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The Racial Reality in the United States: The Nexus between Critical Race Theory and International Security

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Abstract

There began for international security a marked turning point in the pivot with the human being- as opposed to the state- becoming the core object for security and protection. Human-centric occupations in security connotes that threats to international security begin with the individual and so the individual must first be prioritized when assessing threats to security in the state and the international system. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UNDHR, 1948) is the foremost pillar on which human security is built. This liberal perspective fights to ensure that the protection of individual rights is attained, and human beings universally are not denied any of all freedoms to which they are entitled to on the basis of common humanity. Human security in state affairs does not negate the importance of state sovereignty but accentuates it by positing that protecting the individual is protecting the state because it is people who make up the state.

This work relies heavily on critical race theory. Critical race theory argues predominantly that certain laws and structures in certain societies could by themselves, encourage inferior treatment of certain groups with race being the common indicator. I focus on using the lens of critical race theory to thoroughly analyze the way that racial profiling has aided police brutality and perpetuates physical and structural violence on African Americans in America using the Floyd case as reference for this analysis. I approach the analysis from the periphery of international security and why race theory contributes immensely to the former.

Keywords

Race, racial profiling, critical race theory, human rights and dignity, police brutality, securitization, black people, human security.

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that she compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague…………… 26th July, 2021.   Leah Kuttu

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I am first and foremost a believer before I am anything. I thank God for the journey I am on and the road through which His merciful Hand has brought me. I am who I am for His purpose.

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Salute to the resilience of the African American and Black peoples in a system that sidelines them. I am continuously amazed by the great men and women who have fought and continue to fight for a just and fair society. Lastly, I remember the lives lost and marred by police brutality, racial profiling and racism perpetrated in whatever form.

Contents

Introduction

This work is an inquiry into the nature of libertarian and egalitarian principles in the United States and the factual or declaratory nature of these principles. I focus on the areas in which institutionalized and systemic racism pervades the American society, and marginalizes minority groups particularly, the African American community.

I begin by seeking to establish the American factual reality as to if human rights and egalitarian ideals are only rhetoric or established within society's fabric. In making this inquiry, my research prompted the mapping out of the American historical narrative from the beginning of migration or in the American context, enslavement of African Americans until the current. My research found, that there has existed and continues to occur, the securitization of black people in the United States which generates with it profiles, that marginalize and even endanger the black community. I recognize, the violation of rights and dignity of persons that structures in the US inflicts on the American community. The disproportionate rate at which African Americans are incarcerated, marginalized and even killed in America calls for rigorous analysis and transformation.

Critical race theory affords me a tool with which to investigate thoroughly, the American policing system for bias. I establish in this work, the ways in which CRT can lead conversations for change particularly in conjunction with human security and security studies where human security occupies a marginal spot in broader security studies.

The first chapter is a rigorous investigation into the history of racial profiling and human insecurity for black people in America. I here establish what I mean as regard the terms 'police brutality' and 'racial profiling.' This chapter also submits that there is a securitization of blackness in the US that allows a dominant paradigm, the result of which makes one race subservient to another.

The second chapter establishes how much of a threat racial profiling and police brutality constitutes to the security of persons in the Afro American community. This chapter establishes the tenets of critical race theory which is the theoretical framework of this study as well as what human security is and why it should not be ignored in attaining individual, communal and state security since it is the individual that is the core recipient of security in the state.

The last chapter is a review of some of the critique against CRT today. As with other philosophies challenging dominant narratives, CRT faces detractors which chapter three focuses on. I continue with

how CRT can begin to stir remodel conversations in human security and security studies. I draw my conclusion by stating how CRT can work as the nexus between human and security studies in order to transcend change within societal systems which propagate and reproduce systemic racism. This research ends with a summation of this work and my findings.

I never intend to adjust myself to the evils of segregation and the crippling effects of discrimination. I never intend to adjust myself to the tragic inequalities of an economic system which takes necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes. I never intend to become adjusted to the madness of militarism and the self-defeating method of physical violence. I call upon you to be maladjusted.

Martin Luther King Jr. September, 1957.

Chapter One

1.0 America: Land of the Free and Equal

'Equality', 'dignity of persons' are common language in the legal lingo on rights and freedoms of all men. However there seems to exist, a large magnitude in discrepancy with the actuality of these ideals in the way that all people are treated, particularly in this work, in the American society. The death of George Floyd was momentous in refocusing light on the issue of police brutality and seemingly, institutionalized racism in America. That one post showing how Floyd was killed by police, showed just how much black America is treated in contrast to the stipulated rights for all persons noted in America's legal apparatus.

America has long declared herself the land of the free, advocating for equality, rights, and freedoms of all humanity as the basis for the democratic ideology she has championed and even propagated around the world. In many legal infrastructures, the U.S commemorates clauses on 'liberty', 'freedom', 'equality', as well as 'dignity of person'. The *Bill of Rights*, the *American constitution*, the *United Nations Charter*, and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UNDHR), *United Nation's Security Council* (UNSC) of which the United States is a chief member, are founded on the premise of human equality and freedoms. These commitments to which America is party to are precedents on which *every* individual in America *deserves* and is *entitled* to equality, honor, and dignity of person. The U.S Constitution in the 14th Amendment- Amendment XIV, section 1 and ratified in June 1868- states that, "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside (14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, 1868). No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws".

The implication of this clause called the 'Equal Protection Clause' is that no citizen of the United States is to be discriminated upon especially by the state or government for any reason particularly because of race or ethnicity.

American involvement in libertarian ideals around the globe rests on the premise of humanity and is underscored prominently in the American Constitution and the United Nation's Charter on Human Rights. The preamble of the Rights Charter by the United Nations General Assembly (UNDHR, 1948), states, "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world…" and bounds every member state to the promotion, respect and adherence to these rights and notes "Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms". The Charter "proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction". The question then arises as to why the United States, despite being chief and party to a number of such agreements, continues to have representations of inequality in the apportioning of resources and dignity of persons toward certain communities; the African American community being a primary example. It stirs up even further, doubts on whether the American support for equality is only idyllic and not the American reality. How much of American discourse on equality of all persons is declaratory? It appears that these ideals may be more statutory than operational as this paper unfolds revealing institutions that continue to entrench discrimination by virtue of the race question. This chapter explores the seemingly declaratory nature of these commitments by recanting the police brutality case and unfortunate demise of George Floyd by Minneapolis Police on the 25th of May. This chapter chiefly intends to outline the racial discriminations that have set the tone for today's racially charged American structures which enable racial profiling and Police brutality.

There seems to be a large discrepancy between the American ideal of freedom, justice, and equality of all people judging from facts on the ground (Berlin, 2004), (Clayborne, 1998), (Clayborne & Shepard, 2002), (Mclaughlin, 2009), (Waldschmidt-Nelson, 2012), (Kirk, 2013), (Delgado, Richard, 2012), (Edwards et al, 2019). Visual and audio retellings, show the injustice done to Black people in America as depicted in the Floyd video. Black children are taught to comply immediately with Police directives (Gunderson, 2020), and inform the police of their movements before slowly putting their hands up in the air because just too many times, black people have been shot for raising their hands too fast while complying with Police directives or holding a hairbrush which to the officer looked like a gun (FOX NEWS, 2007). The stories abound. If this is true, it means that the facts on the ground are far from the lofty ideals preached and America does not care or even worse, America cares but for certain individuals and not others.

1.1 Defining the racial profiling problem

The U.S Department of Justice (2003), defines the racial profiling problem as actions perpetrated against people which are discriminatory and 'dehumanizing' on the basis of their skin color even before regard to behavior. The Justice department elaborates racial profiling as actions which "rest on the erroneous assumption that any particular individual of one race or ethnicity is more likely to engage in misconduct than any particular individual of other races or ethnicities" (2003). It is this assumption that has led to many cases of police brutality against minority races in the United States particularly, against African Americans and Hispanics.

"Any police-initiated action that relies on race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than the behavior of an individual, or information that leads the police to a particular individual who is identified as being or having been engaged in criminal activity" (Ramirez et al, 2000). ACLU adds to this definition by noting that definitions of racial profiling as 'racial or ethnic discriminatory acts' should include 'discriminatory omissions by law enforcement.' Race is not permissible to be the only reason for a stop by police as stipulated in police conduct and is only allowed to be the controlling factor in stops when matching descriptions to an offence (Union, 2021). The working definition of the term which I adopt in this work is David Harris's definition which takes into cognizance the semantics in the definition. Since race may not be the only factor for a stop considering other variables, such as being in a high-crime vicinity, manner of appearance,

behavior, time of day and so on (Harris, 2017). Harris then defines racial profiling as "any police-initiated action that relies on racial or ethnic appearance as one factor among others, rather than the behavior of an individual or information, resulting in police actions such as questioning, stop-and-frisk, or searches for purposes of criminal, national-security or anti-terrorism, or immigration investigation. Racial profiling does not include the use of racial or ethnic appearance as part of a reasonably detailed description that enables police to identify an individual suspect" (P. 120, 2017).

Police brutality here simply means the use of unnecessary force by police on civilians. Reiss defines police brutality as any practice that degrades citizen status, "that restricts their freedom, and that annoys or harasses them" (Reiss, p. 334, 1971). The police are the legitimate wardens of force in the state, the problem of police brutality comes in where there is an abuse of power and the police uses its power and authority in a situation where unnecessary, unwarranted, and avoidable.

1.2 George Floyd Brutality Case

On the 25th of May 2020, a black man in his forties, walked into a convenience store just before 8pm to buy a pack of cigarettes. He pays for the cigarettes with a 20 dollar note and walks to his car. Not long after, the store attendant comes out and goes to the man now in his car asking him to come back in per the request of the manager in regard to questions about the bill he gave as payment and claims about it being counterfeit. The man refuses and asks the attendant to call the police if this is true. The store calls the police on the man reporting this counterfeit bill. The store cashier notes and states that the man spoke slowly and might have been under the influence and states the man's racial characteristics after being asked by the 911 Operator (Karimi, 2020). Not too long after, the police arrive and tap on the man's car window. On turning to the window, the man sees the policeman pointing a gun to his face. He instinctively raises his hands up saying, "please don't shoot me, I didn't know!" He is asked to come out of the car to which he obeys and is cuffed and led to the police car.

The situation quickly deteriorates when the man is made to go into the police car. Being quite tall at 6 foot and up as well as large, the man who claims he is claustrophobic and has anxiety

begs the police to please stop trying to get him into the small back seat of the patrol car because "I'ma die." The police stop forcing him into a car after a little bit and make him get on the ground.

The situation further escalates, he is quickly pinned to the ground, his face and body on the asphalt, a knee on his neck and another on his back for resisting arrest. He says 'I am not resisting' but to no avail. The officer with his knee on the man is Derek Chauvin. Four other officers standby. The scene causes people passing by to stop and they take out their phones and begin to record. Eighteen-year-old Darnella Frazier is out to get some things from the store with her nine-year-old cousin when she sees the situation. She protects her cousin from witnessing the ordeal and asks her to go into the store. Frazier then begins to record; it is her video upload which would go viral in a few hours and turn the world on its head. The video is 8 minutes and 46 seconds long, but the police officer identified as Derek Chauvin had his knee on the man for 9 minutes and 46 seconds. While on the road, his neck and back pinned, the man cries out 16 times on the video, "I can't breathe!" He calls for his mom in his cries. Paramedics arrive, with Chauvin still pressing unto the man's neck even after the man had stopped making any movement and appeared unconscious. They try to check the man's breathing, passersby are shouting, asking Chauvin to let up with the pressure on the man's neck and back. Some saying, "you are going to kill him", "he is not moving or resisting" but Chauvin does not respond. Derek Chauvin has been a veteran of the Minneapolis Police Department for 18 years during the course of which over a dozen reports have been filed against him. Chauvin does not get up until the moment the paramedics lift the unconscious man unto the stretcher. Not long after, that same evening at 9:25 pm, the man is announced dead. The man is identified as George Floyd, born in 1973, in Fayetteville North Carolina brought up in Texas and later moved to Minnesota where he worked in Minneapolis as a truck driver and bouncer. He was a father of five and was 46 years old at the time of the event. The medical examiner in Floyd's case attributes Floyd's death to heart failure and drug use noting forceful restraint and compression on his neck and body as the primary cause of death.

1.3 Interpretation

The policemen who show up in response to the 911 call made by the Cup Foods attendant seem predisposed to some bias that makes the man, George Floyd more than a suspect apprehended

and turns him to a criminal guilty of the alleged act and very quickly to an outlaw refusing authority and going against instituted order and deserving of punishment due to delinquents.

The tapping on Floyd's window with a gun was unnecessary and is an abuse of police authority since the police pointed a gun at an unsuspecting civilian who was not a threat to their own safety or in possession of a weapon. The man was seated in his car by the road oblivious to his outside and as such not in a threatening position. The basis for the use of a weapon upon first approach in this scenario was uncalled for and an abuse of power intended to instill fear and anxiety which turned out to be the case. Floyd shocked at turning to his window, seeing a white police officer pointing a gun at him already put anxiety in him, his immediate actions attest to this. Instinctively putting his hands up, trying to communicate to police his cooperation, asking to not be shot and getting out of his car. The escalation does not begin after Floyd's refusal to enter the cramped backseat of the police car, it began the moment the officer pointed his gun at an unarmed man. There is something in Floyd's psyche that associates a white officer pointing a gun at him with fatality and danger. Claustrophobic George, after witnessing danger is in fear/flight mode. However, in his fear, he does not take off nor resist any police command but reasons with them to please not make him get into the car, likely experiencing shortness of breath as is common when faced with fear, induced by the gun threat, and exacerbated by the imminent fear of cramped spaces and the frightening threat to life just witnessed. Floyd just could not get himself into the car's cramped backseat, handcuffed and anxious. A witness states that Floyd says "thank you" to the police when they stop trying to get him into the car. But for George Floyd, things only get worse.

Floyd cried out severally about his inability to breathe. He was 46 years old and in so much pain that he calls for his dead mother as he cries and begs, "please, I can't breathe." Derek Chauvin is oblivious to his cries. All the other officers stand around, doing nothing. Chauvin does not listen or frankly speaking, he does not seem to care. This goes to show that he completely believes that he is not in the wrong and the victim Floyd, is deserving of this type of punishment and so finds himself righteous or two, he simply does not care about the wellbeing of fellow human beings. The is horrifying and characterizes a murderer, who simply enjoys the suffering of others. Judging from all the video shows, this tag makes it easier to identify Chauvin as a murderer who should

be punished by the legal system and at the time of writing this paper, a year after the incident, Derek Chauvin has been found guilty by the court on three charges including: second degree unintentional murder, third degree murder and manslaughter (Allen et al, 2021). This interpretation is even more horrendous since the perpetrators in this scenario, that is Derek Chauvin and the other policemen who stood by without doing anything, are convinced that certain people deserve mistreatment, at the hand of law enforcers (Robertson & Chaney, 2013). The first basis for this mindset, we may deduce from the emergency call made to the Police are based on descriptions. The first being of black race, the second being the reported intoxication the attendant noticed in Floyd (Robertson & Chaney, p.482, 2013), (Ellawala, 2016). Both tags sending off threat alarms per the racial profiling portfolio which persistently associates Blackness with crime. This is horrendous since officers of this disposition feel entitled to treat a significant portion of the society as less than deserving of respect and dignity of person. A significant population of the African American community feel tension when confronted by police based on their personal or reported experiences with Police by friends and family. African Americans according to the Economist/YouGov Poll conducted in 2019, fear violence by police than they fear crime. Frankovic notes in the same article, that Afro American families fear death and brutality towards themselves or loved ones more than they are of violent crime (Frankovic, 2019). In their study, Lee and Robinson report one participant's terror where police are concerned, "that's my number one fear in life. It's the Police" (Lee & Robinson, 2019). A large percentage-78 percent to be exact- of African Americans on the study view Police brutality cases on black people as part of a larger societal problem (Frankovic, 2019). Some recent scholarship sheds light on the trauma Black communities are facing from witnessing or having family members and loved ones experience police brutality as well as mental trauma that African Americans deal with because of police violence (Lee and Robinson, 2019), (Lambert et al, 2012), (Payne & Lambert, 2002), (Segerstrom & O,connor, 2012).

I must here clarify, that while this paper intends to reveal the ways in which racial profiling and Police brutality entrench racism against people of color particularly blacks and Hispanics in America, I also acknowledge the importance of the police force in society. The police force in societies are put in place to establish law and order and keep the peace for organized living and

peace to prevail. Hence, the police is important, and this paper is not a call for the abuse, disrespect or disuse of the force nor is it an accusation to the entirety of the police force or a neglect of the bravery with which many members of the police have laid down their lives for the society. Unfortunately, amongst this unit, the fact remains that there are certain practices- the commonality of Black persons as criminal stereotypes- and beliefs promoted and embodied by some members of the Police force which inherently abuse and discriminate against African Americans mostly attributed to skin color and a great many lives have been lost to this effect. It is against these, that this paper investigates. Derek Chauvin and the police officers in the Floyd case, who a year later have been found guilty by the court are not a representation of the entire American police force but unfortunately, as the reports and statistics show in chapter two of this paper, represent quite a significant portion of the force.

Frazier's video of the death she witnessed goes viral and before long, most of America is in uproar in fury at the injustice of this death and the momentum spreads, around the world. Floyd was as American as every other American. He was from North Carolina, grew up in Texas, lived in Minneapolis before his death where he worked as a truck driver and bouncer and had family. His five children robbed prematurely and unnecessarily of their father.

George Floyd's death is sadly not the first nor even the last case of Police injustice against blacks and Hispanics in America. Just few weeks before Floyd's death, Breonna Taylor had been killed by police in her own apartment. Ahmaud Aubrey had been killed by white men acting vigilantes in their neighborhood and assuming him a thief while he went for a run. The numbers are many. The movement that began to scream out against Floyd's death had built momentum on all lives lost in the black community. The Floyd case vehemently reopened the case on institutional racism in America. In the days that followed, a mass movement began all over the world, in about every state in America and many countries all over the world. The movement saw protesters carrying placards of all types, en masse. Following his death, Floyd becomes the leading icon in the new march against racial profiling in America. The Floyd brutality case becomes the representation of all black Americans in the renewed fight against institutional racism in America and makes the event more relatable for many black and even other Americans (Blankenship & Reeves, 2020). This seems to raise the momentum to fight against Police brutality (Wortham, 2020). The black

community rallied behind a cause with a face, making Floyd the symbol of the renewed fight against racism by Police against Black people in America. The representation of a healthy-looking black man who should otherwise be alive but now dead because of police causes the movement to be more relatable. Instagram notes, that the Black Lives Matter movement, although founded before the Floyd brutality case, became the most used hashtag on the platform. The Washington Post reports why people are fighting, protesting in the movements. In such a report, Xavier Brown tells the Post, "Just living in America as a black man, this is a fight for my own life too. It is a fight for my little brother's life, a fight for my friends and a fight for my future son's life. It's not like it's something that you can do one time and just stop" (Hatzipanagos et al, 2021).

The reckless loss of this life among many others should prime the academia, a source of social change, into contributing towards the end of this discrimination. The American constitution and other legal infrastructure to which America is bound, declare freedom, dignity of human persons and equality for all humans as their inalienable rights. If these are being deferred by the United States, land of the free, advocate for human rights, then the international community, international relations- and especially international security- must defend the security of human beings as is their moral duty and core of majority of the international bodies in the world today. Where does international security stand on safety and dignity of all persons and how does critical race theory inform the happenings against black people in America which seem to have existed since the beginning of slavery in 1808 (C. I. Harris, 2002), (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). Further to this, international human security must consider, when then, does the African American achieve security of person, if by racial profiling, structures are legally built and encouraged which endanger the black person. The face of Floyd is recognized as a memorable representation of the fight for black lives to be secure worldwide and the representation that America seems to mean white. African Americans are reminded that it is difficult to truly be free in America, the history of slavery is enforced, alongside all sufferings of the black populace in America. Despite all movements through the times for the freedom of black people, they still face a structural violence to which they are never free from (Galtung, 1969),(Fanon, 1952), (DuBois, 2007), (DuBois, 2009), (King in Honey, 2018).

1.4 Securitization of Black People

Basic studies have long introduced that culture is simply a way of life of a people. The definition draws from Raymond Williams' assertion of culture in his work "Culture and Society" as "a whole way of life"(Williams, 1958). Basic studies say that man's first orientation to society and his surroundings happen from the home. Hate for black people is not an inherent trait but is taught and learned. Psychologists are not in agreement as recent literature suggests about whether emotions are innate or learned but a great point to take note of as Feldman-Barrett states, is the fact that memory plays a hand in how we react to certain phenomena. This reveals that we are consciously or otherwise prone to react emotionally based on what we have learned (Barrett, 2017). People are born void of knowledge and to this respect, one may ask the question, who is it then that does the teaching? How do we get oriented about certain phenomena? The more simplistic answer is 'culture'. Colin Gray defines culture as "the persisting (though not eternal), socially transmitted ideas, traditions, habits of mind and preferred methods of operation that are more or less specific to a particular geographically based security that has had a necessarily unique historical experience"(Gray, p.51, 1999). This means that man is influenced by the environment in which he exists and makes choices and gains beliefs influenced by what he learns from the society he is immersed in. The totality of what we come to know as culture and our reactions to certain things, our regard for norms and the norms themselves which determine morality or degradation are all learned. This tells us categorically that what we think of as right or wrong has been taught and shaped by the society we are born in and engage with. This paper will not go into detail about what creates culture, but I do focus in this section on the cultural 'construction' of security or insecurity based on race in society particularly in the United States. Culture is the medium through which securitization acts since like Bathurst says, "culture teaches us to see according to the labels on the file…"(Bathurst, 1993). Securitization is an act of creating or shaping society's perception of threats and how we should react to these threats. These creation and influencing are done by speech, the media, educational institutions, and social media platforms among others. It involves using language connoting exceptionality, urgency, and danger to elicit particular reactions from an audience. Thierry Balzacq defines securitization as "a rule-governed practice, the success of which does not necessarily depend on the existence of a

real threat, but on the discursive ability to effectively endow a development with such a specific complexion" (Balzacq, 2005). The American historical narrative being one that subjected Blacks to inferior status, and dehumanized Black people sets the tone for today's tainted narrative. African Americans being 'the prototypical criminal' injects this negrophobic perspective further into society. The numbers of incarcerated African Americans in U.S prisons enunciate this reality. The media continues to depict African Americans in a less than positive light. The totality of all these succeeds in painting a picture of what and who the black man is to the average white that exists in a culture with a context averse to blackness and it is not an appealing depiction. Policy makers use words intended to elicit particular reactions from the populace to certain phenomena to allow acceptance of what the ruling elite determine is the right response to the issue at hand. Leonard et al, in their "Revisitation of Securitization Theory" reveal that "Securitization theory explains how the security character of public problems is established, the social commitments resulting from the collective acceptance that a phenomenon is a threat are fixed and the possibility of a particular policy is created" (Balzacq et al, p.494, 2015).

Securitization theory reveals that the threats we come to understand as borderline dangerous are not dangerous in themselves although they may well be, but more often than not, have been constructed to need 'immediate response', are 'dire' or necessitate 'a state of emergency', a need for immediate, proactive action is construed around these phenomena

I submit that black people in America have been 'securitized' since the beginning of slavery, the abolishment of the same and continue to be securitized in today's society. This securitization may have stemmed from the fear of the unknown as man is known to shrink or subdue when faced with new phenomena previously unencountered. Securitization plays the provoker especially through speech, it provocatively incites a certain reaction from its audience. This might have been the case, from the beginning of the association with black peoples by foreign explorers and missionaries, this fear that anything unknown is primitive and untrustworthy. This may further be the innate 'nasty and brutish nature of man which is mostly self-seeking as the Hobbesian law of nature explains (Hobbes, 1968). Armour explains the concept of this fear of black people known as 'negrophobia' (Armour, 1997.). The term originated from the clinical research conducted by Frantz Fanon in 1952 as he worked to understand the negative view of self,

generated in blacks who had been colonized, (Brooks, p.2, 2012), (Fanon, 1952). Brooks in her work reiterates Fanon's definition of negrophobia as "a neurosis typified by the anxious fear and contempt of black people and black culture" (Brooks, 2012). Securitization constructs a picture of imminent, existential threat to the survival of a people or an abruption of a system of normalcy which deserves urgent action and excuses **any** behavior because of the **abnormal, precarious** times through the careful selection of words meant to produce particular results from its audience. For the sake of this paper however, the focus will be turned from why, to what. I adopt from here, descriptive research in my quest to establish the facts on the ground in the American case of institutionalized racism in the United States, focusing largely on police brutality and racial profiling. Having established this, I further submit that racism is not inherent but is taught and/or learned. There is no inherent adverseness to one race or the other in man, but these prejudices are passed through society's interpretation of what constitutes dominance and inferiority hence, the importance of securitization in this work.

1.5 A Brief History of Police Brutality and Racial Profiling: the American Securitization Process

To properly understand where we are going, we must first know where we came from. Racism is embedded in the American narrative from a trajectory of subjecting black people to less than. The major aim of this chapter is to explain how and why stereotypes, profiling and marginalization of black people in America began and continues to occur, morphed into today's systems.

1.6 Slavery

Berlin notes a subliminal truth when he states that, "there is a general if inchoate understanding that any attempt to address the question of race in the present must also address slavery in the past (Berlin, 2004). "Slavery began in America in 1619, with a ship landing on the former British colony carrying "20 and odd negroes" according to John Rolfe as reported by the Guardian and became full-blown in the 17th century making labor predominantly by black slaves in service of their white masters (Shah & Adolphe, 2019). The horrors of slavery and the slave trade continued well past the 1800s. The selling, buying and mistreatment of black people became common place. The Guardian reports in the same article, a photo circa 1700, stating an announcement of "250 fine choice negroes for sale". Slavery in America created legal authority for white men over the

bodies, labor, livelihood, and the very lifespans of the black people. Slaves were` branded with hot iron on their skin, singing them with the brand of their slave owner for the rest of their lives. Runaway slaves were dealt the most gruesome treatments if they were not killed on the spot or hung. Slave women had no right to their bodies and could be used for sexual gratification by their masters. Slaves worked the tobacco, cotton, and rice plantations as well as in the households. The slaves were overworked with no pay, measly portions of food and water and in terrible conditions, built Wall Street, the White House, and Universities such as Harvard's Law School, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Chapel Hill's University of North Carolina, and the University of Virginia, Capitol Hill in D.C, the Statue of Liberty among others (Smith & Ellis, 2017), (Pasley, 2019).

In 1776, America gained independence, attaining freedom from its British colonizer. The American Declaration of Independence of 1776 sates "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights," however, America made it clear from 1776 that these inalienable rights were reserved only for white people and not others (Shah & Adolphe, 2019). As Toni Morrison, college professor and novelist put it, "in this country, American means white…" (1992). The slaves were dehumanized and not regarded as human beings by their white owners and were considered cargo and property. Since the 1776 declaration was limited only to white people, slavery continued beyond January 1st, 1808, when the slave trade was abolished but the trade continued illegally for 50 years. The 13th Amendment to the U.S Constitution was ratified on the 18th of December 1865. This was followed by a civil war which erupted because of plans to repeal slavery acts by the Republican Union. South Carolina was the first state to secede, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia and Texas joining South Carolina and declaring themselves the confederate states of America since the union's movement to free slaves differed with their interests. Despite efforts by Abraham Lincoln, President at the time to keep slavery ownership and practice as was in all states where legal. The confederacy had no trust in Lincoln and attacked Fort Sumpter and the civil war began in April of 1861. The war carried on for 4 years with black and white soldiers fighting in some states and finally ended on the 9th of May in 1865. All slaves were declared free with the ratification of the 13th Amendment to the constitution on the 18th of December 1865 (Berlin, 2004).

Policing originated from slave patrols and has a sensitive history. Slave patrols were instituted to apprehend and punish runaway slaves. The patrols were common in the South and were violent in managing and overseeing slaves in their work. The intent of the patrols were to instill fear and submission to slave owners and to prevent revolts and maximize productivity for slave owners (Lee & Robinson, 2019). Slavery begat the system of perpetual marginalization of African Americans which has taken various shapes as society progressed and which we still experience in today's society. The unique, historical experience in the United States cannot be ignored in matters about race.

1.7 Jim Crow to Segregated America

America after the war and the declared freedom of the slaves did not equate to complete freedoms for black people. For a long time after the eradication of slavery in the period known popularly as the Reconstruction Era, the Black community suffered abductions, lynching, hanging, burning and gruesome deaths by the KKK- KuKluxKlan, Knights, the White League and other white supremacist groups. Jim Crow Laws prevented the emergence of an equal society. Marriage between both races were banned, Black people were not allowed to vote and employment for them was restricted to menial jobs. Jim Crow Laws meant the demarcation of the society between 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'. Black Codes, hangings and lynching took the place of southern slave patrols and continued to ingrain physical and psychological terror as well as severe segregation between whites and blacks. Historians agree that these were methods meant to terrorize for the effect of holding social and cultural control over black people (EJI, 2017), (Lartey & Morris, 2018). They occurred in the mainland but were mostly recorded in the South from 1877 until the 1950s, where a large percentage of slaves were based. Howard Smead in his work 'Blood Justice: The Lynching of Charles Mack Parker', the lynching "turned … into a symbolic rite in which the black victim became the representative of his race and, as such, was being disciplined for more than a single crime … the deadly act was [a] warning [to] the black population not to challenge the supremacy of the white race" (Smead 1988 as cited by Lartey and Morris, 2018). The lynchings were done publicly with the body left on display. According to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), building on data from the Tuskegee Institute, there have been 4,084 lynchings in the South of America from 1877 to 1950 including, another 300 in other states (EJI), 2017).

As society progressed and states adhered to the 14th Amendment, necessitating equality in treatment for all races, societal amenities were split between whites and coloreds. The solution became 'separate but equal' facilities (Supreme Court, 1896). This 'solution' of "Separate but Equal" of 1896 with precedent in the Flessy v. Fergusson case of May 18 in the same year, justified racial segregation as lawful and not in defiance to the constitution. In truth, these facilities were not equal with Afro Americans getting subpar amenities. Black people were prohibited from accessing any social amenities that white people used. The water fountains, bathrooms, routes, buses, schools and housing were all separated. Black people were required to use separate entrances in buildings. They had separate waiting rooms at bus stations were prohibited from using general parks and theaters as well as hotels and restaurants. Public booths were segregated, the water fountains, hospital facilities, prison systems and even cemeteries were separated to ensure segregation between white and black (History, 2018). Some routes and public areas were created specifically to deny access to black people as Robert Caro found to be the case In Robert Moses' Autobahn bridges. Moses's bridges and highways from New York to Long Island's beaches were deliberately constructed to keep out black people who at the time were mostly using the 12 feet buses and could not afford cars and were made to be the sole means of access to the beaches. The bridges were built 9 feet long to keep out the 12 feet buses catering to the poorer population which constituted a large majority of the Black community to allow only white people access to the beaches and parks (as cited by Winner, 1980).

Segregation continued even beyond the 1950s. Colored people could only sit in sections reserved for coloreds on buses and were required to give up their seats if the seats for whites were exhausted to keep white people from having to stand. This is the source of contention for which Rosa Parks has now attained worldwide acclaim. On one of such occasions in December of 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in the Coloreds section upon request by the bus driver to a white man when all the seats in the white section were occupied. Park's resistance encouraged other African Americans to protest, and year-round black people refused to give up their seats but more importantly, her protest allowed for black people to sit freely in buses with the amendment to the *Equal Protection Rights* to the 14th Amendment in November 1956, making it unconstitutional to demand segregation in buses. Majority of the remaining Jim Crow Laws were

brought to an end with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 (History, 2018). However, segregation though no longer flagrantly explicit still continues to exist in America. The 1954 case of Brown v. Education brought the end of the 'Separate but Equal' Doctrine with an order by the court to speedily end school segregation. However, the absence of a set deadline for desegregation allowed for segregationists to continue to hold on to systems of segregation and black children who tried to integrate into white schools based on the court's orders, met with harassment and insults (NCC Staff, 2021).

The restriction of access to certain resources maintains the divide originated from slavery amongst Whites and African Americans. With the dissipation of slavery and the more violent Jim Crow regime, the maintenance of inequality between the races began to take other shapes. Housing further entrenches this systemic inequality and segregation in America. The disparities in these systems ranging from housing to education and the general standard of living that environment influences, continue a vicious cycle keeping Black people perpetually in poverty. According to the Institute for Policy Studies in their Report on the Ever-Growing Gap, it will take the Black community 228 years to amass the wealth that their white counterparts have (Asante-Muhammad et al, 2016). Economic growth is at 84 percent from the last three decades in white families and is at 1.2 times of this rate for Latinos and 3 times the rate for African Americans, this translates to a forecasted 18,000 dollar increase in income for white families in comparison to 2,250 dollars for Latinos and a 750 dollar increase for black families in the next three decades. Housing segregation by race though stopped officially in 1917 with race-based zoning stopped but other zoning laws have morphed into replacing these explicit laws while keeping races segregated in some way and with this segregation came disproportionate access to public goods which help afford better standards of living (Solomon et al, 2019).

The single-family zoning system for example, ensured that single family units were financed and built-in certain neighborhoods only. This allowed for neighborhoods better equipped with optimum public facilities to house whites since white people were the higher income earners and could afford these types of housing while the poorer African Americans and other Colored communities could not. Governments further enforced this segregation by sponsoring urban development in these types of neighborhoods (Solomon et al, 2019). These systems all act to

portray to both sides of society- here the White versus the Afro American community- one, a supremacist ideology in which white people begin to view and think of themselves as superior to their Black counterparts. This results in cases where members of the white community then begin to demand inferior status for Afro Americans to maintain the dominance. The psychology of black people is also influenced to subservience (Fanon, 1952), and is visible in today's typical Afro American slums where black people do believe that they are only able to access certain, menial types of employment and continue to stay in poverty. Myrdal iterates the relationship between the cognitive perception passed by these systems in the American society and the actions of biased police. He states based on a substantial study he conducted in the 1930s, "the average Southern policeman is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. His social heritage has taught him to despise the Negroes, and he has had little education which could have changed him. The result is that probably no group of Whites in America have a lower opinion of the Negro people and are more fixed in their views than Southern policeman" (Myrdal, pp.540-541, 1947).

1.8 Recidivism, Mass incarceration, the vicious cycle

The subjugation of the Black man to a status of 'less-than', continues to occur in the United States today. Johan Galtung (1969) says it best when he declares that subjecting a person or group of persons to poverty or a level of standard of living which is below that which they can actually attain is a violence which he terms 'structural violence' (Galtung, 1969). This exists in a society where systemic processes subjugates a people to a lifestyle of poverty, inequality, and marginalization. This type of injustice however has a limit once the people begin to revolt or resist the structures that enable this subpar living just as Nelson Mandela said in his first court statement, "when a man is denied the right to live the life he believes in, he has no choice but to become an outlaw" (1962). The viciousness of a subpar standard of living is a violence. Black people were largely relegated to menial and cleaning jobs for the better part of the 1900s. These explain the resistance movements of the 1960s, the fights and marches by black people for freedom to vote, to exercise and possess civil rights and be allowed to work and earn alongside their white counterparts. Unequal resources and power results in unequal life chances.

Societal structures are skewed to favor a certain people over another. In current times, systemic inequality shows up in disparities in the American justice system. According to the US Census Bureau, black people make up 13 percent of the American population and yet in 2018, were 34 percent of the incarcerated population in America as compared to white people who make up 73 percent of the American population and 29 percent of the incarcerated populace especially since there is no study proving the propensity to commit crime in one race over another (Carson, 2020a). The 2019 statistics however show incarceration rates decreased the most in 2019 by 2.7 percent for black people and 1.8 percent for whites (Carson, 2020).

Nellis in her research on Racial Disparity in State prisons found, that blacks and whites are incarcerated at a 5:1 rate and in some five other states, the disparity is as high as 10:1 (Nellis, 2016). These states include Iowa, Minnesota, New Jersey, Vermont, and Wisconsin. Numbers from the U.S Bureau of Justice Statistics show that one in every three black boys go to prison in their lifetime, one in every 6 Latino boys and one in every seventeen white boys go to prison in their lifetimes (Carson, 2018).

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, (NNACP) found that whites and blacks use drugs at the same rate, but blacks are 6 times more likely to be charged with drug use than are white users. The argument is not for the permission of crime but seeks to address to blatant discrepancies in the justice system in America. Racial disparities in the Justice system represent the American factual reality where crime is concerned.

The argument has surfaced that there should be no claim for bias or discrimination in the criminal justice system with the advent of certain algorithms created to ease the workload in this sector as well as avoid such biases. However, these algorithms also possess tendencies for bias like Louise Amoore explains in her book *Cloud Ethics*. She argues how these algorithms though created to avoid direct inquiries about the race of an individual, carry bias in and of themselves since they ask questions or need answers to housing of the individual, home bringing, education and standard of living in correlation to employment and skills in producing scores on the likelihood of recidivism (Amoore, 2020). The results from these can be bias in that, most heavily concentrated African American communities in America are on Police radar for crime and drug use. Housing locations contribute according to data set into these algorithms to the sentencing

or likelihood to reoffence for high crime areas. The restricted access to good educational facilities for the typical African American puts them at a disadvantage in comparison to their white counterparts and these gaps are evident in their way of living which in turn puts a bias on the algorithms. PROPUBLICA submitted the stories of two individuals from 2014. Brisha Borden an 18-year-old Black girl who was rushing down the street with her friend to pick up to pick up her god-sibling from school. They were running late and noticed an unlocked scooter and a bike which they took to rush to the school. The girls quickly found that they were too big for the scooter and bike and were about to drop it when a lady came out saying those belonged to her kid. They had dropped the scooter and were walking away but a neighbor who witnessed the theft had already called the Police. Pro Publica told the story of Vernon Prater as well, a 41-year-old white man who was caught for theft in the amount of 86 dollars. The algorithms ranked both individuals at 8 to 3. Borden was rated 8 for likely to reoffend on a scale from 1 to 10 with 10 being most likely while Prater was rated to be a three with 1 being less likely to reoffend even though Prater was the more notorious offender with a previous 5-year term for theft as well as other theft charges. Borden also had a record for misdemeanors as a child. The most distinctive feature between them then was the matter of race. Two years after, the algorithm was shown to have faults as Borden was not charged with any likely crimes but Prater who had been judged low risk had broken into a warehouse, was apprehended, and charged with an 8-year prison term. Propublica's research is one of many speaking out against inherent bias subtly fed into these algorithms and have the potential to unfairly harm a person's life and obstruct justice since the crimes might not for the punishment given due to certain traits which represent racial stereotypes in these algorithms and hence skew the actuality of the practice of justice (Yong, 2018), (Park, 2019), (Rahman, 2020), (Vaccaro, 2019). The Northpointe Inc, Correctional Offender Management Profiling for Alternative Sanctions (COMPAS) algorithm tool in the criminal justice system is a great example of the feasible harm algorithms can bring against societal security as it is the most popular risk assessment tool in the criminal justice sector nationwide in the U.S. COMPAS produces a risk assessment in a bar chart consisting of three bars: pre-trial release risk, general recidivism, and violent recidivism. Now these algorithms are used to determine 'guilty or otherwise' verdicts, set bail and to determine sentences. These algorithms use components such

as age, sex, geography, employment and education to make such decisions. But these data indirectly feature structures that propagate or echo racism- for instance, if a person is from or lives in an area prone to violence and is frequently on Police radar, this affects their verdict. The COMPAS tool measures the rates of recidivism (the likeliness of a convicted criminal to reoffend) and is used in pre-trials and sentencing (Larson et al, 2016). The problem here is that such factors are in themselves biased and are likely to produce biased results, re-echoing the political agenda that first achieved a segregated American society. The algorithm has been found to have white defendants misclassified as low-risk 48% of the time when they were in fact high-risk as opposed to 28% in black defendants, Whites are generally 63% mis-classified.

The COMPAS Algorithm is 77% likely to commit such mistakes of misclassification based on racial bias in the data input (Angwin et al, 2016) and of course, more likely to indicate white defendants as lower risk. This is also taking into consideration that Black people are more likely to be arrested and incarcerated. The US accounts for 5% of the world's population. Yet, 25% of the world's prisoners are in the United States, the larger number being black people. The COMPAS Algorithm reinforces just how much bias, affects the goal of justice in America. Technology continues to carry an imprint of injustice suffered by black people in the United States early on in its history. The words of W.E.B DuBois from his work titled 'The Souls of Black Folk' echo in America's current reality. There he states, "daily the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice, not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression. The laws are made by men who have little interest in him; they are executed by men who have absolutely no motive for treating the black people with courtesy or consideration; and, finally, the accused law-breaker is tried, not by his peers, but too often by men who would rather punish ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape" (DuBois, accessed page unnumbered, 1903).

These systems of marginalization though subtle in some cases are very deleterious to the health, wellness and security of persons in any society. The very nature of American institutions as mentioned in this section comprising of law enforcement and justice systems, housing and such all weave together, a fabric that makes life difficult for the African American in the United States today since these are all interconnected. Poor housing means poor access, or a lack of facilities needed for growth and development of one and all members of that community. Impaired

education and bias in employment means a continuous subpar standard of living and knowledge for people in this class. The vicious cycle continues in that a lack of legal income means youths and people in this community are more likely to engage in nefarious activities for survival. The chances of achieving gainful employment upon parole or release after incarceration are further slimed and recidivism is heightened. Once such an individual is apprehended by law enforcement, the sentences are higher for second and multiple offenders, sometimes demanding life in prison. The chances at attaining standards of living with dignity and respect are greatly narrowed by these systems that perpetuate the structural violence of marginalization and relegation to the brunt of society's resources. Racial profiling further deteriorates the chances of life and standard of living since life expectancy is threatened by police brutality informed by criminal racial stereotypes inculcated into the system.

This chapter has introduced although not a new phenomenon, the violence perpetuated against black people in America. It recants the unfortunate demise of George Floyd in the hands of Police early in 2020. It rips the band-aid off the United States' advocacy for freedoms of all people revealing discrepancies on facts on the ground in the American society where certain structures enable the marginalization of a group of people. For the sake of this study, intense interrogation of these structures is limited to the racial profiling processes which incite police brutality on black people and traces a trajectory of the suffering of black people in America as victims of securitization.

The following Chapter adopts a more methodological stance, taking on Critical Race theory as the blueprint for this research. Chapter two reveals the ideology of Critical Race theory, its current advancement in academia and goes on to use this as an interrogative tool against the structure of racial profiling which enables continuous, police brutality and human insecurity of African Americans in America today.

Chapter Two

2.0 Police Brutality

Americans find a variety of the following, in no particular order as the most threatening to life: diseases, the collapse of eco systems and climate change, terrorism, belligerent and nuclear weapon- irrational states, accidents, bush fires, animal attacks and pandemics (Sandberg, 2014), (Mueller, 2020), (Nowrasteh, 2018), (Hunter& Newson, 2020), (UN Security Council, 2021). Statistics show for instance, that the chances of dying by homicide is 1 in 14,296. The chances of death by animal attack are 1 in 1,489,177. The chances of death by terrorism are 1 in 3,269,432.

For African Americans, the threats increase and are much more imminent than those mentioned above. Black men face the threat of being killed by Police in their lifetime at 1 in every 1000 (Tate et al., 2021). Over 5000 lives have been lost since 2015 due to fatal shootings by Police. Young men of color face death by Police as one of the leading causes of death (Edwards et al., 2019). Edwards et al.'s report details the following,

> We use novel data on police-involved deaths to estimate how the risk of being killed by police use-of-force in the United States varies across social groups. We estimate the lifetime and age-specific risks of being killed by police by race and sex. We also provide estimates of the proportion of all deaths accounted for by police use-of-force. We find that African American men and women, American Indian / Alaska Native men and women, and Latino men face higher lifetime risk of being killed by police than do their white peers. We find that Latino women and Asian / Pacific Islander men and women face lower risk of being killed by police than do their white peers. Risk is highest for Black men, who (at current levels of risk) face about a 1 in 1000 chance of being killed by police over the life course. The average lifetime odds of being killed by police are about 1 in 2000 for men and about 1 in 33,000 for women. Risk peaks between the ages of 20 and 35 for all groups. For young men of color, police use-of-force is among the leading causes of death.

Death by police in the US appears to no longer be out of place with the numbers tallying up to 1000 deaths yearly since 2015 until now, it is not novel to get reports about deaths of civilians by police action in the US today, it is not always transparent how many cases warranted such recourse. The disparities however with a country like Norway, which also has high gun possession, show that a policeman/woman does not even have to pull out a trigger of a gun when

interacting with civilians. A great number of policemen and women in Norway do not carry guns (Schwartz, 2020) as opposed to the commonplace event of carrying a gun for police operations and using one on occasion before threat of a weapon or imminent danger manifests. According to Statista an independent, international market and data specialist company, there have been a total of "429 civilians shot, 88 of whom were black, as of June 4, 2020, in the US. In 2018, there were 996 fatal police shootings, and in 2019 increased to 1004. Additionally, the rate of fatal police shootings among black Americans was much higher than that for any other ethnicity, standing at 30 fatal shootings per million of the population as of June 2020" (Statista, 2021). The provision to own guns in many states in the United States is argued to make police agitated where their safety is concerned however, Norway is the same in that it is also a country with high gun ownership, yet the police in 2019 armed themselves and displayed weapons 42 times, and fired two guns once each, and no one was killed (Schwartz, 2020). One notable difference is that the navigation on the use of force is left to the discretion of the police officer whereas Norway and Finland officers are guided by much stricter definitions on what constitutes a justified use of force (Horton, 2021). The Norwegian reality reveals that "a police officer does not have to shoot to kill, and in several countries, a police officer does not even have to carry a gun. In Norway, Iceland, New Zealand, Britain, and Ireland, police officers generally do not carry firearms"(Goldhill, 2016).

The year 2020 recorded a total of 1,021 fatalities by police. 2019 saw a number of 999 persons shot and less than 9 of the same number shot in 2018 (Tate, 2021). There were 987 victims in 2017. The number was 957 in 2016 and 991 in 2015 (Kelly & Stewart, 2016). Data shows 406 persons have been killed by police so far in 2021 as of the 18th of June as the number is updated as fatalities are recorded. In the first five months of 2021, the number was 371 and 71 persons among the deceased were black of the recorded number. The number of fatalities despite differing circumstances in different states seem to be about a 1000 every year (Statista, 2021).

Researchers reveal the likelihood of gun usage by police in a study assessing 1.2 million, 911 calls. 911 is the North American Numbering Plan's (NANP) registered number to dial in emergencies and allows for a dispatch of officers, firemen or ambulances to respond to distress calls and is operational in over 98 percent of cities in the United States. These 911 calls were conducted in two anonymous cities in the U.S across different localities and showed that white officers were

highly likely to use a gun in predominantly black neighborhoods than were their black counterparts (Hoestra & Sloan 2020) (Peeples, 2020). These statistics continue to reveal that the disparities were race is concerned is deeply entrenched and significant enough to still interest towards change. Pierson et al. (2020) further claim:

> We assessed racial disparities in policing in the United States by compiling and analyzing a dataset detailing nearly 100 million traffic stops conducted across the country. We found that black drivers were less likely to be stopped after sunset, when a 'veil of darkness' masks one's race, suggesting bias in stop decisions. Furthermore, by examining the rate at which stopped drivers were searched and the likelihood that searches turned up contraband, we found evidence that the bar for searching black and Hispanic drivers was lower than that for searching white drivers. Finally, we found that legalization of recreational marijuana reduced the number of searches of white, black, and Hispanic drivers—but the bar for searching black and Hispanic drivers was still lower than that for white drivers post-legalization. Our results indicate that police stop, and search decisions suffer from persistent racial bias and point to the value of policy interventions to mitigate these disparities.

Police shootings and continuous bias in the system result in higher fatalities among African Americans and people of color. Data gathered by the Washington Post which has recorded all fatal shootings by police from 2015 until current (2021) after their discovery in 2014, that the FBI did not report about half of the fatal shootings by police in the past and the inaccuracy of data reported since police have the liberty to decide whether to report fatal shootings give. Their data has been gathered from the reports by police, news articles and videos as well as clips or tributes posted on social media by family, friends, or sympathizers of the deceased. The database reveals that since 2019, 2,896 white people have been shot by police. There has also been a total of 1,517 and 1,060 Hispanic people shot, others account for 239 fatalities. The records prove that blacks are shot at a disproportionate rate in comparison to whites since blacks make up 13 percent of the United States population; 15 white people per million are killed by police. The rate for blacks is more than twice as much at 36 per million, other races see death rates by police at 5 per million and 27 per million for Hispanics.

The data further reveals that most of the victims are male and an overwhelming number at more than half, are aged 20 to 40 years. Males are more likely to be shot by police than are women regardless of race (Edwards et al., 2019). According to MPV, a research entity that tracks and

documents cases of police brutality, 6,075 men have been killed in that time while 279 women have been killed in the same time span (Tate, 2021). Studies also show that unarmed black men are killed five times more than unarmed white men (MPV, 2021). I must note here, that despite numbers recorded, not all details regarding these deaths can be found to allege in every case that the circumstance for these were entirely faults of police or the deceased. In this regard, I concur that certain fatalities may have resulted from direct and apparent threat to police officers and their last resort of self defense in confrontations regardless of race of the deceased. Despite these exceptions, fatalities abound where death was an unnecessary use of force.

The American association of crime with black as studies show appear to be systematic, persistent and almost automatic (Payne, 2001), (Payne et al., 2002), (Eberhardt et al., 2004), (Ellawala, 2016). Studies committed to analyzing the bias in policing in America, have used virtual simulations of shoot/do not shoot scenarios with white and black characters to determine if and how racial bias steps in when Police are faced with such cases. A significant number of participants were found to shoot quicker and more accurately at armed African Americans while responding much slower and inaccurately to whites. Further to this, these studies show a discrepancy in accuracy to adhering to the 'do not shoot' command for unarmed African Americans (Correll et al., 2007), (Correll, Park, et al., 2007), (Ellawala, 2016). These studies are however met with controversy as some studies in this category counter the existence of such African American racial bias and show targeted bias towards whites. This counter claim must not negate however, the existential reality of African American discrimination via profiling. This work submits the existence of bias in the system towards Afro Americans particularly via racial profiling and police brutality without negating that white and other minorities also face some type of discrimination in some other areas. Further research shows that a generally acceptable variable to be considered in such research regarding racial bias and police brutality is via geographic samples. This scholarship on geography and police brutality show geography as the most reliable variable in police brutality cases and gauges on how police react and respond when answering distress calls or making rounds in black populated areas (Lopez & Thomas, 2004), (Schwartz & Jahn, 2020), (Parenti, 2020).

2.1 Dehumanization of the Black Population

Dehumanization completes the hidden piece in the securitization concept. The purpose of this section is to explain the cognitive understanding of what black entails to the average white man and officer as well as how the race has been securitized and consequently, dehumanized. The sub-conscious and almost automatic narratives which associate crime with black faces has allowed the entrenchment of hostility towards the black race. This assertion present in rhetoric and mainstream media makes it seem even *moral* to treat black people as criminals just as dehumanization allowed for seemingly moral grounds in the matter of the extermination of the Jews by Nazis and the gross marginalization of the African peoples by Slavery. The acknowledgement of this dehumanization in today's society in a way that allows for African Americans to continue to suffer bias and brutality by authorized state power especially by police requires extensive restructuring. Ellawala's research reveals an important variable in the conversation on racial bias by police. This research is grounded on the science of Psychology and finds its premise on research showing that there exists a tendency to associate African Americans in a bi-directional manner to the evolution origin of black people morphing into humans from apes and thus less intelligent than their white counterparts (Ellawala, 2016). This allows for the dehumanization of black people in their psyche in a way that allows for discriminatory and even violent actions to be perpetrated on black people. Another research by Goff et al (2008), conducted in 2008 on 42 undergraduate males, reveals that these thought processes exist in people even without conscious attachment of black people to apes just as people respond to stimuli. Most alarming in this research, was the finding that some participants were predisposed to exercise violence on a black person especially one deemed suspect by a group of officers. This study as well as Ellawala's further research on dehumanization gives insight into what cognitive bearings some white police officers have when faced with black people and/or black suspects in their policing. The studies are most essential in disarming state legalized violence by means of police racial brutality against the Black community (Ellawala, 2016), (Goff et al., 2008).

Research in this regard continue, with more studies finding that black children are considered less innocent than white children and therefore dehumanized as well as accelerated in growth in the eyes of white adults as such study conducted amongst white undergraduate women and

some white police officers (Goff et al., 2014). Black children have been overestimated in age at 4.59 years more than their white counterparts and considered entirely responsible for their actions especially when they have been charged with a felony. MPV, black males between ages fifteen and nineteen are killed at a rate of 31.17 per million in comparison with 1.47 white males per million (MPV, 2021). This is important because even children have been fatal victims of police force and are robbed of the essence of childhood far quicker than any other race and are afforded less protection. This dehumanization of black youth makes them most vulnerable to police brutality just as stated earlier, that one of the leading causes of death for black youths particularly males, is death by police. Goff et al's study (2014), highlights bias where black people are concerned with an association between dehumanization and the increased likelihood of the use of force against black suspects even after controlling variables such as the degree of displayed resistance as well as environment.

In addition to the 'ape metaphor', the Pickaninny stereotype is another cognitive instrument that dehumanization the black population. The Pickaninny stereotype refers to thought processes that believe that black children and youth are resistant, stubborn, deserving and more ruthlessly even inviting of hardship and pain as well as myths that they are even immune to pain. These stereotypes present African American youth as hardened both physically and criminally and could be another premise for which dehumanization and further brutality is perpetrated on African American youths and the general African American community. Blacks are thought to be more deserving of harsh treatment and punishment. Chaney and Robertson (2013), note that extensive literature exist revealing that black people are viewed as prototypical criminals; this notion is further consolidated by the media's portrayal of black people in certain negative conditions and the Justice systems sentencing bias where the black community is concerned with darker or more Afro-centric looking Africans getting heavier sentencing (Blair & Judd, 2004), (Chaney & Ray, 2013), (Eberhardt et al., 2006), (Gabbidon, 2010), (Oliver & Fonash, 2002), (Oliver et al., 2004), (Staples, 2011).

2.2 Critical Race Theory

In 1991, a video went viral. The video captured by a witness from his balcony, showed how Rodney King, a black unarmed man was badly beaten by four members of the Los Angeles Police

Department. Protests ensued in the following days as the African American community expressed outrage at the event. The Floyd video of 2020 shows how institutionalized racism is in America and that the nation apparently does not care, showing no reform after three decades. The system in fact seems to have deteriorated. King survived the beating from police and lived to testify after suffering many lacerations, kidney failure, bruises, cuts, physical and emotional trauma. Floyd did not get a chance to tell his experience, dying very few hours after the event. King and Floyd are the well-known cases but too many exist. The existing discrepancy in a paraded egalitarian society calls to question why ideals and facts on the ground differ.

Critical Race theory (CRT) investigates why such cases continue to occur. CRT was birthed as a field of study in Law academia circles and has evolved into influencing other disciplines. The theory emerged to investigate if and how the law allows for discrepancies which create a caste system of domination by one race over the other. CRT acknowledges that racism exists in the society, and particularly, the American society for the purpose of this study. CRT finds that racism is masked in the guise of normalcy in institutions necessary for daily living.

CRT is a research avenue with a strong socio-cultural and political agenda with the premise of emancipation for African Americans and minority races from discrimination of any kind on the basis of race. The theory advocates equal access for racial minorities in societies to accessing equal opportunities and the awarding of dignity to all persons in society regardless of racial origins. CRT is in this light, an interrogative lens used to expose actions that allow for discrimination over minorities. Police brutality in America is a fraction of the larger societal problem, 'institutionalized racism in the American police' and larger justice system (Angus and Crichlow, 2018).

CRT is grounded on five major tenets. The first tenet states that ***racism is ordinary and not aberrational.*** Delgado and Stefanic shed better light on the matter when they note in their writing on CRT that, "racism is ordinary, not aberrational- normal science, the everyday experience of most people of color in this country" (Delgado, Stefanic, 2012). Herein implies, the normalcy with which *institutional* racism is viewed and consequently remains entrenched in the American society. This tenet counters the detractors of racism who portray CRT as the creator of an 'other' group in an otherwise ***'color-blind'*** and ***'merit -based'*** society. CRT works to extinguish

thought processes that claim the absence of color in societal affairs and claims of 'color-blind societies' to establish that race and power equations are factual realities especially in the United States as there is no other country that proves a marginalization of its minority groups via certain societal infrastructures as the American society (Angus and Crichlow, 2018), (McCoy, 2014). Meritocracy and color-blind critique are in fact, hindrances to social equity. Criticizing CRT on arguments that individuals in society who merit power and wealth receive these based on their meritocracy denies the skewed nature of resources needed to work towards meritocracy. Meritocracy allows power consolidation and attempts to justify this consolidation of power of the supremacist race by implying that this group has attained the authority to be in that position (Sulé, 2020). Hartlep notes that aberration of supremacist race groups can be denied by arguments of neutrality in order to allow the ruling power remain unscathed and dominant. He explains that "racism and white supremacy are not aberrant, insofar as the oppressors—the status quo—exploit the "others" (the oppressed) in order to maintain their elitist control, as well as to claim that they are neutral" (Hartlep, 2009).

The second tenet submits that race is *a social construct.* Race is first a human, social construct and is not an inherent nor biological division. There is one race- the human race. People however have classified society into caste systems of their own construction based on ethnicity and have leveraged these divisions in establishing dominance. I have established briefly in chapter one, how narratives can be securitized especially because culture is what informs us about phenomena. Since race is a construct socially created, it conveys that the classifications attached to race are not inherent but defined by man. For instance, Jim Crow laws and institutions of the reconstruction era such as the Plessy V. Ferguson Supreme court ruling of 1896, allowed state authorized segregation and defined the black race as first less human than whites and consequently as 'separate' enforcing an inferiority on black people (Sulé, 2020).

The third tenet is what CRT theorists term an *interest convergence.* CRT argues that racial equality is less likely to be opposed if it is at the convergence of interest to the dominant racial group. The emancipation of minority groups is a threat to established systems that allow superiority in hierarchy to one class. Power-seeking classes will focus on maintaining their power and eradicating threats to this system. However, when such changes also accomplish some goal

or merge with the interests of the dominant class then opposition is eliminated. The abolishment of slavery as stated in the first chapter coincided with the political class' agenda to eliminate the threat of dissolving the United States and keep states from separating to gaining the external support of Britain at a time (Hartlep, 2009), (Sulé, 2020).

The fourth tenet recognizes that CRT *converges with intersectional identities.* CRT recognizes that there is a rich understanding on marginalization amongst minority groups who live these experiences firsthand. This has led to the finding that marginalization in race is seated in hegemonic institutions which entangle identities to marginalization beyond the race concept. These include further identities like sexual orientations, gender, and class among others. CRT proves that the institutions which consolidate racial discrimination, intersect into affecting other areas of life and has as such birthed further disciplines for instance critical race feminism (Hartlep, 2009).

The last tenet of CRT is *storytelling and counter storytelling.* My previous submission on securitization in chapter one establishes the power of rhetoric. CRT proclaims that contrary to the argument that education is neutral, it is in fact tailored to the benefit of the dominant group, in the United State's narrative, this would be the whites. Education tells the mainstream narration of history from the white man's perspective and so obscures reality. Counter storytelling then challenges dominant narrations to be present a holistic truth and educate from both perspectives, the black man's historical narrative included. Lived experiences have a richness which they add to discourse. Personal experiences are difficult to negate and make phenomena more relatable or understandable and this contribution is vital in undoing systemic racism (Sulé, 2020), (Hartlep, 2009).

2.3 CRT on police brutality and the larger institutionalized racism question

CRT requires sifting through normal societies by researching and ontologically assessing laws and institutions for allowances which implicitly or explicitly discriminate, disadvantage, and depower certain parts of the community in favor of the dominant group in society. These discrepancies allow for further violence against minorities since they encourage disproportionate distribution of resources and allows for the dominant group to hold larger access to resources and state power while the minority groups stay in a vicious cycle that keeps them at the bottom of society

unless these systems are dismantled. This systemic positioning of one race beneath the order is against every premise upon which democracy and larger human rights represent and is an injustice, a structural violence enforcing a 'less-than' position on one race for life (Galtung, 1969).

CRT also invigorates academic and practical investigations in the criminal justice system. Studies have shown violent streaks to be associated with Black people. According to Oliver and Fonash (2002), Blair et al, 2004), prototypes for criminal suspects are mostly of African American features. Recent studies show, that the more Afrocentric a person looks, the higher the association with deviant behavior. The important thing to note, is that Afrocentrism is not inherently criminal or evil. Men have different cultures which influence their interpretation of their environment. But man's nature is all the same. The securitization argument comes to fore in noting that the criminal tendencies associated with black people has been a construct. Oliver et al, note that these characterizations are 'visceral' and therefore not representing a true reality but marred by the prejudices of the enforcers (Oliver et al., 2004)

CRT unveils how systemic racism manifests in laws among others. Examples of institutionalized discrimination include laws and decisions that reflect racism, such as the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson U.S. Supreme Court case, which ruled in favor of "separate but equal" public facilities between African Americans and non-African Americans (Lumen, 2004).

The U.S Supreme court is an institution which CRT identifies as a part of the system of institutionalized racism in allowing certain provisions which extend free interpretation by police and result in the replication of violence by police. The court has supported aggressive police strategies. The Supreme Court has set in motion judgements from precedents which allow for the entrenchment of Police violence and aggression. The Court holds, that "If police officers are justified in firing at a suspect in order to end a severe threat to public safety, the officers need not stop shooting until the threat has ended." This ruling from the Court's 2014 unanimous ruling in the *Plumhoff v. Rickard* case. Officers used 15 rounds of bullets in a 10-minute car chase, killing both the driver and passenger who turned out to be unarmed.

This backing and even authorization of excessive force as opposed to less fatal actions continue to deter efforts to disrupt police use of unnecessary force especially with stereotypes related to

the race question. The Court holds support for continuous shooting at the car until the chase ends to save civilians in danger. Such shootings could further endanger individuals on the roads in the event where a driver is in a chase and shot dead behind the wheel leaving the vehicle unmanned. Alternatives exist which Chemerinsky points out such as shooting to target the car's tires, noting down license plates for further tracking and stops. Another could also be arranging blockades by police communication (Chemerinsky, 2014).

Cases continue to prove that the Supreme Court's rulings in some manner, accommodate police brutality by allowing some room for flexible interpretation. The court's ruling on *Hudson v. Michigan* legalizes the admission of evidence obtained by 'concededly illegal' no-knock raids by the police into court on the premise that 'suppressing evidence proving guilt is unacceptable and wrong' (Root, 2014). Such a law permitted the no-knock warrant that killed Breonna Taylor in her own apartment in March 13 of 2020. Breonna Taylor was an essential worker, a medical ER Staff during the heat of the pandemic who was at home in her apartment with her boyfriend at night, a little bit past midnight when three men rammed the door and came in, in plain clothes and unidentifiable as law enforcement (BBC, 2020). Taylor's boyfriend Kenneth Walker asked the men to leave and shot a warning shot which hit one of the men, Jonathan Mattingly in the leg. What ensued was a firing of 32 shots from the patio door into the apartment. Six of those bullets caught Breonna. Walker was unharmed by the bullets, but Taylor was shot 6 times fatally and did not survive. The officers allege that they had knocked and announced themselves as law enforcement in what was to be a drug investigation, but Walker maintains that he heard no announcement and had assumed they were intruders (Oppel Jr. et al., 2021). The law allows for police to enter forcefully into a person's private space without identifying themselves first as law enforcement and gaining allowed entry. Since the death of Breonna Taylor, bills and petitions have been passed to put a ban on the law and has been admitted by some states. The officers have been terminated from the Louisville police but have since then not been charged for her death.

The Supreme Court proves a hurdle to holding officers a countable for the use of excessive force and in turn curtailing police brutality. The Court has awarded in the absence of *absolute immunity,* the allowance for *qualified immunity* when and if an Officer is found to be in the wrong but this offence was not a prior illegal offence in that particular county or state where the Officer

presides. Justice Antonin Scalia's 2011 ruling which states that an Officer can only be found accountable when sued monetarily if his conduct is found unlawful by "every reasonable official". To further decipher this, associate the possibility of cognitive thinking which associates persons of color, in this aspect the African American- with crime and notoriety. This state of thinking allows for bias legitimizing and allowing for officers who have evidently deferred the constitution to go free since 'every reasonable official' must "know" this conduct to be wrong. This ruling has allowed for officers who abused constitutional rights to be found not liable for their actions. This ruling has denied the awarding of damages to an eighth-grade girl who was strip-searched by Officers on suspicions that she possessed prescription ibuprofen. John Thompson in the case of Connick V. Thompson of 2011 is another occasion where the Supreme Court's ruling has acted barrier to justice in holding officers and/or prosecutors accountable. Thompson had spent eighteen years in prison for allegedly participating in armed robbery and murder, fourteen of those years were spent on death row.

However, it was not until two days prior to Thompson's trial in New Orleans that the Assistant District attorney received the crime lab report which showed that the blood at the scene was not Thompson's and did not even match his blood group. Thompson was awarded 14 million dollars by the state of New Orleans for the negligence and misconduct of the prosecutors it employed. Reports allege that the district attorney's office was known for its history of withholding evidence that would favor the defendant. The City of New Orleans admitted to disrupting justice and defect in adherence to the constitution and agreed to pay for the wrong by paying the damages in the sum of 14 million dollars after Thompson sued the city. However, the US Supreme Court overturned the ruling despite the apparent, gross misconduct in favor of the City of New Orleans stating with Justice Clarence writing for the majority in a 5-to-4 vote, that 'the state could not be held accountable since the city's policies did not violate the constitution.' This makes municipal liability hard to prove. The caution to be exercised by state governments and local governments which employ officers and prosecutors to keeping them accountable is eroded and weak since the employers (the governments here) are not held accountable in such cases when their employees (officers and prosecutors here), defect even if blatantly (Chemerinsky, 2014).

The Supreme Court's 1968 ruling in the case of Terry v. Ohio provides allowance for Police officers to stop persons and vehicles on the basis of *reasonable suspicion.* It is no wonder that African Americans are then stopped more frequently than any other race in America for *looking suspicious.* Imbibed associations of Black with crime makes it an easy explanation of why this is so. Reasonable suspicion gives the officer the authority to stop, search and/frisk an individual. Arrests are not to be made due to suspicion, however, the court notes that if *probable cause* arises during a stop started due to *reasonable suspicion,* then an arrest may be made. The freedom for police Officers to judge amongst other things, with *instinct* makes it easier for imbibed bias to be perpetrated when making stops (Angus & Crichlow, 2018).

CRT challenges the norm and questions why things are the way they are. This reasoning informs research studies like Shroff's. Ravi Shroff's recent study in NYU shows that in a dataset of a 100 million drivers, black people were 20 percent more likely to be stopped by police than any others. What is further interesting is that the study records a 5 to 10 percent drop in the number of black persons stopped when dusk shrouds the color of skin, proving an association with 'stops' by police and race. Shroff et al's study shows that once stopped, black people were searched about to 1.5 to 2 times more than White drivers and were in fact less likely to be carrying drugs, weapons and other contrabands in comparison to their White counterparts (NYU, 2020). The disparities for stops between Black and other races are apparent. In a study conducted on data compiled by Oakland, California's police, black people were more likely to be stopped than any other races. In fact, black people were **eight** times more likely to be stopped for searches than white men- even in their driveways (see Darry Gentry's experience)- and three times more likely to be stopped than Hispanics between the time period of 2015 to 2018 even though they made up 23 percent of the population at the time. Activists and protests carry mass tags like 'Driving while black', 'Running', 'Cycling', 'existing'- while black. African Americans are arrested for looking 'above suspected means' like Gentry who was arrested for looking suspicious in his own driveway. Civil Rights Attorney John Burris sums it up as "… insulting… an infringement on their personal dignity" especially when " innocent people are being stopped, then they get searched, they get handcuffed, and they don't find anything".

2.4 Human (in)security via the police brutality problem

As noted in the General Assembly resolution 66/290, "human security is an approach to Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to survival, livelihood and dignity of their people." It calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people (GA Resolution 66/290). Police brutality and the larger institutional racism is not a new phenomenon and yet continues to violate the security of persons, specifically the Afro American community. The question is how such a juxtaposition continues to exist in a society that defends egalitarian and justice for all humans. The existing milieu points to a deeply rooted problem. Chaney and Robertson reveal that the US Department of Justice Office (DOJ) of Civil Rights (OCR) has investigated over a dozen Police departments in the country on allegations of racial bias or police hostility. According to Gabbidon and Greene (2013), "in 2010, the OCR was investigating 17 police departments across the country and monitoring five settlements regarding police agencies".

Human Security anchored underneath traditional security studies of the International Relations umbrella propagates the basic responsibility of 'protection and provision' by the state to its citizens (Holliday & Howe, 2011). Human security in the last two decades has established tenets which advocate that the human being should be the core recipient of security as opposed to the state since it is in fact, human beings who make up the state and should first and foremost receive security for the state to continue existing (Gregoratti, 2018).

Holliday and Howe give an interesting perspective in their writing (2011) when they paint the responsibility of protection and provision as the major responsibility that human security advocates for individual and societal wellbeing. Factual contexts, already revealed in this work leads to grounds for the accusation that the world's most democratically liberal state might in fact not be this in actuality. The denial and marginalization of certain resources and terror in the lives of African Americans with police brutality being a threat to life in America makes human security as it should be, where protection and provision are concerned, unattainable for a certain community. The structural violence supported and entrenched by laws and institutions that keep a particular part of the society in perpetual poverty and denies them equal access to

opportunities as their white counterparts breaches the rights human security establishes. Human security began to circulate civil and academic circles in the early 1990s after attention was drawn to the concept in the 1994 UNDP Report.

Some human security proponents define the concept as an absence to threats. The responsibility to protect and provide are in response to freedom from want and fear for individuals to attain decent and dignified standards of living. Definitions of the concept by key proponents revolve around maintaining the absence of fear and want and consequent provision and protection. According to Paul James, "human security can be defined as one of the foundational conditions of being human, including both (1) the sustainable protection and provision of the material conditions for meeting the embodied needs of people, and (2) the protection of the variable existential conditions for maintaining a dignified life" (2014). King and Murray explain the concept as "expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty" where the term "generalized poverty" is explained as "falling below critical thresholds in any domain of well-being" (2001). Thomas in her definition, describes the concept as "a condition of existence" which provides man's basic needs by providing material needs as well as identity and meaningful existence (2001).

The police brutality reality in the American society defies the tenets of the UNDP Report of 1994 which endows a responsibility on states to cater to the basic needs of people by the universal, inalienable right of being human. The police force thwarts it's mission to protect individuals and by extension the state if it condones and continues to practice racism. The following chapter examines the current discourse on CRT today. The chapter will outline how CRT can be the nexus between human security and security studies in attaining security and dignity for all persons regardless of race.

Human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people." It calls for "people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people."

-General Assembly resolution 66/290

Chapter Three

3.0 CRT Today

Critical race theory rests on the core philosophy that racism exists in our societies and is reproduced in certain laws and institutions. CRT has witnessed its own fair share of detractors as is with most philosophies that challenge dominant narratives. CRT is an abruption to a consolidated and dominant paradigm by marginalized groups and as such is incompatible with the predisposition of the dominant class to maintain its power and consequently these systems of marginalization. A core premise to note about the critical race theory is that it is not 'anti-white racism' (Plummer, 2021). The theory advocates for the dismantlement of dominant narratives per race in society's organization and questions class hierarchies and the subordination of one race to another by seeking for equality of all races. CRT is the lens through which laws, institutions and government are scanned for representations of systemic inequality where race is concerned. The concept acknowledges that race is a social construct of man, and the only biological race is the human race, but human beings have constructed divisions by ethnic features, and instituted racism for reasons of separating society in terms that benefit one class over the other in a divide and rule manner. Benefactors of such divisions then continue to leverage on certain systems and laws which are endemic to society, and which are referred to as systemic and institutional racism to continue the enablement of constructed social hierarchies (Andrews, 2021). CRT studies the power of language hence the important inclusion of securitization in this work as well as social organization and power shaping of public policy (Sawchuk, 2021). CRT is "a framework that emphasizes the centrality of race, racism, and White supremacy in describing educational structures and social practice" (Sablan, 2019).

The second thing to address is the distortion of CRT today as 'abuse.' The term abuse is carefully thought out as there have been bills and even laws calling for and banning CRT because it abuses

children in the education sector. The supporters of this ban on CRT claim that teaching CRT in schools force white children to see themselves as perpetrators of hate and suffering because of their ancestral claim to white supremacists and slave owners who caused harm and marginalization to Black people- the victims. CRT argues against the systemic racialization of society for the benefit of one group over the other and delivers responsibility of this reality not to one person or group of individuals but to structures in society. Critics on CRT claim that the philosophy divides the classroom between the oppressor and victims and that it teaches hate and race in the classroom. CRT is taught mostly in graduate and Bachelor levels and is not taught at elementary levels, however accurate history even pertaining to race is necessary in classrooms not only to curb apathy and enlighten but also to allow children to be adequately prepared for examinations across states and allow equal access to knowledge, just grades and scholarships.

The American historical narrative is an undeniable occurrence despite disagreements on the morality of some of these events and any distortion of such is in fact an injustice to generations to come. Children are proven to begin to associate race with both positive and negative implications as they observe their environment and are taught from the early age of three (Derman-Sparks, Higa, & Sparks, 1980). The Brown v. Board of Education accepts this position following data from the Clarks' 'Doll Test' where African American children were given the same doll options to choose from only varying by skin tone colors and the children preferred white dolls to brown or black dolls revealing an inner psyche of inferior skin to whites (Warren Earl, Supreme Court, 1953). The American race problem cannot be solved if we claim that we are a 'color-blind society'. Rather, this further embeds racism by denying the racist experiences of others (Vincenty, 2020). The U.S reality mapped in the previous chapters of this work has proven that the society, laws and some systems are not color blind. The sensitivity of the American historical experience necessitates an acknowledgement of the past and guidance for the future by creating awareness for equality and this is what CRT seeks to provide awareness on. The request to banning CRT from schools is not necessary since it is not taught in grade schools but also because CRT is blamed for generating hate, but this is contrary to the tenets of this theory. Thus, CRT must be taught sensitively to mature audiences for enlightenment and not banned by government. Calls for such a ban is precisely the system CRT interrogates (Andrews, 2021), (Zou,

2021). The eradication of CRT and history is not the American way forward. CRT has been banned from public schools by education boards in Florida, South Dakota, Georgia, Utah, and Oklahoma. Idaho, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Iowa, New Hampshire, and Arizona have passed legislations against discussions on or related to CRT. About 20 other states have or intend to pass bills on the ban of CRT (Gibbons & Ray, 2021).

3.1 How can CRT lead conversations for change in Human Security and International Security?

In the previous chapters, I have established the current state of insecurity per the racial profiling and police brutality tags in African American communities as well as what critical race theory connotes and why human security will further improve holistically as a discipline if interconnected with CRT. This chapter focuses on the insecurity of persons in the said community in ways that marginalize and also traumatize and how CRT in conjunction with the human security and broader security studies umbrella can transform this dynamic.

The shift from what is considered 'traditional security' to 'critical security' studies has broadened the security studies umbrella to economic, environmental, cultural and social spheres of society as opposed to the former notion of the state as the sole and core referent object to be protected (Krause & Willliams, 1997). This shift has allowed security studies to become a broader umbrella underneath which human security since its coinage has received acceptance amongst scholars in this category. Security though largely contested as to a particular definition is largely accepted as freedom from threats. I utilize Williams' humanistic definition of the term in this work. Williams defines security as "the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially to which, if left unchecked threaten the survival of a referent object in the near future" (Williams & McDonald, p. 5, 2018).

The threat of death by Police faced by Black people at 1 in 1000 is a direct threat to the rights of persons to life, good living standards and dignity of person. CRT is the optimal bridge between security studies and human security which does not receive as much attention next to other pressing components of security studies such as strategic studies, arm control or terrorism and such. It appears necessary with change in the core referent object of security as all-encompassing of all areas of society that there be a balance in all communities and the manner in which they are treated before the law, governing institutions, and all individuals. CRT brings questions to the

fore, challenging the reality in the United States and revealing that certain libertarian ideals are declaratory but not practically applicable to all races in the same way.

The dehumanization of African American men and women in the United States from slavery, the Jim Crow reconstruction period, the separation of facilities to the incarceration problem in America is a violence that should not be ignored. It has led to psychological trauma, the hatred of self and inferiority of race (Brooks, 2012), (Fanon, 1952)(Fanon, 1961), (Lee & Robinson, 2019). According to MHA, "historical adversity, which includes slavery, sharecropping, and race-based exclusion from health, educational, social, and economic resources, translates into socioeconomic disparities experienced by Black and African American people today. Socioeconomic status, in turn, is linked to mental health: people who are impoverished, homeless, incarcerated, or have substance use problems are at higher risk for poor mental health" (Mental Health America, 2021). Academia in international security studies and the larger international relations umbrella must thoroughly examine the CRT body in imparting solutions for adequate societal security. Structural violence breaks through from sustained systemic inequalities. African American people are tainted from dignity of persons and opportunities with negrophobic and prototypical criminal stereotypes.

Bias must be detached from the American justice context. Recidivism rates apportioned to Black people for factors they are not able to completely control like housing and educational as well as restricted employment opportunities, must not be a blinding film when predicting the likelihood to reoffence as in the case of Brisha Borden mentioned in chapter one of this work. CRT is a conjunctive pillar to ensure security of persons and equal opportunities for all communities in America (Amoore, 2020).

The Police brutality problem is not one that affects only the United States. Police brutality exists in a number of other countries. Nigeria for instance, has experienced instability in 2020 and 2021 at an increased rate by a section of the Police force called SARS- Special Anti-Robbery Squad. The SARS force has been disbanded, the extent to which is left to be argued. Other societies experience violent confrontations between Police and civilians. The American case is however peculiar because of the race question. Take for instance, Norway as earlier mentioned. It has the same gun ownership as in the United States, yet Police are rarely in possession of guns and in

2019 fired only twice with no one being killed. America however has recorded about 1000 deaths yearly by Police since 2015 (Schwartz, 2020).

This work proves that there is a racial endemic that not only violates African Americans and their rights to life, livelihood, and dignity of persons, but also endangers the safety of the general society of Police are blinded by bias in making stops and safeguarding communities. African Americans suffer an understated inferiority and trauma due to racism. Recent studies prove that racial slurs and stereotypes, segregation, brutality, racial profiling and enforced structural stagnation in standard of life lead to an inferiority based mentality, acute terror for law enforcement, mental trauma and even death (Lee & Robinson, 2019), (Edwards et al., 2019). These effects are far reaching and create a greater havoc on community and security; it is a racial pandemic.

African American communities are either under-policed or over-policed, CRT demands that there be a balance between for the wellbeing of all communities in the state. The current growth of many African Americans into places of great influence in society, finance and government allows for gradual integration and better representation for the Afro American community but there is significant work yet to be done in dismantling systemic racism and its challenges. This is a herculean task, nevertheless, CRT is a source of hope. Consistent and continuous reflections via CRT on society's institutions will eventually amount to the elimination of the racism that has corroded the American collective narrative. Police and lawmakers of color, particularly African American are now getting the chance to speak up, attain the Presidency and do great, historic things but these are the exceptions hence the necessity for system change and diversity. The fight for equality since Dubois, Malcolm X, Fanon and King is still a demand in today's society proving how very entrenched- but not impossible to eradicate- systemic racism and its profile discrimination is in the United States.

3.2 The interconnection between CRT and human security

Having set precedents by establishing the importance of CRT in the US and the greater IS/IR school, I argue here, three ways that CRT can act as a cohesive binder between human security

and security studies in assuring security of persons by the dismantling of systemic racism under which racial profiling and Police brutality have thrived. This next section builds on the five core tenets on which CRT is built and shows the way forward to attaining human security for all races int the US.

3.3 CRT as an interrogative lens for human security and security studies

CRT is a practice of interrogating society's laws and systems. It is a lens with which to first identify structures that deepen racial inequality but also a tool that is useful in alleviating and even eradicating these structures. Human Security I believe would be the better a discipline if it can rely on CRT as a pillar with which to build surety for individuals to ensure that people are not threatened for their lives, in their persons, livelihood or as particular communities because of the color of their skin. CRT provides the baseline with which to sieve what pillars support the marginalization and violation of one group over the other. The immense contribution of which cannot be overstated. CRT is most important to achieving total security and dignity of persons especially because the systems that create a caste racial system which relegates black people to the bottom tier is cloaked in society's fabric and are quite subtle in operation. Further to this, CRT examines laws that were established or set in motion at a time when many African Americans had very few to no positions in the legislature or judiciary. This is not democracy of the people, by the people or for the people if the laws that we are to adhere to way instituted at a time when there was almost no representation of certain communities. CRT can only further human security school if embraced since it provides for the examination of structures to determine violations if any of human freedoms.

3.4 Instrument for accountability

The law acts as a means of analysis for adherence or deference. However, because systemic racism is subtle and almost unseen in some cases or accepted as norm, it is hard to check against the law especially when the law itself allows however minute an opportunity for dominance by one class over the other. CRT is the transforming benchmark in ensuring that all members of society are in reach of structures that will allow them lead lives free from marginalization. Despite leaps in humanitarianism, egalitarianism and rights of persons, racism continues to occur in our societies. They persist especially because contrary to popular belief that racism is a result of

individualistic prejudice, it is a structural endemic. Racism is woven into society's very fabric through laws, education systems, the media, rhetoric, the justice system, housing and even in sports and daily activities like shopping. Hence, eradicating racially biased systems must also be a structural endeavor with guarantees to ensure accountability. Racism cannot be eliminated if there is no thorough reexamination of these institutions in a way that provides for an equal representation of all races (Zou, 2021). Beyond a reexamination, a tool for accountability into the restructuring of these systems is paramount. It is my submission, that CRT is a viable tool in checking these structures that enable racial marginalization and holding these systems to a universal obligation to reform.

3.5 Demarginalization, de-securitization and de-racialization

Academia is slowly increasing attention to human security and rights to equality in the past decades. A myriad of solutions to racial problems and the policing problem have emerged. I do not offer any one path to the end objective of optimum living. However, I enunciate and reiterate the importance of CRT not just in theory but more in practice as a means to this objective. CRT can be likened to an MRI scan that reveals a skeletal look at society and its pillars which protect class domination. With this tool, society may see hope for the eradication of systems that dehumanize first, black children and women and also Black men and women. Black children should become free of structures and stereotypes that project that they are deserving of harsh treatment. Mainstream media and music must revise every portrayal of black boys as criminals and the sexualization of black girls. The path is a domino effect, and one affects the other. Police currently spend 71 hours training on how to use firearms in comparison with the 21 hours spent in learning to deescalate a situation (Reeves, 2016).

The media's rhetoric of negativity cast towards Black people especially where crime is concerned must be restructured from typical stereotypical narration to facts and accuracy since in fact black people are not in any way more violent or crime prone than any other race. The securitization profiling that law enforcement carries towards black people deserves even greater investigation to its abolishment.

Accuracy in verdicts, and recidivism rates must become much more autonomous from every relation to race. The more these manifest in practice, the less unnecessary stops are made and

the higher security increases since like mentioned in chapter 2, there is a high number of black persons stopped and searched for suspicions and are found innocent while a higher number of white unsuspected persons are later found guilty of offence. The Brisha Borden and Vernon Prater example cited in chapter one implies that persons likely to commit crimes are left free and individuals ready to be rehabilitated into society are branded recidivists (Amoore, 2020). The value of each life and time is most unique that it is a violence if a group of people are made to stay in positions, they would otherwise have the ability to separate from.

Furthermore, the American historical narrative that has depicted an averseness and hostility to black people must change. Laws, demonstrations, civil rights marches as well as protests by the general Black community and scholars in academia have time and time again resisted dominant white supremacy and fought for egalitarianism of ethnicities in America but the narrative continues to exist, this paper's submission is that there is perhaps a deeper collage, one that is subtle, deftly woven, and almost invincible. This is systemic racism and as Emma Lazarus once said, "none of us is free until we are all free" (1800s). When dominant groups begin to silence movements for freedom or equality after momentum for the cause has been birthed, the marginalized group pokes at the system with resistance. CRT is being pushed into dissent. As Rosa Luxemburg said, "freedom is the freedom of dissenters" (Luxemburg, p. 109, 1922). CRT is detracted, marginalized, tainted, and even curtailed as with bans in some states pushing the concept which is now part of a larger movement into dissent. The verdict is, that if CRT is not radically thrusted into mainstream media and cultural rhetoric, the manifestation of freedom, dignity of persons, systemic equality and human security for all regardless of race is bleak indeed.

3.6 Conclusion

It is over 25 years since the Rodney King beating by police, yet it appears that not much has changed since 1994. Judging from the data provided from this research, the unjust killings of Ahmaud Aubrey, Breonna Taylor and George Floyd amongst others attest that there is a profound discrepancy in America's declaratory rhetoric on equality regardless of race versus the actuality of these ideals.

This work reveals challenges in the security studies dynamic where human security is concerned. The state is unsafe if individuals are unsafe. The United States has allowed indirect, state-sanctioned marginalization where minorities are concerned as CRT reveals. CRT can help activists, scholars and policymakers hold American systems accountable to their responsibility to protect and effect holistic reforms where minority groups are concerned.

Policing is in dire need of reform. Criminal prototypes of African American feature and cognitive processes that dehumanize black people need to be completely eradicated from police training. The justice systems and algorithms must also find ways free of prejudice to reach conclusory verdicts on recidivism and sentences. Police stops based only on suspicions because of race are unjust, unfair and create a bigger insecurity for the society if the guilty are left uncaught and state resources are spent on innocent black individuals. General opportunities in other sectors pertaining to richness of life and comfortable living must be distributed fairly amongst all races, this is the core of the higher crime rates in poorer neighborhoods which had a high amount of black people.

The task of reforming institutions that enable racism requires intentionality. It appears ominous from where we stand but there has been growth from where the Afro American narrative originally begun. More than marginalization, America is witnessing a racial epidemic with 1 in 1000 black men facing the likelihood of death by police. The restraints of structural violence are many, resources limited and the system a continuous, vicious cycle. CRT is not a magical solution to the end of these injustice however, it offers a unique and transparent way forward for the Black race and other minority groups as well as for human security and the larger security studies school.

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