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African American Resistance in Post-racial America: Exemplifying "Black Lives Matter" Movement that would Matter more with the Case of George Floyd

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Abstract

The present dissertation explores the African American resistance in post-racial America through highlighting both the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and the case of George Floyd. Many reject the existence of a new anti-racism movement within post-racial America. In this regard, this dissertation sheds light on African Americans' life before and after the post-racial era, while understanding the appearance of post racial idea and colorblindness ideology, the issue of American police is undertaken. In addition, it discusses the rise of BLM as a social and digital movement as well as its conflict with its counter protests and white backlash and finally examines the death of George Floyd and its legacy. Within the scope of this research work, the reached conclusions prove the persistence of racism in America showing that African Americans are still marginalized under systematic racism through which police killed blacks among whom George Floyd is a valid reference. The study concludes that BLM has risen and shone after Floyd's incident despite the scandal that shook it.

ملخص

تستكشف هذه المذكرة المقاومة الأفارقة الأمريكيين في أمريكا ما بعد العنصرية من خلال تسليط الضوء على كل من حركة "حياة السود مهمة" وقضية جورج فلويد. الكثير يرفض وجود حركة جديدة مناهضة للعنصرية في أمريكا ما بعد العنصرية. في هذا الإطار ، تحاول هذه المذكرة تسليط الضوء على حياة الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية قبل وبعد حقبة ما بعد العنصرية، مع فهم ظهور فكرة ما بعد العنصرية وأيديولوجية اللاعرقية، يتم تناول مشكلة الشرطة الأمريكية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تناقش المذكرة بروز حركة "حياة السود مهمة" كحركة اجتماعية ورقمية بالإضافة إلى صراعها مع الاحتجاجات المضادة وردود فعل البيض وتختم بالبحث في مقتل جورج وإرثه. ضمن نطاق هذا العمل الحتي، تثبت الاستنتاجات المخوصل اليها استمر ارية العنصرية في أمريكا وأن الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على وارثه. طمن نطاق هذا العمل البحثي، تثبت الاستنتاجات المتوصل اليها استمر ارية العنصرية في أمريكا وأن الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على ولا أمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على ولا الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على ولا الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قال العديد من السود على الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية المنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على ولا الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية الممنهجة حيث يتم قتل العديد من السود على الأمريكيين من أصول أفريقية لا يز الون مهمشين في ظل العنصرية المربود مهمة" صعدت وتألقت بعد حادثة

ALM	All Lives Matter
BLM	Black Lives Matter
BLMGNF	Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation
BWC/CWB	Body Worn Camera
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
CPR	Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation
CRM	Civil Rights Movement
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DOJ	Department of Justice
DWB	Driving while Black
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
ККК	Ku Klux Klan
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
МР	Minneapolis Police
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NDWA	the National Domestic Workers Alliance
PCR	Police-community Relations
SOUL	School of Unity and Liberation
SPLC	Southern Poverty Law Center
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestants
WLM	White Lives Matter

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Introduction

"I can't breathe" a phrase that echoed in the year 2020 out of suffocation. It was uttered by many people who had Covid-19 infection everywhere. Again, the same phrase was the last thing pronounced by George Floyd, a black American who died after a police officer kneeled on his neck during an arrest. Somehow, his death transformed those three words into a strong refrain repeated by Black Lives Matter protesters and anti-racism supporters from different parts of the world. Floyd's death was just another racial motivated act in a long series of discrimination targeting African Americans. People all around the United States of America were calling to end racial discrimination against black people in all its forms starting from police brutality against blacks.

Racism has always been a major political and social issue in the history of the US, even after its emergence as a free state. African Americans are among the minorities who had been subjected to different forms of oppression, starting from the institution of slavery that lasted for more than two centuries, Followed by a century of new slavery forms yet with other names. Historically speaking, blacks were constantly the powerless and weakest part of the equation compared to whites. This devastating racist history of black people deemed them the inferior race, as there are many rigid forces along with racial tacit beliefs that supported the continuation of race-based discrimination.

The first and the most influential line in the Declaration of Independence states that "All men are created equal," a simple sentence that promises justice for all American people regardless of their race or ethnicity. Yet, the meaning of this sentence and its implementation were two different things. Ironically, this sentence allowed for the continuation of discrimination and inequality for people of color, because the sentence was not meant for all men are created equal literally speaking, but rather only "White Anglo-Saxon" men are the ones to enjoy equality (Bowman). In the light of this, the white Protestants and their unshakable belief in their supremacy further watered racism.

The fact of being a target to constant discrimination led African-Americans to many revolts and various uprisings, mainly the Civil Rights Movement (CRM). Due to the passage of both the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Act and other minor achievements, black people gained more power and courage to fight for their own rights. Throughout the course of their fight, blacks found their way to show rejection and disapproval of segregated laws chiefly by using non-violent protests, sit-in, and other creative ways (George 58-61).

The progress of black civil rights was enthroned by the election of Barack Obama, the first black man to be president for the US. This made the people of America believe that their nation had overcome the issue of racism, and soon the US and the whole world began to recognize post-racist America. However, this peace was disturbed by several acts of discrimination such as the killing of unarmed African-Americans at the hands of police officers, which have crashed the image people had about post-racial America and gave rise to new forms of anti-racism strategies like the foundation of a movement known as Black Lives Matter (BLM).

Unlike the civil rights movement, Black Lives Matter was born online after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, a Hispanic American night watcher, in the shooting death of a seventeen-year-old boy named Trayvon Martin. The BLM released the hashtag #blacklivesmatter that went viral after Trayvon's case (Chase 1093). One year later, the BLM grew bigger to the extent it started on streets activism by standing for new racism-related death cases starting with the killing of another unarmed black man, Michael Brown, and the list goes on (Chase 1094-1095). The BLM remains active, as there are many cases that involved different black victims facing police brutality.

The issue of police brutality against black minority managed to bring up the subject of racism to the top along with the expansion of BLM activism. Yet, the belief in the

beyond-racial period and the narrow focus of the movement on blacks only made people reject the presence of BLM. As a result, the movement was criticized for its name simply because it is "Black Lives Matter" and not "All Lives Matter" which reflected a backlash to the movement. The shifting to "All Lives" came in opposition to the Movement's main aim of achieving social justice for African American minorities. Even more, BLM has continuously received negative responses from many counterparts. Along with the hashtag #AllLivesMatter, there were many counter-protests like Blue Lives Matter, which advocates American police lives and protections.

Seven years later, after the Trayvon's case, with the coming of the COVID-19 pandemic, the world has faced an unprecedented health crisis and a state of emergency has been issued. Countries all around the world declared quarantines and social distancing. Despite that, a group of protesters started a new Black Lives Matter campaign for another African American, "George Floyd", who was another victim of police brutality and racial discrimination. Unlike previous ones, the recent case has triggered massive protests across America and other parts of the world. Amid the rage of black community and the pandemic limitations, people expressed their support by posting and sharing the BLM's hashtag. They were helping not only the case but also the Black Lives Matter movement to be globally recognized. Consequently, the struggle to remove racism gained more attention on the national and international levels.

The initial step in solving a problem is to recognize that it exists in the first place. Most people in America have lived in denial about racial discrimination especially after the success of the civil rights movement, because everyone assumed that the problem of race had been resolved and became history. However, years later the problem still persists and is now more serious than ever.

The issue of racism is then far from resolved, as people of color are still being killed

in the streets by police for simply fitting the description of African Americans. It is true that African Americans may have more rights now than they did years ago, but they are still ranked second and inferior to white people. Accordingly, this study and all other related studies in the field are proofs of the concreteness of this problem on the one hand. On the other hand, this study is oriented towards stacking more evidence about the racial inequality in America today.

The current research aims first to shed light on the recent racial incidents of police brutality against black minorities, through explaining the issue of racism and its ideologies' development through time. Besides, it investigates to what extent George Floyd's death has affected this movement; whether it helped it to reach its desired goal or not. Moreover, the study tracks advancement in the rights of African Americans following the BLM activism in the US over time. Next, it reviews the level of success of the movements in quest and discusses the possible obstacles that hindered its pursuit of change and the rise of the All-Lives Matter backlash and counter protest.

Despite the complicated nature of the topic, the research attempts to answer these frequently asked questions: When and how did racism ever start? How did racism shape African American history? What are the types of racism that black people are subjected to and how do they resist it? Is it true that American society is a post-racial society? Is racism systemic in the US police department? When and how did Black Lives Matter emerge? Why is there a growing tendency to oppose such a movement? How does this new movement confront its counterparts? How does Floyd's death influence the Black Lives Matter movement? And what are the procedures that should be taken by the movement in the future to prevent police brutality and systemic racism?

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters each discussing a key element in the research. The first chapter is entitled "Tracing Racism and Black Resistance in the US Before and After the Post-racial Era"; it provides a conceptual and historical background of racial ideologies. It aims to present a more holistic picture of the topic by showing how black people resisted the racial ideologies from slavery to post racial era.

The second chapter, under the title "War Breaks out: The Rise of BLM and Anti-BLM", depicts the rise of the new movement and its progress in voicing the issue of African Americans in the post-ethnic society. Along with stating its goals and strategies, the chapter demonstrates the counter protests and their ways to oppose the BLM. The chapter also shows the backlash of all lives matter and how it is misleading just like post racialism.

The last chapter, which is entitled "The Aftermath of George Floyd Case and Black Lives Matter Movement", examines the recent case of George Floyd and its aftermath on both the movement and the people of America. It investigates the death of Floyd and provides a general background of the incident and the details about what happened.

Racism has been around for a long time, from its origins to its current status in society. Many authors have expressed opposing perspectives on racism. As this research entitled "African Americans' Resistance in Post-racial America: Exemplifying Black Lives Matters that would Matter more with Gorge Floyd", it is essential to draw conclusions on both racism and post-racism and provide an illustration on the past and present struggle of the African American community and connect it with the recent incident of George Floyd. For that reason, the following review of literature is used as reference for better understanding and covering every aspect of this topic.

Understanding the notion of race is crucial for understanding racism; it is vital to decide whether race is a social fabric or a biological fact. Hence, in "Race: Biological Reality or Social Construct?" Robin O. Andreasen gives a historical meaning for the term race. He argues that race is a bigoted-based idea of classifying people into inferior and superior. This

implies that race emerged as social contrast rather than biological fact. However, Andreasen argues that race can be viewed as both a social and biological concept simultaneously.

Racial Formation in the United States written by Michael Omi and Howard Winant is another valuable source on race. This book introduces the racial formation theory on what race is and how it is shaped. It has been proven throughout the book that racial formation explains the reason behind racial classification. Basically, Omi and Winant portray race as a complicated internal force within society fuelled by the system of political warfare, which implies that racial discrimination that occurs between two groups is based on political or/and economic interests.

In his analysis "#AllLivesMatter as Post-Racial Rhetorical Strategy", Mark Orbe examines both BLM and ALM hashtags as #AllLivesMatter was used as a response for #BlacklivesMatter. He concludes that ALM is similar to other rhetorical devices that promote post-racism such as the notion of color-blind society. Yet, it is a racialized strategy under the cloak of white privilege only in an implicit way. He concludes that #BlackLivesMatter as a rhetorical device is necessary to highlight existing disparities based on race. For Orbe, #BlackLivesMatter is not used as a strategy for separation and division, but as a crucial educational tool toward greater social justice.

Following the same framework, in the entitled article "OPINION: Black Lives Matter vs. All Lives Matter", Gregory Molly and Kayleigh Knight illustrate the debate between BLM and ALM and they highlight the major arguments between these battlefronts. In their illustration, they conclude that BLM is not the opposite of ALM, but rather a way to show that society must focus on Black lives at the present time.

The recent case of George Floyd has inspired many researchers and sociologists to tackle the issue of racism. considering the article "Black Lives Matter, and Yes, you are Racist: The Parallelism of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries", Henrika McCoy

makes a comparison between the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in which she claims that the history of black people repeats itself. She also adds that the combinations of past events from the Spanish flu to the Civil Rights Movement equal months in the year of the pandemic. In other words, she avows that the year 2020 revitalized those sad past events and gave a new opportunity for whites to put blacks under the mercy of systematic racism.

In the book *Racism without Racists*, which is one of the most proactive books that reveals the reality of racial ideologies in post racial America, Bonilla-Silva shows how black and white people perceive racism differently and it is these diverse perceptions that made racism a controversial notion. Moreover, it has kept empathy and responsiveness between races away.

This dissertation will use other sources concerning the racial ideologies, police brutality, and systematic racism to guarantee a real coverage of the topic. Hence, a variety of sources from books, journals, newspapers, reports, to websites (including the BLM movement website) and videos especially the widely distributed video of the incident of killing George Floyd are used in this work.

The present research is conducted through a combination of the descriptive and analytical methods. The descriptive method is adopted to explain the history of African American resistance from the very first racial interaction to their present situation in the post racial period. It is used to trace the growth of racial ideologies and its transformation into racial ignorance. the analytical method , however; is used to investigate the police attitudes and behaviors towards black suspects and to explore the death of George Floyd and its significance. Every chapter is carried out through the combination of both descriptive and analytical methods.

Chapter One

Tracing Racism and Black Resistance in the US before and after the Post-Racial Era

It is undeniable that black people have been marginalized and discriminated against for centuries. Their history was full of racial oppression and struggles for freedom. Even though many African Americans have succeeded in improving their lives and regained some of their stolen rights, others were cruelly tortured, imprisoned, or killed at the hands of white haters over the course of the years. This racial tension continued to the present day, which gave birth to a new anti-racism movement. The continuation of African American resistance to the persistence of racism during the so-called post-racial era makes the situation even harder; because it is hard to convince anyone that racism still exists.

Before addressing this problem, it is vital to ensure that both racialism and postracialism are explored, which enables the reader to understand how American society moves from racial ideologies to racial ignorance and to differentiate between the previous and current forms of racism. Therefore, one must dissect the original roots of racism and trace the sources of its ideologies. Additionally, the history of black Americans is explored since it illustrates their experiences with racism and their ways of resisting oppression. In fact, this historical synopsis will provide a clear image of the factors that ensured the persistence of racial ideologies. This chapter also depicts the lives of African Americans since the emergence of the post-racial era and how race relations and racial ideologies have changed at many levels. Besides, the chapter acknowledges the current struggle of African Americans with racism and explores the connection between current racism problems with past struggles.

1.1 Racialism and its Interrelated Notions

Racialism and racism are often used interchangeably. However, the term "racism" has become more common in modern times. Racialism, in its literal meaning, refers to any ideology or belief that drives social and/or political conclusions from the classification of human beings into different races. This section discusses racism as a sociological concept, as well as its various types and origins. The bulk of this work is based on racism, but before dealing with it, one needs to explain race, which is an interrelated concept with racism.

1.1.1 Race

Black or white skin, brown or blue eyes, curly or straight hair, and so on, are basic images one might have about race. Yet, race as a concept is rather controversial and cannot be limited solely to physical traits. Therefore, Andreasen emphasizes that theorists' views on how to outline the history of race issues are based on two assertions: race is "biologically real" or/and "social construct". Based on the first view, scientists sought to substantiate the concept of race as a physiologically based categorization of human species (Andreasen 653). However, this view was denied in the mid-twentieth century. Whereas, the second constructivist view of race considered the latter as a social fabric. For them, race is merely the result of how individuals in society perceive human differences (655).

As scientific developments in the twentieth century proved, human physical deviations do not reflect a racial paradigm. Instead, the physical variations tend to correlate since there are no specific genes responsible for those different visible human characteristics. Indeed, DNA tests have shown that all individuals seem to have more similarities than differences genetically speaking; there is nearly no difference between a black and a white genetic programming (Smedley). Nevertheless, social scholars favored the social interpretations of race. Hanna et al. clarify why race is highly acknowledged as socially structured, as they claim that race was created or formed by "historical events, social forces, governmental authority, and/or colonial conquest" (503). This denotes that race was engendered from colonial thinking.

Many constructivists disagree with the old human's classification that suggests

that race is not biologically motivated; it is rather enforced by ideological factors, such as the desire to maintain a social order that sees racial inequity as acceptable and unavoidable (Andreasen 654). However, Andreasen argues that race can be interrelated to biology if one puts the cladism view into consideration; the latter suggests that human beings can be subdivided based on their shared ancestry (655). Two black men do not share the same ancestry because one of them, for instance, came from an interrelated marriage, so they do not belong to one category. Accordingly, race cannot be analyzed on the basis of society or biology alone; this concept cannot fit solely in one category, it rather encompasses both realities. That is why Andreasen opted for a middle ground classification that joins both natural and humanistic based views.

Many scholars prove that race has firstly emerged as a classification of humankind into distinct groups (Smedley). This categorization of people into separate races resulted in some races being regarded as superior and others as inferior. Consequently, this arbitrary classification led to a racist doctrine that fuels racial prejudices and attitudes.

1.1.2 Racism

The term "racism" is regarded as one of the most complicated terms in sociology. It has many alternative interpretations, such as racial discrimination, prejudice, or both of them. Although racial attitudes and racial behavior are often regarded as two different things, they are both considered racist acts. The first refers to prejudice or basic assumptions about others. The second refers to the outcome of the previous beliefs that engender racist acts (Barbarin 14). Nonetheless, racism is treated as a broad concept that encompasses both racial behaviors and attitudes (14). Yet, its definition is still controversial.

For instance, the common-sense definition of racism according to Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo is "... prejudice, ignorance, or a disease that afflicts some individuals and causes them to discriminate against others just because of the way they look" (21). Even more, Jones Camara Phyllis defines racism as "... a system. It is not an individual character flaw, nor a personal moral failing, nor a psychiatric illness. It is a system consisting of structures, policies, practices, and norms that structures opportunity and assigns value based on phenotype, or the way people look" (9). In the light of both definitions, race or phenotype is the main factor of racism, although they are quite different. The first one is what most people believe about racism, as it focuses on individuals' prejudice towards others' biographical characteristics and is highly related to one's personality. On the contrary, the definition of Jones focused on the fact that racism is a social fabric rather than an individual's product.

There is no standard yet perfect definition of racism; however, many scholars tend to agree on Mark Chesler's interpretation of racism, which encompasses two factors: personal prejudice and social power. In his words, he defines racism as the following: "An ideology of explicit or implicit superiority or advantage of one racial group over another, plus the institutional power to implement that ideology in social operation" (qtd. in Bonilla-Silva 26). This entails that racialism is acting according to the belief in perceived dominance, which is reinforced by well-established social bodies.

1.1.3 Origin of Racism and other Racial Ideologies

As mentioned before, racism arose from the social view of race. Hurley Jennifer assumes that origins of racism are rooted back to 1750 B.C. with the Greeks, who initiated the act of classifying people into categories based on their actions into "civilized" or "barbarous" groups. The Greeks classified people on a social basis regardless of their skin color, or ethnicity (58). Accordingly, black people were not the inferior race back then. It was until the Middle Ages that people started classifying on the basis of skin color, especially with Arabs, who had developed a negative sense of those who had dark skin and marginalized them. At that time, words like "inferior" and "stranger" were associated with black people. Besides, Arab parents did not accept interracial marriage, so they rejected the idea of marrying a black man to their daughters. It is worth mentioning that the slave trade started during this period (58).

During the sixteenth century; more precisely the Enlightenment era, white Europeans launched exploration over the seven seas. This put them in direct contact with the cultures and traditions of the dark-skinned people. In his *Slavery in Colonial America*, *1619-1776*, Wood Betty reported that a range of travel accounts written by Englishmen described the African inhabitants as barely human and more like apes. They even accused them of being zoophilic (those who have sex with animals) and cannibals. These first impressions gave birth to black inferiority and white supremacy (9). Actually, these perceptions and depictions of black people are what started racism and later became the cornerstone of slavery and colonialism.

The ideology of white privilege has three elements: the white man's burden, the god's curse, and the scientific proof of black subordination. The first two were the result of initial stereotypical images of the African inhabitants. These two philosophies were influential between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whereas the scientific evidence of race emerged in the late nineteenth century (Smith 8). English colonialism and slavery were both justified by the "white man's burden" and the "God's curse" philosophies. The essential role of the first philosophy was to Christianize the savages (Africans) and make them civilized through the process of enslavement (9). In light of this, slavery and colonialism were presented as good things for humanity and the best things colonized populations could ever ask for.

The second philosophy is more fascinating. Owing to the fact that humans are descended from Adam and Eve, a debate arose on whether both Adam and Eve had black or white skin. Obviously, the European answer was white skin, which led to the emergence of two different hypotheses: on one hand, black people are not human. On the other hand, they are human, yet their skin color has changed for a specific reason. Some assume that black skin is a result of God's curse. The latter was a result of witnessing Noah, the father of Ham, in a shameful situation. Therefore, God punished Ham by blackening his skin for his sin. Consequently, Africans were believed to be descended from Ham (Wood 9). Europeans used this myth as justification for slavery. Then, it was transformed by American slaveholders. Fredrickson George believes that Africans were completely convinced that they were punished by God to be slaves for their lifetime (43). Indeed, black people were fooled by this myth and they accepted their fate as being inferior to whites since the whole thing was in God's will.

Finally, yet most importantly, the scientific justification of white supremacy that emerged in the late nineteenth century and further developed by the early twentieth century is considered strong evidence for racism compared to the previous justifications. The racial justification of black people or, in short, "scientific racism" has adopted many forms to support white supremacy using scientific methods. In the 1800s, there were many scientists that used their expertise to promote racial inequality. Among them is Louis Agassiz, who supported polygenism, which advocates the subdivision of humans into distinct races. This scientific theory is reinforced by pseudoscientific methods such as the measuring of human skulls, or craniometry. The latter allegedly demonstrated that white people were biologically superior to blacks. However, by the early 1900s, these dangerous beliefs vanished once social racism had been approved ("Scientific Racism").

1.1.4 Types of Racism

Throughout the history of American society, black people have been subject to two types of racism: individual and institutional racism. In their book, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America,* Carmichael Stokely and Charles Hamilton explain the two forms of racism. They first define individual racism as explicit actions made by individuals and resulting in damage to property or harm and sometimes death to others of a different race. Individual racism or overt racism could be easily observed in the commission process (4). Like what happened in Alabama, a white man attacked a black church and killed five children. This terrorist act is an instance of individual racism (4). Racists who commit individual racism often believe in stereotypes and make false assumptions about others out of ignorance (Walker and Katz 129). Fear and ignorance are key factors in the development of racist thoughts.

The second form of racism is "covert" and less condemned in the public eye than the first. However, institutional racism is more vicious than individual racism (Carmichael and Hamilton 4). It operates within society as it is carried out by a whole community versus another community rather than individuals against other individuals (4). As an example of institutional racism, there is the yearly death of nearly five hundred black babies in Birmingham city because of the absence of health care and food splices (4). Furthermore, these active and systemic anti-black acts have harmed the black community for centuries and continue to do so today (5).

The terms "systemic racism" or "structural racism" are considered synonyms for institutional racism. Nevertheless, it is used mostly as a concept to express the interrelation between institutions and people (Rattansi 95). Hence, systemic racism encompasses individuals as well as society's racist thoughts and actions.

1.2 History of Black Americans before Post-racialism

The Black history started long before the formation of the American nation and was largely affected by a series of race-related problems and struggles. Being cast as property, inferior and subordinate has always put black people at the mercy of the whites. From the chattels to the Jim Crow era, African Americans were constantly fighting for the restoration of their humanity, Americanness, and equal rights. Their endless struggle with racial discrimination indicates the existence of many factors that contributed to the prolongation of racial discrimination.

1.2.1 From Free Africans to Permanent Slaves in the New World

As early as 1619, "twenty and odd Negros" were brought by the "White lion" ship and landed at Point Comfort, Virginia. The story of these twenty Africans is quite a sad one, as they were doubly kidnaped first by a Spanish ship and then by two English privateers whom also kidnapped them from the Spanish ship after they attacked it. The number of the Africans originally kidnapped by the Spanish ship was sixty, but due to the fight and exchange of fire between the English and Spanish ships, a lot of them died. Consequently, these Africans not only had undergone the hardships of being taken by force from their own lands, but also were psychologically traumatized for witnessing those atrocities and for knowing how their fate would be ("The First Africans"). Although, there are several other accounts that has claimed that the real beginning of slavery in the new world dates back to the days of the transatlantic slavery trade exerted chiefly by Portugal and Spain in 1500's ("The First Africans"). The arrival of these "twenty and odd Negros" to the new world has been documented by many as the beginning of slavery in America.

The first Africans to come to America were called indentured servants, as they were brought to perform given impermanent tasks and gain their freedom after the work was done. According to the censuses of 1623 and 1624, both blacks and whites worked as indentured laborers and had the same work obligations (Franklin and Higginbotham recounted 51). Alexander William reported that it was until 1662 when Virginia passed a law that accorded slave status to Africans, which made them slaves for life, while whites continued to be indentured servants (133). Soon, the law was legalized by the remaining colonies, and slavery became the norm in the thirteen colonies. The European colonists and their abnormal greed for wealth made the exchange of blacks for goods a common practice. Shortly, the trend was all over, and people were crazy about the slave trade. As a result, the slave trade thrived, and thousands of new African slaves were shipped monthly. Of course, not all the slaves made it to the new world because most of them were either lost, dead, or killed along the way. On his part, the historian Davis David portrays the way slaves have been transported from Africa to the British colonies as follows:

> The conditions on transatlantic slave ships ... were probably too horrible to fully convey in human words. The density of packing slaves in the decks between a ship's bottom hold and main deck far exceeded the crowding of indentured servants or even Irish prisoners shipped to the British Caribbean. The males, especially, had to lie like spoons locked together, with no real standing room above them, surrounded by urine and faces, with little air to breathe. (92)

The expansion of slavery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was accompanied by new and stricter legislation, typically known as slave codes. These laws vary from one state to another but mostly convey the same vision: "Slaves are not people but property" (Franklin and Higginbotham 137). These laws reinforced and tightened the severity of white control over blacks. It severely restricted their activities inside and outside the plantations and obligated slaves to have prior approval from their masters for them to be out of the plantation. Slaves who have violated those laws have often been punished harder than their white counterparts. Mutilation was often a penalty for crimes such as robbery and burglary (Blackwell 7).

At the dawn of the Revolution War, a group of white elites, "the Founding Fathers," wrote, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness." Bowman asserts that these words from the declaration of independence have inspired nations around the world. However, at the heart of the newly emerging nation, this meant nothing as far as Africans and their rights were concerned (The Aspen Institute). The bells of liberty rang only for the triumph of white America in 1776. Most African slaves would have to wait for another decade to achieve their unalienable rights and enjoy the liberties and freedom their white counterparts own.

Despite that, some slaves took advantage during the war against British tyranny and fled away to where they could be free. Amongst them, a slave named Equiano Olaudah, who became a writer. In his book that depicts the hardships of a slave's life on a plantation, he narrates, "I have seen a negro beaten till some of his bones were broken for even letting a pot boil over" (139). The brutality of slave owners had even reached the extent of separating slaves from their loved ones. In response to these previous racist treatments, slaves started a runaway resistance, especially to the North (qtd. in Franklin and Higginbotham 154). Therefore, slaves escaped to places where there were few or no plantations at all, so they could finally rest a little.

In February 1861, Confederate states were created in the South as part of the proslavery campaign. Quickly, the confederate party has emerged as a counterpart to the union, which supports abolitionists. This national schism was not an option for Republican President Abraham Lincoln. As a result, in 1864, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which marked the end of a civil war aimed at freeing slaves in rebellious states so they could fight on the union side (Ritchie 11). In the end, it was a war strategy rather than an adherence to slave civil rights because abolishing slavery was neither the original nor the desired intent of the war.

In 1865, as the dust of civil war battles vanished, the slaves were finally set free by passing the Thirteenth Amendment, which indorsed life without slavery for Africans. In the

same year, the United States Congress established the Freedmen Bureau to provide the newly liberated slaves with economic, social, and educational rehabilitation (Blackwell 121). The office also opened schools that led to the emergence of an educated class among the African Americans and permitted many of these people to have land of their own (Blackwell 121). It basically guaranteed free Africans the same liberties as whites. The Freedmen's office then partially eroded the color aristocracy in the US.

1.2.2 The Struggle of the Ex-Slaves in Owning Citizenship

Being free from the inhuman bondage of slavery was indeed a turning point for black people. It was more than just an end to white slaveholders' unjust treatments and oppressive life. However, the legal end of slavery did not give black people their promised freedom. Despite the ratification of an act that identified them as citizens of the US, African Americans witnessed another period of slavery; the same old racism yet with a sophisticated name.

1.2.2.1 The Reconstruction Era

Becoming full-fledged citizens of the United States was among the top desires of African Americans after the Civil War. Although many worked on improving the lives of the former slaves during the reconstruction era, this period failed to maintain equality for black people. The emancipation proclamation set slaves free from the bondage of slavery, but could not make them equal to white people.

The time when Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated in April 1865, African Americans' civil rights were completely denied by the election of the southerner Andrew Johnson who had no intention to protect their rights (Sharp11). In the light of this, the whites, especially the conservative southerners, acted in revenge by passing a considerable number of new laws similar to slave codes called the Black Codes (Asante 254). Black were victims of a new form of enslavement. Proverbially, whites deceived blacks on a daily basis to keep them in debt. Unfortunately, African Americans were forced to buy land and some equipment from whites out of need despite the high prices. The idea of being equal to black people was not very welcomed; white people refused completely to treat African Americans as equal human beings. In fact, they still believe that blacks had to be under their control (272). The black codes were acted differently depending on the state laws.

In 1865, the Ku Klux Klan, an anti-black group, was created with the goal of terrorizing African Americans (Asante 272). As historians Carter G. Woodson and Charles Wesley note, "Men were killed at their post of duty, innocent people were shot down in cold blood, and a group of Negros were massacred" (qtd. in Asante 272).

President Johnson was willing to follow the Union plan of Lincoln with the presence of Black Codes (Worth 46). There were diverse views, particularly in the North, on Johnson's reconstruction initiatives. Some people supported the president, hoping that the cotton plantations would be up and running as soon as possible. However, there were others opposing him. They are known as Radical Republicans, and they feared that the Black Codes would erase much of what the Civil War had accomplished. These radical republicans were guided by Congressman Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner. They both planned to give black men their voting rights. In 1866, Stevens proposed the civil rights bill to Congress, which specified equal rights for every American citizen, including blacks. Yet, this bill does not contain the right to vote (47). Despite their fears that the president would reject their bill, the moderate Republicans decided to pass the Fourteenth Amendment with the condition that the majority of states approve it. Meanwhile, violence erupted between blacks and whites (49). The Reconstruction era was unstable and full of violations of black rights. It was hell for blacks because they were getting out of the frying pan and straight into the fire.

1.2.2.2 The Jim Crow Era

Adamant white southerners were strongly insisting on restricting African Americans' rights through treating them as second-class citizens. Despite the fact that there were numerous laws in place to protect former slaves, those laws remained mere dead letters. The Jim Crow era was a caste system that ensured black inferiority. Actually, Jim Crow was more than just a set of discriminatory laws against black people; it became a way of life.

It is unclear how "Jim Crow", the 19th-century figure who pioneered blackface mocking publicly, were connected with these laws; however, the symbol's use speaks everything about the laws' origin and goal. Jim Crow was previously referred to as a black character played by a white man, Thomas Dartmouth, who was also known as Daddy Rice. Dartmouth used to blacken his face while doing sarcastic moves. His performance promoted racist preconceptions about African Americans. White southerners enacted these segregated laws against African Americans based on their belief in surviving through separation (Wallenfeldt 24). They did not accept African Americans to be among them because they thought that being separate from the black race could save their lives.

Prior to the official end of the reconstruction era, there were already a lot of misconceptions and negative images about blacks that whites used to widen the gap between the two races. Since 1875, southern white politicians even started writing laws and constitutions that reflected nothing but hate and rejection of equality with blacks. By 1914, these Jim Crow laws had been enacted in every Southern state (Sharp 27). Blackface faced more hardships than ever during this period. It is true that they enjoy more rights now than they did before, but at the first signs of any rejection of authority, blacks were punished brutally.

The establishment of Jim Crow laws came after the Plessy v. Ferguson case, which occurred in 1896, when Homer Plessy, an African American male, refused to let go of his seat in a section designed especially for white passengers on the train. Plessy was arrested for

not respecting the law, and obviously, the court has ruled against him (Davis xi). Yet, the court's decision in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson was more than just a railway ride or seat problem. The ruling of the court in this case has promoted the "separate but equal" doctrine, allowing states to gain more authority in imposing racial discrimination laws and even make opposing segregation a felony. Consequently, African Americans were forced to live in a world framed by white supremacy.

1.2.2.3 African Americans in the Rise of the Civil Rights Movement

Slavery was legally abolished in America in 1865, but it was far from over in reality. From the struggle for citizenship in the early days of slavery until the enactment of Jim Crow laws, segregation made African Americans' lives hard, if not impossible. Even in the mid-twentieth century civil rights era, they continued to place African Americans in the second class. Amid this restriction, black Americans created ways of resisting until they started protesting and finally formed a civil rights movement.

The fight for African American civil rights began prior to the Civil War and continued throughout and after Reconstruction. DuBois, the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was the first to inspire black folks to ask for equal rights. His efforts led to the foundation of the NAACP, which relied on protesting, lobbying, and other legal acts (Karson 13). There was an anti-lynching campaign launched by the NAACP in 1915 as part of an organized protest against a popular motion picture that praised the KKK. Hence, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against racist legislation (Perry 22). Differently put, the NAACP did a great job of voicing blacks' voices and challenging well-established visions of blacks in civilized manners.

Civil rights were also being fought on other fronts. For instance, one thousand people marched to Washington, D.C. in 1941 to protest against racial segregation in the American military and racist employment practices in the defense industry, led by Phillip Randolph,

who was the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (Perry 23). As a response to the massive rally, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order on June 25, 1941, prohibiting employment discrimination. However, Roosevelt's executive order did not deal with a second problem that was brought up (22). Then, Truman signed a new executive order in 1948 stating that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, or religion" (24). Though similar acts are issued by the highest authorities in the country, the application was a totally different thing.

One of the NAACP interventions to stop segregation in public areas was initially with schools (Capek 29). In numerous cases, the organization was successful especially with Brown v. Board of Education (30). The case is considered as the landmark of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) since it broke out the "Separate but equal" doctrine. There were five school segregation lawsuits that needed a review from the US Supreme Court. The firm represented more than 150 plaintiffs from a range of different states. All of them were questioning the legality of racial segregation practices in the public school system. The federal court in Kansas consolidated all five claims under the name of *Oliver Brown et al. v the Topeka Board of education, Kansas* (Perry 24). In this case, the lawyers declared that school segregation violated the Fourteenth amendment's equal protection guarantee. Because of this disclosure, states are banned from denying citizens equal treatment under the law. According to Lawyers' testimony, segregation had a harmful effect on African American kids (24). This gave the civil right movement a remarkable victory.

Despite the notable achievement, African Americans were always the targets of white mob violence. For instance, in the case of Emmitt Till, a fourteen-year-old Chicago black boy who was brutally murdered by two white men in 1955, they claimed that he was harassing a white lady. Newkirk Van believes that Emmitt's tortured body was among the first pictures of Jim Crow brutality to reach the public eye, and his murderers' trial became a spectacle showcasing white supremacy's cruelty. The Mississippi law did not allow for any variations in the degree of homicide. Therefore, the jury was left with three options: the death penalty, life sentences, or acquittal. The judges took an hour and seven minutes to conclude that they were not guilty of murder (Whitfield 42). The incident demonstrates how racial bias in the criminal justice system is fuelled by white supremacy. However, Till's shattered body had become a powerful icon of the civil-rights movement.

Most CRM protesters were poor. However, they would not accept being treated as second-class citizens. Among those protesters was Rosa Parks. Rosa, a resident of Montgomery, Alabama, boarded a public city bus on December 1, 1955, and sat in the first seat she found near the section for "only blacks." As the bus got crowded, the bus driver noticed that there was a man standing. Therefore, he asked her to give up her seat. Rosa refused to do so, and as a result, the police were called and she was arrested. Her story was reported by the news for the first time, unlike the previous arrests (55). Martin Luther King used her case to begin a Montgomery bus boycott and forced the state to prohibit segregation on buses (George 6).

Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent protest, Martin encouraged African Americans to stop using buses, which lasted for thirteen months in spite of the arrests and threats that faced the protesters and leaders of the boycott (Ritchie 18-19). The Supreme Court asserted that bus segregation laws are unconstitutional (19). As always, no one knew if this ruling is real or just ink on paper. Therefore, a group of college students, both black and white, participated in the "Freedom Riders" after a year-long bus boycott to see if the antisegregation rules were being respected on national transport systems. They were sent by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to the upper south (George 57). The students received a brutal attack. For example, one bus was set on fire, and those who managed to flee were confronted by an irate white mob. Despite his support for the Rides, King believed they were too risky for him to engage in (Walsh "Congress of Racial Equality CORE"). According to Paul, this dramatic response gained CORE more national attention than ever before, and it resulted in more revenue, contributions, and recruitment opportunities.

The year 1964 is a year of victory for black Americans as the historic civil rights act was signed by President Johnson. The act officially guaranteed the protection for black Americans and ended racial discrimination at all levels (George 58). However, the fight for other rights has never stopped; black people along with Martin Luther King continued to demand other rights like voting. In the year following the passing of the civil rights act, King organized a peaceful march From Salma, Alabama, to the state's capital in Montgomery to call for granting blacks their right to vote. Lamentably, state troopers stopped the violencefree march with tear gas once it reached the bridge of Edmund Pettus. The whole event was covered by media and images of wounded blacks were everywhere in the news. The whole country was watching with the fear of an outbreak of another civil war. As result, the president was forced to pass the voting act and he televised his speech, which included the civil rights movement famous line "we shall overcome". Three years later, king was assassinated after a glorious journey fighting for his people's rights (60). The 1960's has brought a lot of joy to the civil rights movement and to the African American community in general. Though, their road was not always covered in roses, blacks were making baby steps in harvesting their rights one after the other.

1.3 Post-racialism

As the word "post" means "beyond" or "over," the term "post-racialism" means literally "beyond racism." Hence, it has been used to describe a theoretical environment where racism does not exist. Astonishingly, many assume that the United States of America has turned into a post-racial society precisely after the civil rights movement period. However, this term has raised an endless debate on whether or not race can possibly be ignored.

1.3.1 The Idea of Post-Racial America

The early use of the term "post-racial" was in the *New York Times* article under the title "Compact Set Up for the 'Post-Racial' south," which was published in 1971. About seventy politicians and professors agreed that America has reached an era where the issues of race will be "eclipsed" by other major concerns such as population growth, industrialization, and economic instability. Nevertheless, in fact, the term "post-racialism" became popular with the election of Barack Obama in 2008 (Hui and Song 34).

Post-racial America literally means America is "beyond race", which means, the visions of society that has overcome one of the hardest and most tragic periods in its history, mainly the segregation era (Vickerman 11). Indeed, American history started with racial discrimination towards people of color and continued with racist acts towards them. However, by the end of the CRM of the 1960's, with its legacy of bringing a sort of equal life to colored people, America had been perceived as a post-racist society.

1.3.2 Beyond Racism or New Racism?

People of America believe that the desire of the CRM has been accomplished, which indicates that the United States of America is developing into a colorblind society where the issue of racial prejudice seems to be vanishing. Moreover, Americans moved from the anti-racist thinking to simply ignoring race. There are no longer black or white races but only individuals and simple human beings. Subsequently, "race thinking" is not considered as a part of decisions, attitudes, or practices by individuals or institutions nowadays (Omi and Winant 2). In other words, People would avoid any racist behaviors at any social interactions.

Furthermore, the post-Civil Rights era was sponsored by new etiquettes on how to deal with racial thinking. For instance, Blake Felice et al exemplify that any discourse about white people as superior race has been avoided, asserting that white people should be regarded as only individuals. Simultaneously, those who mention how white Americans profited from racism and became the advantageous group were called reverse racists (86). It is safe to say that this etiquette aims at silencing any discourse that call for racial equality, which is again a way to stop black Americans from mentioning their past struggle and its effect on their life. In addition, from Omi and Winant point of view, colorblindness ideology is based on the idea of "race neutrality" that proposed ignoring race and its historical and sociological impact, however this ideology resulted in white people criticizing their counterparts for being reverse racist (220). Accordingly, the colorblindness is considered as cause to blame people of color for using the race card to justify their unequal social status.

The color blind ideology, which emerged in the 1960's and developed more in 2008 with the election of Barack Obama, is a mere form of racism. However, it is different from traditional racism where practices are explicitly discriminatory or explicitly support discrimination (e.g., denying the right to vote because of the color of their skin or denying access to certain public places or services on the same basis, etc.) the new racist actions are based on "Now you see it, now you don't" trends (Bonilla-Silva 3-4).

TABLE 1: White Supremacist	Attitudes in the Civil Right and the Post Racial Eras
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	1963	1967	1978
Blacks less ambitious	66\$*	70%	49%
Blacks prefer handouts	41	52	36
Blacks more violence prone	42	34	NA**
Blacks more crime prone	35	32	29
Blacks less intelligent	39	46	25
Blacks care less about family	31	34	18
Blacks inferior	31	29	15

White Supremacist Attitudes in the Civil Rights and Post-Civil Rights Eras

Source: Smith, Robert Charles. *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't*. State Univ. of New York Press, 1995.

Louis Harris conducted research in which he studied the racist attitudes of white people

toward black people through asking agree or disagree questions, as it appears in the above table.

The results have shown that the inclination of white Americans to express their white supremacist

attitudes has decreased dramatically. For instance, the percentage of whites who agreed that black people were less intelligent was 39% in 1963, while in 1978 that number had decreased to 25% (qtd. in Smith 37). However, Smith emphasizes that this decline does not necessarily mean the racist attitude has declined, but rather it has become less expressed in public. Therefore, he argues that the actual racist attitude is more than the poll results have indicated (37). Even Barack Obama himself asserts that surveys about racial attitudes are not reliable because racial attitudes nowadays are looser than they were in the past, and thus they can be challenging. In his book *The Audacity of Hope*, Obama provides the following example to further explain his idea: "A black teenage boy walking down the street may elicit fear in a white couple, but if he turns out to be their son's friend from school, he may be invited over for dinner" (139).

1.4 African Americans in the Post-racial Era

The post-racial era may seem like a utopian environment where African Americans could live freely and not be judged by their race. a belief that arose in the aftermath of the significant positive changes bestowed upon the African American community by the Civil Rights era. The idea of the post-racial era was also emphasized after the election of the first president of color at the helm of the nation that has been known throughout history as the biggest promoter of slavery and discrimination against blacks.

1.4.1 The Election of the 44th President and Race Talk

November 4, 2008 was one of those remarkable days in the American history. David Robson reports that Millions were present to witness the first Black American to be elected as president of the United States. That day, Barack Hussein Obama stood in podium in front of millions to give his notable speech. He says "If there is anyone out there, who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer" (qtd. in Robson 8). Robeson added that Obama's election was marked by a total optimism as he was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 2009; many believed that racism was completely erased back then (9). Furthermore, the American media portrayed Obama as a post racial signifier and David Hollinger posits two reasons: First, because of Obama's depiction of individualism with little racialization, and second, his capacity to rally millions of white supporters (1033). In other words, the old black image of being inferior, irresponsible, and needing white supervision is now replaced by the non-racist image of black people who can also achieve anything like white people.

The combination of "racial presence and state authority" is what makes Obama's postracial rhetoric significant (Mukherjee 220). For sure, being the president of America is a privilege, and since Obama has black skin, his image as being a black president made the African American minority believe in hard work. Thus, the issue of race is no longer a problem or an excuse for people of color.

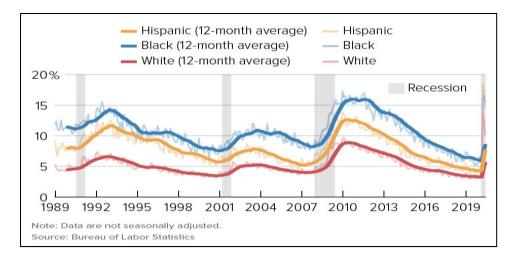
In 2009, the number of death threats received by Obama was higher than in any previous year. The majority of the threats received by any American president, and the majority of these terrorizations, have mentioned his race (Robson 10). Apparently, racism is still a problem in the United States. According to Asante, the American history of racial discrimination makes racism hard, if not impossible, to solve (qtd. in Robson 10).

Besides, there were hate crimes committed against black people. In fact, the Obama era saw many racist actions against black people, especially in the workplace. Almost thirty thousand racial discrimination cases were reported to the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The latter imposes federal law against racial discrimination that occurred at work by African Americans (17).

1.4.2 Examining the Life of Black People during the New Era

Despite the two terms of Barack Obama's presidency, African Americans still struggle with being equal. Racism and racial inequality will always be an issue of this nation; it could be seen in the number of black prisoners compared to the white prisoners. Nearly 52% of the prison's population is black although they only represent 13 percent of the general American population (Robson 10). Moreover, Michelle Alexander, the writer of *The New Jim Crow Era Mass Incarceration of Colorblindness Era*, adds that black ex-prisoners were automatically restricted or totally banned from registering for official jobs due to their criminal records. Whatever type of felony is committed by a black man, his criminal record will make him jobless. He will also find difficulty in other things, such as providing educational funds for his children (216). Alexander also states that black people who are convicted of drug felonies are imprisoned for at least a couple years. However, most white people would not be in jail for similar convictions, and most of the cases get away with it (217). The post-racial era has created a new way of discriminating against black folks.

Probably, condemning white Americans for racial inequality against black Americans is hard. However, if one observes the differences between black and white people in relation to socioeconomic conditions, one can paint a more holistic picture of the current situation of African Americans in the United States. For instance, the unemployment rates according to recent studies by the Centre on Budget and Policy Priorities, which demonstrate the difficulties that African Americans face in finding jobs from 1989 to 2019, change in comparison to other US minorities. **Figure 1:** The Unemployment rates among minorities in America (1989-2019)



Source: "Black and Hispanic Unemployment Rates Consistently Higher than White Rate." *Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*, www.cbpp.org/black-and-hispanic-unemployment-ratesconsistently-higher-than-white-rate. Figure 1 demonstrates the unemployment rates from 1989 to 2019 for American minorities. As it is shown, the rate of unemployment widened fast during recessions but decreased considerably more slowly once the economy began to recover for all minorities. However, it appears that white people are less likely to be jobless compared to other minorities. In contrast, blacks and Hispanics are recording higher rates of unemployment; more precisely, African Americans have the highest rate of unemployment. Therefore, one may conclude that African Americans are the most disadvantaged group in America. As Alexander describes their situation:

[R]acial differences will always exist among us. Even if the legacies of slavery, Jim Crow, and mass incarceration were completely overcome, we would remain a nation of immigrants in a larger world divided by race and ethnicity. It is a world in which there is extraordinary racial and ethnic inequality, and our nation has porous boundaries. For the foreseeable future, racial and ethnic inequality will be a feature of American life. (217)

In a nutshell, a post-racial society is far from being achieved. Despite the efforts of CRM and its achievements, African Americans still endure racism. Black Americans are still marginalized, mainly due to systematic racism. Apparently, the power vested in many social and perceptual institutions is the reason behind the persistence of the racism problem. Another reason why racism is becoming more overt is police brutality, which has been slightly discussed in the chapter. Nonetheless, the following chapter will expand on the police-related issue and its role in the emergence of a new black rights movement.

Chapter Two

War Breaks Out: The Rise of BLM and Anti-BLM

People used free speech and the right to assemble to express their concerns, reacting to oppression, influencing public opinion, and, most importantly, seeking to effect change; collectively, they present various ways to protest against annoyance. Over the years, America has witnessed a considerable number of protests and movements with different goals. The civil rights movements, for example, have achieved remarkable success with their wellknown desire to bring equality to black people; however, it is not the only movement in African Americans' fights. The twentieth century ushered in a new movement for black lives with alternative ways of protest.

In this chapter, the new movement holding the name "Black Lives Matter" is at the center of discussion. Throughout the course of this chapter, the impulse that led to the creation of the movement will be covered. As the movement started online, it is necessary to speak about the hashtag #blacklivesmatter and its role in irrigating the movement. Moreover, every aspect of this new movement will be covered, including its founders, tactics, and goals. Besides, the chapter also tackles the post-racist strategies to oppose the BLM movement, in particular the ALM counter argument, the counter protests "blue live matter" and "white lives matter."

2.1 Police-Black Community Relations: Are they ever Good?

The presence of police in any society is crucial. They are responsible for maintaining order by preventing any law violation that may harm others' lives or their properties. Even more, they protect people from any threat. These are the common roles of law enforcement agencies. However, their role is more complex than it seems. In fact, policing is not just about the already mentioned roles, it also encompasses building trust with community members. Yet, the latter has always been and continues to be a problem in American society. The problem of police-community relations (PCR) is seen as part of a bigger issue of racial and ethnic inequality in the United States of America. Yet, there are few conflicts, if any, between the police and the white majority, unlike with other minorities (Walker and Katz 385). As the *New York Times* of 1999 notes, "the way cops perceive blacks and how those perceptions shape and misshape crime fighting is now the most charged racial issue in America" (qtd. in Walker and Katz 386). Accordingly, the relationship between the police and the black community is frustrating since the trust element is missing.

Police officers frequently stopped black people and checked them, even if they were simply walking alone or at a late hour. Based on the police's claim, the majority of black people commit crimes or are criminals. Thus, racial profiling is a good thing for them. In contrast, African Americans considered it unequal and racist treatment towards them (Walker and Katz 386). The racial profiling of African Americans led them to the creation of the phrase "Driving while Black" (DWB), which describes the hardships black drivers go through every time a police officer stops them. It is safe to say that DWB may be an indicator of "deep-seated" racism (Robson 36). Therefore, the existence of this phenomenon contributes to unfavourable public attitudes towards blacks.

Historically speaking, racial profiling can be traced back to the "war on drugs", The latter is viewed as primarily targeting minorities. The cocaine' use in the 1980's, as well as a poor media portrayal of black and Hispanic males as drug dealers, led to a perception that people of color are criminals. Because of this view, black people were high profile targets for police stops, searches, and arrests in the American community (Nagozi 190). However, the Fourth Amendment of the US Constitution protects all American citizens from unreasonable searches. The amendment states that warrants must be acquired from the courts and backed by a strong probable cause (191). This means that nobody can be stopped or arrested by the authorities without evidence of illegal conduct. One can assume that most police officers

have violated the civil rights of not only African Americans but also Hispanic Americans.

The broken window is another issue related to American policing. In *Policing the Planet: The Crisis that Led to Black Lives Matter*, Jordan Camp and Christina Heatherton wrote, "Broken window policy" refers to the task of stopping the spread of minor crimes such as panhandling, urination in public spaces, graffiti, and so forth by police officers. It is built on the assumption that the best way to stop heavy crimes from occurring is by handling small scale crimes. This means that citizens need to assume responsibility for their actions, no matter how frivolous these acts are, with police assisting in this process (9). The whole window concept is used metaphorically, but it means much more in the field of criminology.

The existence of a broken window in a house is a problematic issue, let alone if no one is interested in fixing that window. That broken window will cause other bigger issues like letting the cold air or/and animals in. When applied to society, if acts of delinquency go unpunished by the law enforcement agency, it would leave room for major crimes to take place. However, this policy is an inappropriate approach to prevent major crimes since it excessively targets blacks. Thus, it generates racial bias and leads to the over-incarceration of blacks (Camp and Heatherton 83).

The elevated tension between police and black communities has gone so far to the degree that blacks suffer greater amounts of violence and hatred when dealing with police. In fact, every encounter of a black man with the police most often ends with a wounded or murdered black person. This hatred has even reached children. Many black families teach their kids "the talk" at very young ages. Kids are instructed by their parents about what to do once they are face to-face with the police. Even at times of danger, children are not supposed to get in touch with the police for help; they must find their way out of the problem all alone (Wallis 27). This clearly demonstrates how messed up the relationship between the police and the black population is.

2.2 Black Lives Matter

Black Lives Matter (BLM) has become the new national anthem for the black community. The BLM movement, or movement for black lives, was created as an opposition to systemic racism and police brutality. This social and political movement is calling for justice for black victims of homicide. In the smartphone generation, BLM has invaded many social platforms, mainly Facebook and Twitter. There was a range of posts and tweets coined by the three words "Black Lives Matter", which one year later was transformed into protesters on the streets.

2.2.1 From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Lives Matter Movement

No one could possibly predict that a single post on Facebook would end up bringing crowds together to protest in the street. It was a movement born within a moment. It started out of frustration over the death of a young boy. Despite the provided evidence of this crime, the Supreme Court declared the murderer not guilty. Many felt overwhelmed by this decision. Alicia, an African American woman, wrote a love letter to black people, and a friend commented with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. Later, millions of members within the Facebook community shared the post. As a result, many showed interest in the case and the movement was born.

The initial events of the incident date back to February 26, 2012, when a volunteer guard called George Zimmerman pursued a black man due to his suspicious appearance; a boy with a dark hoodie named Trayvon Martin was walking to his father's home in Sanford, Florida (Clayton 6). George chased Martin out of fear after he called 911 to report this suspicious man, despite the fact that the operator advised Zimmerman to stay in his car. He followed the little kid, and with one bullet, the boy died (Chase 1093). The recording of the 911 call that started with a cry for help and ended with a gunshot was the only evidence of what happened between Zimmerman and Trayvon. Yet, it provided an unclear image of the confrontation (1093). The next month, on the 19th, the Department of Justice (DOJ), along

with the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), declared an open investigation into the incident. Three days later, there were 1.3 million signatures on a petition on Change.org, a specialized worldwide website for petitions, calling for the arrest of Zimmerman. On March 26th, a demonstration for Martin's death was held across the country, remarkably the Million Hoodies Movement for Justice. The latter was formed as a reflection of the racial profiling that targets young black people (1093). Finally, Zimmerman was declared guilty of second-degree murder (1093). However, Zimmerman fought for his innocence until his trial on July 13th, 2013. The court discharged Zimmerman from guilt because it considered the killing of the little boy a self-defense act (1094).

The verdict was shown on TV. Everyone was watching and waiting for the final decision. When Alicia Garza, a local organizer with the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NADW), was watching the TV from a bar. She logged into her Facebook and posted, "Black people." I love you. I love us. Our lives mattered, then her friend, prison-reform activist Patrisse Cullors, responded on her wall with another post in which she tagged other friends. Her post was accompanied by the hashtag #blacklivesmatter, which was quickly shared by her friends and friends of her friends, and the hashtag quickly went viral (Arnold 8). In other words, the rage people had because of the unjust court decision is what paved the way for the creation of BLM. Afterwards, the three women declared on social media that they decided to launch an organizing campaign called Black Lives Matter (BLM). Three years later, BLM has become a full movement (9).

Following the death of Michael Brown, another teenager killed by police, in August 2014, Black Lives Matter activists organized a bus ride to take six hundred black people as community activists to support on-the-ground efforts in Ferguson and St. Louis. Their immediate solidarity with the young African Americans' Ferguson networks led BLM to a global spotlight. In 2015, more than 2,000 "freedom fighters" were present at the first

National Convening of the Movement for Black Lives in Cleveland (Arnold 10).

The BLM initiatives gained national prominence after Brown's case. As Nikita Carney wrote, "Michael Brown's death reignited support for the Black Lives Matter movement and prompted many to use social media to debate the role of policing and the state of race relations in the United States" (2). In the long run, BLM would mobilize more support for the black community and probably change race relations in America.

2.2.2 Naming the Founders, Tactics, and Goals of the Movement

Social movements often emerge in the same way. First, an initial event highlighted a social issue. Then, a group of people known as the founders or leaders organize and adopt strategies to spread awareness about the issue and gather more people around them. The whole process focuses on one main goal, which is seeking a change. BLM started as a reaction to police brutality and other forms of violence against black people, and like any social movement, the Black Lives Matter movement followed the same path.

2.2.2.1 The Founders of BLM

Scott Walter wrote about the founders and their distinct backgrounds. He asserts that Opal Tometi, the daughter of Nigerian immigrants, was born and raised in Phoenix, Arizona. She attended the University of Arizona where she has a bachelor's degree in history and a Master's degree in communication and advocacy. She worked for eight years as executive director at the Black Alliance for Just Immigration before she joined the BLM.

Patrisse Khan-Cullors was born in Van Nuys, California, and was raised in a Hispanic community near the San Fernando Valley. According to her book *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*, her mother was thrown out of her family home because she had been pregnant at a young age (Khan-Cullors et al. 15-16). Besides being a co-founder of BLM, she is an artist, organizer, and freedom fighter. She is also a founder of Dignity and Power Now and she considers herself an abolitionist of prisons and police (The History Makers).

Alicia Garza was born and raised in San Rafael, California from "solid liberal" parents, yet her mom inspired her first activism when she was in middle school. She went to the School of Unity and Liberation, where she participated in a "training program for social justice organizers" ("The Founders of BLM").

This implies that all the three women are prone to activism from the start, as their social environment influenced them at a very young age. The latter has shaped their thoughts and, later, their decisions.

2.2.2.2 Goals of BLM

A movement without specific goals is not really a movement. Indeed, goals are the reason for the existence of any social movement. These goals are intended or "anticipated" accomplishments that might be political, social, cultural, or all together (Hailee 22). As he further explains, movements with political goals frequently use "lobbying, political appeal, and legal avenues" aiming to force the government to change or legislate a specific act. The achievement of social and cultural goals is more difficult than political ones since they aim to change values, norms, or beliefs within society (22).

The Civil Rights Movement, for instance, is highly concerned with political change. In those times when African Americans were segregated under the Jim Crow laws, CRM aimed to put an end to the unequal treatment of black folks (Hailee 23). What about the BLM goals? Are they similar to CRM goals?

In a society where black lives are being unfairly targeted for demise, Black Lives Matter is the political and societal movement to change that, as it is the ultimate goal of the BLM to achieve. Being unarmed during a police intervention fuels the movement's mobilization and visibility (Yamahtta and Davis 153-160). Indeed, the BLM's protests for blacks' rights call for justice for those who have been unarmed and killed by police.

The central organization of the #BLM network does not only criticize the violence of police to which blacks are victims, but what she calls "state violence". According to the

official website of the movement, BLM's mission is to put an end to white supremacy by creating local power to prevent state and mob violence against black communities. If black people work together to stop brutality, create safe places for creativity and innovation, and celebrate their culture, they will be able to improve their lives (*blacklivesmatter.com*).

As far as one knows, BLM's aim is to end both police brutality and systemic racism. Yet, there are other concerns about the movement. However, the BLM's demands go beyond police violence. It brings up other important concerns, such as the high unemployment rates for African Americans. In the eyes of activists, police violence is simply one of many in a long list of "structural injustices and social evils" (Tometi and Lenoir).

Globally, Black Lives Matter focuses on the lived realities of African Americans while acknowledging humanity, contributions to society, and resilience in the face of lethal violence. They held that when they refer to people of African descent as "black," they are referring to their common racial identity and rich cultural history. Black Lives Matter gives a platform for black creativity and invention to survive in a world where they are systematically targets of oppression (*blacklivesmatter.com*). This includes not only poverty, over-criminalization, and mass incarceration, but also the infringement of the rights of all black people, whether queer people, black immigrants without status, or black people with reduced mobility.

As its major concern is equality for all black lives, BLM emphasizes the importance of respecting every black soul regardless of their gender, class, and status (Saxton 24), unlike the Civil Rights Movement, which made a charismatic appearance to demonstrate that black people are also civilized and respectful, challenging whites' perceptions of the black image (24). In contrast, Black Lives Matter is attempting to deconstruct this image. They like to emphasize the fact that every black person has the right to be acknowledged, heard, and appreciated for their life no matter what. Essentially, Black Lives Matter and the Civil Rights Movement both want to end racism; however, CRM focused solely on racist political grounds. While the BLM is fighting the ongoing institutional racism, mainly on social and cultural levels (Saxton 32). One may conclude that Black Lives Matter is a continuation of what the Civil Rights Movement started.

2.2.2.3 Tactics and Strategies of the Movement

The Black Lives Matter movement has adopted new strategies that have facilitated its growth. It has also implemented the previous tactics of the past movements, especially the tactics of mobilization used by the Civil Rights Movement. The BLM, on the other hand, has shifted toward the use of more modern tools that ensure quick use and greater impact; thus, the BLM has opted for social media platforms. The latter benefited the movement in gaining prominence in the United States and the world, likewise.

The wide range of racial issues within the African American community together with the algorithm of online networks prompted the creation of the first BLM tactic, which is the hashtag activism. When BLM activists made the hashtag, they were fully aware of the power of social media in reaching thousands of people in the blink of an eye. That is why they soon succeeded in establishing a political agenda and mobilizing people to take real action away from the courts (*BlackPast.com*). Indeed, those social media hashtags played a significant role in reaching an audience, raising awareness and getting support.

The BLM movement emerged in an era where speaking about race is highly avoidable. Yet, the Black Lives Matter Movement has managed, somehow, to open new doors to deal with race at the institutional level. As a result, people started to talk about race openly. Soon, many came to believe that the BLM movement was different compared to the previous ones. Actually, the majority agree that BLM is the "great awakening" of the twentieth century (Cannady). Subsequently, at a time when discussing race became taboo, the Black Lives Matter movement created a space to tackle race freely and granted people the opportunity to voice out race-related issues without fear of judgment.

It seems that the BLM is the present-day version of the civil rights movement since both of them fought to improve African Americans' lives and have some shared tactics. The adaptation of non-violent strategies was among the similarities between CRM and BLM. Sitins, freedom riders, and boycotts were sources of inspiration for the BLM movement (Kirchner). In 2014, on Black Friday, the Black Lives Matter movement joined Walmart employees to boycott shopping. As a result, Walmart lost 11% of its sales. Moreover, BLM creates new ways to protest using the old CRM tactics, mainly sit-ins, yet BLM transforms the latter to die-ins. Most of BLM's protests are peaceful, but they sometimes turn into violence.

Both movements diverge when it comes to certain strategies, mainly media exploitation. For instance, the Civil Rights Movement aimed to attract the media through its non-violent approach that was maintained even when facing pitiless white haters' assaults. As a result, when the media captures the incidents, the world will notice that blacks are truly victims and whites are the ones who are causing problems. Still, some of the CRM intentions for the media did not go as planned because they simply do not control the media. The BLM, on the other hand, controls media coverage by posting whatever they want about the issue online and no one can stop it from reaching their audiences; there is no need for the media because modern technology allows anyone to post whatever they want and without restrictions (StudyMoose.com).

The main dissimilarity between the two movements is that one was trying to inspire the media in order to gain its support, which is the CRM. The other one was forcing the media to spread the news as they are, which the BLM is. This variance of approaches concerning media use is largely affected by the conditions in which the two movements were founded and the latter lobbied. In other words, if the BLM and CRM changed their order in time, the role each would play would not be that different from their present roles.

2.3 Imposing Black Lives Matter Movement

As the Black Lives Matter hashtag empowered the movement to be a political force, there was a growing tendency to impose it. A variety of negative criticisms was targeted at BLM directly and indirectly. Surprisingly, the BLM composers were not only their white counterparts. Even within the black community, some disagree with the ideology of the movement.

2.3.1 Negative Critics on the Movement

Since the BLM became an international movement that stands for black victims of police brutality, opinions about the movement have differed between those who support it and those who disagree with it on many things, including its tactics. The movement's critics were from both expected sources, including Fox News and Breitbart publicists, and unexpected sources. NAACP leaders have been complaining about direct action techniques while the previous Black Panther Party chairperson, Elaine Brown, accused the movement of having a plantation mind-set (qtd. in Arnold 14).

In their book *Black Lies Matter*, Starkes Taleeb and Gavin McInnes question whether this movement is a box of lies or if they are misunderstanding it. According to them, Black Lives Matter chose to emerge in the light of Treyvon Martin's case, while there were a dozen cases of black homicide that had happened years before. In addition, in the days between Martin's death and the verdict of Zimmerman, many African Americans were murdered, yet their killer was not Zimmerman; it was a black man. However, BLM did not react to that (26). This could be interpreted, as most who insist on BLM's focus on black-on-black crimes are actually those who forget that most of the crimes against blacks are interracial.

Most people believe that the black community is a thug community. Hence, they

have no right to be mad about police brutality, and the existence of a movement that defends thugs' rights is meaningless. Black people are the poorest minority in US society. That is why most black people go to average schools or they drop out of education at an early age. The social problems that blacks have indicate, for some people, that African Americans are at risk of being criminals. Therefore, they are more likely to be searched or arrested by police even if they are victims, which is completely normal (Cooper).

Malika Cyril, a member of BLM's communication team and director of the Media Justice Centre, says that the movement faces misconception on a daily basis. She asserts that the movement does not intervene media quarrel unless a there is concrete need to make a point or to reject falsified claims (qtd. in Arnold 14). Overall, the BLM like other movement is not immune to criticism, yet it has a strategic approach to face them.

2.3.2 Black Lives Matter Counter-protests

In *Violence against Black Bodies*, Cohan Deborah points out that the constant hate and violence targeting African Americans was the source of the rage that triggered people's reaction. Yet, some parties have misunderstood the same oppressed group. Hence, the BLM was regarded as a movement motivated by illogical rage (Watson et al. 38-39). Because of white supremacy, white individuals do not realize that systematic racism is the main cause of blacks' rage, therefore they emphasize their own rage over blacks' rage (39). Consequently, white counterparts were aggressively contesting Black Lives Matter. Among these is white lives matter and blue lives matter.

2.3.2.1 White Lives Matter

White lives matter (WLM), an opponent of the BLM movement, was created by nationalist whites. The goal of this group is "the preservation of the white race" from discrimination caused by the non-white immigrants and interracial marriage (Stack). Rebecca Barnette founded the WLM in 2015 after the emergence of Black Lives Matter. As a revolutionary activist, Rebecca aimed to create a better place for white people. According to her, Obama's election has benefited the black people more than white (Stack). This denotes that the main motive behind the creation of WLM is to contradict the BLM, as whites would never let themselves be the weaker party and they have always been one-stepping ahead of blacks.

The Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that detects the terrorist and extremist groups in America, has identified White Lives Matter as a hate group. The director of the intelligence project at SPL Centre claims, "They're against integration, immigration. This is standard white supremacist stuff" (Stack). Despite being the most powerful racial group in the United States, many whites Americans perceive themselves as victims, which is quite controversial. Yet, Whites believe that anti-white racism is higher than anti-black racism (Blake et al. 86). Accordingly, the WLM is an excellent presentation of the traditional White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP).

2.3.2.2 Blue Lives Matter

Blue Lives Matter Movement or a movement for police lives is also a counter protest to BLM. It stands for police officers who were murdered during their service. This movement complains about the hardship of being an officer, as they are also targets to hate mob crime. In 2016, felons had killed sixty-six police officers in their workplace. The report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) showed that the death rates are nearly 61 percent more than in 2011. The FBI also claimed that the second highest record was that of 2011 (Lynch).

The recent killing of two police officers in Ferguson, Missouri engendered the exclusive use of blue lives matter hashtag through the twitter platform. Many social users from different states were using the hashtag. Although the number of deaths is relatively low, the Blue Lives Matter tag has been used for more than 3000 times ("Blue Lives Matter..."). Twitter was holding the same argument as @BarryGadbois who tweeted: "Cops have a right to defend themselves and an obligation to protect you. #BlueLivesMatter #Ferguson". Apparently, Blue Lives Matter is trying to answer to Black Lives Matter' claim about police

brutality. Moreover, the implementing of tag trend by blue lives matter is a proof that this movement is trying to shift attention from BLM and the success of its hashtag ("Blue Lives Matter' Trends after Officers Shot").

In his article "The Black Lives Matter Movement and Why the Response of All Lives Matter is Misleading", Scott Loken analyzes the police attitude in dealing with white suspect comparing with a black suspect. Certainly, he concluded that the police are racial bias. He also illustrates with a well-known case "Charleston, SC Church Massacre" in which a white man entered a black church and decided to kill nine black people. His arrest by police was highly peaceful, on their way, to take him to the jail; they offered him a burger after he claimed that he was hungry (75). However, when police officer killed a 12years-old boy because he thought that the boy was armed while the little kid was holding a toy gun. Loken argues that this was a mere image of police' hypocrisy about their role to serve and protect (77).

2.3.3 All Lives Matter v. Black Lives Matter

Commonly known, the BLM movement has emerged from the hashtag #blacklivesmatter that was pasted everywhere to support blacks. During the process of sharing the BLM hashtag, there was another hashtag #Alllivesmatter that was shared along with the BLM tag. In fact, some black people were using both hashtags unconsciously. However, the ALM tag was meant to be as a counter-argument for BLM. As a result, a debate was raised; All Lives Matter claimed that the Black Lives Matter movement is trying to put black people above everyone by making "why don't ____ lives matter?" as an argument (Knight and Gregory). Hence, ALM intends to accuse BLM of being a racist movement that claims to defend victims of racism through applying a different type of racism towards everybody else.

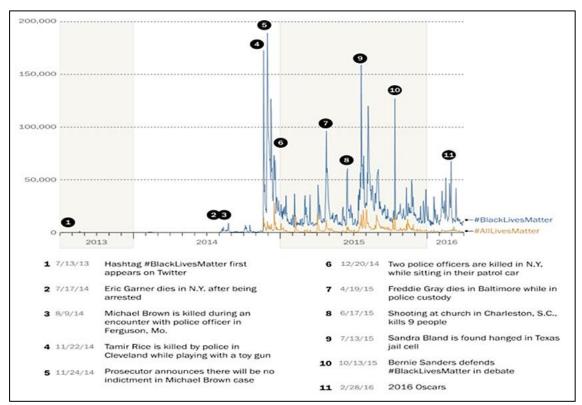


Figure 2: Number of Twitter posts mentioning both ALM and BLM tags: July 2013 to

March 2016

Source: Pew Research Center

As the figure shows, the number of tweets that has been posted including both ALM and BLM tags from July 2013 to March 2016, #alllivesmatter has clearly appeared with the killing of Tamir Rice, a twelve years old black boy, on 2014 and later it was used along with the use of #blacklivesmatter. Despite the fact that Black Lives Matter hashtag was used eight times more than the All-lives matter hashtag, the ALM twitter posts popped whenever there was a post about BLM.

Ioanide Paula argues that only those who had experienced or examined the white supremacy and violence in America would highly appreciate the phrase "Black lives matter". In addition, they would never mention the all-lives matter expression (Blake et al. 83). The emergence of ALM as new challenge to BLM movement and its discourse, has nurtured a debate on whether or not BLM is racist. It is beyond doubt that Black Lives Matter would respond to this allegation in a way or another. Fundamentally, Ioanide sees that BLM's response to ALM is through revealing two things about ALM's tactics. She states:

First, under the pretence of a universal concern for all human beings, the appropriation works to deny or minimize evidence that Black people (along with Latinx people, Native people, and LGBTQ people of color) are hyper-vulnerable to premature death at the hands of police officers and that this violence is almost always deemed justifiable by state institutions. By using a universalizing gesture about all human worth, this appropriative tactic attempts to erase the specific need to affirm the value of Black lives as a result of their particular subjection to racist state violence. Second, the "All Lives Matter" appropriation attempts to equate other groups' perceived and/or fabricated sense of victimization (e.g., white Americans, police officers) with Black people's empirically grounded, systematic vulnerability to racist violence and discrimination. (83-84)

Differently put, the universal concern theory implies that what effects one group reciprocally affects other groups in society regardless of their race, gender, and ethnicity. That is why the white appropriation ALM denies the capture of Black Lives Matter, believing that African Americans, along with other minorities and their issues with American policy, are not a serious problem. Undeniably, All-lives Matter tried to prove that all groups could be perceived as victims of racism and violence, even if they are white people or law enforcement agents. Accordingly, Ioanide assumed that white Americans are perceived as being under attack when any discourse or movement does not concentrate, include, or mention white people in its framework (85).

It seems that # AllLivesMatter is more preferable than # BlackLivesMatter within

the context of post-racial America, especially when the significance of race is shadowed by the acknowledgment of universalism or "human universality" (Orbe 97). The idea that black problems are everyone's problems and all lives are concerned with the same problem of police brutality under the perspective of universalism is quite deceiving since black people are not equal to white people (97). Actually, ALM followers fail to understand that BLM's objective is not to put black people above all, but rather to suggest that no one should give deaf ears to black marginalization.

Knight and Gregory assert that the major argument in the clash between ALM and BLM is about the equal treatment of everyone, despite their differences. Where ALM's supporters assume that is beyond the goal of Black Lives Matter. Therefore, they argue,

> A way to understand this is to think of a burning house. Fire fighters are going to focus on the house that is on fire, instead of hosing down every house in the neighborhood. ALM followers are using the false pretence of caring for all lives to squash a huge progression in society. Many ALM followers [do not] listen to the movement's goals and end up arguing the same points the movement is trying to make. The most common example of this is the argument that everyone should be equal and treated the same. Many ALM supporters don't understand that this is the goal of the BLM movement, for everyone to be treated equally, regardless of skin color. ("Opinion Black Lives…")

The above demonstration gave a clear picture of the ALM vs. BLM clash. According to Orbe, the "All Lives Matter" slogan may appear humanistic. However, it is deceptive because it promotes both colorblindness and white supremacy ideologies (9). In contrast with Black Lives Matter, which highlights racial inequality, He concludes that BLM aims for a greater social justice shared by all (9). Lopez sees that the best answer to all Lives Matter followers is through showing this cartoon.





Source: Lopez, German. "Next Time Someone Tells You 'All Lives Matter,' Show Them This Cartoon." *Vox*, 4 Sept. 2015, www.vox.com/2015/9/4/9258133/white-lives-matter.

The post-racial mentality and the dominant ideas about the end of racism are both among the challenges that faced the Black Lives Matter movement. Many people still repudiate the existence of systematic racism in present times and reject the fact that America is in desperate need of new anti-racism initiatives. That is why Black Lives Matter has been subjected to harsh criticism. Despite that, BLM continues to voice the struggle of black people each time a black life is threatened. The BLM has certainly managed to reach out and convince some people of the presence of institutional racism.

2.4 Assessing the Success of the BLM Movement after Trayvon's Case

Generally, success or failure is related to the outcome of hard work. Similarly, the level of success of any social movement is accompanied by the efforts made by the organizers as well as allies through many things, such as gathering supporters, accomplishing certain goals, and most importantly, making a sort of change. Indisputably, the Black Lives Matter movement is gaining national prominence in a short period compared to any other movement in American history.

The development of BLM movement overtime was because of the social media.

Yet BLM did not appear out of nothing it developed through certain stages. Social movements' development goes through four different stages to reach. It began with the idea stage; the death of Trayvon Martin prompted the Black Lives Matter phrase, then the hope idea, which implies gaining the attention of the public, As for the Black Lives Matter movement, the co-founder Tometi, sets up a website along with the BLM tag. As a result, BLM gained people's attention and started to believe that it could turn into an actual movement to effect change in society.

The action stage is the most crucial one since it leads to the change. The BLM turn to the action phase after the death of Michael Brown (19) Indeed, BLM movement starts by protesting for black unarmed victims since the case of brown. However, Siscoe argues, "For the Black Lives Matter Movement to make it to the point where there is change in society there needs to be civil disobedience, legal challenges and new laws. These three things all contribute to change occurring in a society" (19). She adds that BLM is causing civil disobedience. The latter involves the attention of the media, politicians, and society (19). In fact, BLM may have succeeded in building chapters and attracting public attention. Yet, it still needs more to make a real change. Ultimately, BLM grew from an online tag to a national movement, which is regarded as a great achievement.

As a summary of BLM's development, Konadu Kwasi and Bright Gyamfi wrote that many people supported the rise of BLM at the beginning by sharing its hashtag and making flags and slogans with the words "Black Lives Matter". Because of this campaign, the movement was born and grew as a local and national decentralized movement in 2014, calling for justice for black victims of brutal violence, particularly police brutality. By the end of 2017, BLM's co-founder launched the Black Lives Matter Network Global Foundation (BLMGNF), which supports black-led movements. Within the same year, BLM managed to open a conversation about race. Even more, the co-founders gained awards and book deals, especially Patrisse Cullors, who published in the same year the book entitled *When They Call You a Terrorist*. After seven years of Trayvon Martin's case, the BLM protest did not do much to bring relevant justice for the victims such as Trayvon Martin, Michal Brown, Tamir Rice, etc., nor did it make the desired policy changes it opted for, as it was a relatively new movement that stood out with Floyd's case.

Chapter Three

The Aftermath of the George Floyd Case and the Black Lives Matter Movement

The death of George Floyd has exacerbated a much deeper evil in the country. On numerous occasions, police brutality has gone unchecked and unpunished. The whole period has been marked by loose punishments, irrelevant and unjust court decisions, and modest media coverage. As a result, racism has recently become not only more prevalent in the United States but also promoted by low-enforcement agencies.

In the heart of lockdown, BLM bombed a massive protest in Floyd's case. Millions of people were shouting his name in the streets and calling for justice. The moment had captured the world's attention, and rapidly the case reached every single person on the globe. In this regard, more details about this case will be discussed all throughout his chapter. This part starts first by giving an overview of the initial event, naming the parties who were involved, including George Floyd and the officers. In addition to the examination of the investigation's procedures and criminal charges, the officers' trail will be tackled, followed by its impact on police reform. Finally, the chapter also tackles the impact of the incident and its aftermath.

3.1 George Floyd, African Americans, and COVID-19

The year 2020 is one of the most challenging years in human history. Unbelievably, a virus the size of a dust grain killed thousands of people around the world. Red flags were everywhere, and governmental institutions set specific national health care rules for everybody to follow. Nonetheless, the world went into lockdown due to the spread of COVID-19. This epidemic posed an unprecedented threat not only to public health but also to food systems and workplaces, as the virus continued to spread. The economic collapse has become a severe problem.

Nearly half of the world has been infected by the virus, including the most powerful nations like the United States of America. The latter failed to provide the needed health care

for all of its population, mainly black Americans. According to a recent report by the National Urban League, COVID-19 infection rates among black Americans were approximately three times higher than among white Americans. There was also an indication that black Americans were twice as likely to die from the virus, according to Johns Hopkins University (Soucheray).

In her article "Black Lives Matter, and Yes, you are Racist: The Parallelism of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries", McCoy compares the struggle of the African American minority with the COVID-19 pandemic to their struggle with past crises. It appears from her comparisons that the history of African American struggle, mainly with the Spanish flu of 1919 and the Great Depression of 1929 is similar to the struggle with the 2020 pandemic. African Americans' issues with employment and health care during the Great Depression as well as Spanish flu are both present in the recent pandemic period. Accordingly, she concludes that their struggle is not a coincidence; it is the result of their being constant victims of discrimination (463). Indeed, many studies have shown black Americans' struggle with the pandemic is more intense when compared to other minorities in America. The following chart demonstrates the employment rate before and during the pandemic.

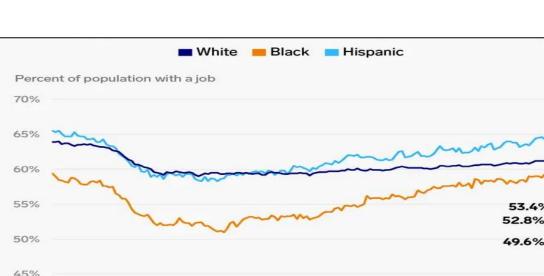


Figure 4: The Employment-population ratio by Race/ethnicity

2009

2007

Source: Kiersz, Andy. "26 Simple Charts to Show Friends and Family Who aren't convinced Racism Is Still a Problem in America." Insider.com, 2021.

2013

2011

2015

2017

2019

As the figure demonstrates, employment rates for all races (Hispanics, whites, and Africans) have dramatically decreased since the pandemic started due to lockdowns across the country, which caused an economic downturn, and many were jobless because of the economic state. In addition, it shows how African Americans are less employed than whites and Hispanics even before the coming of COVID-19.

It had happened to George Floyd, as it had to millions of Americans during the coronavirus crisis. Floyd, like many Americans, was unemployed and looking for a new job. Floyd travelled to Minneapolis from Houston some years ago with hopes of finding work and establishing a new life, but he lost his job as a security guard at a restaurant when Minnesota's governor issued a stay-at-home order (*Los Angeles Times*). It did not take long for his hopes for a different future to be ended by a deadly encounter with Minneapolis police. However, his death triggered a massive protest throughout the whole world.

3.2 A Background about the Deadly Encounter

Black people are frequently the targets of unjustified and humiliating arrests and searches, as well as physical abuse on the streets or in shopping malls when arrested by the police. The name George Floyd is just another name added to the previous list of unarmed black bodies murdered by police officers; the United States has caught fire. However, his name resonated so loudly in the world, accompanied by the voices of Black Lives Matters protesters.

3.2.1 Initial Events

On Monday, May 25, 2020, an African American man named George Floyd bought cigarettes from Cup Food, a store at East 38th Street Intersection and Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis's Powder Horn Park District. The shopkeeper called 911, stating that Mr. Floyd had paid with a falsified \$20 bill. The whole interaction of Floyd with the shopkeeper was recorded with the safety camera of the restaurant (Bennett et al.).

After the call, Keung and Lane, two Minneapolis police officers, arrived at 8 p.m. at the store, and they spoke to the employee, who pointed to Floyd's car. The two officers headed to the vehicle. While they are crossing 38th street, Lane takes off his flashlight and slides it to the front driver, pointing to Floyd to get out of his car (NPR.org). George Floyd was arrested on charges of allegedly passing a counterfeit bill. The events that happened after the arrest led to the abominable killing of Floyd at the hands of the police (*The New York Times*).

3.2.2 Floyd's Arrest and the Recorded Videos

When the two police officers arrested Floyd, two other officers came and joined them. The cameras recorded the whole interaction between the four officers and Floyd, which included the police body worn camera (BWC), the Cup food security camera, the Dragon Wok camera from another store, and the eyewitness cameras. Many videos captured the incident from different angles. The police bodycam is more important, since it can be used as evidence at crime scenes to demonstrate law enforcement interactions with the public. Through visual investigation, this part will describe the story from those cameras.

In the voiceless video "Dragon Wok surveillance video shows moments before George Floyd's arrest," it appears that George Floyd was in a blue car, sitting in the driver's seat with two of his friends. Later, two men from Cup Food approached his car and confronted him about the counterfeited bill he used to buy cigarettes. It seems they were asking for the cigarettes back, but they left the scene empty handed. Four minutes later, the police arrived. There were two officers. One of them pointed his gun at George and told him to leave his car. Then they both handcuffed him and pushed him against the wall, with Floyd looking like he was drunk. While one of the officers was holding a small notebook and asking him questions, two other officers arrived on the scene. The video ended with Floyd taking to their car, which was parked at the Cup Food store. As they reach their car, George falls to the ground. The last scene of the confrontation was unclear because of the second police car.

The BWC of Officer Lane, gave more details about the confrontation. He was the first to respond to the 911 call. The video footage starts way earlier, when Lane was on his way to the store. Once he arrived at Cup Food, he spoke with the owner about the details. Then the owner pointed to Floyd's car. Then Officer Lane crossed the street along with Mr. Kueng and walked together towards the car. The other officer opened the driver's seat and asked Floyd to step out. While Lane was talking to Floyd's friend, he was investigating the bill. As he was about to see his ID, the other officer decided to put handcuffs on Floyd. Officer Lane stepped out and joined the other officer. He ordered Floyd to stop moving, and they put handcuffs behind his back. Lane told George to stop resisting, and Floyd answers: "I'm not" and Lane replies, "Yes, you are." Lane asked Floyd's friends to stay in the car. They took him to the sidewalk, and Lane started taking notes about his name and birth date.

Lane asked George if he knew the reason why they were there. Floyd was scared and frustrated and it seems he has no clue. However, the officer thinks that Floyd was hiding something. Therefore, they were checking him. They found nothing yet they asked him to get inside the car. However, Floyd claimed that he is claustrophobic and asked them to be patient. Meanwhile, a man there told him that it is not a win-win situation and George answers, "I am not trying to win". The officers were patient and kept on asking him to get to the car and Floyd acted in the same frustrated manner. However, George said he will get to the car if they let him count to three because of his anxiety issues.

Unfortunately, officers lost their patience and pushed him inside the car as he kept screaming, "I can't breathe", the third officer tried to fix the situation but it seemed that Floyd panicked more and asked the officer to let him out of the car to lie down on the ground. Chauvin shocked Floyd from behind and got him off the squad car. Here, all the four officers gathered around Floyd while he was on the ground. The three officers were applying body pressure to Floyd's legs, back, and neck. The footage was unclear, but one could hear Floyd saying "I can't breathe" on repeat. He also starts by calling his mom, stating that he loves her. Simultaneously, people from the background were shouting at one of the police officers to step back ("RAW..."). In light of this, Floyd is feeling that he will not survive this and that his end is near.

Despite the fact that these two videos gave a general picture of what was happening before his death. Although there were some unclear parts in the videos, it is clear that these parts will not show contradicting facts. Nevertheless, it is vital to go through other videos that had the whole scene filmed from another clear spot. Therefore, an examination for the eyewitness videos is necessary to provide a more holistic picture of the incident. In the video shouted by the seventeen-year-old "The Minneapolis Police Choke an Unarmed Handcuffed Black Man to Death", Floyd was handcuffed and pinned down with his face on the ground for more than eight minutes while an officer was kneeling on his neck and the other two pressing on his legs and back.

Floyd could be heard telling the officers that he cannot breathe at least sixteen times. Thao stated to witnesses as Floyd continued to call for help: "This is why you don't do drugs, kids." In less than five minutes from the start of the video shooting, George started to lose his consciousness and slowly closed his eyes. Despite that, the officer kept his knee on Floyd's neck. Nevertheless, other people who were at the scene were asking the officers to step out because if they continued in that position, Floyd would definitely lose his life [3:09]. Suddenly, Floyd lost consciousness and the crowd started shooting. "Check his pulse! Check his pulse!" [5:00–5:40] the witnesses started to panic and wonder if the man was dead, and they frequently asked the officer to get his knees off Floyd's neck. Yet Chauvin pulled out his mace to keep the angry crowd at a distance. A man from the crowd was shooting repeatedly at the officer who was kneeling on Floyd's neck and asking him to stop because it is clear that he is killing the man. At the same time, he blames the other officer for not intervening [5:45-6:40]. The officer kept kneeling even after the arrival of the imbalance [6:48]. The same man, who was shouting at the officer earlier, started accusing the Officer who was preventing the people from getting close of being racist. In addition, another woman responded to the man "he is black, they don't care bro!"[7:36] Surprisingly, Chauvin was still kneeling on Floyd's neck for almost eight minutes. The last part of the video has ended by Floyd being lifted onto a stretcher and placed in an ambulance ("The Minneapolis Police Choke…").

3.2.3 Medical Response

The video footage showed Chauvin kneeling on Floyd's neck for nearly eight minutes. He kept kneeling even when the man showed no response. After that, he said, "I can't breathe" more than ten times. The witnesses acted in anger and asked the officer to check his pulse. Mr. Lane verified Floyd's pulse and he felt no single beat. It was until then that they called for a healthcare assistant. As they were waiting for the ambulance to arrive, Chauvin stayed in his same kneeling position.

Based on what has been recorded by the eyewitness's camera, the ambulance arrived at 8.27 pm. As the medical agent approaches Floyd to check his pulse, Chauvin did not step back and continued to restrain Floyd. Later, the footage of Lane' CBW demonstrated him as he entered the ambulance and verified Floyd's heartbeat. The nurse told Lane to do an artificial respiration as she placed another medical device on Floyd's chest for the same purpose (Hill et al.).

The ambulance asked for extra help from the Minneapolis Fire Department. Firefighters responded and arrived at Cup Food at 8.32 pm. Fire Department stated in its report that the place was full of people and when they were asking the officers about the patient's place and the officer was attempting to answer, the crowds shouted "the police had killed the man." Firefighters continued to report that the officer gave no clear information about the situation. Meanwhile, they were called by the ambulance to meet at Park Avenue. Where they boarded the ambulance and found out that George Floyd is out of life. They documented his death at 9.25 pm. in the emergency room of the Hennepin Medical Center (see "Appendix C").

3.2.4 Minneapolis Police Response

A law enforcement officer's typical day consists of responding to and reporting on any situation that arises. Yet, it might be somehow challenging, especially if something goes wrong. In cases where it ends with death, just like in Floyd's situation, the police are obliged to report the incident to the public.

After the incident, John Elder, who is a Minneapolis police spokesman, sent a summary entitled "Man Dies after Medical Incident during Police Interaction" to be reviewed by the reporters. Elder claimed that the suspect had violently resisted the police during his arrest. Later, he appeared to be in medical distress when police were able to get him in handcuffs (Mannix).

According to Horton, the press release was published online hours before the eyewitness's clip video. The latter exposed publicly the two contradictory facts: the source of his medical distress was the police kneeling on Floyd's neck for more than eight minutes, and there is no evidence that Floyd tried to resist the officers. When the video revealed the false information provided by Minneapolis police officers, Mortiarty, the chief public defender in Hennepin County, said: "Am I at all surprised that the police lied in their report? No" (qtd in Mannix). Indeed, the video not only provides a general context for the police encounter, but it also exposes police hypocrisy.

The mayor of the city condemned the behavior of the four officers and announced

that they had been fired on Tuesday evening, proclaiming that "being black in America should not be a death sentence" (Hauser et al.). It is safe to say then, that the condemnation of police officers means that the mayor refuses to hide this crime and he believes that Mr. Floyd must have justice. Therefore, he emphasized that those who were involved must be accountable for their racist actions.

3.3 BLM's Protests and other Reactions

It is true that George Floyd had been accused of committing a forgery crime. Yet, the way he got the punishment was unacceptable. As he was face down on the ground trying to gasp some fresh air, the cop, who swore an oath to protect and serve the people, did not lift his knee off Floyd's neck for over eight minutes. Words are never enough to describe the image of a suffocating, grown man begging for his life.

In his report, Reg Chapman stated that Mahmoud Abumayyaleh, the owner of the shop, said that what happened out of his store should have never been ended by a man dying on the street. For him, "Most of the times when patrons give us a counterfeit bill, they don't even know its fake so when the police are called there is no crime being committed just to know where it came from and that's usually what takes place. This was a very circumstantial event that ended in a tragedy" (CBS Minnesota).

The tragic incident brought to light a long-glowed gap between the two nations, black and white, in this one nation. The divide can be seen every day in social work programs, experienced by service users and agencies (Tolliver et al. 284). The horrifying video documenting Floyd's death, which was extensively distributed in the social media mainstream, has triggered a tan of protests across the US along with many reactions.

3.3.1 The Response of the Black Lives Matter Movement

One day after the killing of Floyd, a video capturing the incident, filmed by a 17-yearold black woman, went viral online. After seeing the video, many people asked for immediate justice for Floyd. As usual, BLM was the first to respond to homicide acts despite the lockdown and COVID-19. On May 26, the spot where Mr. Floyd was killed was transformed into a temporary memorial where many posters and flowers honoring him and referring to the Black Lives Matter movement were put up ("In Picture...").

The extensive concerns about systematic racism have reached a tipping point in the heart of this global health epidemic. The United States was disturbed in the summer of 2020 by two quite distinct political events that revealed opposite sorts of political action besides the killing of an unarmed black man by a police officer. The country confronted an unusual threat from COVID-19, a rare and extremely contagious respiratory infection that has affected more than five million Americans to date. In comparison to other nations' tough restrictions to prevent the virus's growth, the US reaction has been delayed and insufficient (Bolsover 1). However, the Twitter discourse about COVID-19 has been eclipsed by the current issue of Floyd's death. According to Bolsover, the number of Twitter posts about the coronavirus has decreased compared to Black Lives Matter posts in the week after George's death. The Covid-19 posts dropped from 27% to 5% in the list of trending topics (8). The issue of racism appears to be far more significant than COVID-19.

As the days went on, more people joined the BLM and protested Floyd's death. There were hundreds of individuals in the place who started marching to the 3rd Precinct of Minneapolis Police, where hundreds of police were present (Macaya and Meg). "Justice for George" and "I can't breathe" were among the slogans and posters used by the demonstrators ("In Picture..."). The Chicago Avenue from 37th to 39th streets were called by protestors George Perry Floyd's Place, and the city council approved the name. Council Vice President Jenkins praised her co-workers for their efforts in addressing this tragedy that has affected the entire world. Protesters have occupied the neighborhood and have refused to leave until their demands for property tax relief and anti-racism are met (Navratil and Rao). In honor of Floyd, BLM protesters also made 8:46, which was widely recognized as the time during which George remained under Chauvin's knee, as a moment of silence for the memory of Floyd. Before each moment of silence, protesters shouted loudly "I can't breathe" to imitate the actual sad event's phases. Moreover, the place where the crowds stood in silence was the same place Floyd was murdered (DeCambre). This shows how much the BLM and its protesters are keen on every detail of the incident.

3.3.2 National and International Reactions

There were massive protests taking place in Minneapolis and Los Angeles. Later, President Donald Trump requested the department of justice to open an investigation into Floyd's death. He also made a tweet sympathizing with Floyd's family in which he said, "I have asked for this investigation to be expedited and greatly appreciate all of the work done by local law enforcement. My heart goes out to George's family and friends. Justice will be served!" (Gregorian).

The 2020 summer was the season of protesting. Nearly thousands of people in America went out to call justice for George Floyd. Meanwhile, there were other anti-racism protesting occurred outside the US nation. Around the globe, where monuments regarded to symbolize racial injustice were demolished. For instance, Symbol of Belgian King Leopold II, who conquered the Democratic Republic of Congo, were smashed by demonstrators in Belgium. Historically speaking, many Congolese people were killed as a result of his tyranny. In fact, similar actions were captured in different parts of the world like in the UK and Germany (Lankes). These protesters are inspired by the BLM protests.

The death, as well as the demonstrations that followed, occurred against the setting of the COVID-19 epidemic. People did not respect the Lockdown rules and choose to protest. In this regard, Nunn and Elcott maintain that this unusual support was due to the restrictions of Covid-19 pandemic (qtd. in Lankes). Frankly, being trapped in home for a month is an enough reason to use protests as an excuse.

Betz reported that protests had taken place in over 2.000 US communities supporting Black Lives Matter movement by June 13. The majority of these protests were initially peaceful, however, rioting and looting broke out in other cities (Fox News).

3.4 Investigations and Criminal Charges

Between guilty until proven innocent and innocent until proven guilty, police officers proceeded anyway with the brutal arrest of Floyd. Despite the existence of the recorded video showing Chauvin's long kneeling on Floyd's neck even after he became unresponsive and Floyd's unstable posture during the encounter, police officers are claiming that the cause of death was a drug overdose and that they had no hand in killing him. While people who witnessed Floyd's death are convinced that it was a crime, thus, only a thorough investigation, encompassing hearings and autopsies, will provide the needed details to explain what has happened.

3.4.1 Autopsies

Among the medical methods to reveal the cause of death, is performing autopsies on the victim's body. Usually, autopsies are done by pathologists, medical doctors, or any expert in the internal and external examination of the body. This medical procedure is crucial to pinpointing the exact causes and manner of death. Besides, it helps examine any other diseases or infections that may have contributed to death. For that reason, the application of autopsies on Floyd's body were more than essential.

On June 1, 2020, there were two autopsies, one carried out by the local government and the other by two doctors hired by Mr. Floyd's family, set for Floyd's death. Both showed that his death was the result of a homicide. However, they differed over the other particular causes of the death besides the kneeling of Mr. Chauvin on Floyd's neck. (Taylor). On May 26, Dr. Andrew Baker, Chief Medical Examiner of the Hennepin County Medical Office, performed the first autopsy on the body, and the medical report was released on May 29 publicly. Dr. Baker states that George Floyd died due to "cardiopulmonary arrest complicating law enforcement subdual, restraint, and neck compression" (BBC News). They both confirmed that Floyd's death was the result of police brutality.

On May 31, Michael Baden, New York Chief medical examiner, and Alecia Wilson, a pathologist and director of autopsy at the University of Michigan Medical School, issued their final report of Floyd's death on June 1 just a couple of hours before Baker's final results were issued. The major cause of his death, according to them, was asphyxiation because of persistent pressure. In contrast to Baker, who claimed that Mr. Floyd used methamphetamines, which may have increased the cause of death. While the autopsies conducted by doctors hired by the Floyd family, said Mr. Floyd died not just because of the cop pressing his knee into his neck, but rather as a result of the other cops' involvement in pinning him down. That post-mortem also confirms that Mr. Floyd "had no underlying medical problem that caused or contributed to his death." Thus, it was confirmed that his death was a homicide.

3.4.2 Federal Investigation and Criminal Charges

The FBI and DOJ issued a joint statement on May 28 stating that the investigation into Floyd's murder was "a major priority." This joint statement stated that all relevant material would be collected and analyzed as part of the overall inquiry, as well as witness testimony. If it is discovered that federal law has been violated, Criminal charges will be filed (see Appendix A). The federal laws are operated differently from one state to another, yet many states have things in common. For instance, the neck restraints are banned in most US police departments. Unexpectedly, it appears that Minneapolis endorsed this act as Scot states, as long as it is applied by "compressing one or both sides of a person's neck with an arm or leg without applying direct pressure to the trachea or airway (qtd. in Hauck and Wagner).

The neck restrain act performed by MPD officer on Floyd was largely criticized by law enforcement specialist and regarded as a harmful act, which causes as asphyxia. According to Shane, a specialist in use-of-force in criminal studies, the only excuse for using force by police is when the suspect may harm the life of the officer or show resistance. He claims that there was no need to use force in Floyd's case as he comments on the incident video "I didn't see anything in that video that showed a deadly force situation" (qtd. in Hauck and Wagner). This entails that excessive force was truly applied on Floyd and the officer meant to harm him.

Madani reports that at 11:44 a.m. 29 May, in Minneapolis, the state bureau charged Chauvin with second-degree murder. The latter, according to the state agency, might result in a sentence up to twenty-five years in prison. Third-degree murder signifies that the offender did not plan to kill, yet the victim died as a result of his or her actions (NBCNews.com). Chauvin's arrest made him the state's first officer to be charged with the killing of black person (Xiong and Walsh). However, Floyd's family was not satisfied by this conviction because they believe that Chauvin deserves a first-degree murder, which signifies an intentional killing (Madani).

According to the federal allegations of civil rights violations filed against the officers, Chauvin had a case in 2017with a teenager who survived a similar arrest procedure applied by him (see "Appendix B"). Besides, he was convicted with the violation to Floyd's civil rights along with the other officers. On May 7, 2021, the federal indictments stated that the former police officers and their actions deprived Mr. Floyd from his constitutional right to be protects from the irrational force use that was preformed especially by Dereck Chauvin. The latter, acted in an extremely harmful which led to the death of, Mr. Floyd. In fact, the paper (see "Appendix B) gives three counts for each act. The first count was already mentioned above. While the other two counts are represented in the failure of both Thao and Kiang to prevent the homicide and the failure of the four officers in saving George' life.

3.4.3 The Trail of MPD Officers

When someone is charged with a crime it does not always imply that this person is guilty, that is why most of trails take a lot of time so, the judge would determine whether a person has committed a crime. For Floyd's case, the court sessions were postponed due to the Covid-19 pandemic. As result, the officers' trails took almost two years and it is still going on. Additionally, the Officers' trial was separated in two court sessions one for criminal charges and the other for civil rights charges.

The trail was televised and many were attentively waiting for the judge's decision. After 14 days from hearing of witnesses, pathologists, Experts, and Floyd's family, as well as going under and above the evidences drawn from the video footages, he judges was ready to pronounce the sentence. As Forliti reports, on 25 June 2021, Dereck Chauvin has been sentenced twenty and half years in prison. However, Floyd's family were disappointed by the decision since they were expecting the requested thirty years. This entails that Chauvin has chances of getting out after serving two-thirds, precisely 15 years of his sentence if he maintains good behavior (AP NEWS).

In the trail of the other officers, possibilities of saving George Floyd' life were discussed. Dr. David Systrom, a pulmonologist, said that if the cops had done CPR on Floyd, his chances to survive may have "doubled or tripled." Although both Kuong and Lane are professionally trained in providing first aids, according to Officer Nicole Mackenzie' testimony (Karnowski), they stood still and did nothing; they neither stop their fellow officers nor perform Cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR). Therefore, Lane was sentenced a threeyear sentence, including two years in prison, to run simultaneously with his federal civil rights conviction. Despite of Lane's accusation of second-degree murder "aiding and abetting" was dropped, his final sentence hearing was set for September 21, 2022 (Olson). While The Officer Thao refuses to admit that, he has a hand in this crime, stating that he was controlling the crowd and he did not know about George's health condition (Cottontop). Thao and Kuong are waiting for their criminal trial, which programmed on June 13, 2022 (WCCO). However, the two officers asked for delay as well as changing the place two weeks ago from the official date of their criminal trial. The judge Cahill granted their second request yet he refused the first one. Consequently, their trail was rearranged for January 2023 (Walsh).

3.5 The Future of the Movement in Fighting Systematic Racism

It is safe to say that BLM succeeded in making a huge difference in 2020 compared to the past nine years. A year after the tragedy of George Floyd, a police officer was held accountable and was charged for twenty-two and a half years, which is indeed a remarkable victory. This is considered as the first time a similar thing happens in the US. Even more, the year 2020 was marked by other reforms targeting the police department such as passing laws to ban some policing techniques such as choking and no-knock-warrant. Moreover, the movement is known by its eagerness for reaching racial justice in America, which denotes that the journey of the BLM in fighting systematic racism would not certainly end soon.

The first step to fight racism in America is changing white attitudes and perspectives towards black people. If white people have put their feet in blacks' shoes, they would have understood blacks' anguish and consequently they would reassess and reset their way of thinking (Wallis 31). White people think that Black people are not trying harder and that they are just being dramatic about their issues. Unfortunately, this common thinking is not very correct, the issue of race is real and has affected most black in a way or another at early or advanced stages at their lives.

For "a more perfect union", the United States must erode habits that promote

differences between its fellow citizens. In this matter, BLM is planning to reveal those racist habits through lobbying for defunding the police and enforcing voting for black people or anyone that would tackle black community issues. Mainly the focus would be more on defending disadvantaged people including LGBTQ groups (Guest). This founder believes that change in the black community would be a certain end with the present BLM plan. Since America does not emphasize the issues confronting marginalized members, BLM must continue to address black as well as fight systematic racism.

Racism affected not just the lives of people who are subjected to it, but also the society as a whole. It exacerbates mistrust by throwing accusation on all sides and pulling the social fabric apart. Hence, fighting racism became harder than before; racism is beyond the individual's level because post racist thinking gave racism more power and it is now rooted within social systems. That is why Patrisse Cullors contended that systemic racism cannot be easily erased. As she notes in her interview with Christina Heatherton about the BLM' plan:

[T]his work is bigger than us. It's bigger than Black people. It's bigger than humans. This is a planetary crisis. If we don't solve it or at least set up a system that can help solve it, I don't think we'll survive. It's very primal. Sure, we want to change conditions and make people's lives better. But also, in 200 years, I want to know that humans survived and are living in much healthier and more holistic ways. (41)

Bass believes that changes in American policing at the federal and local levels are required to defend the rights and lives of the black community. However, the progress in America will be transitory unless the core roots of disparities in America are addressed. She also asserts that repairing healthcare and facing social and economic challenges is critical to achieving long-term change (Guest *Annenberg Media*). As one of BLM main goal is to stop police brutality, she believes that the American policing should be reformed.

3.6 The Legacy of George Floyd

A one's legacy is not limited to the amount of money he left to his family; it is rather the answer to how his story ended. George Floyd would never have been this famous if he had not died in that racist coldblooded way. The man has gone after he was struggling to gasp some air, however; his name will live on. Floyd' story continues to address the seriousness of racism and has destroyed the image of post-racial America in the world's eye.

Anti-racism education become one of interesting topics in the United States of America. As Simpkins explains, many started raising awareness about racism and how to be anti-racist amongst them is Jennifer Ho, a professor of ethnic studies, who created a free online course about anti-racism ("One Year Later..."). Before, only the problem of racism has been slightly addressed through the content of teaching and very few accounts of antiracism were available. In the present time, much effort is devoted to discussing both the problem and its solution. Ergo, the Floyd's incident has made a significant impact on education as far the way racism is viewed.

The death of Floyd awoken people who were living in denial about the existence of race related issues in America and increased the awareness about the latter. Consequently, there were some measures taken after Floyd's death such as Senate bill 217 in Colorado. This bill aimed to enhance both transparency and accountability of law enforcement agents (Simpkins). So, Floyd's murder led to Police system change, especially when the Minneapolis City Council ordered the MD to abolish chokeholds and neck restraints; it was a major victory for the city, the movement, and to black people. Moreover, the incident fosters other changes in policing related to pervious cases such as the one of Breonna Taylor, who died after she was shot eight times when police entered her apartment while she was in bed. In light of this tragic incident, no-knock warrants were banned (BBC).

Among the aftermath results of George's case is the nomination of Black Lives Matter movement for the Nobel Peace Prize, for being a peaceful movement and for its work against structural racism around the world. Nonetheless, The Norwegian MP, Peter Eide added that the BLM movement had encouraged other countries to fight against racism within their communities. The case of Floyd helped the movement to be globally recognized and therefore the movement made a significant contribution to society and succeeded in increasing global knowledge and consciousness about racial injustice. Eide has been impressed by the way BLM mobilized individuals from various groups of society along with African-Americans (Belam). Differently said, the BLM movement was so wide it affected everyone and was supported by everyone at the same time.

3.7 Things Fall Apart: Does that Mean that the End of BLM is Near?

Black Lives Matter movement has captured both hearts and minds of many around the world. The movement, which grew from a hashtag and established itself as a global movement, particularly after the death of George Floyd, is now under a harsh campaign of criticism. On 25 May 2021, Natalie O'Neil announced that Patrisse Cullors, executive director of BLM, is resigning because of criticism about her financial life. Among these critics, one has been reported by property records and states that she purchased four luxury houses in California for \$3.2 million. Many believed an amount that huge of money must have come from the funds and donations supporters gave to the BLM to help blacks in need. The critics further argue that such amount of money should have gone to black victims' families, who need support to overcome their loss trauma. Both Cullors and the organization responded that their support and help for traumatized families are not made for a public announcement.

Nonetheless, the co-founder' resignation was because of her new Abolitionist's Handbook, she wanted to focus on her book as well as a TV production contract with Warner Bros, focusing on Black minority issues (BBC News). She also told an associated press that her resignation had been discussed a year ago, and had nothing to do with those allegations. As she claims: "Those were right-wing attacks that tried to discredit my character, and I don't operate off of what the right thinks about me" (BBC News). Amid this controversy, people asked for an investigation since there is no concrete evidence. As a result, the movement started to lose supporters. A year after Floyd's tragedy, many began to think that BLM was using black lives for personal benefits.

On 13 May 2022, the BLM website posted an article entitled "We Want to Talk to You about the Creator's House in California," in which they apologized for the news and explained what happened in detail. According to their claim, the properties are purchased under three causes. First, the houses serve as an option for the foundation to own land as black people, a land which is free-interest and unaccompanied by any white corporate entity. This strategic process comes as an investment aimed to improve the black destiny. Second, the property is a safe place for their members of black nationalist and their families, including their children, who have been threatened by white supremacists. Therefore, the property also served as protection for their lives. Finally, the BLM's organizers added to their announcement that these properties were designed to support their engagement with arts and culture in African-American communities.

The death of George did not only help the BLMGNF to be a worldwide movement but also mobilized financial support for it. Critics did not stop here; unfortunately, they have even revealed that the man who has been recognized as a martyr, a hero, and a symbol of justice does not deserve to be glorified. Candace Owns, for instance, released a video under the title: "The media is LYING to you about George Floyd." She contends that George Floyd is not an angel as the people portrayed him. He had committed about eight crimes including one when he threatened a woman and her son in their apartment, leaving them in hard psychological conditions. Owns says in her video: The woman had somebody knock on her door and say that they were from the water department and then that person forced their way into her home ... there were five other black males that exited this vehicle and proceeded to the front door the largest of these suspects forced his way into the residence this is George Floyd forced his way into the residence placed a pistol against the complainant's abdomen and forced her into the living room area of the residence the large suspect then proceeded to search the residence while another armed suspect guarded the complainant who was struck in the head and side areas by the second armed suspect with his pistol after she screamed for help...there was a toddler in the residence at the time that this happened a toddler that was traumatized by what George Floyd did. [3:09-4:02]

She believes that it becomes common for people to define as racially motivated death any incident where a black man dies in the presence of a white man. Besides, she emphasizes that the Media is trying to depict black people as criminals because of their continuous support and demand for justice for other black criminals.

Overall, many believed that arresting George Floyd for committing a forgery crime was legit, yet none of them is happy about the brutal way the arrest went up on one side. On the other side, many stopped supporting the Floyd's case and the BLM after they knew about the criminal history of Floyd and the misuse of money by the BLM. The whole situation thus became chaotic and people kept exchanging blames and accusations. In addition, there are no enough evidences about the whole context, which leaves one wandering about the legitimacy of the BLM movement; is the whole movement wholly or partially corrupted? In addition, if corruption were proven, how would that affect the black community and the anti-racism issues in general?

Conclusion

American history has always been associated with racism even before the emergence of the US as a nation. A series of racial prejudice and discrimination sponsored by white supremacy were acted toward people of color since ages. Black people were at the top of the list of the "inferior race" as they were kidnapped from their homelands, brought to the New World without their consent, and sold into slavery. The Jim Crow era that had started just after black slavery ended, had also the lion's share in shaping the African Americans' discrimination history for an extra couple of centuries. African Americans were indeed the most underprivileged group in the American society. Hence, they have opted for different options to put an end to their overwhelming life circumstances. African Americans have followed multiple paths for their own salvation such as protesting and initiating social movements.

With the beginning of the 20th century, African Americans started a movement for their rights. Protesters and leaders such as Martin Luther king were able to achieve remarkable success. Incredibly, the aftermath of the civil rights rescued the dignity of many African Americans. The Voting Acts along with other acts were passed in order to make blacks equal to their white counterparts. This eventually led to the rise of America as a post racial society; a truth that has been made evident especially after the election of the first black American as president. Many anti-racism etiquettes have been adopted during this new era, mainly the colorblind thinking, which advocates to consider race as a thing of the past, thus people of color would be treated as only human beings, nothing more and nothing less. However, this belief turned out to be another form of covert racism. Meanwhile, signals of this racism appeared with different American institutions, particularly the US law enforcement institution. The new perception of black people as criminals led to other racist issues. Moreover, police officers were targeting people of color on a daily basis with or without strong evidence, which made the situation between the African American and police mostly recognized by hate and lack of trust.

The police-black people relation engendered new problems with police brutality on the top of the list. Black people became regular targets for police forces compared to other minorities and most of the time these police-black encounters end up very tragically. This was generally not accepted by many members of the American community, notably blacks, and many people shouted out for justice for these victims and condemnation for their killers. In this matter, the ceaseless killing of unarmed black men at the hands of law enforcement agents has raised many national debates over the issue of race. Furthermore, these racist incident episodes were recorded even during the Obama presidency. The Trayvon Martin is specifically a good sample. Although these incidents are evidence that African Americans are still targets of racism, many have chosen to turn a blind eye on these transgressions.

The case of George Floyd is amongst the most unfortunate events in the history of racist acts against African Americans. Yet it is the straw that broke the camel's back. The killing of Floyd by a police officer funnelled interests in the injustices ordinary black citizens face. It sparked the flames for national and international protests on systematic racism held by the agents who took an oath to protect the citizens and properly implement the law. The digital era protestors massively shared and forwarded the video of the crime and the hashtag #Black Lives Matter, which boosted the activity of the BLM.

The Black Lives Matter Movement was initially born to fight for Black people's rights and the Floyd's incident significantly helped in mobilizing more support for the intended purpose. The movement strongly rejected the colorblind idea and held the belief that race is a very important construct. For the BLM race does matter and people need to discuss it out in the open without fear of being labeled racists because ignoring that racism is an ongoing problem only exacerbates the issue. People must be perceived as being of a different

race and that is what makes them who they are. The movement calls for embracing and tolerating race; people need to be respected and treated fairly because they matter no matter what race they descend from.

To conclude, the killing of Floyd revealed so much about criminal justice, the law implementation, and the lives of minorities. If it were not for the incident's video that went viral, the corrupt law enforcement system and systematic racism in the post racial society would have never been exposed so openly. The case of Floyd is not an isolated incident but rather a part of a vicious circle, where African Americans' rights are violated repeatedly in many fields not only in relation to law enforcement. Although things turn against both of the movement and George Floyd, no one could ever deny that African American issues are far deeper and greater than police brutality; they constantly face problems with employment and healthcare systems. This raises so many questions about the integrity of the society and its laws, the hidden stories of racial injustices, and most importantly the notion of post racial society. One could wonder whether the whole society could ever come up clean one day and admits its misdeeds against an entire race for nothing but a mere skin color.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Department of Justice

US Attorney's Office

District of Minnesota

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Thursday, May 28, 2020

Joint Statement of United States Attorney Erica MacDonald and FBI Special Agent in Charge Rainer Drolshagen

The US Attorney's Office for the District of Minnesota, the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division and the FBI's Minneapolis Field Office are conducting a robust criminal investigation into the circumstances surrounding the May 25, 2020, death of George Floyd. The Department of Justice has made the investigation a top priority and has assigned experienced prosecutors and FBI criminal investigators to the matter.

The federal investigation will determine whether the actions by the involved former Minneapolis Police Department officers violated federal law. It is a violation of federal law for an individual acting under color of law to willfully deprive another person of any right protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States.

The Department of Justice asks for cooperation from all witnesses who believe they have relevant information and urges calm as investigators methodically continue to gather facts.

The Department of Justice and FBI's comprehensive investigation will compile all available information and thoroughly evaluate evidence and information obtained from witnesses. Upon conclusion of the FBI's investigation, the US Attorney's Office will determine whether federal criminal charges are supported by the evidence. If it is determined that there has been a violation of federal law, criminal charges will be sought.

Appendix B

Department of Justice

Office of Public Affairs

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Friday, May 7, 2021

Four Former Minneapolis Police Officers Indicted on Federal Civil Rights Charges for Death of George Floyd; Derek Chauvin Also Charged in Separate Indictment for Violating Civil Rights of a Juvenile

WASHINGTON — A federal grand jury in Minneapolis, Minnesota, returned two indictments that were unsealed today. The first indictment charges former Minneapolis Police Department officers Derek Chauvin, 45; Tou Thao, 35; J. Alexander Kueng, 27; and Thomas Lane, 38, with federal civil rights crimes for their roles in the death of George Perry Floyd Jr.

The three-count indictment alleges that all four defendants, while acting under color of law, willfully deprived Mr. Floyd of his constitutional rights, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242. Specifically, Count One of the indictment alleges that on May 25, 2020, Chauvin held his left knee across Mr. Floyd's neck, and his right knee on Floyd's back and arm, as George Floyd lay on the ground, handcuffed and unresisting, and kept his knees on Mr. Floyd's neck and body even after Mr. Floyd became unresponsive. The indictment alleges that Chauvin's actions violated Mr. Floyd's constitutional right to be free from the use of unreasonable force by a police officer and resulted in bodily injury to, and the death of,

Count Two of the indictment charges that Thao and Kueng willfully failed to intervene to stop Chauvin's use of unreasonable force, resulting in bodily injury to, and the death of, Mr. Floyd. Finally, Count Three of the indictment alleges that all four defendants saw Mr. Floyd

lying on the ground in clear need of medical care and willfully failed to aid him. The indictment alleges that by doing so, all four defendants willfully deprived Mr. Floyd of his constitutional right not to be deprived of liberty without due process of law, which includes an arrestee's right to be free from a police officer's deliberate indifference to his serious medical needs. The indictment alleges that this offense resulted in bodily injury to, and the death of, Mr. Floyd.

A separate, two-count indictment also charges Chauvin with willfully depriving a Minneapolis resident who was then fourteen-years-old of the constitutional right to be free from the use of unreasonable force by a police officer, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242. Count One of this indictment alleges that on Sept. 4, 2017, Chauvin, without legal justification, held the teenager by the throat and struck the teenager multiple times in the head with a flashlight. The indictment alleges that this offense included the use of a dangerous weapon—a flashlight—and resulted in bodily injury to the teenager. Count Two of the indictment charges that Chauvin held his knee on the neck and the upper back of the teenager even after the teenager was lying prone, handcuffed, and unresisting, also resulting in bodily injury.

Both indictments charge violations of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242. 18 USC § 242 states that it is a crime for an official acting under color of law to willfully violate a person's constitutional rights. If government employees, like police officers, use or misuse the power provided to them by their position, they are acting "under color of law."

An indictment is merely a formal accusation of criminal conduct. The defendants are presumed innocent unless and until they are proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt in a court of law.

The charges announced today are separate from the Justice Department's civil pattern or practice investigation into the City of Minneapolis and the Minneapolis Police Department that the Attorney General announced on April 21. The charges announced today are criminal, while the pattern or practice investigation is a *civil* investigation that will be conducted separately and independently from the criminal case, and will be handled by a different team of career staff from the Civil Rights Division and the US Attorney's Office.

The charges announced today are also separate from, and in addition to, the charges the State of Minnesota has brought against these former officers related to the death of Mr. Floyd. The federal charges allege different criminal offenses; specifically, they allege violations of the US Constitution, rather than of state law.

Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General Pamela S. Karlan and Acting US Attorney W. Anders Folk for the District of Minnesota commend the investigative efforts of the FBI and the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension in this matter, and thank the Minneapolis Police Department for its cooperation in the investigation.

The federal criminal cases are being prosecuted by Acting US Attorney W. Anders Folk of the District of Minnesota, Special Litigation Counsel Samantha Trepel and Trial Attorney Tara Allison of the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice, and Assistant US Attorneys Samantha Bates, LeeAnn Bell, Evan Gilead, Manda Sertich and Allen Slaughter of the District of Minnesota.

Appendix C

A MM DD <u>27218</u> MN 05 25	YYYY Delete NFIRS -1 2020 17 20-0018197 000 Change Basic Station Incident Mumber * Exposure * No Activity No Activity								
B Location*	icate that the address for this incident is provided on the Wildland Fire Census Tract								
Street address ST B Mumber/Milepost Prefix Street or Highway Street Type Suffix In front of MINNEAPOLIS MN 55407 - Rear of Apt//Suite/Room City State Tip Code									
Adjacent to Directions Cross street or directions, as applicable									
C Incident Type * 321 [EMS call, excluding vehicle acci- Incident Type	E1 Date & Times Midnight is 0000 E2 Shift & Alarms Local Option Local Option								
	Date. Alarm * 05 25 2020 20:30:31 Shift or Alarms District Platoon								
1 Mutual aid received 2 Automatic aid recv. 3 Mutual aid given 4 Automatic aid given 5 Other aid given N XNone	ARRIVAL required, unless canceled or did not arrive X Arrival * 05 25 2020 20:32:49 E3 CONTROLLED Optional, Except for wildland fires Special Studies Local Option LART UNIT CLEARED, required except for wildland fires Local Option X Cleared 05 25 2020 21:23:15								
F Actions Taken *	G1 Resources * G2 Estimated Dollar Losses & Values								
32 Provide basic life support Primary Action Taken (1) Additional Action Taken (2) Additional Action Taken (3)	X Check this box and skip this section if an Apparatus or personnel form is used. LOSSES: Required for all fires if known. Optional for non fires. (BLS) Apparatus Personnel Property \$								
Completed Modules H1*Casualties Fire-2 Deaths Inju Structure-3 Fire Civil Fire Cas4 Fire Fire Service Civilian EMS-6 H2 Wildland Fire-8 1 Xapparatus-9 2 Xerson-11 U U Unknown	N None NN Not Mixed 1 Natural Gas: slow leak, no evanation or Habitat actions 10 Assembly use 2 Propane gas: <11 lb. tank (as in home HRQ grill)								
J Property Use* Structures 131 Church, place of worship 161 Restaurant or cafeteria 162 Bar/Tavern or nightclub 213 Elementary school or kindergarten 215 High school or junior high 241 College, adult education 311 Care facility for the aged 331 Bospital	341 Clinic,clinic type infirmary 539 Household goods,sales,repairs 342 Doctor/dentist office 579 Motor vehicle/boat sales/repair 361 Prison or jail, not juvenile 571 Gas or service station 419 1-or 2-family dwelling 599 Business office 429 Multi-family dwelling 615 Electric generating plant 439 Rooming/boarding house 629 Laboratory/science lab 449 Commercial hotel or motel 700 Manufacturing plant 459 Residential, board and care 819 Livestock/poultry storage (barn) 464 Dormitory/barracks 882 Non-residential parking garage 519 Food and beverage sales 891 Warehouse								
Outside 124 Playground or park 655 Crops or orchard 669 Forest (timberland) 807 Outdoor storage area 919 Dump or sanitary landfill 931 Open land or field	936 Vacant lot 981 Construction site 938 Graded/care for plot of land 984 Industrial plant yard 946 Lake, river, stream Lookup and enter a Property Use code only if you have NOT checked a Property Use box: 960 Other street Property Use 961 Bighway/divided highway 962 XResidential street/driveway								

		MM DD YYYY					
27218	HON	5 25 2020	17	20-0018197	000	Complete	
FDCD 🛨	State +	Includent Date 🛨	Station	Santakant Manine 🛨	Expanse #	Marrative	

Narrative:

E17 was started code-two to assist EMS on a call, then updated to code-three. Pre-arrival info stated only that pt had trauma to his mouth. E17 arrived at Cup Foods (38th & Chicago)

with multiple squads on scene and small crowd of citizens. As 17s attempted to locate the patient, the crew overheard and was told by several people that the police 'had killed the man.' Bystanders were upset but not unruly. No clear info on pt or location was given by either initial pd officers or bystanders. Crew finally located an officer inside the store who stated HCMC medics had loaded the patient and relocated from the scene? E17 encountered an off-duty firefighter who had witnessed the end of the struggle and witnessed the pt go from struggling to unresponsive on the ground while handcuffed and subdued by PD. Dispatch notified E17 that medics needed Fire code-three, and E17 relocated to 36th & Park Ave.

Two crew members got in ambulance. Medics had Lucas's device working on an unresponsive, pulseless male. Pt had advanced airway secured; E17 took over ventilations and also assisted medics getting IV and meds prepared. Crew accompanied medics to HCMC STAB room, continuing w/ministrations. Medics performed pulse checks several times, finding none, and delivered one shock by their monitor. Pt's condition did not change. E17 helped get pt into STAB room, continuing ventilations until relieved by ER staff.

27218 05/25/2020 20-0018197

A MM DD YYYY <u>27218</u> MN <u>5</u> 25 202 <u>700 *</u> State * Incident Date *		20-	-0018197	000	Delete Change	NFIRS - 9 Apparatus or Resources		
B Apparatus or * Date and Time Resource Check if same as share Nonth Day Tes	date	Sent X	Number of * People	Use Check OK has for ea apparatus to indicat its main use at the incident.	nih -	ions Taken		
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	2020 20:30 2020 20:32	X	4	Suppression BCS Other				
ID Dispatch Fype Clear				Suppression BCS Other				
ID Dispatch TD Arrival Type Clear				Suppression BGS Other				
TD Dispatch				Suppression Sci Other				
ID Dispatch Dispatch Arrival Dispatch Clear				Suppression 2003 Other				
TD Dispatch				Suppression BG Other				
ID Dispatch TD Arrival Type Clear				Suppression Bes Other				
Type of Apparatus or Resources				Suppression 264				
Ground Fire Suppression 11 Engine 12 Truck or serial 13 Quint 14 Tanker 6 pumper combination 16 Brush truck 17 ANF (Aircraft Rescue and Firefighting) 10 Ground fire suppression, other Heavy Ground Equipment 21 Doner or plow 22 Tractor 24 Tanker or tender 20 Heavy equipment, other Aircraft 41 Aircraft: fixed wing tanker 42 Helitanker 43 Helicopter	Marine Equipment 51 Fire boat with pump 52 Boat, no pump 50 Marine apparatus, other Support Equipment 61 Breathing apparatus support 62 Light and air unit 60 Support apparatus, other Medical 6 Rescue 71 Rescue unit 72 Urban Search 6 rescue unit 73 Bigh angle rescue unit 75 BLS unit 76 ALS unit 70 Medical and rescue unit, other			More Apparatus? Use Additional Sheets Other 91 Nobile command post 92 Chief officer car 93 Hambat unit 94 Type 1 hand crew 95 Type 2 hand crew 95 Type 2 hand crew 95 Trivately cened vehicle 00 Other apparatus/resource NN None UU Undetermined				
40 Aircraft, other NFIRS-9 Revision 11/17/98								

Minneapolis Fire Department

27218 05/25/2020

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