

EXHIBIT G

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Expert report: people’s perceptions of interactions with the Kansas City, Kansas police

I was asked to help the Court and jury understand why a Black man who grew up in the urban core of Kansas City, Kansas may distrust the police and how this would be likely to affect his actions. I am a political scientist, and my research focuses on police practices, police-community relations, and racial disparities in police stops. This report presents the results of an original study consisting of social-scientific interviews with 52 residents of the City’s impoverished urban core, with a focus on their experiences with the Kansas City police and their resulting distrust of the police.

The urban core of Kansas City, Kansas (hereafter, simply “Kansas City”) has comparatively high levels of poverty and crime. Many studies have shown that police engage in more aggressive patrols, stops, and searches in such areas.¹ Many other studies show that these police practices contribute to distrust in the police, especially among people who directly experience them.² Although such tensions are not unusual in urban areas, there is some

¹ Jeffrey Fagan and Garth Davies, “Street stops and broken windows: Terry, race, and disorder in New York City,” *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 28 (2000), 457-504; Robert Kane, “The social ecology of police misconduct,” *Criminology* 40 (2002): 867-96; Michael Reisig and Roger Parks, “Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context,” *Justice Quarterly* 17 (2000), 607-29; Victor M. Rios, *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Douglas Smith, “The neighborhood context of police behavior,” In vol. 8 of *Crime and justice*, edited by Albert Reiss and Michael Tonry, 313-41 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986); William Terrill and Michael Reisig, “Neighborhood context and police use of force,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 40 (2003): 291-321.

² Rod Brunson, “‘Police don’t like Black people’: African American young men’s accumulated police experiences,” *Criminology & Public Policy* 6 (2007): 71-102; Rod Brunson and Jody Miller, “Young Black men and urban policing in the United States,” *British Journal of Criminology* 46 (2006):613-40; Rod Brunson and

evidence that the Kansas City police have been among the country's most abusive: for the years 1985-1990, the Kansas City police department had the eighth highest number of complaints per 1,000 officers in the country—four times higher than the neighboring Kansas City, Missouri police department.³ Prior to the study summarized here, there has been no research on how the city's residents experience policing and how these experiences affect their attitudes.

In June 2023, a PhD student and I conducted interviews with 52 people randomly chosen from among those present in public spaces in Kansas City. The interviewees included 27 Black men, 18 Black women, four white men, and three white women. Our research methods were consistent with the state of the art in interview-based studies of people's interactions with the police.⁴ We asked people to describe their interactions with Kansas City police. We also asked them to describe their interactions with emergency medical technicians and firefighters to provide a comparison between the police and other commonly experienced front-line emergency personnel. After interviewees described their experiences, we asked whether they

Jody Miller, "Gender, race and urban policing: The experience of African American youths," *Gender & Society* 20 (2006): 531-52; Patrick Carr, Laura Napolitano, and Jessica Keating, "We never call the cops and here's why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods," *Criminology* 45 (2007): 445-80; Rios, *Punished*; Ronald Weitzer, "Citizens' perceptions of police misconduct: Race and neighborhood context," *Justice Quarterly* 16 (1999): 819-46; Forrest Stuart, *Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Ronald Weitzer, "Racialized policing: Residents' perceptions in three neighborhoods," *Law and Society Review* 34 (2000): 129-55.

³ Jerome H. Skolnick and James J. Fyfe, *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force* (New York: Free Press, 1993), pp. 213-215.

⁴ Rod K. Brunson and Ronald Weitzer, "Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods," *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (2009): 858-885; Rod K. Brunson, "'Police Don't Like Black People': African American Young Men's Accumulated Police Experiences," *Criminology & Public Policy* 6 (2007): 71-102; Rod Brunson and Jody Miller, "Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States," *British Journal of Criminology* 46 (2006): 613-640; Rod Brunson and Jody Miller, "Gender, race and urban policing: The experience of African American youths," *Gender & Society* 20 (2006): 531-52; Victor M. Rios, *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Forrest Stuart, *Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Patrick Carr, Laura Napolitano, and Jessica Keating, "We never call the cops and here's why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods," *Criminology* 45 (2007): 445-80.

mostly trusted or distrusted these different emergency personnel; whether they would call them if they needed help; and what they would do if they did not feel comfortable calling the authorities for help.

Nearly all the Black men we interviewed told some version of the following: they have experienced repeated and sometimes brutal harassment by Kansas City police for much of their lives and, as a result, they do not trust the police and do not feel comfortable calling them for help. Instead, they feel safer taking matters into their own hands. These attitudes appear to be based on particular experiences with the police; they do not appear to reflect a general cynicism about authority. For example, many of the men who reported distrusting the police also reported having had positive experiences with ambulance crews or firefighters, leading them to trust these other emergency personnel and to feel comfortable calling them for help. Some Black men have had such frightful experiences with the Kansas City, Kansas police that they report being in fear for their lives when in interactions with the police. Although the Black women and White men and women who we interviewed reported fewer instances of police disrespect or abuse than the Black men, some also reported having been treated disrespectfully by the police or having observed police disrespect or abuse of Black teenagers or men. These experiences led them, too, to distrust the Kansas City police.

In the following summary, the people we interviewed are identified by a name, race, gender, and age. To ensure confidentiality, the names used here are fictitious, and people's age is reported in three general categories: "young" refers to ages 18-35; "middle-aged" refers to ages 36-59; and "senior" refers to ages 60 and above.

Distrust of the police

Many of the people we interviewed said they distrust the Kansas City, Kansas police, and many expressed this distrust in graphic, dramatic terms. Samuel, a middle-aged Black man, said, "They're pretty racist. They're pretty racist. ...They not serving the law. They're breaking the law. If you ask my personal opinion." (Interviewer: have you heard other stories from other people?) "Yeah, nobody likes the police. Nobody likes them." (Interviewer: So, do you trust the police?) "Not at all. I hate the police." (Interviewer: if you needed help, would you call them?) "I'd rather help myself than call the police. Cause... then you end up dead. Because the police extending the law. I don't trust them at all. There's nobody trust them. I don't know the difference between the mafia and the police. A gang member and the police officer is basically the same...."

Matthew, a middle-aged Black man said, "I don't trust them. I really don't. Because it's like, I feel like I got to get... every time if I see them, I got to watch myself. I got to watch my back, look behind me. You know, make sure they're not going to try to stab me in the back or shoot me or something dumb. Just because I'm in the wrong place at the wrong time."

James, a middle-aged Black man, declared "I don't trust the police. ...They'll kill us. And nobody do nothing about it." We asked, so, is there a situation where you might call the police? James replied, "For what? So they can come fuck the rest of us? Look, if it was like a domestic or something, I would probably call the police. Besides that, I wouldn't call the police. They ain't gonna do nothing but fuck with us. Man, one time they choked... one of them motherfuckers tried to drown me... choke me out. You know, they had they feet on my goddamn face. Police ain't right. ... We need some good, some good people that suppose to protect us. But it ain't

happening in this area. Every time they come down here, they fuck with so many people. They just harass people for shit, you know.”

William, a middle-aged Black man, responded to our question whether he trusted the police with a snort of derision. He said, “No. I trust myself, my gun, and my experience. ... I don’t trust the police. I don’t trust them. I mean, it’s... I trust the streets before I trust the police.” We asked, so, what would you do if you needed help? Try to handle it yourself? “Yeah, I’ve been doing it. I don’t trust the police. I trust your ambulance, fire. ... I’ll call some of my peoples before I call the police.”

Comparing the police to the mafia or a criminal gang, fearing that they will stab you, or shoot you, or choke you, or kill you, trusting “the streets” in a high-crime area before you trust the police—these expressions may seem unusual, even extreme. *But they are typical of the people we interviewed.* Among the 52 people interviewed for this study, only ten stated unequivocally that they trust the Kansas City police. Two declined to answer. One of these declined with a laugh of exasperation and a shake of her head—after she had eloquently described how well she had been treated by a squad of emergency medical technicians. The other who declined had described surviving being shot by a police officer. When we asked him whether he trusted the police, he paused for a long time and then said, “This is the day that the Lord has made. I shall rejoice and be glad in it.... So, I ain’t gonna say about the police.... These days is new day for me.” Examples of other expressions follow.

Angela, a senior Black woman, said “If I call the police, they might mess with me before they mess with the other person, the one that you’re *calling* them for! So, it makes you scared to *call* the police. ...If I was to call them today, I’m going to make sure there’s a group around

me, somebody around me so I can feel a little bit safer. ... It's sad to be like that, but it's true."

Mary, a middle-aged Black woman, observed that "a lot of people... when they see a police officer pulls you over like that, they will come out on the porch and sit down on the porch and watch, just to make sure everything goes OK for you." Mary's granddaughter, who was sitting with us, began fidgeting, and Mary turned to comfort her. She then turned back to us and whispered, "She don't really like the police.... Because she just feel like policemen are bad."

Raymond, a young Black man, replied to whether he trusted the Kansas City police with a simple "No!" When we asked why not, he said, "They need a little work. They need to learn how to talk to people out here. They just... they don't even know because they got a badge and they think it give them overpowered authority." Isaiah, a middle-aged Black man, said "I feel that if police officers act like... if they can remember that there are people in the community, too, then it would go a lot smoother. I feel that they think they're just above a lot. Or they think they are the law. That's the problem. They just kind of act like they're making up the laws as they go along."

Some people we talked with seemed exasperated by our naivete about the police.

Randy, a middle-aged Black man, told us, "being a descendant of my heritage, my people, we don't even like riding 3D. And that's a difference I can't change. We don't even like riding like that." We asked, what's that mean, 3D? He replied, "Three people, three people in the car. Because if you have more than two people in the car, you're going to attract attention. From the police. So, then, everybody's in trouble. Not just the driver. Figure it out. Can't you figure this out?" We asked, have you actually seen that happen here? Randy replied, sounding exasperated, "Hey, come on, man!"

I began by quoting Samuel, Matthew, and James about their fear of the police. Others, too, told us that fear of the police kept them from calling the police for help. When we asked Michelle, a young Black woman, whether she would call the police in an emergency, she said “No. I mean, sometimes, I feel like if I was dying, if I got shot and was dying, I would say, ‘no calling’” [the police]. “Like, they, like they racist. And they just, they don’t do... they don’t deal with the things in the right manner as it should be.” At the end of our interview with Samantha, a middle-aged Black woman, we asked whether there is anything else that we ought to hear, and she replied, “Well, they [the police] just don’t know how to treat people. ... You know, they think everybody got a weapon, trying to hurt them. No, we feel *y’all* [police] trying to hurt *us*. That’s the way I feel. So, I don’t even call 911. I’m too scared of them. Too terrified of them.”

Although these fears were concentrated among Black citizens, some of the White people we interviewed also said they distrust the police. For example, when we asked Jenna, a middle-aged White woman, whether she would feel comfortable calling the police for help, she replied, “Not so much. Not so much. Because [they] over-act too quickly, just blame on somebody that’s not.... You know what I mean? It’s like they don’t take the time to *listen*. It’s like, I’m a cop. But you’re going to jail. They’re not *listening*. Listen to what’s going on. They just don’t check it out. They don’t care. They react before they check out what’s going on.”

Why do residents of Kansas City’s urban core distrust and fear the police?

Every person who told us they distrusted the police described troubling personal experiences with the Kansas City police. They described experiencing four types of police actions that especially troubled them: harassment of teenagers; repetitive stops and searches

based on no apparently legitimate justification; disrespectful or abusive behavior by police responding to calls for service; and outright violence by officers.

1. Police harassment of teenagers

Among the more troubling examples were people's descriptions of how police officers harassed them as youth. Anthony, a middle-aged Black man, described officers repeatedly harassing him and his friends while on their way to basketball practice after school. "So, if they see us jogging to the gym, they stop us. And take our gym shoes and basketball in a gym bag.... Instead of going to the basketball practice, they tell us to go home." We asked, how often did they do this? Anthony replied, "Monday through Friday.... Everybody in the neighborhood. Different little kids." He also described officers stopping youth and taking them in their patrol car to scare them. "Yep, they'll take you, and they'll scare you. Sometimes they'll take you in, and sometimes they'll take you for a ride. And they say, well, we can take you in or we can take you on one of the bridges and beat you. They said, ok, [if] we catch you down in this area again, we're going to take you up on the 7th Street Bridge and throw you in the river." We asked, do you know people personally who were beaten up by the police? "Yes," he said.

Likewise, Kevin (a senior Black man) told us that when he was growing up the Kansas City, Kansas police would "jump us" and "beat us up and rough us up." He said officers "planted stuff on us and then would arrest us." "And they just screwed us up." We asked him, did they do this to lots of youth? Kevin replied, "Oh, it's everybody. Everybody was vulnerable to that." We asked, did they say things to you when they did this? "Oh, yeah, they were always calling us names. They were using bad words about us." (He declined to tell us those words.) Kevin said

his cousin's sister was raped by a Kansas City, Kansas police officer. He said, "They would rape the girls and they would beat up the guys." He mentioned Roger Golubski, and we asked if it was just Golubski. Kevin replied that "Oh, no, it was a lot of cops. It was a lot of cops. Everybody in the community knew about this, and everybody in the police department had to know, too."

Many others described being harassed by the police as teenagers. Thomas (a young Black man) described being repeatedly stopped as a teenager, and he said that this has continued into his twenties. "Traffic stops, or something like that. It's always a weird situation when I get stopped by the police.... It's like they be trying to get me." We asked Thomas why it felt like that, and he said, "They'll search the car. They'll search. No reason.... It's a traffic stop.... I'm usually always getting searched or something like that." We asked, do you hear from friends or family about similar things, and he said, "Yeah, a lot.... Yeah, Cops do that a lot. Common, you know?" Samuel, a middle-aged Black man, described being stopped repeatedly by Kansas City police, starting when he was 17. In that first stop as a teenager, "they just stopped me and pushed me and stuff like that." Richard, a middle-aged Black man, described being stopped repeatedly by Kansas City police starting when he was 16. "They pull up and say, where are you going? ...You know, police just messed with you for the hell of it, for real."

Some adults observed such stops of Black youth and told us that this caused them to be less trusting of the police. For example, Sandra, a middle-aged Black woman, described seeing Kansas City, Kansas police making frequent stops of Black teenagers in groups. "I've seen a bunch of teenagers who are just walking down the street, getting pulled over, and searched. Just walking down the street.... For what? ...I think that it's pathetic. I really do.... Because of

getting pulled over for no reason! I mean, it's just for no reason. And I've lived here all my life. And this is just ridiculous."

2. Arbitrary stops and searches

Many of the people we interviewed described being repeatedly and arbitrarily stopped and searched by the police. Some described officers escalating these encounters in extraordinary ways. Nathan, a middle-aged Black man, described officers repeatedly stopping and searching him, and often ordering him to lie on the ground during the encounter: "Every time I drive, they pulled me over no matter what. And then I got get out of the car, and they want me to lay on... the ground. I don't have no gun. I don't have it, but they tell me to get on the ground. I have to comply with him. If not, I'm gonna end up like Floyd." We asked, do they say why they're pulling you over? "Yeah, didn't turn your signal light on or something." We asked how many times would you say you've been stopped like that? Nathan replied, "At least 20 times. At least 20 times."

Likewise, Raymond, a young Black man, described experiencing repeated stops by Kansas City, Kansas police officers. "Either I'm walking or I'm driving," he said, "every time, every time, every time, every time either I get pulled over or they see me walking and minding my own business... they stop me." We asked how often would you say they do this? "Every other month they stop me.... Yeah, they pull me over, and they don't ever find nothin'." (Interviewer: how do they treat you?) "They're disrespectful." We asked, do they lay hands on you? "No, they don't lay hands on me," he replied. But "once you get an attitude with 'em, that's when they get

aggressive.” We asked, are they trying to provoke you? “Yeah,” he replied, “they say, ‘come here!’ Or, ‘what you got?’ Or ‘Let me check you!’ ... That’s not right.”

Marcus, a young Black man, described being stopped by four officers who said he fit the description of a murder suspect and then handcuffed him and roughly searched his car. “That was a nerve-wracking situation,” he said. “Especially, you know, when they... read us the description of the car that the suspect was in, it didn’t really match the car we were in.” We asked whether the officers treated him respectfully. “Not so much,” he replied. “So, when they searched the car, they just kind of threw everything everywhere. Didn’t put anything back.... After they got through ransacking the car, they decided to let us go.... They left pieces of my lunch over here in the back seat, pieces of my lunch over here in the front seat.”

Mary, a middle-aged Black woman, described being pulled over when she drove into the parking lot of a store. “So, they were pulling everybody over that that pulled up in the lot, going to the store..... And they ask me, ‘what business do you have at the store?’ I said, well, I want to get a pack of cigarettes.... And then it went downhill.... The way they went about it, it was like a little bit more of... *harassment*.” We asked, why did it feel that way? “They went through my car... and they searched my purse. And I have a... I take a, I have anxiety attacks. So, I had my medication in my purse. And he said, you know, I can get you for selling. I said, my name is on this prescription bottle! I have anxiety attacks..... Yeah, yeah... what is the word I’m looking for? Oh. They *assume* that you are up to something.... And then if you’re minding your business... here they come. And a lot of times, on Quindaro, they would sit on Quindaro, and they just start pulling people over. Pulling people over, you know. Trying to get them, you know, to see if they got their insurance right or the right registration in the car. But the way they do it, it really is

harassment.” We asked, when you say ‘harassment,’ do you mean they’re disrespectful? She replied, “Yeah, they are keeping you held up for a long time. Sometimes they’d be like three or four cop cars behind you like you just robbed the bank or something like that.”

Mario, a middle-aged Black man, described being stopped and searched many times. He said, “They stop you. They rude. They automatically think you up to something wrong.... They gave me a ticket for dark windows. And they said they smelled marijuana, and they searched.” We asked, did they find anything? “No,” he said, “they didn’t find anything.” We asked, did they spend a lot of time going through the car? “Yeah.”

Curtis, a middle-aged Black man, described being repeatedly pulled over by the Kansas City police when he was younger. “When I was younger, they were just bad with traffic tickets. So, you got pulled over for traffic tickets all the time. You didn’t have to be doing speeding, but they would say you were speeding. You know, you would be watching your speedometer, and you knew you weren’t speeding.”

3. Disrespectful or abusive actions by police responding to calls for service

Several people we talked with said they could not trust the police enough to call them for help because of how police had acted when responding to calls for service. For example, Matthew, a middle-aged Black man, was indignant about the police response to a disturbance by a young, inebriated man who was pounding on doors at 3 a.m. in Matthew’s apartment building. He said that the officers woke everyone in the building and ordered them to stand outside. When he told the officers that he would prefer to just lock his door and stay inside, “they’re like, well, you either come out willingly or we can drag you out.” Matthew said that he

put on his clothes and went outside. “They kept us out there for a good hour and a half.... We’re all congregating and trying to figure out what’s really going on. A lot of... a lot of my neighbors are elderly. So, to wake them up like that, when they’re elderly and, you know, you got guys and some of them can’t hear nothing, they’re hard of hearing and you’re yelling at them to get out of a building that they live in, and they don’t know why.” We asked, once you were all outside, were they more respectful? “They were a lot more belligerent once we got outside.”

Samantha, a middle-aged Black woman, described calling the police for help, and said that the officer who arrived used force against her. “I was trying to explain to him,” she said, but “before I could do anything, he threw me into my wall.”

4. Physical abuse

Several people we talked with described observing or experiencing physical abuse by Kansas City police. Matthew, the middle-aged Black man who described being ordered out of his apartment at 3 a.m., was troubled by how he said the officers treated the inebriated man after they found him. He said the officers “drug him out of the building. But it’s the way they went about dragging him out. I mean... you’ve already cuffed him, why are you shooting a taser at him as well?... He was already subdued. They had him subdued. I mean he was not going to do anything. It just seemed excessive. Yeah, really excessive.... And then you throw him in a car with a freaking canine. I mean, come on. You could have called a wagon or anything else. You had to put him in the back of the car with a canine.” We asked, did he have a weapon? “No,” Matthew replied, “he was just banging on the doors. He was drunk, and he was high. And he just came to the wrong building. He thought he was, he thought it was a different building.”

Matthew described two other incidents of abuse that he had observed. "I've seen the police officers over next door... drag a lady across the street because she would not move fast enough for them. Because she's a homeless woman and she was sleeping, and they broke her up and they drug her from where she was sleeping, all the way across the street. They dragged her to the bus... and then got loud with her, because they said, 'oh, well, you can't sit here, either. You can't be on the bus property.' I'm, like, waiting for a bus, but you just drug her over here." He said, "I spoke with the Black officer... and I asked him, I said, 'what was the purpose of this?' 'I have no idea,' he said. ... 'I've never seen him do this before.' I said, 'well you all might want to check on her and make sure she's not hurt because he drug her across a busy street and then kind of threw her down. She's an elderly woman, for one.'" He described another incident: "A couple of days ago, actually, ... I saw him pulling a gun on a guy. A guy that wasn't doing anything. He was just sitting. He was an older gentleman who was deaf. He was using sign language because he was deaf. And the cop was... the cop told him to get up and move, and he was just looking like, 'what are you saying?' And I was trying to explain that to the officer. I said, 'this guy's deaf. He can't hear you. He's not ignoring you. He can't hear you.... Let me talk with him... we can sign with him and tell him what you want done. And then he'll do it. Like you're yelling at him, and how you want to pull a gun, [but] he's not even having a weapon.'"

Richard, a senior Black man, described visiting a relative's grave at a Kansas City cemetery a year ago and seeing a police officer having sex with a "girl" in his patrol car. "I ain't see no heads in the car, so I pulled up beside the car. And they was laying down in the back seat. It was a girl and it was the police. It's what the police do... because they got the power over us, they just do what they want to do. It ain't right."

Raymond, a young Black man who described being repeatedly stopped and searched by the police, said that he tried to avoid escalations in these stops because “they’ll choke you out. They use unnecessary pressure points for how they grab you.... Yeah! They do pressure points! And they like to put they knees on your throat.” “Yeah, they like when they... so, they’ll get you down on the ground. They’ll put they knee on your neck.” We asked, has that ever happened to you? “Yes!” he replied. “Yeah, they get real physical.” We asked, how long has this been going on? “Well,” Raymond replied, “it only started when I was 13.”

Distrust in the police appears to be based on particular experiences

It is sometimes thought that Black citizens’ distrust of the police is based mainly on past history or on a general distrust of institutions. Our interviews revealed two patterns that sharply contradict those assumptions.

First, every one of the few people who reported that officers had treated them respectfully and fairly reported that they trust the police. For example, although Monique, a middle-aged Black woman, said that she had heard many news reports about bad experiences with the police, “I trust them. Yeah, I trust them because I ain’t never had no bad experiences with them, personally.”

Second, most of the people who said that they distrusted the Kansas City police clearly based this distrust on specific experiences. They commonly distinguished between Kansas City police, who they did not trust based on experience, and front-line emergency workers for other agencies, or other police officers, who they did trust because of favorable experiences. For example, Matthew, the middle-aged Black man whose experiences of disrespectful treatment

by a Kansas City officer were described above, said that “I used to live in Kansas City, Missouri. I never had a problem like that with the Missouri police department.” Matthew also described calling the police to report that his car had been broken into, “but that interaction went OK. I mean, he came out, he was very helpful, listening. He was very respectful.... He was very understanding.”

Likewise, Victoria, a senior Black woman, reported that she had been helped by emergency medical technicians and firefighters. “They saved my life.” We asked, did they treat you well? “Yes!” she replied. “The ambulance treated me good. The fire department treated me good. ...They took care of me like a queen.” We then asked, well, what about the Kansas City, Kansas police? Victoria laughed and shook her head as if she did not want to say anything. Then she said, “I just don’t like the police no more.” Later in the interview, she observed, “But the police want to hurt me. ‘Don’t put your hands on me.... I don’t put my hands on you. You don’t put your hands on me.’ That’s all I’m gonna answer.” We then said, “OK, have you ever seen them put their hands on anyone? She replied, “I ain’t gonna answer that question, either.”

Many others made similar distinctions based on particular experiences. Steven, the middle-aged Black man who described being choked in the back of a police car, said, “I don’t trust the police. I don’t trust them.... I trust your ambulance, fire stations.” Thomas, a young Black man who described repeated police stops and searches, also described being helped by emergency medical technicians, and said of them, “It was respectful and helpful. And they helped me out....” Raymond, a young Black man, told us that he doesn’t trust the police because they have stopped him many times, including one in which the police made him lie on the ground and put a knee on his neck, reported that he had interacted with both EMT’s (for his

aunt) and firefighters (for a fire at his house). Regarding the EMT's, he said, "They good people... they did a good job." Regarding the firefighters, he said, "they're pretty good.... They saved my life. And I really thank them for that. And I respect everything they do." We then asked, what about the Kansas City, Kansas police? "They need a little work," he replied. "They need to learn how to talk and treat people out here." Angela, the senior Black woman who observed Kansas City police stopping and harassing Black teens, reported positive interactions with both EMT's and firefighters. Regarding EMT's, the interviewer asked: did you feel like they treated you respectfully or not so much? She replied: "Yes, they did. They treated me with the same respect I gave them." Regarding firefighters who came to her house because she was burning a pile of leaves in her yard, the interviewer asked: did you feel like they treated you respectfully or not so much? She replied: "Yeah, they did. They really did. They really did... they were great." Then she said, "Now you get to the police...." Likewise, Sandra, a senior Black woman, described a positive interaction with EMT services, and she said, "Yeah, they were very nice. They're very prompt." We asked, OK, and they treated you with respect? "They did," she replied. "They really did." We then asked, have you ever had any interactions with the KCK police department? She replied, "Oh, God, yes, I have. Many, many, many, many, many, many times." We summarized her descriptions of these problematic interactions earlier.

Several people we talked with drew clear distinctions between different Kansas City, Kansas police officers. For example, Michael, a middle-aged Black man, described being stopped by an officer who said that Michael "almost fit the description" of a suspect. "The first officer was very nice.... Asked for my ID. And realized it wasn't me." Then, a second officer arrived and immediately used physical force. Michael said, "Second officer showed up and immediately had

an attitude.” We asked, when you say ‘an attitude,’ could you say what that is? Michael replied, “Got out of the car and he immediately tried to restrain me. ...He wanted to kind of take over the whole thing. Hoping I did something wrong and stupid, you know, or... whatever he had thought in his mind. And the other officer was trying to talk to him saying, ‘I think he’s OK. He checks out.” We asked, did this go on for a while? Michael replied, “About 20 minutes.” We asked, you said he tried to restrain you—did he actually? Michael replied, “Yeah, he tried to physically grab my arms. Stand right beside me and grab my arms. The other officer was like, ‘we can’t. He hasn’t done anything wrong.’”

The significance of police disrespect, arbitrary treatment, and abuse

In the various experiences described, the people we interviewed regarded several patterns of police behavior as deeply disrespectful, unfair and, even, dangerous to their safety. First, they were especially troubled by frequent police stops made for no legitimate reason. As Samuel put it, “They pulled up and stopped me for no reason. I was walking. They had no reason to stop me. I was walking.” Mary observed, “they’re going to stop you for no apparent reason....” Second, they were troubled by arbitrary intrusions in the course of these stops, including conducting searches, forcing the person to lie on the ground, placing their foot or knee on the person’s neck, and engaging in insults seemingly intended to provoke the person to lash out so that the officer can make an arrest. The most extreme of these experiences included several reports of officers taking people to secluded locations and beating them. Nonetheless, lesser forms of arbitrary intrusion during stops also concerned people. Marcus, for example, was frustrated when officers “ransacked” his car during a search, tearing his lunch apart and

leaving it in pieces in the front and back seats. Third, they described officers speaking and acting disrespectfully even when called for help. Matthew was offended by officers who yelled at him and his neighbors and forced them out of their apartments at 3 a.m. neighbors as they searched the apartment building for an inebriated man who had pounded on doors.

Our interviews reveal that people learn to resent and fear officers who do these sorts of things. These activities make people feel vulnerable to arbitrary and unpredictable power. “They’re out there with a badge and a gun, Randy (a middle-aged White man) observed, “and it’s like they’re making up the rules as they go along.” Derek, a white man, agreed: “cops are prejudiced against *civilians*.... If you ain’t wearing a badge, you ain’t nothing, you know.... You’re the other person, you know, like a bad guy.” Samuel put it this way: “A gang member and the police officer is basically the same.” Raymond observed, “you can’t call the police on them, because *they* the police.” When Anthony told us that officers had taken his basketball shoes and basketball, we asked, you mean they stole your stuff? Anthony replied, “No, just *take*, the police don’t ‘*steal*.’ They just *take*. Because they got the badge, misusing their power in so many ways....”

Police exercise of arbitrary and abusive power leads people to believe that officers view and treat them as less than full citizens, or even less than human. James said, “They treat you like shit. The police treat you like shit.” “Well,” Sandra observed, “I think that they really ought to recognize the fact that Black citizens are people, too.” Matthew said, “But they’re threatening too.... You know, you want us to respect you, but yet *you* want to get loud and belligerent, I mean, disrespectful to us and expect us to just sit there and take it.”

Ultimately, people learn to fear that their lives are at risk in encounters with the police. “No, we feel y’all trying to hurt us,” Samantha said. “I don’t never call them because they ain’t no help these days. They kill you. ...We feel y’all trying to hurt us. That’s the way I feel. So, I don’t even call 911. I’m too scared of them. Too terrified of them.” Sandra, a senior Black woman, said, “I try to avoid them [the police] at all costs.” We asked, why? “Because I am *afraid*,” she said. Steven said officers choked him while he was handcuffed and said “we gonna kill you.” Michael said, “I’ve heard some pretty horrific stories from people that said, you know, they got put in the car, got taken away, got beat up and all kinds of stuff.” This happened twice in the past year to two different friends of his, Michael said. Anthony, who described officers harassing him and his friends when they were teenagers, said he knew several youth who had been beaten by the police, and so their threat to “take you up on the 7th Street Bridge and throw you in the river” seemed real.

Learning to fear the police causes people to turn to self-help and self-defense—even against the police. Mary reported that “a lot of people... when they see a police officer pulls you over like that, they will come out on the porch and sit down on the porch and watch, just to make sure everything goes OK for you.” Samuel said, “I’d rather help myself than to call the police. Cause you can feel like you helping yourself [by calling the police] and then you end up dead. Because the police exceeding the law.” William declared, “I trust myself, my gun, and my experience. ... I don’t trust the police. I don’t trust them. I mean, it’s... I trust the streets before I trust the police.... I’ll call some of my peoples before I call the police.” Angela said, “if I was to call them today, I’m going to make sure there’s a group around me. Somebody around me so I can feel a little bit safer.” “I ain’t gonna call the police,” Steven said. We asked what he would do

instead. “Handle it myself.” Asked if he would call the police if he needed help, Darius said, “No, I *sure wouldn’t*...Well, I’m going to try to just fix the problem myself...”

In sum, the experiences and distrust revealed in our interviews contribute to deeply fraught and tense relations between Kansas City police and members of the public in Kansas City’s urban core. These tensions are especially great between officers and Black men, many of whom have directly experienced police disrespect and abuse over many years.

Black men’s learned distrust of the police increases the risk of unintended tit-for-tat escalations during interactions with officers. For example, if a person distrusts the police, that person is more likely to be on guard against maltreatment when interacting with an officer. The anticipation of maltreatment may contribute to defensive actions that contribute to escalations in verbal sparring and use of force. The same is true of officers: if they distrust members of the public, they may be more on guard and more likely to use force to maintain control of an interaction that they perceive may escalate. Over the course of hundreds of interactions between officers and members of the public, the combination of distrust and fear is likely to contribute to deadly confrontations.

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Education:

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995

M.A., Political Science, University of Kansas, 1989

B.A., Philosophy, Bethel College, N. Newton, KS, 1984

Academic appointments:

2016-May to date. University Distinguished Professor, University of Kansas

2010-May to April 2016. Professor, School of Public Affairs and Administration, University of Kansas

2000-April to April 2010. Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Kansas

1996-August to April 2000. Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Kansas

1994-August to July 1996. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University

Synergistic activities:

Co-Editor, Chicago Book Series in Law & Society, University of Chicago Press, 2019-

Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, 2017-

Chair, University of Kansas Chancellor's Task Force on Community-Responsive Public Safety, 2020. Recommendations fully adopted 2021.

Co-Editor, Special Issue on Law & Governance, *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*, 2020

Secretary, Law & Society Association, 2017-19

Books:

Epp, Charles R., Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel. 2014. *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

- Best Book Award from the American Society for Public Administration's Section on Public Administration Research, 2015
- *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title, 2015
- Honorable Mention:
 - Herbert Jacob Award of the Law & Society Association
 - Best Book Award of the Academy of Management's Public and Nonprofit Section
 - Best Book Award of the American Sociological Association's Section on Sociology of Law
- Reviewed: *Law & Society Review*; *American Journal of Sociology*; *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory*; *Contemporary Sociology*; *Policing and Society*; *Criminal Law and Criminal Justice Books*; *Theoretical Criminology*; *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*; *Allegra Lab* (<http://allegralaboratory.net/review-pulled-over-how-police-stops-define-race-and-citizenship/>); *Gouvernement et Action Publique* (France); *International Public Management Journal*
- Review essays: *Harvard Law Review*; *Perspectives on Politics*; *Social Service Review*; *Law & Social Inquiry*

Epp, Charles R. 2009. *Making Rights Real: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the Creation of the Legalistic State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

- *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title, 2010
- Review essays: *Perspectives on Politics*, *Tulsa Law Review*, *Law & Social Inquiry*
- Reviewed: *Choice*, *Harvard Law Review*, *Law & Society Review*, *Law & Politics Book Review*, *Society*, *Concurring Opinions*

Epp, Charles R. 1998. *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

- Lasting Contribution Award of the American Political Science Association's Section on Law and Courts, 2015
- Ranked as 2nd-most cited publication in the area of socio-legal research since 1990 ("Charting the 'Classics' in Law and Society: The Development of the Field over the Past Half-Century," by Calvin Morrill and Kelsey Mayo, in *The Handbook of Law and Society* (eds A. Sarat and P. Ewick), John Wiley & Sons, Inc, Hoboken, NJ, 2015)
- Translated into Spanish: Mexico City, Siglo Veintiuno Editores (2013).
- C. Herman Pritchett Award for best book in the area of law and courts, American Political Science Association Section on Law & Courts, 1999
- Review essays on book in: *Law & Society Review*, *Law & Social Inquiry* (twice)
- Reviewed in: *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Journal of American History*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Law & Politics Book Review*, *Social and Legal Studies*, *South African Journal of Human Rights*,

Articles and book chapters:

“Introduction to the Special Issue on Law & Governance,” *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*, forthcoming, 2021. Lead author, with Ben Merriman, Rosemary O’Leary, and Shannon Portillo.

“Beyond Profiling: The Institutional Sources of Racial Disparities in Policing,” *Public Administration Review* 77(2): 168-78 (2017) (lead article in symposium, and lead author, with Steven Maynard-Moody and Donald Haider-Markel).

“Commentary on Carroll Seron's Presidential Address: Taking Policy Seriously,” *Law & Society Review* 50(1): 40–50 (2016).

“The Legal Complex in the Struggle to Control Police Brutality in India,” in Malcolm Feeley, Terence Halliday, and Lucien Karpik, eds., *Fortunes and Misfortunes of Political Liberalism: The Legal Complex in the Post-Colony*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (2012).

“Law’s Allure and the Power of Path-Dependent Legal Ideas,” review essay, *Law & Social Inquiry* 35(4): 1041-51 (2011).

“The Support Structure as a Necessary Condition for Rights Revolutions: A Response,” *Journal of Politics* 73(2): 406-09 (2011).

“Implementing the Rights Revolution: Repeat Players and the Interpretation of Diffuse Legal Messages,” *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 71(2):41-52 (2008).

“Law as an Instrument of Social Reform,” in Keith Whittington, Gregory Caldeira, and Daniel Keleman, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

--“Law as an Instrument of Social Reform” reprinted in *Revista Argentina de Teoría Jurídica*, a law journal published by Torcuato di Tella University, Buenos Aires, Argentina (forthcoming).

“Courts and the Rights Revolution,” in Kermit Hall and Kevin McGuire, eds., *Institutions of American Democracy: The Judicial Branch*. New York: Oxford University Press (2005).

“The Judge Over Your Shoulder: The Complex Evidence of European-American Convergence,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 28:743-70 (2003) (Review essay on Robert Kagan, *Adversarial Legalism: The American Way of Law*, Harvard University Press).

“The Role of Tort Lawsuits in Reconstructing the Issue of Police Abuse in the United Kingdom,” in Michael McCann and David M. Engel, eds., *The Cultural Foundations of Tort Law*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press (2009).

"Agenda Formation on a Policy Active Supreme Court," in *Constitutional Courts in Comparison: The U.S. Supreme Court and the German Federal Constitutional Court*, eds. Ralf Rogowski and Thomas Gawron. Oxford: Berghahn Books (with Joel B. Grossman) (2001).

"Exploring the Costs of Administrative Legalization: City Expenditures on Legal Services, 1960-1995," *Law & Society Review* 34:407 (2000).

"The Two Motifs in Galanter's 'Why the Haves Come Out Ahead'," *Law & Society Review* 33:1089 (1999).

"External Pressure and the Supreme Court's Agenda," in *Institutional Approaches to Supreme Court Decision-Making*, ed. Cornell Clayton and Howard Gillman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) (1999).

"Do Bills of Rights Matter? The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms," *American Political Science Review* 90:765-779 (1996).

--"Do Bills of Rights Matter? The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms," excerpted in *Law, Politics and the Judicial Process in Canada*, 3rd ed. F.L. Morton, ed., Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2002.)

"Law Student Idealism and Job Choice," *Law & Society Review* 30: 851-864 (1996), (with Howard S. Erlanger, Mia Cahill, and Kathleen M. Beisel).

"Do Lawyers Impair Economic Growth?" *Law & Social Inquiry* 17:585-623 (1992)

"Toward New Research on Lawyers and the Economy" *Law & Social Inquiry* 17:692-711 (1992).

"Connecting Litigation Levels and Legal Mobilization: Explaining Interstate Variation in Employment Civil Rights Litigation," *Law & Society Review* 24:145-163, 1990.

Encyclopedia articles:

"The Civil Rights Act of 1964," in *Oxford Companion to American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press (2012).

"Supreme Courts," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Oxford, UK (2008).

"Amicus Curiae," *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. David S. Tanenhaus. Detroit: MacMillan Reference, 2008.

"Supreme Courts," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds., (Oxford, U.K.: Elsevier) (2002).

"The Kansas Legal System," in *Legal Systems of the World* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO) (2002).

"Judicial Systems" in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1995 (with Joel B. Grossman).

Public service publications:

"Do You Know Why You Pulled Me Over?" *Washington Monthly*, Sept/Oct. 2018.

<https://washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/september-october-2018/do-you-know-why-you-pulled-me-over/>

"Philando Castile and the Human Costs of a Widespread Police Practice," *Washington Monthly*, July 21, 2016 (with Steven Maynard-Moody). <https://washingtonmonthly.com/2016/07/21/philando-castile-and-the-human-costs-of-a-widespread-police-practice/>

"How to Rebuild Trust Between the Police and African Americans," *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 2014 (with Steven Maynard-Moody) http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-rebuild-trust-between-the-police-and-african-americans/2014/08/29/77c59ace-2d50-11e4-994d-202962a9150c_story.html

"Driving While Black," *Washington Monthly*, Jan-Feb. 2014 (with Steven Maynard-Moody) http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/january_february_2014/ten_miles_square/driving_while_black048283.php?page=all

"A Beginner's Guide to the Litigation Maze," *Business Economics* 27(4):33-38 (October, 1992) (with Marc Galanter).

"Let's Not Kill All the Lawyers," *Counterpoint* column, *Wall Street Journal*, July 9, 1992.

"The Reality of Rights in an 'Atolerant' Society," *This Constitution* 19:20-28, 1991 (with Joel B. Grossman).

Book reviews:

The Myth of Mob Rule: Violent Crime and Democratic Politics. By Lisa L. Miller. New York: Oxford University Press. In *Law & Courts Book Review* 27(1) (January 2017): 18-21.

Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing. By Didier Fassin. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. In *Law & Society Review*, 50 (1) (March, 2016): 256–258.

The Unwieldy American State: Administrative Politics Since the New Deal. By Joanna L. Grisinger. New York: Cambridge University Press. In *Law & Society Review*, 48(2) (June, 2014): 490–492.

Unequal Under Law: Race in the War on Drugs. By Doris Marie Provine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. In *Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 19 No. 2 (February, 2009) pp.151-154.

Beyond the First Amendment: The Politics of Free Speech and Pluralism. By Samuel P. Nelson. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. *Perspectives on Politics* 4(4): 761-62, December 2006.

- Success Without Victory: Lost Legal Battles and the Long Road to Justice in America*, by Jules Lobel. New York: New York University Press, 2003. In *Law & Politics Book Review* Vol. 14, No. 10 (October, 2004), pp. 816-818.
- Adversarial Legalism: The American Way of Law*, by Robert Kagan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. In *Law & Politics Book Review* Vol. 12 No. 1 (January 2002) pp. 42-45.
- Judging Jehovah's Witnesses: Religious Persecution and the Dawn of the Rights Revolution*, by Shawn Francis Peters. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. *Journal of American History* 88:702 (2001).
- The Common Place of Law: Stories From Everyday Life* by Patricia Ewick and Susan S. Silbey, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in *Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 10 No. 1 (January 2000) pp. 24-26.
- The Rights Revolution: Rights and Community in Modern America* by Samuel Walker, New York: Oxford University Press, in *Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (February 1999) pp. 85-87.
- Housing Homeless Persons: Administrative Law and Process* by Ian Loveland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), in *Law and Politics Book Review*, Vol. 8 No. 3 (March 1998) pp. 117-119.
- Federalism and the Environment: Environmental Policymaking in Australia, Canada, and the United States*, ed. by Kenneth M. Holland, F.L. Morton, and Brian Galligan, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996, in *Politics and the Life Sciences*, March 1998, 85-87.
- The United Kingdom Confronts the European Convention on Human Rights* by Donald W. Jackson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), in *Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 7 No. 6 (June 1997) pp. 266-268.
- The Meaning of Democracy and the Vulnerability of Democracies: A Response to Tocqueville's Challenge* by Vincent Ostrom (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), in *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 7:333-36 (1997).
- Reclaiming the Federal Courts* by Larry W. Yackle (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) in *American Political Science Review* 89: 504 (1995).
- Courts, Politics and the Judicial Process* by Christopher E. Smith (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1993), in *The Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March 1995).
- Rights at Work: Pay Equity Reform and the Politics of Legal Mobilization* by Michael W. McCann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), in *The Law & Politics Book Review*, Vol. 4, No. 9 (Sept. 1994).

Honors:

Elected Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, 2017.
Lasting Contribution Award of the American Political Science Association's Section on Law and Courts, 2015 (for *The Rights Revolution*)
Best Book Award from the American Society for Public Administration's Section on Public Administration Research, 2015 (for *Pulled Over*)
Choice Outstanding Academic Title, 2015 (for *Pulled Over*)
Honorable Mention, Herbert Jacob Award of the Law & Society Association, 2015 (for *Pulled Over*)
Honorable Mention, Best Book Award of the Academy of Management's Public and Nonprofit Section, 2015 (for *Pulled Over*)
Honorable Mention, Best Book Award of the American Sociological Association's Section on Sociology of Law, 2015 (for *Pulled Over*)
Faculty Teacher of the Year Award, School of Public Affairs and Administration, selected by students across all levels, 2013
Choice Outstanding Academic Title, 2010 (for *Making Rights Real*)
Kemper Teaching Award, University of Kansas, 2007
Excellence in Teaching Award, K.U. Center for Teaching Excellence, spring 2001
C. Herman Pritchett Award of the Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, for best book on law and courts, 1999 (for *The Rights Revolution*)
Edward S. Corwin Award of the American Political Science Association for best doctoral dissertation in the area of public law, 1996

Funded Research and Fellowships:

Principal Investigator, "Systematic Study of Group-Based Legal Mobilization," National Science Foundation, \$210,999 (SES-1535673) (2015-19).

Principal Investigator (PhD student Linda Williams), "Doctoral Dissertation Research: Welcoming the Outsider: Variations in Local Construction of the Law Regarding Immigrants," National Science Foundation, \$11,753 (SES-1228272) (2012-13).

Principal Investigator (PhD student Shannon Portillo), "Doctoral Dissertation Research: The Face of the State: The Influence of Social Status on the Mobilization of Authority," National Science Foundation, \$7,997 (SES 0715298) (2007).

Principal Investigator, "Reconstructing Law on the Street: The Influence of Citizen Characteristics on Traffic Law Enforcement," National Science Foundation, \$188,393 (with co-investigators Steven Maynard-Moody and Donald Haider-Markel) (SES-0214199) (2002-04).

Principal Investigator, "Administrative Legalization: Sources and Consequences in American Cities," National Science Foundation (SES 9905189, \$127,237) (1999-2001).

Principal Investigator, "Litigation Against Local Governments," General Research Fund Faculty Grant, University of Kansas (1998)

Principal Investigator, "Litigation Against Local Governments," New Faculty Fellowship, University of Kansas (1997)

Summer Faculty Fellowship, Indiana University (1995)

Co-Investigator (with Joel B. Grossman, director), "Doctoral Dissertation Research: Constitutional Courts and the Rights Agenda in Comparative Perspective," National Science Foundation Dissertation Research Grant, \$12,000 (#SES9225087) (1993-94).

Canadian Government Dissertation Research Grant (1993)

University Dissertation Fellowship, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992-93

Legal Studies Fellowship, Institute for Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin Law School (1991-1992)

Ogg Fellowship, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (1990)

Invited Lectures:

National Centre for Scientific Research – CNRS, Paris, France, Conference on Face à l'État, "Policing, Race, and the Legitimacy of the State," January 2020 (**keynote address**)

University of Texas Graduate Conference on Public Law, October 2018 (**keynote address**)

University of Kansas Law School, February 2017

University of Kansas "Red Hot Research" Lecture Series, February 2017

Kansas Legal Revitalization Conference (federal practice CLE), February 2017

Texas A&M University, November 2016

Kansas Federal Public Defenders CLE, invited lectures, Wichita and Lawrence, October 2016

University of California-Irvine, October 2016

University of Bergen, Norway, August 2016 (**keynote address**; and additional address)

Yale University, Mini-conference on race and policing, April 2016

DePaul University, Center for Black Diaspora, DePaul University, April 2016

American Society for Public Administration/*Public Administration Review* Mini-Conference on Policing and Race, Cincinnati, Ohio, January 2016 (**keynote address**)

Kansas State University, October 2015

Metropolitan Community College, Kansas City, MO, October 2015

Endacott Society, University of Kansas, May 2015

University of Kansas Annual City Manager Conference, April 2015 (**keynote address**)

University of Central Missouri, April 2015

Poets and Busboys Speaker Series, Washington, DC, February 2015

Bethel College, N. Newton, KS, February 2015

University of California-Irvine, university lecture, November 2014

Joint Council of Kansas Distinguished Professors Forum on the Social Media Policy, University of Kansas, April 2014

Syracuse University, Department of Political Science, September, 2013
Johns Hopkins University, Department of Political Science, March, 2013
International City/County Management Association, Eldon Fields Lecture (**keynote**), October 2012
City College, City University of New York, Boudin Lecture on Civil Liberties (**keynote**), April 2012
University of California-Berkeley, Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program, Nov. 2011
Yale University, Department of Political Science, Feb. 2011
Amherst College, Department of Political Science, Oct. 2010
West Virginia University, Department of Political Science, John R. Williams Memorial Lecture (**keynote**),
Oct. 2009
Ohio University, Department of Political Science, 43rd annual James Lecturer (**keynote**), April 2008
University of Connecticut, Department of Political Science, March 2007
New York University, Institute for Law & Society, October 2000
Wichita State University, Department of Political Science, April 2000
New York University, Institute for Law & Society, February 2000
Ohio State University, Institute for Law & Policy, September 1999
Ohio University, Contemporary History Institute, September 1999
Johns Hopkins University, Department of Political Science, December 1998

Conference Participation:

“Litigating Climate Change,” research presentation, Plenary Panel on the Crisis, Law & Society Association annual conference, May 26-30, 2021.

“Robert Kagan’s *Adversarial Legalism*,” book panel, Law & Society Association annual conference, May 26-30, 2021.

“Documenting Harm in Police Stops,” presentation at Conference on Reimagining Police Stops, Georgetown Law School, Washington, DC, Oct. 12-14, 2020.

“Radical Legal Mobilization: McCann & Lovell’s *Union by Law*,” presentation on *Union by Law*, by Michael McCann and George Lovell, American Political Science Association, Sept. 9-13, 2020.

“Federalism and Law: The New Strategic Litigation Environment,” paper presented at Political Science, Intergovernmental Relations, and Public Administration Mini-Conference, Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries in Federalism Scholarship, American Political Science Association annual conference, Sept. 9-13, 2020.

“Litigating Climate Change,” paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, May 27-31, 2020.

Discussant, panel on The Evolving Politics of Legal Mobilization: Who Mobilizes, Benefits, and Why? American Political Science Association annual conference, Sept. 9-13, 2020.

“The Evolution of Litigation Campaigns: the Case of the Coal-Plant Campaign,” with Kevin Campbell, paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Toronto, Canada, June 7-10, 2018.

Panelist, book roundtable on Ellen Berrey, Laura-Beth Nielsen, and Robert Nelson, *Rights on Trial: How Employment Discrimination Law Perpetuates Inequality*, Law & Society Association annual conference, Toronto, Canada, June 7-10, 2018.

Panelist, book roundtable on Amada Armenta, *Protect, Serve and Deport: The Rise of Policing as Immigration Enforcement*, Law & Society Association annual conference, Toronto, Canada, June 7-10, 2018.

Co-chair with Bert Kritzer, Joel Grossman Memorial Panel, Law & Society Association annual conference, Toronto, Canada, June 7-10, 2018.

Panelist, panel to celebrate the career of Lifetime Achievement Award winner Doris Marie Provine, American Political Science Association annual conference, San Francisco, CA, August 31-Sept. 3, 2017.

Chair and discussant, panel on Law, Legitimacy, and the Racialized Carceral State, American Political Science Association annual conference, San Francisco, CA, August 31-Sept. 3, 2017.

Panelist, book roundtable on Charles Epp, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel, *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship* (University of Chicago Press), American Sociology Association annual conference, Montreal, Quebec, August 12-15, 2017.

“Litigating Coal: Systematic Study of Group-Based Legal Mobilization,” paper presented at the conference on Regulating Climate Change: Governance and Legal Mobilization at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain, July 27-28, 2017.

“Litigating Coal: Toward Understanding a Major Strategic Litigation Campaign,” paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Mexico City, Mexico, June 20-23, 2017.

Panelist, book roundtable on Lisa L. Miller, *Myth of Mob Rule: Violent Crime and Democratic Politics* (Oxford University Press), Law & Society Association annual conference, Mexico City, Mexico, June 20-23, 2017.

Panelist, book roundtable on Sida Liu and Terence Halliday, *Criminal Defense in China: The Politics of Lawyers at Work* (Cambridge University Press), Law & Society Association annual conference, Mexico City, Mexico, June 20-23, 2017.

Panelist, book roundtable on Anna Kirkland, *Vaccine Court: The Law and Politics of Injury* (New York University Press), Law & Society Association annual conference, Mexico City, Mexico, June 20-23, 2017.

“Beyond Profiling: Addressing Persistent Racial Disparities in Police Stops,” American Society for Public Administration annual conference, Atlanta, GA, March 17-21, 2017.

“Investigatory Police Stops and their Effects,” Society for Personality and Social Psychology, San Antonio, TX, Jan. 19-21, 2017 (Plenary Panel organized by Nick Camp and Jennifer Eberhardt, Stanford University).

Panelist, book roundtable on Lauren Edelman, *Working Law: Courts, Corporations and Symbolic Civil Rights* (University of Chicago Press), American Political Science Association annual conference, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1-4, 2016.

“Investments in City Police Departments, 1957-2012,” paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, New Orleans, LA, June 2 - 5, 2016.

Panelist, book roundtable on Jeb Barnes and Tom Burke, *How Policy Shapes Politics* (Oxford University Press), Law & Society Association annual conference, New Orleans, LA, June 2 - 5, 2016.

Panelist, book roundtable on on Jennifer Carlson, *Citizen-Protectors: The Everyday Politics of Guns in an Age of Decline* (Oxford University Press), Law & Society Association annual conference, New Orleans, LA, June 2 - 5, 2016.

“Measuring the Impact of Human Rights Litigation,” presentation at the Symposium on the Justice Initiative’s Study of Litigation Impact, Istanbul, Turkey, Nov. 18-20, 2015.

“Litigating Coal: Systematic Study of Group-Based Legal Mobilization,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual conference, San Francisco, CA, Sept. 3-6, 2015.

“Roundtable on the Judicialization of Politics,” participant, American Political Science Association annual conference, San Francisco, CA, Sept. 3-6, 2015.

“Beyond Profiling: The Institutional Sources of Racial Disparities in Front-Line Practice,” with Steven Maynard-Moody, paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Minneapolis, MN, May 28-June 1, 2014.

Panelist, honoring the contributions of John Tryneski to Law & Society scholarship, Law & Society Association annual conference, Minneapolis, MN, May 28-June 1, 2014.

Panelist, book roundtable on Yoav Dotan, *Lawyering for the Rule of Law: Government Lawyers and the Rise of Judicial Power in Israel*, Law & Society Association annual conference, Minneapolis, MN, May 28-June 1, 2014.

Panelist, Lifetime Achievement Award panel for Robert Kagan, UC-Berkeley, American Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 2013.

“The Rights Revolution Sixty Years On: The Emergence of Institutionalized Practices that Discriminate,” paper with Steven Maynard-Moody and Don Haider-Markel, Law & Society Association annual conference, Boston, Massachusetts, May 29-June 2, 2013.

“Inventing the Investigatory Stop,” paper with Steven Maynard-Moody and Don Haider-Markel, Law & Society Association annual meeting, San Francisco, CA, June 2-5, 2011.

Chair, roundtable on Surveys and Interviews in Legal Research, Law & Society Association annual meeting, San Francisco, CA, June 2-5, 2011.

Discussant, panel on the American Conservative Legal Movement, Law & Society Association annual meeting, San Francisco, CA, June 2-5, 2011.

Participant (author), Book Roundtable on Epp’s *Making Rights Real*, American Political Science Association annual conference, Washington, DC, Sept. 2010.

“Driver Evaluations of the Legitimacy of a Traffic Stop,” with Steven Maynard-Moody and Don Haider-Markel, Law & Society Association annual meeting, Chicago, IL, May 27-30, 2010.

Participant, roundtable on “The Legal Complex and Political Liberalism,” Law & Society Association annual meeting, Chicago, IL, May 27-30, 2010.

Chair, panel on “The Origins of Rights Claims,” Law & Society Association annual meeting, Chicago, IL, May 27-30, 2010.

Commentator, Author meets Readers panel on Gordon Silverstein, *Law’s Allure*, American Political Science Association annual conference, Toronto, Ont., Sept. 2009.

Chair, panel on “Institutional Analysis of the Courts,” American Political Science Association annual conference, Toronto, Ont., Sept. 3-6, 2009.

“Traffic Stops as Racialized Surveillance,” with co-authors Steven Maynard-Moody and Donald Haider-Markel, paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Denver, CO, May 28-31, 2009.

Panelist, Service Panel on Entering the Job Market and Succeeding as a Junior Scholar/Teacher, sponsored by the Diversity Committee, Law & Society Association annual conference, Denver, CO, May 28-31, 2009.

“The Liability Revolution and Administrative Legalization,” paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Montreal, Quebec, May 29-June 1, 2008.

Discussant, panel on Regulating Government, Law & Society Association annual conference, Montreal, Quebec, May 29-June 1, 2008.

Chair, panel on Legal Liberalism and Counter-Mobilization after the 1960s, American Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 2007.

Chair, panel on Law, Legal Networks, and Bureaucracies, Law & Society Association annual conference, Berlin, Germany, July 25-28, 2007.

“Institutions, Legal Mobilization, and the Bureaucratic Response to Law,” paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Berlin, Germany, July 25-28, 2007.

“The Evolving Construction of Legal Liability in Professional Publications: The Case of Policing,” Paper presented at the Law & Society Association annual conference, Baltimore, MD, July 6-9, 2006.

“Racial Profiling: Drivers’ Stories of Traffic Stops,” Prepared for presentation at the annual conference of the Law & Society Association, Baltimore, MD, July 6-9, 2006 (with Steven Maynard-Moody, Donald Haider-Markel, and Shannon Portillo).

“The Role of Tort Lawsuits in Reconstructing the Issue of Police Abuse in the United Kingdom,” paper presented at the conference Cultural Foundations of Tort Law, Sturm College of Law, University of Denver, April 6-7, 2006.

“Managing Rights in the Shadow of Tort Law: Administrative Policies on Police Brutality, Playground Safety, and Sex Harassment,” paper presented at the conference on “The Intersection of Rights and Regulation: New Directions in Socio-Legal Scholarship,” Oxford, England, July 1-4, 2005.

“Assessing Racial Disparities in Traffic Stop Outcomes Using a Citizen Survey Approach,” Charles Epp, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Don Haider-Markel, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Las Vegas, NV, June 3-5, 2005.

“Reconstructing Law on the Street: The Influence of Citizen Characteristics on Traffic Law Enforcement,” Charles Epp, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Don Haider-Markel, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Chicago, IL, May 27-30, 2004.

Discussant, panel on Gender and Law, Dickinson Conference on Law & Legal Rights in China, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, March 2004.

“Legal Liability as a Form of Regulation: A Comparison of Police, Playgrounds, and Personnel,” paper presented at the 2002 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Aug. 28-Sept. 1, 2002.

“The Judge Over Your Shoulder: The Complex Evidence of European-American Convergence,” paper presented at the 2002 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, May 30-June 2, 2002.

“Do Rights Matter? The Impact of Legal Liability on Administrative Policies,” paper presented at the 2001 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Aug. 29-Sept. 2, 2001.

“The Fear of Being Sued: Variations in Perceptions of Legal Threat Among Managers in the United States,” paper presented at the 2001 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Budapest, Hungary, July 3-7.

Discussant, panel on the public reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Bush v. Gore*, 2001 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Budapest, Hungary, July 3-7.

Chair and discussant, panel on "Litigation as a Strategy for Change in Different State Settings," annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami Beach, FL, 2000.

Chair and discussant, panel on "Understanding Rights in Constitutional Interpretation," annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami Beach, FL, 2000.

Co-coordinator, session on publishing research, for the Graduate Student Workshop, annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami Beach, FL, 2000.

Chair, book round on *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective*, annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami Beach, FL, 2000.

"Exploring the Costs of Administrative Legalization: City Expenditures on Legal Services, 1960-1995," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1999.

Participant, Roundtable Discussion on "Inside the Black Box: Understanding Institutions," 1999 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Chicago, IL.

"Judicial Activism: What is It?," paper presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Chicago, IL (with Joel B. Grossman).

"Regulating the 'Litigious Society'? The Effects of Liability Laws on City Legal Expenditures," paper presented at the 1998 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.

"Litigation Stories: Official Perceptions of Lawsuits Against Local Governments," paper presented at the 1998 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Snowmass, CO.

Discussant, panel on Comparative Perspectives on Courts, 1998 annual meeting of the Law & Society Association, Snowmass, CO.

"Litigation Against Local Governments: Expenditures on Legal Services, 1960-1995," paper presented at the 1997 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

"Litigation and Local Government Accountability," paper presented at the 1997 annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, St. Louis.

Discussant, panel on The Second Presidency, 1997 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

"Civil Society, Democracy and the Indian Supreme Court," paper presented at the 1996 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

"External Pressure and the U.S. Supreme Court's Agenda," paper presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.

Discussant, panel on Legal Mobilization and Social Reform, 1995 Annual Meeting of the Law & Society Association, Toronto.

Discussant, panel on Author Meets Readers: W.A. Bogart's *Courts and Country* (Oxford University Press), 1995 Annual Meeting of the Law & Society Association, Toronto.

"The Sources of Growth in the Canadian Supreme Court's Rights Agenda," paper presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Law & Society Association, Toronto.

Chair and discussant, panel on Comparative Studies of Judicial Behavior, 1995 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill.

"The Development of a Rights Agenda in the British House of Lords," paper presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill.

Courses Taught:

Diversity in Public Organizations (advanced undergraduate/MPA)
Crime and Punishment (advanced undergraduate/MPA)
Concepts of Civil Society (advanced undergraduate/MPA)
Role, Context and Ethics of Public Administration (MPA)
Constitutional Foundations of Public Administration & Administrative State (doctoral seminar)
Law, Courts and Public Policy (doctoral seminar)
First Year Seminar: Drugs, Cars, Cops and Social Justice (introductory undergraduate)
Law, Politics, and Society (introductory undergraduate)
Introduction to Public Administration (advanced undergraduate)
American Constitutional Law: Government Powers (advanced undergraduate)
American Constitutional Law: Civil Rights and Liberties (advanced undergraduate)
American Political Thought (advanced undergraduate)
Judicial Politics (advanced undergraduate)
Law and the Administration of Justice (advanced undergraduate)
Law and Public Management (graduate)
Public Law (graduate)

Dissertations chaired:

Kevin Campbell, ongoing
Duncan Friend, 2020
Misty Grayer, 2019 (assistant professor, Kennesaw State University)
Brian Pappas, 2015 (assistant professor, Boise State University)
Robin Kempf, 2014 (assistant professor, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY)

Solomon Woods, 2014

Linda Williams, 2013 (assistant professor, University of Texas-Rio Grande Valley)

Angela Paez, 2013 (assistant professor, Tennessee State University)

Shannon Portillo, 2008 (assistant professor, George Mason University 2008-13; assistant & associate professor, University of Kansas 2013-present)

Professional Memberships, Activities, and Service:

Service as manuscript/grant proposal reviewer:

Presses: University of Chicago Press, Princeton University Press, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, University of California Press, Stanford University Press, University of Michigan Press, New York University Press, Routledge.

Journals: *American Political Science Review; Perspectives on Politics; American Journal of Political Science; American Journal of Sociology; Canadian Journal of Political Science; Comparative Political Studies; Journal of Politics; American Politics Quarterly; Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory; Law & Society Review; Law & Social Inquiry; Political Research Quarterly; Social Science Quarterly; Theory & Society; Law & Policy*

Grant proposals: National Science Foundation Section on Law and Social Science, and Section on Political Science; Social Science Research Council of Canada; Economic and Social Research Council (U.K.); Israel Science Foundation

Editorial boards & trustees:

Co-Editor, Chicago Series in Law & Society, University of Chicago Press, with co-editors John Conley and Lynn Mather, 2019-

Co-Editor, Special Issue on Law & Governance, *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*, with co-editors Ben Merriman, Rosemary O'Leary, and Shannon Portillo, 2021

Editorial Board, *Law & Policy*, 2018-

Founding Associate Editor/Editorial Board, *Journal of Law & Courts*, 2011-

Editorial Advisory Board, *Law & Society Review*, 2005-08

Editorial Board, University Press of Kansas, 2003-07

Board of Trustees, Law & Society Association, 2001-03, 2013-15

Editorial board, *Law and Courts Newsletter* (Law and Courts Section of the APSA)

Editorial board, *Law and Politics Book Review* (electronic review service)

Other national and international service:

Secretary, Law & Society Association, 2017-19

Chair, Executive Office Transition Committee, Law & Society Association, 2016-17

Executive Office Transition Committee, Law & Society Association, 2015-16

Executive Committee & Board of Trustees, Law & Society Association, 2013-15

Chair, Nominations Committee, American Political Science Association Section on Law & Courts, 2015
Chair, Dissertation Prize Committee, Law & Society Association, 2012
Member, Graduate Student Workshop Committee, Law & Society Association, 2011
Member, Best Dissertation Award Committee, Law & Society Association, 2010
Member, Best Article Award Committee, American Political Science Association Section on Law and Courts, 2009
Member, Diversity Committee, Law & Society Association, 2007-09
Member, Summer Institute Planning Committee, Law & Society Association, 2005-07
Member, Edward S. Corwin Award Committee, Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2004-05
Member, Executive Committee, Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2004-06
Chair, Nominations Committee, Law & Society Association, 2004-05
Member, Lifetime Achievement Award committee, Law & Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2004-05.
Chair, Editor Search Committee, Law & Politics Book Review, 2002
Member, Editor Search Committee, *Law & Society Review*, 2002
Member, Best dissertation award committee, Law & Society Association, 2000

Community and State service:

Criminal Justice Coordinating Council of Douglas County, KS, 2016-present
Co-chair, Kansas Board of Regents Faculty-Staff Work Group to Recommend Revisions to the Social Media Policy, 2014
Douglas County Judicial Nominating Commission, 2008-2011 (two nominations)
USD497 Lawrence Elementary School Facility Vision Task Force, 2011-12
USD497 Lawrence Elementary School Bond Support Committee, 2012-13

KU service (selected):

Member, Self Memorial Scholarship Committee, 2021
Chair, Chancellor's Task Force on Community-Responsive Public Safety, 2020
PhD Program Director, School of Public Affairs and Administration, 2017-
Chair, School of Public Affairs and Administration director search committee, 2019
Chair, School of Public Affairs and Administration committees on transition & director search, 2017
Undergraduate Program Committee, School of Public Affairs and Administration, 2014-17
Provost's Committee on Social Media Policy Procedures, 2014
University Senate & Faculty Senate, University of Kansas, 2013- 16
PhD Director, Department of Public Administration, 2007-2011
Center for Teaching Excellence faculty board (TEAM), 2006-08
University Committee on Distinguished Professorships, 2006-08
Faculty Council Task Force on Classified Research, 2005-06
Research and Graduate Studies Committee for New Program Approval, 2008-09
Office of International Programs Dean's Advisory Committee, 2005-07

Provost's Research and Scholarship Committee, 2004-05
Faculty Senate, University of Kansas, 2003-06
University Committee on Promotion and Tenure, University of Kansas, 2000-03
Committee on the Budget, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Kansas, 1998-2001

Public media appearances/interviews (since 2014):

Opinion-editorial columns:

Epp, Charles R., and Steven Maynard-Moody. "Philando Castile and the Human Costs of a Widespread Police Practice," *Washington Monthly*, July 21, 2016.

<https://washingtonmonthly.com/2016/07/21/philando-castile-and-the-human-costs-of-a-widespread-police-practice/>

Epp, Charles R., and Steven Maynard-Moody, "How to Rebuild Trust Between the Police and African Americans," *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 2014. http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-rebuild-trust-between-the-police-and-african-americans/2014/08/29/77c59ace-2d50-11e4-994d-202962a9150c_story.html

Epp, Charles R., and Steven Maynard-Moody, "Driving While Black," *Washington Monthly*, Jan-Feb. 2014.

http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/january_february_2014/ten_miles_square/driving_while_black048283.php?page=all

Long-format radio and television interviews:

Everything is Broken with Jim Lynch, WUSB (Long Island, NY), Aug. 11, 2015.

<http://www.wusb.fm/node/38893>

Veronica Rueckert, "The Samuel DuBose Shooting," Wisconsin Public Radio, July 31, 2015.

<http://www.wpr.org/impact-samuel-dubose-shooting>

Here and There with Dave Marash, KSFR (Santa Fe), June 29, 2015. <https://beta.prx.org/stories/153493>

Rob Ferrett, "Racial Differences In Police Traffic Stops," Wisconsin Public Radio, April 27, 2015.

<http://www.wpr.org/racial-differences-police-traffic-stops>

"Book Discussion on *Pulled Over*," C-SPAN, April 6, 2015. [http://www.c-span.org/video/?325383-](http://www.c-span.org/video/?325383-1/book-discussion-pulled)

[1/book-discussion-pulled](http://www.c-span.org/video/?325383-1/book-discussion-pulled)

Up to Date with Steve Kraske, KCUR (Kansas City), March 12, 2015.

http://cpa.ds.npr.org/kcur/audio/2015/03/UTD_3-12-2015TrafficStops.mp3

Quotations or references in media reports:

New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Toronto Star, USA Today, Christian Science Monitor, National Public Radio, Chronicle of Higher Education, Inside Higher Education, AllGov, Dallas Morning News, Kansas City Star, Austin American Statesman, Post and Courier (Charleston, SC), The Boston Review, Slate, The Marshall Project, The Daily Beast, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Univision, The Statesman (New Delhi, India), Nexos (Mexico City, Mexico), Stat, FiveThirtyEight, Justice Today, The Daily Maverick (Johannesburg, South Africa), Justia, Streetsblog NYC, Black Youth Project, The Sentencing Project, ThinkProgress, The Weather Vane, Fusion, Toronto Police Accountability Bulletin, Kansas Public Radio, Lawrence Journal-World, The Youth Project.