

This project explored production of the police power by developing conceptually and theoretically, the police trophy shot, which is understood as: 1). a visual representation of a police officer or officers posing with seized property. 2). a photo accompanying an official press release announcing a “major bust.” 3). a photo produced informally by police officers in order to commemorate a particular arrest or event. 4). a stark representation of the state’s prerogative to search, seize and accumulate private property. Engaging the many sites of police image work, the police trophy shot offers a powerful diagnostic into the ways in which police violence is often beyond sight or obscured by cultural anesthesia.

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In Plain View: Violence and the police image

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Though this would seem to entail that there would be something futile and something excessive about writing about photographs, about saying what is there to be seen, few have been deterred. The stakes are too high. Meaning might escape us. Repetition of what is said to be already evident is compelled. Nothing can be left unattached. The photograph must be spoken for. It must be kept clearly in place. – John Tagg, *The Disciplinary Frame*.

New Hampshire police investigating the murder of 14-year-old Pamela Mason in January 1964 interviewed a man named Edward Coolidge at his home without an arrest or search warrant. Physical evidence gathered at this meeting bore a subsequent search warrant and evidence used to convict Coolidge of Mason's murder. Coolidge was released from prison in 1991 based on a narrow US Supreme Court decision in which Justices ruled the initial search had violated Coolidge's 4th Amendment rights, thereby helping to shore up case law of the "plain view doctrine." Today, based largely on this legal architecture, police are permitted to seize items from the public as evidence in criminal trials if the agent is "lawfully present", has probable cause to believe the items are related to a crime and the items in question are "immediately apparent" or in plain view. In short, if the policeman sees something, he can and likely will *say something*.¹

The state's understanding of "plain view" provides a useful heuristic into the ways in which its police work to administer a one-way, top down "right to look" (Mirzoeff, 2011). Concerned not only with the right to look, policing also aims to control its own image or how it is seen. The broad representational strategies and innumerable interactions of its image work, that which it produces and places in plain view, make up what we

might call policing's approved or *controlled image* (Ericson, 1982; Manning, 1997; Doyle, 2003; Mawby, 2013). Inverting the state's own logic, the recent killings of Eric Garner, John Crawford II, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice and Walter Scott all of which tragically occurred in public space and in "plain view", have confirmed previous claims about policing's "new visibility" and perhaps signaled a waning control over its own image (Goldsmith, 2010; Thompson, 2005). Whether the grainy surveillance camera footage of Tamir Rice's cold execution or images of Michael Brown's prone, lifeless body captured on cellphones and shared in real-time over social media, the visual is increasingly making the lethal violence of the police power known. These sad events have not only demonstrated the volatility of what we might call policing's *uncontrolled image*, but the importance of confronting the many ways policing hopes to (re)produce its own authority by ordering the visual field. In one such instance, the New York Police Department launched a public relations social media campaign encouraging members of the public to tweet flattering photos of themselves (selfies) with officers. The #myNYPD project quickly backfired as users began posting unflattering images of police misconduct and violence. The negative responses were so overwhelming that the NYPD abandoned the project to activists who continued to use the hash tag to speak out against the department. It was this appropriated campaign that helped make visible the NYPD chokehold killing of Eric Garner. Similarly, after Brown's killing, organized protests extended to social media with a number of hash tags including #iftheygunnedmedown, and #handsupdontshoot, which later coalesced under the banner #blacklivesmatter following the 2012 killing of Trayvon Martin (Gray and Nelson, 2015). So while it is true that the policing institution generates much of its symbolic and political power through the

licensed presentation of its own image, the broad multifaceted social movements against police and state violence, mass imprisonment and social inequality which have emerged in the wake of Garner and Brown's killings demonstrate how the counter-visual promises to make visible the suffering of the most abject and dispossessed (Schept, 2014; Brown, 2014).

While these cases have drawn much needed attention to the issue of police violence, we should perhaps caution against placing too much emphasis on images of spectacular violence as mechanisms for social change (Linnemann, Wall and Green, 2014). As often happens with police killings, Brown, Crawford II and Rice's cases concluded with the state's decision to not seek criminal charges against the police agents who killed them.² In Garner's case, even though the NYPD has agreed to pay nearly 6 million dollars to his survivors, as of July 2015 not one person had been charged with a crime related to his death. And finally, in perhaps the most unusual outcome, North Charleston police officer Michael Slager is jailed awaiting his trial for the murder of Walter Scott. Though cash settlements, dismissals and criminal prosecutions may provide the survivors of police violence some measure of relief, these dispositions offer no sustained challenge to the fundamental workings of the police power and the broader social system in which it serves. When considering the substantial settlement paid in Garner's case, some might argue that "money talks" and that only threats to its bottom line will force policing to alter its practices. Even here we should temper our optimism. From 2008 to 2012, 18,157 substantiated complaints against the NYPD resulted in more than 711 million dollars in punitive damages, drawn not from its ever-growing 4 billion dollar budget, but from insurance policies and city coffers (Cohen, 2015). In Scott's case, the

prosecution and punishment of Slager will for some, undoubtedly testify to policing's reflexivity, its adherence to the rule of law and willingness to root out "bad apples." Yet even the harshest disposition for Slager will be just that, punishment of one man's misdeeds. Meanwhile, the institutional and structural arrangements leading to Scott's murder will be shielded from serious critique. Even if we read the much lauded reform of body worn cameras as sincere and not as policing's cynical attempt to control its own image, cameras cannot eliminate police killings and only ensure that when a killing does occur it was performed within the confines of departmental use of force protocol and sanctioned legality (Wall and Linnemann, 2014). So while the uncontrolled images at the center of the Garner, Brown, Crawford II, Rice and Scott cases have drawn much needed attention to policing's lethal violence, the target of radical critique must be violence in all forms. Therefore this chapter takes aim at policing's *controlled* and *approved* images in order to develop an optic that apprehends violence left *in plain view*.

The (Police) Power and the (Police) Image

In *Violence: six sideways reflections* (2008), Slavoj Žižek sets out key distinctions in the forms and effects of violence. What most think of when they think of violence—the physical and psychic harms inflicted upon one by another—he terms *subjective* violence. Žižek's aim is not to elaborate only the subjective, but also to draw attention to the "obscene background" of interactions, the *objective* violence that furnishes the conditions for the crime, terror and bloody conflict of subjective violence. Objective violence is fashioned of the twin strands of *symbolic* violence embedded in language and culture and the *systemic* violence of the broader political and economic order. The catch, as he sees it,

is that subjective violence is only experienced as such, against a background of normal, hence largely unseen objective violence. And because we tend to only “see” the subjective, the harms of objective violence continue on mostly uncontested. In order to more fully apprehend the nature of police violence as a social phenomenon, the taken for granted background that structures life as it is, must also be placed in context and challenged. Regardless of the form it takes—“Special Weapons and Tactics” or civil code enforcement—to *police* is to produce a distinct social order through an always-present threat of lawful violence. This is an intractable truth, as Mark Neocleous puts it the police power deals in violence on behalf of the state and in a “class society, this means no more than the police dispense violence on behalf of the bourgeois class.” (Neocleous, 2000:118). Yet before it materializes as the force of a baton or explodes from a muzzle, the promise of lawful violence is always present within what Žižek might call policing’s “institutional unconscious”—the totality of its language and symbolic cues—its theories of crime causation, morality and human nature, its perverse victim blaming rhetorics and its perpetual “wars” on crime and drugs. It is the unconscious background of normalized and routine symbolic violence and policing’s often overlooked or denied position as arbiters of the systemic violence of capitalist social order, which set the conditions for violence that besets the bodies of state subjects. Limiting critique only to those extraordinary cases of extreme violence perpetrated by rogue cops and “bad apples” fails to engage the many sites of policing’s symbolic and systemic violence and thus fails to generate a sustained critique of the police power and the inequitable social relations it upholds. In order to map the unconscious terrain of habits rendering livable, violence in all

forms, we turn now to a ubiquitous but largely overlooked category of approved images constitutive of the objective violence of the police power—the trophy shot.

As conceived here, the trophy shot is a visual self-representation (subject appears with object) of accomplishment and/or possession. This may be as familiar as the photo of a new graduate proudly clutching a diploma, or as Eamonn Carrabine has described, ghoulish as the soldiers presiding over the torture at Abu Ghraib (Carrabine, 2011). Situated within the field of policing, the trophy shot is a visual representation of the state's power to search, seize and accumulate the property and bodies of its subjects (Linnemann, 2014). Such representations often accompany departmental press releases announcing extraordinary police work, such as the seizure of significant quantities of drugs, or the capture of a notorious fugitive. As one might take a “selfie”, individual police agents also produce trophy shots informally in order to commemorate less monumental events. In fact, because each aims at self-definition, we might say that the selfie and trophy shot descend from the same representational family. In both cases, the subject stages, crafts, approves and circulates the image in hopes of defining and controlling the self others see. Because they are most often approved and released to the public to document policing's good works, trophy shots may seem somewhat incidental in relation to uncontrolled images of police killings. Yet by questioning *what does policing aim to represent? what does it wish me to see?*, we are able to adopt a sort of parallax view, rendering visible the objective violence of the approved police image (Žižek, 2006). This is not only an exercise in the critique of ideology, but an effort to link images of policing's objective and subjective violence, without minimizing or aggrandizing either. In doing so, no attempt is made to rehabilitate policing's image work or to find a middle ground between its good

works and its “bad apples” and instead approaches all of policing’s images as the visual substantiation of its symbolic, systemic and subjective violence. While it is a useful diagnostic, care must be taken to not assign the police image too much power, or to regard it simply as an ideological conduit or vehicle through which the powerful act upon the less so. Rather, the aim here is to understand the trophy shot and police image as contested terrain and a site where particular understandings of police and state power unfolds (Tagg, 1988).



Figure 1: po·lice tro·phy shot: \pə-'lēs\trō-fē\shāt\. *n* U. 1). a visual representation of a police officer or officers posing with seized property. 2). a photo accompanying an official press release announcing a “major bust.” 3). a photo produced informally by police officers in order to commemorate a particular arrest or event. 4). a stark representation of the state’s prerogative to search, seize and accumulate private property.

Taken in January 2014 by officers of the Nashville, Arkansas Police Department and published as part of a formal press release, this trophy shot [figure 1] marked culmination of an “ongoing undercover operation” that resulted in one arrest and seizure

of 250 grams of marijuana, firearms, drug paraphernalia and five hundred dollars in cash. Taking a basic inventory of the objects it counts as trophies—those things it wishes us to see—offers unique insight into the fabrication of the police power. As is the case here, police trophy shots typically feature illicit narcotics, contraband firearms and proceeds of the drug trade. These “drug war trophies” are the expected outcome of a broad political strategy that Markus Dubber calls “policing possession.” Dubber’s point is that in the contemporary war on crime/drugs/terror, policing has mostly abandoned the façade of “crime control” and oriented itself instead towards control of prohibited objects and more specifically the threats they are thought to represent (Dubber, 2001:855). To police possession is to identify and eradicate threats before they arise. Employing “pre-crime” logics, policing works to secure insecurity and thus actively fabricate a distinct social order (Neocleous, 2000, 2008). What its trophies and approved trophy shot images are meant to represent then is the extraordinary work accomplished by police on behalf of the public. As state discourses have propagandized for decades, whether dealers fighting over markets or the drug-induced violence and interpersonal struggles of users themselves, illicit narcotics directly link to, if not cause violent crime. As such, each drug seizure great or small, every firearm taken off the street and the cash residue of this illicit economy, represents violence—robbery, child abuse, murder— forestalled.

However, if we reject policing’s visibility, turn its own image and language against it and sharpen our gaze to that which is immediately apparent and in plain view, we are better able to understand its approved images not as the evidence of its good works, but as a visual record of its own symbolic and systemic violence. The police do not simply “enforce the law” but stand rather as the embodied force of the law (Benjamin, 1978).

Even if policing's uncontrolled images of subjective violence may be taken "singularly exemplary" as John Tagg (2009:xxvi) writes, "it is not because they unveil a spectacle of coercion that usurps legal justice. It is rather because they draw out the foundational violence of the subpoena to appear before the law..." Quite simply, because it deals in and dispenses violence in furtherance of a disparate social order, all of policing's images even its approved, controlled and celebratory "trophy shots" disclose violence that cannot escape the frame. In this case, policing's white supremacist (Hadden, 2001) patriarchal (Dubber, 2005) and nationalist (Billig, 1995) foundations are betrayed by four (presumably) white men flanked by an American flag. Here in plain view, is policing's attempt to (re)produce its own power and authority through visual self-representations meant to remind the public of the threats eliminated on their behalf and of the white men who keep them *safe*.

While police, like those pictured here, tend to prize drug war contraband—drugs, guns and money—trophy shots can feature virtually any object. For instance, in 2014 police in the small town of Beckley, West Virginia issued a press release featuring several trophy shot images of agents posing with nearly 200 pounds of illegally harvested ginseng. Though not necessarily within the ambit of typical drug war contraband, these images neatly demonstrate how the power to search, seize and accumulate private property always underline the "shot" regardless of the trophy. In addition to the plain view doctrine provision of the 4th Amendment, the right of the police to take by force is authorized by a collection of civil and criminal asset forfeiture laws and thus not *seen* as criminal. Under the state and federal laws governing its lawful "takings" state subjects need not be convicted, or even accused of a crime for police to seize cash, automobiles and other

property of value, if the objects in question can be linked to a crime or potential crime (Sax, 1964). One case involving a woman named Tara Mishra, who, while driving from California to New York, was stopped for speeding and had her life savings of over one million dollars in cash seized and held for months by the Nebraska Highway Patrol. Nebraska authorities claimed the right to take the money solely on the assumption that the 33-year old woman could not have possibly earned it legally. The state held her money for more than a year, until a federal court of appeals ordered it returned (Rudra, 2013).

Similarly and more recently, a man named Joseph Rivers traveling on an Amtrak train from Detroit to Los Angeles to begin a career in the recording industry had his life savings seized by DEA agents. Although Rivers, who is black, was the only person on the train targeted by the DEA, he was not charged with a crime and allowed to continue on his journey. A spokesperson for the DEA declined to comment on the specifics of the case, stating that agents seized upon look for “indicators” (read: threats) such as a person who bought an expensive one-way ticket with cash, a person traveling from or to a city “known as a hot spot for drug activity”, if the person’s story has “inconsistencies” or large sums of money that could have been transported by more “conventional means.” The DEA’s spokesperson further explained that the agency doesn’t have to “prove that the person is guilty...It’s that the money is presumed to be guilty” (Gutierrez-Kruger, 2015). These are just two of countless cases amounting to untold billions in assets often seized with little proof of any wrongdoing. While cash is often the target and trophy, possession is policed in such a way that virtually anything is subject to the taking. This legal architecture has produced cases with improbable filing names such as *United States v. \$124,700 in U.S. Currency* and *United States v. Article Consisting of 50,000 Cardboard Boxes More or*

Less, Each Containing One Pair of Clacker Balls (Stillman, 2013). Incentive based policing or “policing for profit” as critics describe, is so widespread that in 2014 alone, Justice Department Agencies made total of \$3.9 Billion dollars of civil asset seizures, far outpacing the \$679 million in assets seized in formal criminal cases (Ingraham, 2015). As the Washington Post reported in 2015, policing possession does not only target big-ticket items or suspected “kingpin” traffickers. Each year the city of Philadelphia “shakes down” many of its poorest residents, seizing millions of dollars with nearly 60% of all of its takings in amounts under \$250 (Ingraham, 2015). Critics have noted civil and criminal asset forfeiture laws permit, if not encourage policing agencies to supplement their budgets with the property of the public. As one Missouri police administrator described during a public citizen/police review board hearing, the power to lawfully take from the public is “like pennies from heaven, you know it gets you a toy or something you need, is the way we usually look at it...” (Citizens for Justice, 2012). A common way police departments supplement their budgets is by putting seized vehicles into patrol or community relations service. Underscoring the brazen nature of its lawful takings, these cars are often emblazoned with graphics proudly announcing the vehicle’s previous owner, such as, *"This Used To Be A Drug Dealer's Car Now It's Ours!"*³ Yet, as the image below [Figure 2] details, these are not only vehicles “taken from drug dealers” but also trophies attesting to the impunity of the police power.



Figure 2: Ringwood New Jersey police pose with a SUV seized as part of an “on going drug investigation.”

When the Ringwood (New Jersey) Police Department raided the home of a man it suspected of drug crimes, several of the officers involved spared a minute to snap a trophy shot featuring a seized sport utility vehicle. Later, the image appeared in local media reports on the raid along with a message from the department’s Chief warning that, "If you're dealing drugs...I'm going to use every means at my disposal to seize your property and make sure you go to jail. Just ask the owner of this truck." Not only was this operation a point of pride for the department, but the 2004 Chevy Avalanche “full of aftermarket bells and whistles” including custom wheels that according to the Chief were “alone are worth about \$500 apiece,” was apparently a boon for the department. The article went on to explain how the Chief had designs on using the vehicle for the department’s DARE program, but until a court authorized the seizure the “tricked out vehicle” would be

displayed along a busy street with a sign reading "This car was seized from a drug dealer" (Stewart, 2015). According to the title of the article, *Ringwood police chief drives it home: Drug dealing doesn't pay*, the entire operation—investigation, arrest, seizure—and celebratory trophy shot comprise an immutable anti-drug message. And if viewed only through policing's drug war optics this may very well be the case. However, in order to assume a more critical posture towards its controlled and approved images, we must reject the falsehood that policing's aim is crime control. In spite of its repeated mantra "protect and serve" courts have ruled on several occasions that not only are police under no obligation to protect the public, they cannot be held responsible for failing to intervene in any crime.⁴ We must also dispel the notion that possession is policed in order to eliminate threats and produce safety and security. After all, the most common police trophies, firearms, cars, currency and even drugs are all legal in some context or another. In order to develop a thorough and sustained critique of policing, critics must begin with the assumption that these objects are threats not to the public, but as the tools and untaxed currency of an illicit and ungoverned economy, threats to the dominant social order. From this view, we see that policing's core project—regulating individual and collective market relations and actively fabricating capitalist social order— is always present within its image. The gap is irreconcilable. The trophy shot is not a visual self-representation of extraordinary police work, but rather, damning evidence of policing's symbolic and systemic violence. Through this optic, the drug war is class war (Frydl, 2013; Paley, 2014; Reiss, 2014) and the trophy—*capital accumulated at the point of a gun*. This is the bloody, brute fact to which all activities and workings of the police can be traced, it deals in violence and musters the force of law to protect private property and enforce wage

labor. It is by no means coincidence that in the cases of Eric Garner and Michael Brown, their deadly encounters with police were supposedly initiated to uphold the conventional labor market and protect private property, with Garner suspected of selling untaxed cigarettes and Brown of shoplifting.

Recognition of the objective violence of policing's controlled and approved images in no way implies a neat delineation in the violence of the image, or that images can be read only one-way. Trophy shots that feature a human body, what John Tagg might call an "unwilling subject" brings the violent tangle of the police image into sharper relief (Tagg, 2009). One such image entered the field of the visible in early 2015, following a United States Justice Department investigation of several members of the Chicago Police Department. Taken sometime between 1999 and 2003, the photo features Chicago PD officers Timothy McDermott and Jerome Finnigan with rifles in hand, kneeling next to an "unidentified African-American drug suspect" with deer antler's affixed to his head and whose tongue is dangling from his open mouth. This obscenely violent and racist image, clearly meant to depict the "unidentified African-American" as a dehumanized/animalized trophy, was turned over to Chicago PD investigators by Justice Department Officials two years after Finnigan was convicted of leading a "crew of rogue cops" in a string of home invasions and robberies. Not criminally prosecuted but fired for misconduct, McDermott appealed and in a subsequent hearing pleaded, "I am embarrassed by my participation in this photograph...I made a mistake as a young, impressionable police officer who was trying to fit in" (Main and Janssen, 2015). That McDermott took part in the production and circulation of such a ghastly photo in order to "fit in" reveals as much about his understanding of policing's institutional unconscious as it does his own character. Clearly,

McDermott was trying to “fit in” with a symbolic terrain that licenses and in fact celebrates the sovereign power to hunt, capture, display, humiliate and when necessary kill state subjects (Mbembe and Meintjes 2003). Even though it is always in plain view, policing’s necropolitical and cynegetic (hunting) power is so ingrained into liberal capitalist social order that outside of spectacular uncontrolled images such as this one or those documenting police killings, it goes mostly unnoticed (Chamayou 2012).

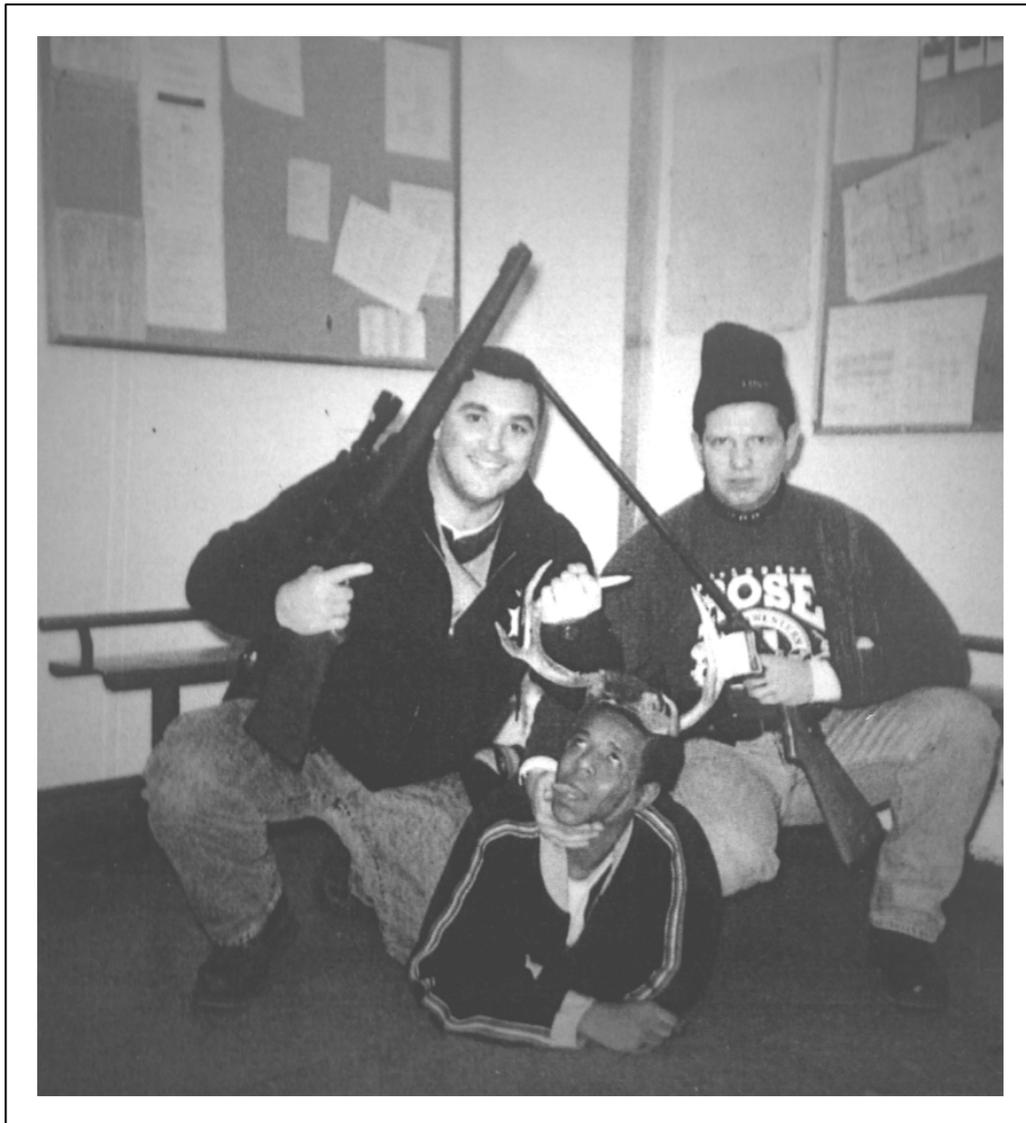


Figure 3: Two Chicago Police Officers pose in a trophy shot photo with an “unidentified African-American drug suspect.”

And though this particular trophy shot aided in the criminal prosecution of one police agent and dismissal of another, even it was held up as another example of the deplorable misdeeds of a few, rather than as an indictment of policing itself. Bidding McDermott “good riddance” Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel scolded, “You don't belong in the Police Department...Our whole idea of a police department is to serve and protect and the values expressed in that photo are not the values of the people of the city of Chicago” (Payne, 2015). Even a spokesperson for the Chicago chapter of Black Lives Matter seemed to understand the image as an instantiation of policing’s “bad apples” explaining that it was “very disgusting and disheartening, to watch officers of the law participate in something like that...I think this is something that's going inside the Chicago Police Department” (Payne, 2015). Missed by both politician and activist is the opportunity to understand the image as both evidence of policing’s “bad apples” and the violence inseparable from policing and the broader social order. While one would be hard pressed to deny the subjective violence and obscene racism of a trophy shot depicting a black man forced to assume the position of a slain animal under the boots of two police agents, there are clear and obvious differences between it and the uncontrolled images of Garner, Brown, Crawford II, Rice and Scott’s murders. Yet in order to challenge the institution itself, we must resist constructing a cognitive hierarchy that divorces policing’s subjective violence from that which is present in even its most mundane controlled image. Another, less controversial trophy shot helps draw this out further. For more than three weeks in June 2015, stories of two convicted murderers who had escaped from New York’s Clinton penitentiary dominated North American mediascapes. With one of the escapees killed by police agents near the Canadian border, the drama was brought to a

close with the second man, David Sweat's capture two days later. Much of the reporting on this final chapter of the month long saga included an Associated Press photo of officers caught in an impromptu pose with the escaped prisoner and the caption: *Police stand over David Sweat after he was shot and captured near the Canadian border.*⁵ This particular photo, though perhaps not necessarily staged like other trophy shots, nevertheless reaffirms the police power through the power of the visual. Here the harrowing escape of two killers and weeks long media spectacle culminate in the visual evidence of police "getting their man." Threats *eliminated*. Insecurity *secured*. Order *restored*. Like the "antler" photo, the image of Sweat's capture discloses the violence of capture that is always at work within the police power and consequently the police image. This is a power "brutal enough" as Tagg puts it, that it "leaves its imprint on the body in a different manner than fists and boots and the blade of an axe", but that is never quite fully functionalized except for those subjects it holds in place (Tagg, 2009: xxvi). This is the violence of 2.3 million jail and prison cells and the sober warning running through trophy shots of captured fugitives and routine booking photos alike, only the state and its police command the power to search and seize, to hunt and capture—to *kill*. Yet police do not stop, frisk, search, seize, hunt, capture, cage and kill without aim or purpose. As we've seen, the objects seized and proudly displayed by police as trophy are symptomatic of the sublimated motivations and organizing principles of the entire police project. Whereas policing's images of seized weapons, drugs and cash are meant to remind an anxious public of its good deeds and hence necessity, the same images set askew register visually, the most primitive sort of accumulation. And though it offers means to challenge

policing's subjective violence and a diagnostic of its fleeting harms and secret desires, the image must not be exalted as a panacea of social change.

As Judith Butler (1993) and Allan Feldman (1994) argued in their confrontations with the fifty-six baton blows suffered by Rodney King, political subjects' embeddedness and complicity in histories of violence and domination often prevents them from seeing even those things that are in plain view. Here we might say that those who could *see* the savagery of King's beating perhaps didn't need to and likewise, those who could not immediately recognize King's suffering, perhaps never would. Despite the inability of some to see the suffering of others, what Valerie Hartouni (2012) calls the "optics of thoughtlessness", in the wake of widespread civil unrest sparked by the police killings of Garner and Brown, the Obama administration affirmed its faith in the image, committing some 75 million dollars to equip police with body-worn cameras and to study their effectiveness (Jackson, 2015). What this political move fails to admit, is that protests of the present are but the latest in a long, unbroken and grotesque train of abuses running through 1990s Los Angeles and Washington D.C., 1960s Watts, Detroit, Newark, 1930s Harlem, 1910s Chicago and unknowable stops along the way. This is a record of police violence and state killing that predates the new visibility promised by digital cameras and social media. What has been constant however is the position of police in American social life, standing not as the line between order and chaos, but as guardians of capital's bottom line. The way forward then, it seems to me, is to begin to reject the violence that capital leaves in plain view.

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¹ As does Evan Calder Williams (2012) I use the pronoun *he* purposefully to denote the decidedly masculine and Markus Dubber's (2005) view, patriarchal nature of the police power.

² Rice's case continues for the time being through an unusual legal precedent discovered and pushed by his family.

³ See images at: http://www.krmg.com/news/news/local/tulsa-police-rolls-cadillac-escalade-seized-drug-d/nRJZN/#__federated=1

⁴ See *Warren v. District of Columbia* (444 A.2d. 1, DC Ct of Ap. 1981); *Castle Rock v. Gonzales* (545 US 748, 2005); *Balistreri v. Pacifica Police Department* (23 August 1988); *DeShaney v. Winnebago County* (22 February 1989).

⁵ See image at:

http://www.bostonherald.com/news_opinion/national/northeast/2015/06/new_york_escape_drama_ends_as_2nd_fugitive_shot_and_captured