

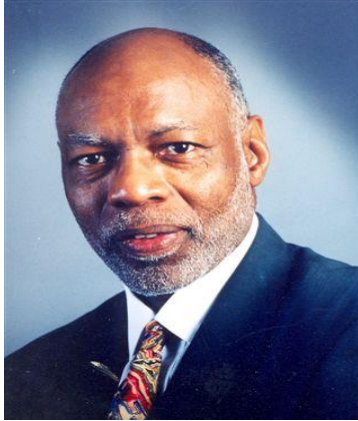
A photograph of the Houston skyline at night, featuring several illuminated skyscrapers. In the foreground, there is a park area with trees and a paved path, and a bridge with lights. The sky is a deep blue.

The State of **Black** HOUSTON *Now*

*Criminal Justice Snapshot 2013:
HPD Community Interactions &
Accountability*

*A Publication of the Earl Carl Institute
for Legal & Social Policy, Inc.*

Message From Earl Carl Institute's President, Dr. James M. Douglas



It is my pleasure to introduce the *State of Black Houston Now Criminal Justice Snapshot 2013: HPD Community Interactions & Accountability Data* prepared by the Earl Carl Institute for Legal

& Social Policy. The mission of the Institute is to identify, address, and offer solutions to legal and social problems that affect traditionally urban and disenfranchised communities. In addition, the Institute, through interdisciplinary scholarship and advocacy, aims to develop the leadership, research, and advocacy skills of law students to encourage public service and to enable the students to effectively address problems of underserved communities. The vision of the Institute is to serve as one of the nation's preeminent centers for research and advocacy on legal and social issues affecting underserved communities. We will serve as a leading voice in promoting social justice and be recognized for excellence in our programs and the quality of our community engagement.

Message from the Earl Carl Institute Director, Sarah R. Guidry



As the Executive Director of the Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy Inc., I would like to thank you for taking the time to review our snapshot. It is our hope that this data reveals issues that uniquely impact the African

American Community and that it begins and/or continues discussions about potential implementable solutions aimed at eliminating the disproportionalities and disparities faced by minorities in the criminal justice system.

This snapshot was also designed to provide supplemental data to advance the discussions during the ECI sponsored forum, held on October 24, 2013, and entitled "*Policing The Police: An Examination of The Houston Police Department And Their Role, Reputation And Efficacy In The Community*". That forum was designed to (1) bring awareness and validation to the problem of police brutality, (2) examine whether police brutality in Houston is about a culture and is systemic in nature and (3) explore systemic and implementable approaches to solving the problem. If you missed the community forum, it will be available for viewing on the ECI website at www.earlcarlinstitute.org.

It is our hope that you will find this snapshot to be a helpful tool.

Introduction

In large part, this publication is an update of the Criminal Justice Snapshot from a 2010 publication by the Earl Carl Institute entitled the “State of Black Houston Now”. This particular update, however, focuses on citizens’ interactions with Houston law enforcement.

This publication is designed to serve as a resource for the community and community-based organizations as we search for implementable solutions to the issues unveiled by the data in this report. It presents an introduction to the analysis and problem solving that needs to continue in order to address the disproportionality and disparities faced by the urban minority community. We recognize that statistics may say different things to different people; this publication reports the statistics without analysis or editorializing.

The statistics in this publication were derived from various sources of data that sometimes conflicted and often varied. We have reported what information is currently available and plan to publish a full State of Black Houston Now update in Fall 2014 based on additional American Community Surveys resulting from the 2010 census data.

The Earl Carl Institute for Legal and Social Policy, Inc. was established in 1992 by Professor Marcia Johnson and is a nonprofit corporation exempt from taxation under §501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. ECI’s evolving focus is on addressing issues that involve both legal and social policy through interdisciplinary work with special emphasis on areas that have a disproportionate impact on minority or traditionally disenfranchised communities. This publication furthers the mission of the Earl Carl Institute and specifically relates to the initiatives of the Institute’s Center for Criminal Justice (CCJ) which engages in research, analysis, collaboration, and actual innocence litigation to foster a fair and more accountable justice system. The Center uses an interdisciplinary approach to address problems

in the criminal justice system that disproportionately impacts the urban community. The goals of the Center are: (1) to research criminal justice reform issues and recommend more effective policies; and (2) to provide students with an opportunity to hone their advocacy skills through internships in the Thurgood Marshall School of Law Innocence Project.

Houston Racial Demographic Data

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Houston is the fourth largest city in the nation with a population of over 2.1 million people. The 2010 census revealed a racial breakdown in which whites made up 51% of Houston's population with non-Hispanic whites making up approximately 26% of the total population. Blacks or African Americans made up 24% of the population. American Indians made up 0.7% of the population. Asians made up 6% People of Hispanic origin, regardless of race, made up 44% of Houston's population.¹

Table 1. 2010 Breakdown of Houston Population by Race

Race\Ethnicity	2010 Census Totals	Percentages
Total Population	2,099,451	
White	537,901	25.6 %
Black or African American	485,956	23.1 %
Hispanic or Latino	919,668	43.8 %
Asian ²	129,098	6.1 %
Other	26,828	1.3 %

Disproportionality in the Criminal Justice System

Justice is supposed to be blind - meted out according to the legal characteristics of a case rather than the social characteristics of the defendant and victim. Decades of research on race and capital punishment, however, demonstrate that blind justice is a mirage.

Scott Phillips (2008)

By the Numbers—

- While African Americans only comprise approximately 23% of the Houston population, in 2012 they represent 32.2% of stops made by the Houston Police Department.
- Although Houston Police Department statistics show that white drivers are more likely than black drivers to be carrying contraband³, 47% of African American and 36.5% of Hispanic stops result in an arrest compared to only 14.8% of Whites who are stopped
- Blacks are much more likely to be tasered (use of a taser or Conductive Energy Device (CED)) by Houston police than any other racial group
- Depending on the race of the officer and of the suspect, it was possible to see significant increases and/or decreases in the rate of CED deployment.⁴
- One research study which used computer simulations to investigate the influence of race on shoot/don't-shoot decisions demonstrated a pronounced bias to shoot Blacks.⁵

Racial Profiling Data



enforcement simply for being black.

Texas Law defines Racial Profiling in the Texas Code of Criminal Procedure Art. 3.05:

Art. 3.05. RACIAL PROFILING. In this code, "racial profiling" means a law enforcement-initiated action based on an individual's race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than on the individual's behavior or on information identifying

the individual as having engaged in criminal activity.

The Houston Police Department's policy on racial profiling defines the term essentially the same. In addition, the Houston Police Department, states it follows the International Association of Chiefs of Police's five recommendations for law enforcement agencies in regard to racial profiling which are as follows:⁶

- To design policies prohibiting the practice of racial profiling;
- To implement training program based on department's policies;
- To make sure that all officers are held accountable;
- To communicate with the community; and
- To consistently continue these efforts.

On August 11, 1999, the Houston Police Department issued its first policy requiring the collection of officer-initiated contact data (Circular 99-0811-160, "Collection of Officer-Initiated Contact Data"). The policy specified:⁷

No person should be targeted by law enforcement because of their gender or color of their skin. Through the development of a database and reporting system to track officer-initiated contact data, HPD is taking a leading role in defining methods to guard against the use of racial profiling as a basis for stopping or searching individuals. From this data, research will be conducted to determine if localized or systemic problems of this nature exist within HPD, so that concrete steps can be taken to eliminate them.

By law effective January 1, 2010, Texas law enforcement officers are required to document the following information and provide it to the Texas Commission on Law Enforcement Officer Standards and Education (TCLEOSE):⁸

1. The initial reason for the stop;

2. Whether the officers knew the race or ethnicity of the person detained before they initiated the traffic stop;
3. Whether any contraband or evidence was discovered as a result of a search;
4. A description of discovered contraband;
5. The reason for the search (such as *probable cause* or *plain view*);

6. Whether the officer made an arrest or issued a warning or citation; and
7. For arrests, whether the arrest was based on a violation of the Penal Code, a violation of a traffic law or ordinance, or an outstanding warrant

Racial profiling data reported for traffic stops made by HPD for 2012 are presented in the tables below:

Table 2. Overview of Motor Vehicle Stops by Race/Ethnicity

	Number	Percentage
Asian	13,929	3.5%
Black	127,216	32.2%
Hispanic	133,211	33.7%
White	115,173	29.2%
Native American	282	0.1%
Middle Eastern	5,117	1.3%
Total	394,927	100%

Table 3. Race/Ethnicity as a Percentage of Disposition

	Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	Native American	Middle Eastern	Total (Disposition)
Arrested	1.2%	47.0%	36.5%	14.8%	0.1%	0.4%	100.0%
Ticketed	3.7%	28.9%	34.3%	31.6%	0.1%	1.4%	100.0%
Released/Warned	3.4%	39.2%	31.7%	24.5%	0.1%	1.1%	100.0%
Percent	3.5%	32.3%	33.7%	29.0%	0.1%	1.3%	100.0%

Table 4. Race/Ethnicity as a Percentage of all Detentions in the Search Status

Search Reason	Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	Native American	Middle Eastern	Total (Disposition)
No Search	3.7%	30.8%	33.7%	30.3%	0.1%	1.3%	100.0%
Consent	1.1%	55.4%	30.1%	12.8%	0.1%	0.4%	100.0%
Incident to Arrest	1.2%	47.4%	36.8%	14.1%	0.1%	0.5%	100.0%
Plain View	1.1%	57.7%	25.8%	15.1%	0.0%	0.5%	100.0%
Inventory (Towing)	2.1%	40.3%	39.6%	17.5%	0.0%	0.5%	100.0%
Probable Cause	1.9%	48.9%	29.5%	18.5%	0.1%	1.2%	100.0%
Percent	3.5%	32.2%	33.7%	29.2%	0.1%	1.3%	100.0%

HPD reported only two complaints of racial profiling to their central intake during 2012. Further, the data in the racial profiling report indicates prior knowledge of the individual's race in only 2.5% of the stops.⁹

Use of Tasers



Blacks are much more likely to be tasered (use of a Taser or Conductive Energy Device (CED)) by police than any other racial group in Houston. According to a study conducted by the University of Houston Center for Public Policy, during the period between December 2004 and June 2007, Blacks were tasered at a rate almost three times their population, and were tasered in 66.9% of the total Taser incidents in the Houston area.¹⁰

In addition Blacks were far more likely to be tasered when the responding officer was White (52.3%) or Hispanic (27.9%), than when the responding officer was Black (17.3%).¹¹

The following tables reflect actual taser use results from analysis of a 2007 study of the HPD:

Suspect's Race/Ethnicity	Total Service/Incident Reports Analysis Population	CED Service/Incident Reports	Difference
African American	46.0 %	66.9 %	20.9 %
Latino	28.2 %	23.5 %	-4.7 %
Anglo	24.4 %	9.0 %	-15.4 %
Other Groups	1.4 %	0.6%	-0.8 %

Based on the above analysis, African American suspects were involved in a proportionally greater number of total Service/Incident Reports analyzed as well as CED service/incident reports. In addition, the proportion of CED Service/Incident Reports was 20.9% more than the total service/incident reports.¹²

The table below indicates that Anglo officers are more likely to use a CED than minority officers. The results of a City of Houston 2008 audit indicated that black officers turned to their Tasers less often than Anglo or Hispanic officers, particularly in encounters with black suspects.¹³

Officer's Race/Ethnicity	Total Service/Incident Reports Analysis Population	CED Service/Incident Reports	Difference
African American	25.1 %	17.3 %	-7.8 %
Latino	24.3 %	27.9 %	3.6 %
Anglo	46.2 %	52.3 %	6.1 %
Other Groups	4.4 %	2.5 %	-1.9 %

In 2007, while serving as Executive Assistant Chief, current Chief Charles McClelland provided the following details about Taser use by the department to the Houston Chronicle:¹⁴

When Taser use is allowed

- Officers are allowed to use force, including Tasers, to protect themselves and others, to make arrests and to maintain custody of people.
- They are instructed to use the minimum amount of force necessary.
- Tasers, an intermediate weapon, can be used any time officers otherwise would use batons or would physically confront people.

When Taser use is prohibited

- When chemical spray from another agency has been deployed (because of the risk that it is flammable).
- If a suspect is passively resisting.
- To protect against damage of property.
- Against a fleeing suspect, unless there are extenuating circumstances.

Allegations of Police Brutality¹⁵

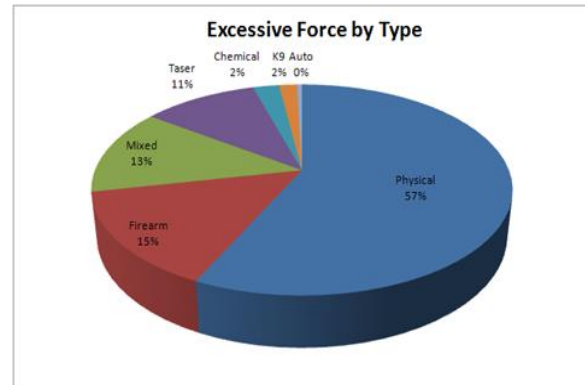
Overview

Police brutality is the excessive use of force by law enforcement against the very citizens they are charged to protect and serve. Excessive force by law enforcement officers violates the law, and is punishable as both a criminal offenses under Texas and Federal Law, and is similarly actionable as violations of state and federal civil rights.

Although there is no precise definition as to what constitutes excessive force, it generally revolves around the question of whether the force used in the particular situation was reasonable and necessary for the officer to effectuate a legitimate police purpose. The test utilized by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) in Data Collection on Police Use of Force, “is whether the police officer reasonably believed that such force was necessary to accomplish a legitimate police purpose...”¹⁶ Police brutality is, therefore, a broad term used to describe any excessive and unnecessary physical force, assault, or verbal abuse used by law enforcement when dealing with the public.

The actions that comprise the use of excessive force by an officer can vary. According to the National Police Misconduct Reporting Project’s (NPMRP) 2010 Annual Report, of the officers reported to be involved in excessive force complaints, 897 (56.9%) were involved in cases of physical use of force complaints which include fist strikes, throws, choke holds, baton strikes, and other physical attacks. 232 officers (14.7%) were involved in firearm-related excessive force complaints, 166 (10.6%) were involved in taser-related cases, and the remaining officers were involved in other cases involving a combination of force types (13.21%), such as: use of police dogs (1.7%), police vehicles (0.4%), and chemical weapons (2.4%).¹⁷

Many definitions of excessive police force, like the ones reflected in the table above, unfortunately overlook sexual assault and sexual coercion. According to a report by the CATO Institute, use of force for illicit sexual purposes



may be the most prevalent type of police abuse.¹⁸

Houston Data

From 2007 to 2012 the Houston Police Department received an average of 1,200 complaints per year, less than a third of which ended in any kind of discipline. More than half of those punishments were written reprimands.¹⁹

By the Numbers—

- Between 2007 and 2012, HPD officers were involved in 550 incidents in which either a citizen or animal was injured or killed by a police officer’s bullet, according to agency records.²⁰
- Of the nation’s 50 largest police departments, from 1990 to 2000 the Harris County Sheriff’s Department ranked first in the nation in the number of fatal shootings, with 3.47 fatalities per 1,000 violent crimes.²¹
- The Houston Police Department ranked second, with 2.76 fatal shootings per 1,000 violent crimes.²²

In 2011, ABC News investigated Houston police brutality complaints and discovered that they rarely result in officer punishment.²³

- In 2010, not a single citizen complaint against a Houston police officer for excessive force was sustained out of 239 complaints.

- Between the years 2000 and 2010, only 2 percent of police brutality complaints were sustained.

The following table comes from ABC News Report by Wayne Dolcefino, (March 17, 2011):²⁴

YEAR	TOTAL	SUSTAINED	NOT SUSTAINED	EXONERATED	UNFOUNDED	NEVER FORMALIZED	INFO	NO OUTCOME
2010	239	5	114	16	15	12	2	75
2009	227	3	146	25	25	19	0	6
2008	256	2	141	50	45	9	4	5
2007	147	2	71	36	29	4	2	3
2006	145	3	96	3	31	10	1	0
2005	152	4	83	26	26	13	0	0
2004	169	3	103	12	27	20	4	0
2003	196	2	107	40	25	18	4	0
2002	230	1	152	30	21	23	3	0
2001	197	5	120	18	22	26	60	0
2000	177	3	120	35	14	4	0	1
TOTAL	2135	33	1253	291	280	158	80	90

Accountability

To understand the causes of police brutality requires an interdisciplinary approach. The criminal justice system, police profession and the psychology profession ought to work together to identify these possible causes and their prevention and law treatment.²⁵ In other words, a systemic approach is needed in creating accountability.

A broad report commissioned by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on the causes of misconduct in policing calls reliance on the “bad apple” theory “a simplistic explanation that permits the organization and senior management to blame corruption on individuals and individual faults – behavioral, psychological, background factors, and so on, rather than addressing systemic factors.”²⁶ The report identifies systemic factors, including:

- Pressures to conform to certain aspects of “police culture”, such as the *Blue Code of Silence*, which can “sustain an oppositional criminal subculture protecting the interests of police who violate the law”²⁷ and a “‘we-they’ perspective in which outsiders are viewed with suspicion or distrust”²⁸
- Command and control structures with a rigid hierarchical foundation (“results indicate that the more rigid the hierarchy, the lower the scores on a measure of ethical decision-making” concludes one study reviewed in the report)²⁹; and
- Deficiencies in internal accountability mechanisms (including internal investigation processes).
- Past studies have tended to show that theories for explaining the causes of police brutality may be sociological, psychological, and organizational.³⁰

Historical Review of Accountability Measures

“According to citizens, community activists, a veteran Houston police officer and even the president of the local police union, the scenario of multiple officers beating an unarmed suspect happens nearly every day.”

Emily DePrang, Texas Observer

Internal Houston Police Department punishment of its officers for excessive force is rare³¹:

- During the period from 2007 thru 2012, Houston civilians reported officers for “use of force”—the department’s term for police brutality—588 times
- The Internal Affairs division investigated each complaint and dismissed all but four
- In total, Internal Affairs sustained just 15—or 2 percent—of the 706 police abuse complaints the past six years.

Even where the report is made by fellow HPD officers punishment is rare:

- Houston Police officers reported other officers for excessive force 118 times
- Internal Affairs dismissed all but 11.

Having video-tape is almost mandatory for sustaining a complaint.³²

- In 10 of the 15 sustained complaints, the incident was videotaped.

HPD Shootings between 2007 and 2012³³:

- Not a single Houston police officer was disciplined for shooting someone from 2007 thru 2012.
- HPD officers killed citizens in 109 shooting incidents
- HPD officers killed animals in 225 shooting incidents
- In 112 shootings officers wounded citizens
- In 104, they wounded animals.
- **For the 550 shootings in which either a citizen or animal was injured or killed, HPD disciplined no one.**
- 49 of the people Houston officers fired on during that time were unarmed; the equivalent of approximately one in five individuals shot being unarmed.

Independent Police Oversight Board (IPOB)/(formerly Citizens' Review Committee)

By executive order dated September 23, 2011, Mayor Annise Parker approved creation of the Independent Police Oversight Board.³⁴ One of the purposes of the IPOB is to review internal police investigations of possible misconduct by employees of the Houston Police Department involving allegations of excessive force, shootings, serious bodily injury or death. The objective of the IPOB is to provide a system of increased accountability and transparency and to facilitate resident input into the internal investigative process of HPD.³⁵

The IPOB consists of 21 members appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by City Council. Five of the appointees, including the Board Chair and four panel chairs, must possess expertise in criminal justice. Other members include retired judges and prosecutors, civil rights attorneys and academic experts. Among other things, the board is responsible for reviewing police department internal investigations to determine if the investigation was sufficient and the conclusions were correct and writing recommendations to the Chief of Police on every case it reviews.³⁶

Upon completion of an investigation by the HPD Internal Affairs Division (IAD), IAD forwards the file to the designated IPOB Panel. Upon request of the Panel Chair, a member of the Internal Affairs Division meets with the panel to answer any questions they might have concerning the investigation. If a quorum of the members of a panel, in consultation with the Inspector General (a full-time ombudsman to provide confidential assistance to residents alleging police misconduct), decides that additional investigation is needed, the Panel Chair and the Inspector General will meet with the Internal Affairs Division Commander to discuss the panel's concerns. If the Internal Affairs Division Commander agrees, additional investigation is then conducted. If the Internal Affairs Division Commander disagrees, a request is made to the Assistant Chief and, if necessary, Chief of Police. If the Chief of Police

disagrees with the panel's request for an additional investigation, he then meets with the Inspector General in an effort to reach an agreement. In the event an agreement cannot be reached, the Inspector General may conduct such investigation as he/she deems necessary, as authorized by law, to enable the panel to carry out its duties. Any additional investigation is considered in the panel's recommendation to the Chief. The panel has 14 days to complete its review of an investigation and make a recommendation to the Chief of Police.³⁷

The IPOB does not have subpoena powers or investigative powers. All activities of the IPOB are strictly confidential.³⁸ It has no authority to take testimony from witnesses or sit in on questioning by IAD investigators of residents who bring complaints on police officers, some of the powers civilian police review groups have in Austin and Dallas.³⁹

Other Local Review

All HPD shootings are investigated by HPD's Homicide and Internal Affairs Divisions. They are also investigated by the District Attorney's Office and presented to the Grand Jury for a determination of whether to bring charges against the officer.⁴⁰

Federal Review

In December 2012, the U.S. Department of Justice announced it would review six incidents in which Houston police officers used force against unarmed citizens.⁴¹

- **Rufinio Lara**, shooting in July 2012; Lara was unarmed and witnesses claim he had both arms raised when he was shot
- Arrest of **Sebastian Prevot** and alleged beating of his wife **Annika Lewis** and taking her phone memory card after she was seen taping the arrest
- The March 2009 beating and arrest of teenager **Chad Holley**

- The punching of a 16 year old on robbery suspect by Officer Angela Horton, while the boy was in handcuffs
- **Anthony Childress**, who says a group of officers stopped him while he was riding his bike and beat him so severely that he lost six teeth and needed 56 stitches. Childress filed an excessive force complaint that was dismissed
- The September 2012 shootings of double amputee **Brian Claunch** while he was in his wheelchair

The current status of the Department of Justice review is unknown.

- ¹ U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). State & county Quickfacts: Houston, Texas. Retrieved October 18, 2012, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/48/4835000.html>
- ² Includes American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander.
- ³ Emily DePrang, *The Horror Every Day: Police Brutality In Houston Goes Unpunished*, The Texas Observer, September 4, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/horror-every-day-police-brutality-houston-goes-unpunished/>
- ⁴ City of Houston City Comptroller, *Conducted Energy Device Program Performance Audit*. By Mir Fox & Rodriguez, September 8, 2008 (Report No. 2009-090; <http://www.houstontx.gov/controller/audit/2009-09.pdf>)
- ⁵ Joshua Correll1, Bernadette Park, Charles M. Judd, And Bernd Wittenbrink, *The Influence of Stereotypes on Decisions to Shoot*, European Journal of Social Psychology, Eur. J. Soc. Psychol. 37, 1102–1117 (2007); <http://faculty.chicagobooth.edu/bernd.wittenbrink/research/pdf/cpjw07.pdf>
- ⁶ City of Houston, Houston Police Department, *Annual Racial Profiling Analysis 2012*, http://www.houstontx.gov/police/departments_reports/2012_Analysis_RP.pdf
- ⁷ *Id.*
- ⁸ *See*, Tex. Code Crim. Proc. Art. 2.131 – 2.138.
- ⁹ City of Houston, Houston Police Department, *Annual Racial Profiling Analysis 2012*, http://www.houstontx.gov/police/departments_reports/2012_Analysis_RP.pdf
- ¹⁰ University of Houston Center for Public Policy, *Part III : A Statistical Analysis Of The Use Of Conducted Energy Devices By The Houston Police Department*” (2007), <http://www.uh.edu/hcpp/CEDanalysis.pdf>
- ¹¹ *Id.*
- ¹² City of Houston City Comptroller, *Conducted Energy Device Program Performance Audit*. By Mir Fox & Rodriguez, September 8, 2008 (Report No. 2009-090), <http://www.houstontx.gov/controller/audit/2009-09.pdf>
- ¹³ *Id.*
- ¹⁴ Houston Chronicle, *HPD Taser Policies*, January 14, 2007.
- ¹⁵ Statistics are primarily from two articles published by the Texas Observer: Emily DePrang, *Crimes Unpunished*, The Texas Observer, July 10, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/crimes-unpunished/>; Emily DePrang, *The Horror Every Day: Police Brutality In Houston Goes Unpunished*, The Texas Observer, September 4, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/horror-every-day-police-brutality-houston-goes-unpunished/>.
- ¹⁶ *See*, U. S. Dept. of Justice, Community Oriented Policing Services, *Use of Force*, Retrieved October 18, 2013, <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=1374>
- ¹⁷ The CATO Institute, *National Police Misconduct Reporting Project: 2010 Annual Report*, Retrieved October 18, 2013, <http://www.policemisconduct.net/statistics/2010-annual-report/>
- ¹⁸ David Packman, *The Police Brutality Nobody Talks About – Officer-Involved Sexual Misconduct*, CATO Institute, November 5, 2009. Retrieved October 18, 2013, <http://www.policemisconduct.net/the-police-brutality-nobody-talks-about-officer-involved-sexual-misconduct/>
- ¹⁹ Emily DePrang, *Crimes Unpunished*, The Texas Observer, July 10, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/crimes-unpunished/>
- ²⁰ Emily DePrang, *The Horror Every Day: Police Brutality In Houston Goes Unpunished*, The Texas Observer, September 4, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/horror-every-day-police-brutality-houston-goes-unpunished/>
- ²¹ <http://www.civiliansdown.com/Statistics%20Page%20Folder/Statistics%20Page.htm>
- ²² *Id.*
- ²³ Wayne Dolcefino, *13 Undercover Looks at HPD Brutality Complaints*, KTRK-TV, Houston, Texas, March 17, 2011. Retrieved October 18, 2013, http://abclocal.go.com/ktrk/story?section=news/13_undercover&id=8017021
- ²⁴ Wayne Dolcefino, *13 Undercover Looks at HPD Brutality Complaints*, KTRK-TV, Houston, Texas, March 17, 2011. Retrieved October 18, 2013, http://abclocal.go.com/ktrk/story?section=news/13_undercover&id=8017021

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- ²⁵ David Mangan, *Police Brutality: The Use of Excessive Force*, <http://www.drury.edu/ess/irconf/dmangan.html>
- ²⁶ Don Loree, Ph.D., "*Corruption in Policing: Causes and Consequences; A Review of the Literature*" (PDF). Research and Evaluation Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services Directorate. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2006).
- ²⁷ Skolnick, Jerome H. (2002). "*Corruption and the Blue Code of Silence*". *Police Practice and Research*, 2002, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.7-19
- ²⁸ Don Loree, Ph.D., "*Corruption in Policing: Causes and Consequences; A Review of the Literature*" (PDF). Research and Evaluation Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services Directorate. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2006).
- ²⁹ Owens, Katherine M. B.; Jeffrey Pfeifer (2002). "*Police Leadership and Ethics: Training and Police Recommendations*". *The Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services* Vol. 1, No. 2, p7.
- ³⁰ Robert E Worden, *The Causes Of Police Brutality: Theory And Evidence On Police Use Of Force Will* (1996).
- ³¹ Emily DePrang, *The Horror Every Day: Police Brutality In Houston Goes Unpunished*, *The Texas Observer*, September 4, 2013, <http://www.texasobserver.org/horror-every-day-police-brutality-houston-goes-unpunished/>
- ³² *Id.* Complaints against Houston Police Officers trying to take or destroy video-tapes, also illegal, appear to have gone up.
- ³³ *Id.* It is argued that because beatings take time allowing time for witnesses to gather and start filming. Shootings, on the other hand, are fast and usually over as quickly as they begin, leaving fewer witnesses and little if any video tape support for the claim of excessive police conduct.
- ³⁴ City Of Houston Executive Order No. 1-5 Revised (Eff. September 23, 2011); <http://www.houstontx.gov/execorders/1-5.pdf>
- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ *Id.*
- ³⁷ *Id.*
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