were called for possible domestic violence incident. McCain threatened suicide while officers were on their way. Police said he acted as if he had a weapon.

13. **Kris Jackson**, an unarmed 22-year-old black man, was shot on June 15, 2015, in a motel in South Lake Tahoe, Calif. South Lake Tahoe police shot Jackson as he tried to climb through a motel room window. Police were responding to a 911 call about a woman screaming and crying.

14. **Brendon Glenn**, an unarmed 29-year-old black man, was shot on May 5, 2015, on a street in Venice, Calif. Glenn, who was homeless, scuffled with a bouncer outside a bar. He had a physical altercation with two Los Angeles police officers who were trying to detain him and was shot.

15. **David Felix**, an unarmed 24-year-old black man, was shot on April 25, 2015, in an apartment building in New York, N.Y. Felix, who was diagnosed with schizophrenia, fled from New York City detectives who wanted to interview him about a robbery. He grabbed an officer’s radio and struck a detective on the head.

16. **William Chapman**, an unarmed 18-year-old black man, was shot on April 22, 2015, in a parking lot in Portsmouth, Va. Chapman, a shoplifting suspect, was shot during a struggle with a Portsmouth police officer.

17. **Frank Shephard**, an unarmed 41-year-old black man, was shot on April 15, 2015, after a car chase in Houston, Tex. Shephard climbed out of his vehicle and Houston police officers ordered him to raise his hands. After he reached into his car, police opened fire.

18. **Walter Scott**, an unarmed 50-year-old black man, was shot on April 4, 2015, in a parking lot in North Charleston, S.C. A North Charleston police officer shot Scott in the back as he fled a traffic stop and struggle.

19. **Eric Harris**, an unarmed 44-year-old black man, was shot on April 2, 2015, on a street in Tulsa, Okla. A Tulsa County sheriff’s reserve deputy inadvertently fired a gun instead of a Taser as Harris was being subdued on the ground by other officers.

20. **Brandon Jones**, an unarmed 18-year-old black man, was shot on March 19, 2015, on a street in Cleveland, Ohio. Officers with the Cleveland Police Department confronted Jones as he came out of a grocery store that he had broken into.

21. **Bobby Gross**, an unarmed 35-year-old black man, was shot on March 12, 2015, in a subway tunnel in Washington, D.C. Metro transit police said Gross, who was wearing no shoes or pants, rushed at them wielding a large tree branch. Law enforcement officials described Gross as troubled.

22. **Anthony Hill**, an unarmed 27-year-old black man, was shot on March 9, 2015, in Atlanta, Ga. Hill, naked and acting erratically, was shot when he ran toward a DeKalb County police officer. Hill was a veteran and had mental health issues.

23. **Tony Robinson**, an unarmed 19-year-old black man, was shot on March 6, 2015, in a house in Madison, Wis. Robinson had taken hallucinogenic mushrooms and was reported to Madison police for running in traffic and battery. Police said he assaulted a responding officer as he entered his residence.
24. **Naeschylus Vinzant**, an unarmed 37-year-old black man, was shot on March 6, 2015, on a street in Aurora, Colo. Vinzant was shot by Aurora police officers trying to arrest him on a warrant.

25. **Charly Leundeu Keunang**, an unarmed 43-year-old black man, was shocked with a stun gun and shot on March 1, 2015, on a street in Los Angeles, Calif. Keunang, a homeless man, was shot in an altercation with Los Angeles police officers patrolling Skid Row. He had a history of mental health issues.

26. **Thomas Allen**, an unarmed 34-year-old black man, was shot on Feb. 28, 2015, in a vehicle in St Louis, Mo. Allen was a passenger in a car stopped by St. Louis County police. When he tried to drive away, an officer climbed into the car to stop him and shot him during the altercation.

27. **Lavall Hall**, an unarmed 25-year-old black man, was shocked with a stun gun and shot on Feb. 15, 2015, on a street in Miami Gardens, Fla. Hall’s mother called 911 because he was outside in the cold in his underwear. Miami Gardens police shot him after he refused to drop a broomstick handle. Hall was diagnosed with bipolar disease and schizophrenia, his family said.

28. **Jeremy Lett**, an unarmed 28-year-old black man, was shot on Feb. 4, 2015, in a yard in Tallahassee, Fla. A Tallahassee police officer investigating a burglary at an apartment complex confronted Lett, a resident. They fought and the officer shot Lett five times.

29. **Artago Damon Howard**, an unarmed 36-year-old black man, was shot on Jan. 8, 2015, in a parking lot in Strong, Ark. Howard was shot as he struggled with a Union County sheriff’s deputy who had responded to a burglary alarm at a pharmacy.