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St Louis County Resident Community Sample

In September and October 2014, trained interviewers from Southern Illinois University Carbondale spoke by phone with 389 people. 384 of these individuals are current residents of St. Louis County, MO that we previously had interviewed during 2012-2013, as part of a National Institute of Justice-funded study of hot spots policing.[1] In order to be selected, residents had to reside in one of 71 hot spots of crime identified for that study. Thus, the sample is not representative of the county as a whole, but rather of high crime and disadvantaged communities in the County. Residents were predominantly African American (70%), had lower incomes, (48% made less than $25,000), were more likely to be single and never married (44%), and are disproportionately from the Northern part of the County. Residents we spoke to lived within .39 and 19.76 miles from the shooting incident. Five percent live within 1 mile, 25% live within 2 miles, half live within 4.38 miles, and 75% live within 5.45 miles of the location where Michael Brown was shot. Thus, these individuals live in close proximity to the initial incident and were undoubtedly experiencing the effects of the public and police response to the shooting. Table 1 below compares the sample to the residents of St Louis County overall.

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[1] Four former residents had moved to St Louis city and one had moved to St Charles County.

Table 1. Sample vs. St Louis County Residents

	Survey Respondents Sep-Oct 14	St Louis County Demographics*
Male (%)	39	47
Average Age	46	37
Police Officer (%)	0	<1
Time at Address	89% lived in home 1 year or more	86% lived in home 1 year or more
Race/Ethnicity		
African American (%)	70	19
Asian/Pacific Island (%)	0	3
Multi-Racial (%)	5	2
White (%)	24	76
Other (%)	3	1
Hispanic (%)	1	1
Marital Status		
Married (%)	24	54
Never Married (%)	44	33
Divorced (%)	22	8
Widowed (%)	10	3
Education		
College Degree (%)	18	38
Some College (%)	49	29
High School GED/Diploma (%)	28	24
Less than High School Degree (%)	5	9
Income		
No Income (%)	7	--
$1- $15,000 (%)	18	10 (includes no income)
$15,000-$24,999 (%)	23	11
$25,000-$34,999 (%)	18	12
$35,000-$49,000 (%)	19	16
$50,000-$74,999 (%)	10	21
$75,000 or more (%)	5	29

*Based on 2000 U.S. Census

Impact on Residents: In Their Words

Nearly all residents were familiar with the Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, MO in August 2014 (n=377, 98%). Most residents reported that the incident and the protests and riots that followed impacted them (76%). Among those who were impacted, nearly half (43%) reported being impacted in multiple ways. Residents reported positive, negative, and neutral forms of impact, when they were asked to describe the impact.

Figure 1 below outlines the percentage of residents who reported experiencing specific types of impact. Shown above the line are neutral or positive outcomes. Negative outcomes are shown below the line. Most frequently, residents reported being emotionally impacted, feeling shock, frustration, sadness, and upset (14%), as well as being inconvenienced by closed stores and schools, snarled traffic, and similar problems created by protestors and the police investigation (14%). Ten percent of residents reported that the events led them to question or lose trust in police and 9 percent reported thinking negatively about police as a consequence of these events. A substantial proportion, 8 percent, reported feeling threatened or fearful in the aftermath of the shooting and responses to it. Often in response to fear, residents reported avoiding certain geographic areas (7%). Equal proportions of residents were fearful of police and fearful of the protests (4%). Some particularly noxious outcomes experienced by a few residents included loss of income or business associated with looting or barricaded areas (2%) and physical side effects including illness, trouble sleeping, and feeling the effects of tear gas used by police when handling civil unrest (3%). Other key outcomes included gaining an awareness of problems (11%) or even reinforcing what residents already suspected regarding racial tension or profiling, crime, and challenges for police (7%); generating discussion about these issues (3%); and even positive outcomes such as more positive feelings toward police and the protection they offer (2%) and community involvement and cohesion (2%), although a similar proportion of residents reported that the incident and responses have divided communities (3%).

Figure 1. Neutral or Positive Impact

Pray more — 1%
Feel glad for action / Support the cause — 1%
Been more involved in community/see value of community coming together — 2%
Appreciate/feel postive about police or feel need for police or improved services — 2%
Other miscellaneous impact — 3%
More discussion, attentive to events, seeing lots of media coverage — 3%
Experienced or was involved with protests/ looting — 5%
Reinforced what I already thought about police or the issues — 7%
Has impacted me deeply (unspecified) — 9%
Increased awareness understanding about profiling, crime, racial tension, police challenges — 11%

Figure 2. Negative Impacts

Percentage	Impact
14%	Inconvenienced (closed stores/schools, impeded traffic)
14%	Emotional impact: frustration, shock, upset
10%	Question police / lose trust /wonder about truth /see need for training
9%	Think negatively about police
8%	Felt threatened/afraid
7%	Avoid certain areas or limit times I go places
4%	I am fearful or anxious of police
4%	Fear public protests / Think negatively of public behaviors
3%	Physical & personal impact: made ill, not sleep, got hurt, choking from gas
3%	Community divided/ Hurting itself
2%	Harmed my income or business / livelihood

20%   15%   10%   5%   0%

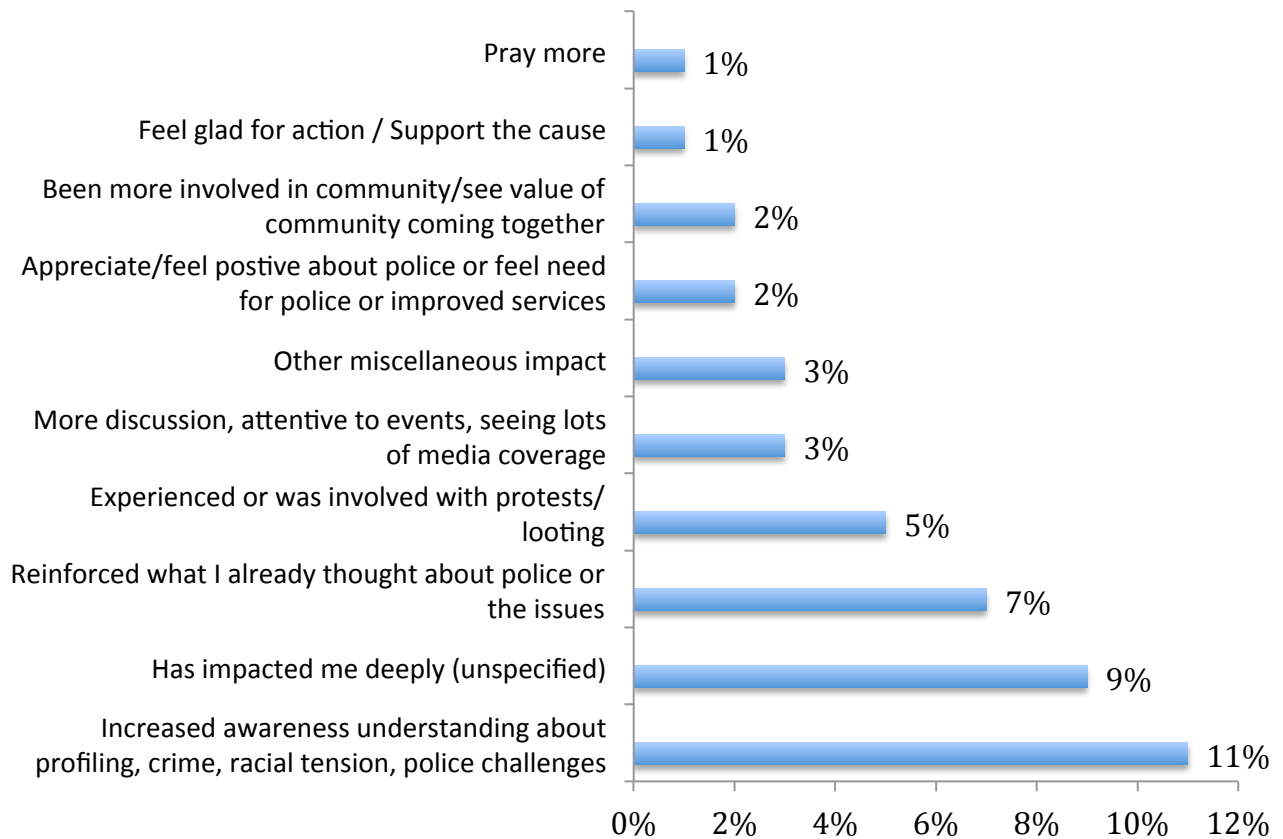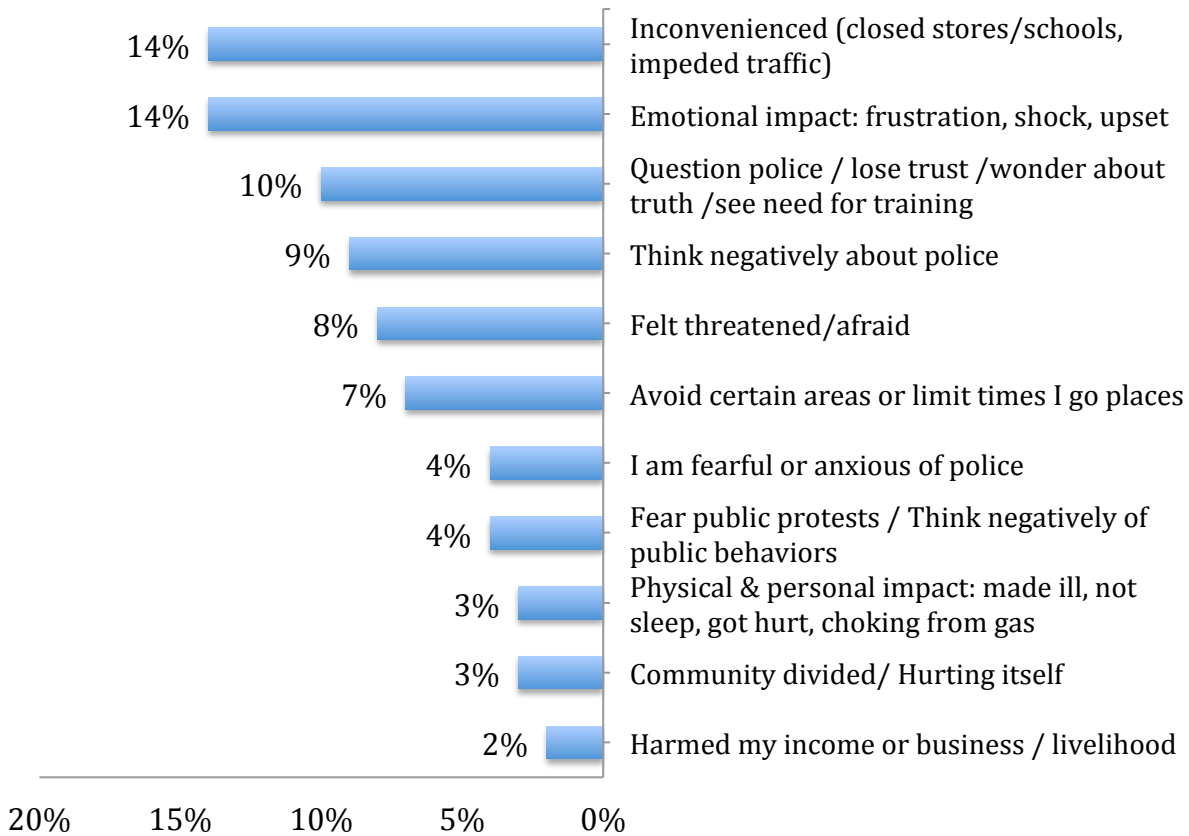### Sample Remarks

Examples of a few specific remarks behind these statistics are provided below. Recall that frequently residents reported multiple kinds of impact, as reflected even within each comment below.

Emotional Reaction

"The shooting itself was disturbing. With the riots and protests, I couldn't get home one night. They had all those helicopters and stuff. It was overwhelming."

I felt it was so upsetting. It touched me because I felt so bad for his mom. It could've been handled better. Officer didn't have to kill him."

"This happens a lot to the black community, this is nothing new. It happens A LOT. This time it was publicized. As a mother of four sons, I am touched by it deeply. I can certainly feel for the mother of Michael Brown. A lot of things get swept under the rug."

"Its getting on my nerves and I'm ready for it to stop. He's not the first black kid to get shot and won't be the last. I'm tired of it. Riots were opportunistic; people took advantage of the situation."

Inconvenience and Avoid the Area

"Um, for a while I couldn't get to my house. They shutting things down. I couldn't leave out because they using gas and I couldn't leave without getting hit with it. I had to bring my dogs in too cuz they choking."

"I don't like the way it's disrupted traffic flow on West Florissant. My favorite Laundromat is over there. I can't use it now. I don't like how it's disrupted the local business & the community members."

"Well, I think one of the things that I hate are combining the two situations. That kid lost his life and they are showing the rioting so much that people forget that he got shot. It only really affected me because my nail shop is over there and I couldn't get to it and there's a few other stores in that area I used to frequent, but now I don't want to go there."

"Well… different actions lead to different outcomes. No comment on who's to blame. People just have to understand situational factors. Can't just assume race issues. Michael Brown was at fault. In addition, Wal-Mart and Quick Tip closed--that was inconvenient, because my phone died and I couldn't go buy a charger anywhere, because of the curfew stuff and the stores closing. Not being able to use my phone and contact my family was awful."

Personal Impact

"I was off work for a couple weeks because the area was blocked off. It was hard. It's a sad case for St. Louis. The kids are scared to go out or to lay down at night. It's a terrible thing and it ain't gonna stop until justice is served."

"…It's scary. I don't sleep and I'm afraid to leave the house. Our stores are broken into and there's helicopters."

"I can't sleep at night, because of the helicopters in the air. I was in the military for 8 years, so the helicopters triggered my PTSD. I couldn't sleep for two weeks, and I could smell the tear gas from my porch. I could hear the loudness of the crowds. Travel was awful. I was affected by the curfew imposition, and my son couldn't go outside to play."

Fear Police

It makes me cautious about my kids. Are they going to get picked on by the police? It makes me nervous.

Fear Riots and Looting

"…People at work are late because of blocked traffic. My child is fearful of leaving the house because the looting and riots came close to our home."

"It impacted me a great deal. I work at one of the stores that got looted. I got out in time, so I didn't get hurt, but that was really scary."

Negative Views Toward Police

It's impacted the way I feel towards the police. I feel like they are criminals. The only difference is the law protects them when they do wrong.

Made me Question Police

"I'm very disappointed by the event. Hasn't totally shaken my faith in police officers. They need more training in that area (diversity and police/public relations)."

"I'm affected by this. I'm African American. I and my family have been and are targeted by police. Doesn't feel good to be "us" against "them." [We] don't trust police at all. The tension between black and white is just a mess."

Community Cohesion vs. Division

"I think the black community is more united, but at the same time also split. You have the people who want truth and justice and you have people who want to tear stuff up, just because."

"It was a terrible thing that happened. Justice should be served, but rioting doesn't solve anything. We need to come together."

"… it has helped me to become more aware of what is going on, and that the community can bond together to seek justice."

Raised Awareness

"Impacted me greatly. It's an area I frequent for shopping and all that. The shooting was unjust and it damaged the little trust we had in the police. It brought more awareness to other police issues. Made these problems apparent and made the point that policing in this area, Ferguson, is uneven and biased."

"…I'm appreciating the awareness of…I'm trying to think of the positives. Awareness of the relationship of the community with the police. Especially when it comes to youth, and let me be real with you, youth of color. I'm sorry it came about this way, but it's good that people are

talking and trying to relate. Not just black people and white people, but all people. The conversations that are starting are good. I do respect the police, but the relationship with the community could improve. The effect is bittersweet."

"I am glad it happened to open everybody's eyes about prejudices that are still occurring. It opened people's eyes as to what is really going on in the justice department. It shows how police in uniform have a superman mentality (like Barnie Fife); shooting Michael Brown when he was surrendering was not right! This has been happening since the 1980s. We need to keep the Lord on our side; this has always been going on."
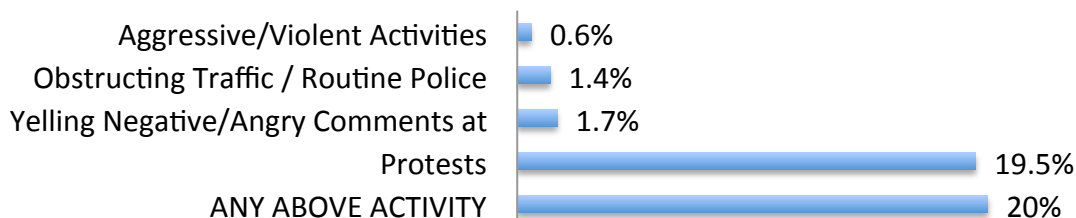
Reinforced Prior Views

"It had a big impact because I am a black man and Michael Brown was young. The protests and riots had no impact, but the shooting itself did because it is the same old story where an African American gets shot and there was deadly force involved. Is it really necessary?"

"Well, first of all. The riots don't impact me because they are not happening. The looting, it's a convenience store--they have insurance and payroll damages so that doesn't affect me either. But, every black male in America feels intimidated when they're stopped or pulled over by the police. They're seen as a threat just by their mere presence. There are police from rural areas coming in to police "urban" areas so their ideas are in conflict. Many of them were raised to see black people as less than. The cops live 45 minutes, an hour, whatever far away. They aren't invested in the community."

Public's Response to the Shooting

One in five residents with whom we spoke participated in protests or other activities about which we asked in response to the Michael Brown shooting. Nearly all of those individuals participated in peaceful protests (19.5%), but about 2 percent yelled negative or angry comments at police, and 1.4 percent disrupted traffic or routine police operations. Less than 1 percent reported engaging in violent or aggressive behaviors. Thus, a substantial minority of residents in our sample were active participants in the public response to the shooting. African American residents participated in protests more frequently than other residents. However, we found no differences in participation based on geographic distance from the incident, comparing those within 5 miles versus those living more than 5 miles away.

Figure 3. Percent Said Participated

Aggressive/Violent Activities 0.6%
Obstructing Traffic / Routine Police 1.4%
Yelling Negative/Angry Comments at 1.7%
Protests 19.5%
ANY ABOVE ACTIVITY 20%

When asked how they felt about the public's response to the shooting, residents were fairly divided in their views. Fifty-five percent agreed and 45 percent disagreed with the public's response. As presented in the chart below, residents' opinions about the public response to the incident differed by race, with African American residents being more favorable than non-black residents. On average, non-black residents somewhat disagreed with the response while African American residents, on average, somewhat agreed. Residents did not vary in their views based on geographic proximity to the incident.
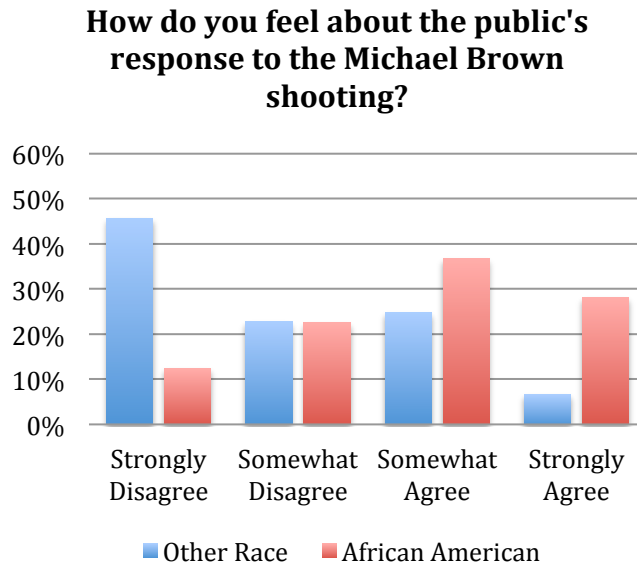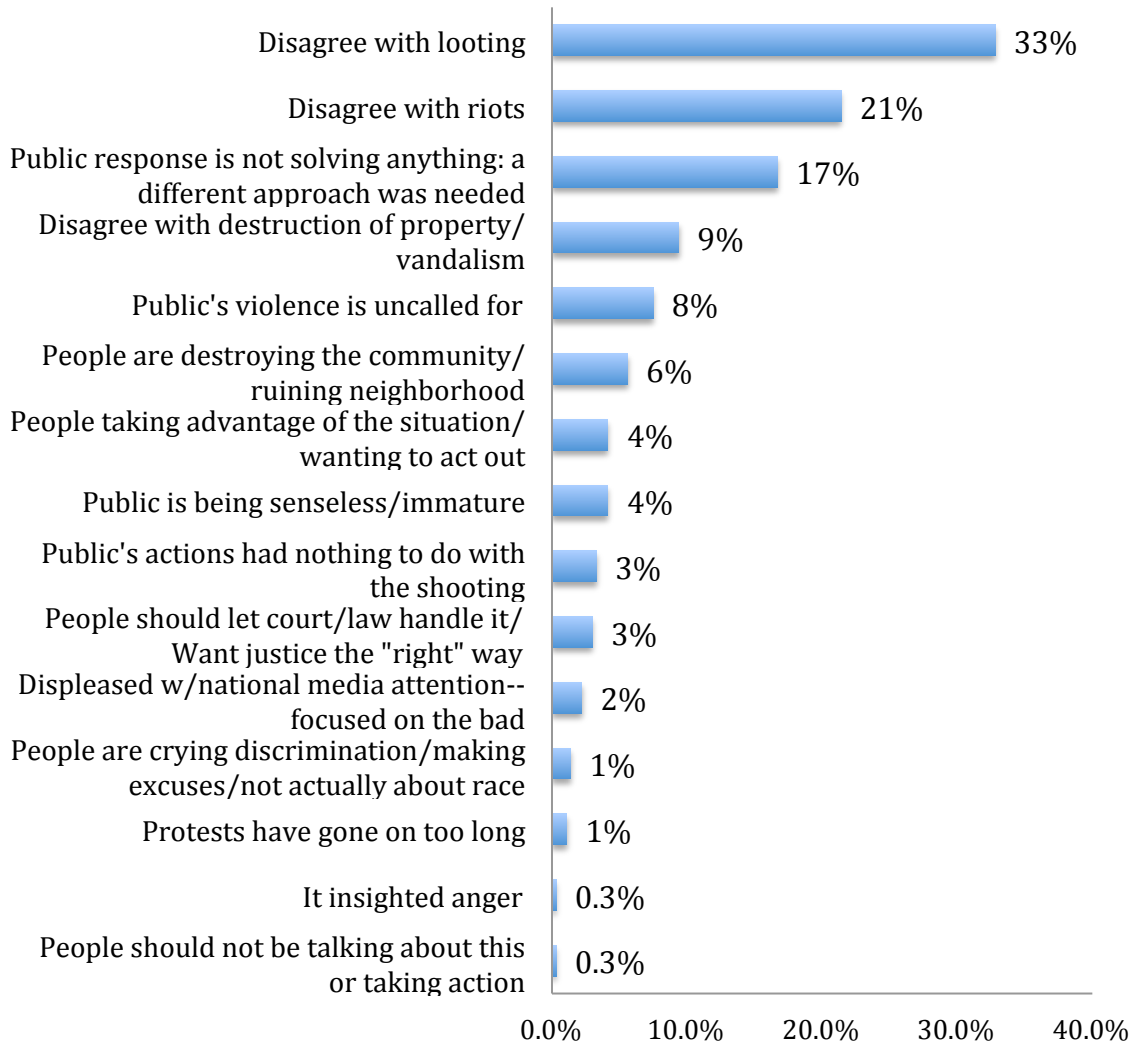
How do you feel about the public's response to the Michael Brown shooting?

Figure 4. Racial Differences in Views about Public Response

When asked to explain why they felt this way, more residents were able to articulate their negative rationale, with 59% of residents who explained their views about the public's reaction providing unfavorable remarks. Specifically, one-third of residents disagreed with the looting; 21.5% disagreed with rioting; whereas 16.6% felt that the public response to the shooting would not help or solve anything, that a different approach is needed. Other common negative views about the public response addressed the destruction of property and vandalism (9.4%) and violence (7.5%), and that the public is destroying the community, ruining the neighborhood, or hurting their own area (5.5%). Some residents felt that the public was taking advantage of the situation (4.1%) or that the public's actions had nothing to do with the shooting (3.3%). Some merely felt that the response by the public was "senseless" or "immature" (4.1%). Smaller number of residents thought that the media coverage and national attention was negative or focused on the bad things (2.2%), felt that protests had gone on too long (1.1%), and disagreed with the emphasis by the public and in the media on race or insinuation that the incident was merely race-based (1.4%).

Figure 5. Unfavorable Rationale for Public Reaction to Shooting

Category	Percent
Disagree with looting	33%
Disagree with riots	21%
Public response is not solving anything: a different approach was needed	17%
Disagree with destruction of property/ vandalism	9%
Public's violence is uncalled for	8%
People are destroying the community/ ruining neighborhood	6%
People taking advantage of the situation/ wanting to act out	4%
Public is being senseless/immature	4%
Public's actions had nothing to do with the shooting	3%
People should let court/law handle it/ Want justice the "right" way	3%
Displeased w/national media attention-- focused on the bad	2%
People are crying discrimination/making excuses/not actually about race	1%
Protests have gone on too long	1%
It insighted anger	0.3%
People should not be talking about this or taking action	0.3%

Favorable explanations regarding the public response to the shooting focused on support for peaceful protests (28%) or merely that they are constitutionally permitted (4%), empathy about the reasons the public was taking action (19%), and feeling like the public response raised necessary awareness about a variety of social problems, including excessive force, brutality, shootings, and injustice (8%). Similarly, a small portion specifically mentioned the need to address issues regarding profiling, racial division, discrimination, and inequality and that the public response provided a forum for addressing these problems (5%). Consequently a small number of residents reported being pleased with the national media attention the public response generated (3%).

Figure 6. Favorable or Neutral Rationale for Public Reaction to Shooting

Category	Value
Support the community is coming together to do something	1%
Way to cope with fear/anger	2%
Pleased w/national media attention	3%
People have a constitutional right to protest	4%
Profiling/racial divide/discrimination/ inequality needs addressed	5%
Raising needed awareness about social problems (excessive force, injustice)	8%
People coming from outside the area	9%
People are justified & should be upset & speak out/ Empathetic to cause of behaviors	19%
Agree w/protesting & peaceful responses	28%

Some Sample Remarks

Support for Protests

"The protests were wonderful. People got together to support an injustice. People have a right to protest. But the looting was totally uncalled for. A lot people from out of town came in and took advantage of the situation. It left Ferguson a mess physically and financially."

Need to Address Racial Discrimination

"I think the police handled it badly. The community is upset. In the past black men have killed white people and the system takes care of them quickly. Now this happens and the same is not done for this? That's not right. They should have arrested the policeman not hide him. I support why people are protesting. Not the riots-- that wasn't necessary."

Empathy for the Cause

"There are so many Michael Browns (black victims) out there. I don't condone burglary or the other illegal acts that happened, but I understand the public being upset. There are conflicting stories: no one knows what happened besides that police officer and God."

Against Rioting and Looting

"I do understand a little more what's happened over there. I think people in Ferguson are being quiet until a decision is made. However the rioters and looters took advantage of the situation. Just wanted to cause trouble during a time of distress. Somebody has to voice out/ speak out the frustration with police practices. I completely support protestors, but not the rioters and looters."

"The public should not have gotten involved like that, but something needs to be done. When it's an issue of police brutality, people are going to get upset. Rioting and looting didn't have nothing to do with Michael Brown being shot. Took advantage of the situation."

Against Vandalism

"The vandalism of business and property has no purpose, but peaceful protest is good for seeking justice."

Police Response

Views about the police response were less favorable, with 65 percent in disagreement and 35 percent in agreement. Once again, residents differed by race in their views, with African American residents, on average, somewhat disagreeing with the police response and non-Black residents, on average, somewhat agreeing with the police response. Once again, residents did not differ when distinguished by proximity to the incident.

How do you feel about the Police Response to Recent Protests, Looting, and Riots?
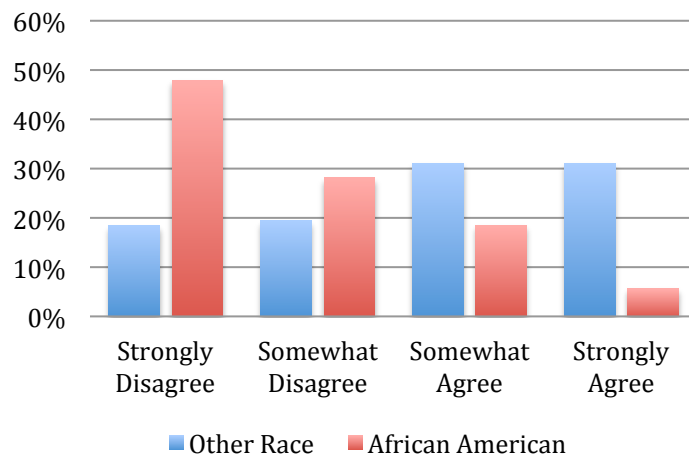

Figure 7. Racial Differences in Views about Police Response

When asked to explain their rationale, residents generally felt that police used the appropriate response under difficult circumstances (27%) and acknowledged that police efforts were designed to protect themselves and the community (13%). A few residents reported feeling like some officers behaved badly and some behaved acceptably (3%), while others acknowledged that initial responses were problematic, but that the police response to the public protests and civil unrest improved across time (2%).
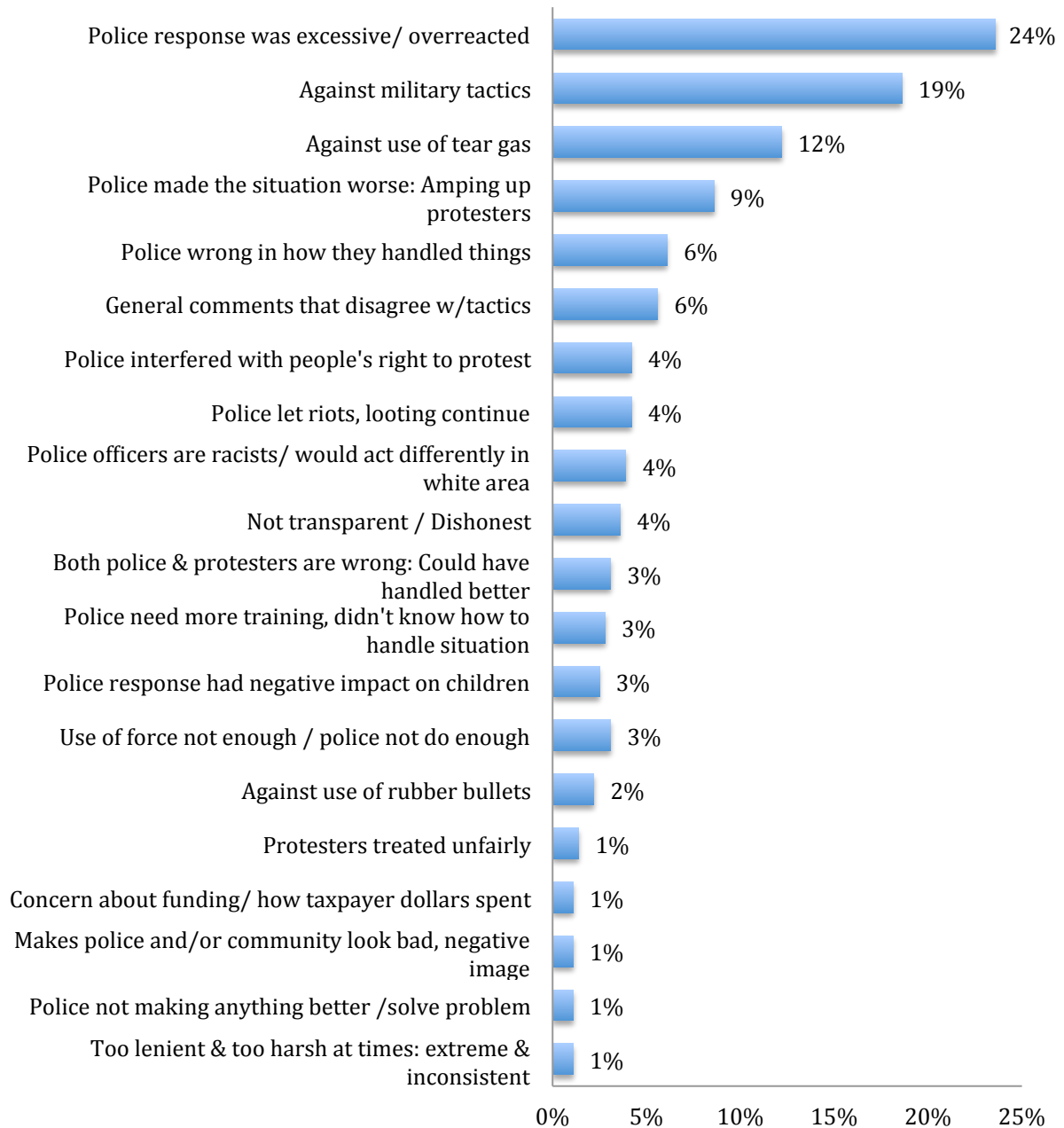
Figure 8. Favorable or Neutral Rationale for Police Response
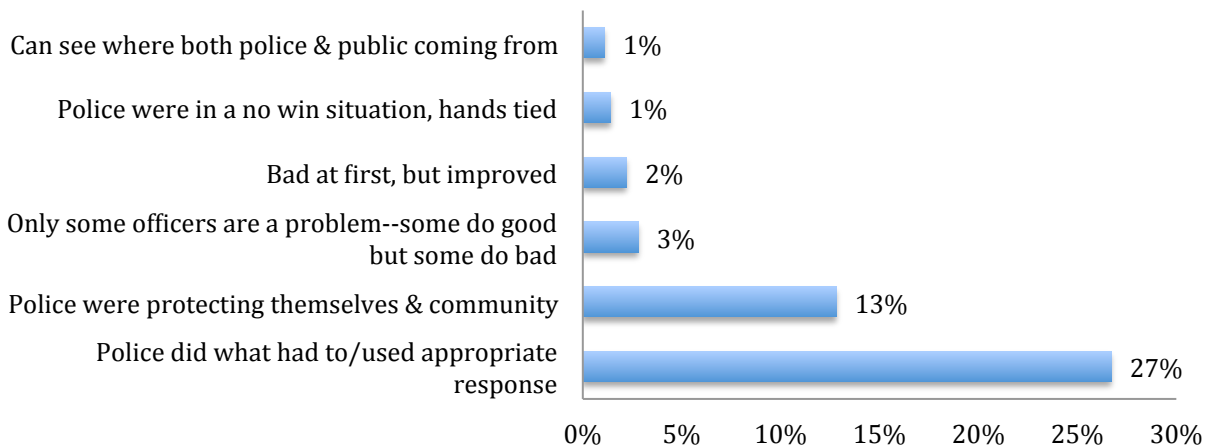
Unfavorable Rationale for Police Response

Unfavorable reactions reflected views that the police response was excessive (24%) and specifically that military tactics (19%), tear gas (12%), and rubber bullets (2%) were not appropriate. Smaller portions of residents felt that the police response instigated further negative responses from the protestors (9%) and offered more general comments and disagreement with tactics used. In some cases, residents felt police didn't do enough about rioting and looting (4%) or didn't use sufficient force (3%), while others felt that police interfered with the right to peaceful protest (4%). Other concerns included a lack of transparency (4%) and that police would have acted differently in a predominantly white neighborhood (4%) or with better training (3%).

Figure 9. Unfavorable Rationale Regarding Police Response

Category	Percent
Police response was excessive/ overreacted	24%
Against military tactics	19%
Against use of tear gas	12%
Police made the situation worse: Amping up protesters	9%
Police wrong in how they handled things	6%
General comments that disagree w/tactics	6%
Police interfered with people's right to protest	4%
Police let riots, looting continue	4%
Police officers are racists/ would act differently in white area	4%
Not transparent / Dishonest	4%
Both police & protesters are wrong: Could have handled better	3%
Police need more training, didn't know how to handle situation	3%
Police response had negative impact on children	3%
Use of force not enough / police not do enough	3%
Against use of rubber bullets	2%
Protesters treated unfairly	1%
Concern about funding/ how taxpayer dollars spent	1%
Makes police and/or community look bad, negative image	1%
Police not making anything better /solve problem	1%
Too lenient & too harsh at times: extreme & inconsistent	1%

Some Specific Remarks

Disagree with Militarization and Tactics

"I strongly don't like how they handled it. Could've approached protestors a different way. But increasing force after they burned the Quick Trip only made things worse. Tactical gear/helicopters/tanks/tear gas was so unnecessary. My friend and his wife got gassed while peacefully protesting. It was all crazy. It was like Iraq out here."

13

"I disagree with the tactics. But I also feel like at that point, when it was out of control, anything they did wouldn't have made a difference. It was just chaotic. Couldn't be peaceful after they had already harassed the protestors and the younger crowd. I don't think they would've had a good response anyway. Coming out there in the tactical gear was just pouring gasoline on the fire, especially if they already had a bad relationship with the people in Ferguson."

"…Everybody that was out there, me included, had the right to express ourselves peacefully. I got gassed and shot at with rubber bullets. We were made to feel like animals. They [police] instigated the violence. They shouted out racial slurs, and were telling us what to do. How they reacted is what made us feel like *screw this*."

Police Did What Was Needed

"The police do need to protect themselves. Many of the cops that were involved had nothing to do with what happened; they were off duty and had to deal with this situation as well. They have to protect."

Police Didn't Do Enough

"I agree with them responding because they were concerned about the citizens. Should have made more arrests. What should have happened is [police] should have looked at film taken during the riots/looting and arrested more of the looters. They should have used those store cameras to get people's license plate numbers during the looting so they could arrest more people."

Extremes/Inconsistent

"In the beginning the police weren't prepared. They allowed the looting to go on because they couldn't get it under control. But then they went to the other extreme and brought in too much weaponry: the things they use to take over other countries. Stuff like that shouldn't have to be used against people."

"I disagree with the initial response. It didn't control the rioters and looters--they let them do whatever they wanted. Then they got way too harsh with people. I do wholeheartedly agree with the response with how the highway patrol responded and locked things down. Helped not to escalate the situation. [They] put plainclothes in to control problem individuals."

Police Actions Instigated Public

"I don't think military force was necessary. Tear gas wasn't needed-- It hyped up the crowd and made them protest harder. It could've been solved a different way. "

Both Sides Wrong

"It's not right to take what's not yours--looting. Police were trying to get it calmed down. The protest got out of hand and led to destruction of property. But the police were also wrong: lots of racism and [they] were unkind to the public. Probably thought they did what was right at the time. When trial goes bad (people disagree with the outcome) they'll riot more. Too much racism, it's not going to stop. Police are afraid of the public."

Police Dishonest / Not Transparent

"The police were calling Black people animals just because they expressed themselves. There's complaints filed against Saint Louis County, Ferguson, and Jennings and nobody does anything. I feel like the officials are buddies and work together to cover up the misdeeds of the officers."

Use of Force

Residents were asked to assess the level of force police used to handle protests, riots, and looting in the weeks following the shooting. Two-thirds of residents said the level of force used was too much, 21% felt it was about right, while 11% felt it was insufficient. Again, residents' views differed along racial lines, with African American residents reporting, on average, that police used a little too much force (although nearly half of African Americans report that way too much force was used), while non-Black residents, on average, reported that the use of force was about right. Once, again, comparing residents by proximity did not reveal differences in views.
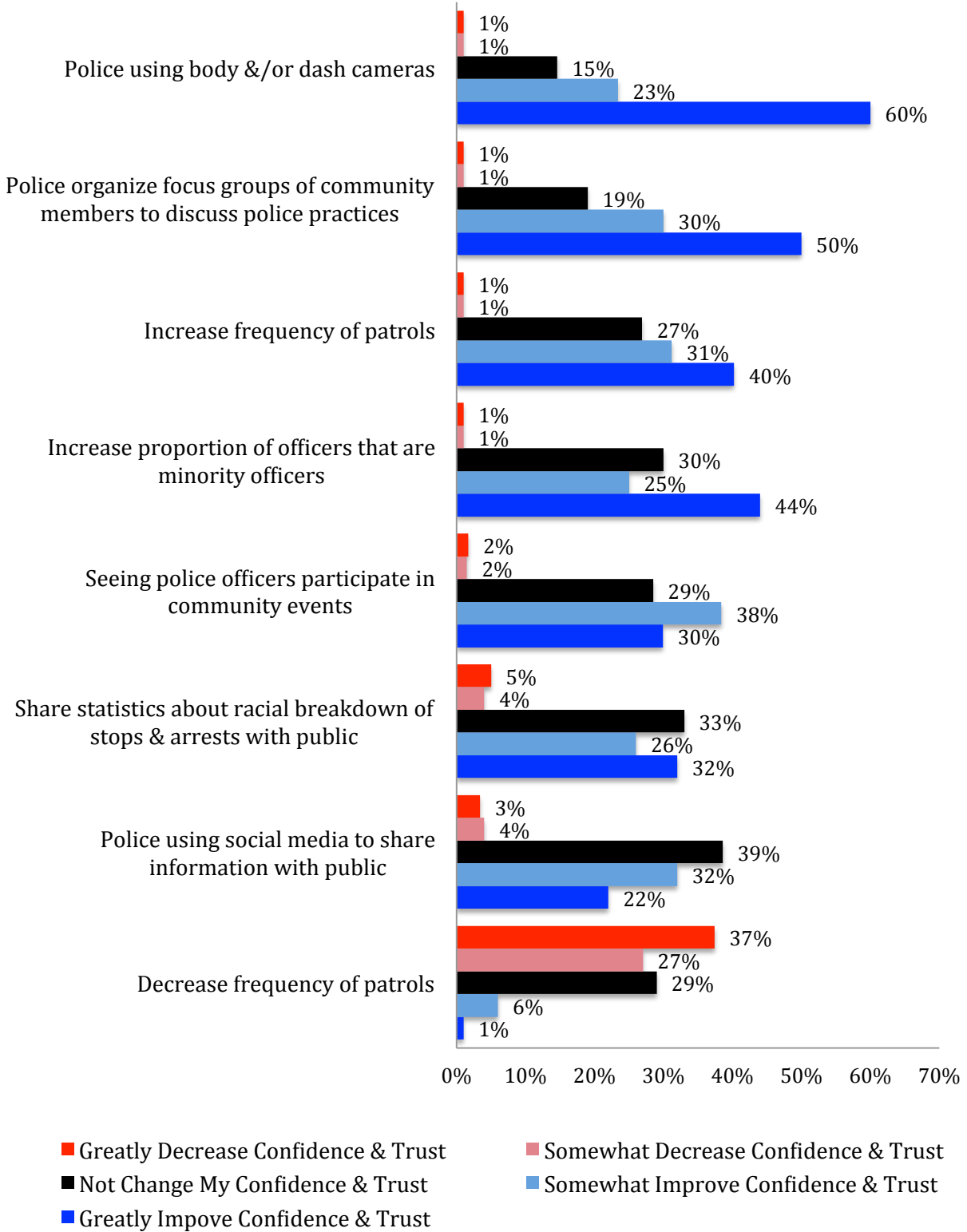
Figure 10. Racial Difference in Views about the Force Used by Police to Address Civil Unrest
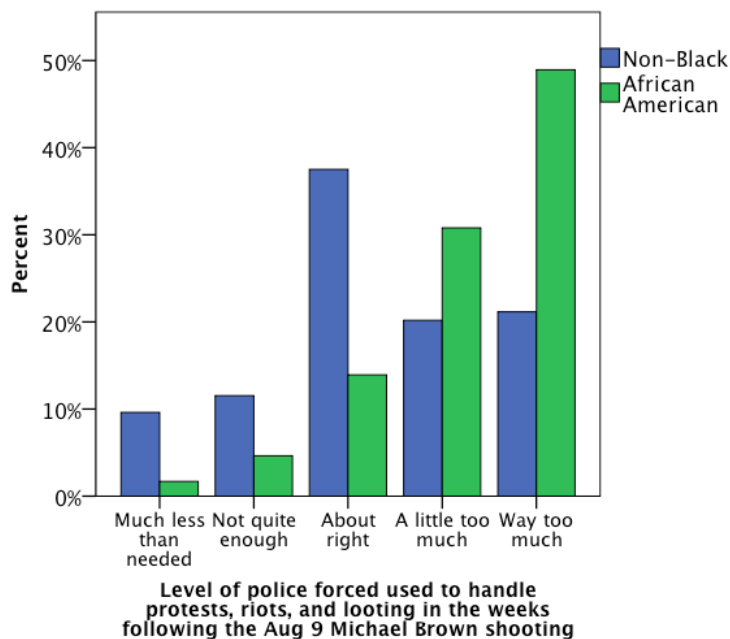
Promoting Confidence and Trust in Police

Residents were asked about eight potential approaches to improving trust and confidence in police. Residents perceive that the following strategies should improve their confidence and trust; they are listed in the order in which residents expect the greatest impact: 1) Police using body or dash cameras; 2) Police organizing focus groups of community members to discuss police practices; 3) Increasing the frequency of patrols; 4) Increasing the proportion of officers that are minority officers; 5) Seeing police officers participate in community events; 6) Sharing statistics with the public about the racial breakdown of stops and arrests; and 7) Using social media to share information with the public. A majority of residents felt that decreasing the frequency of patrols would decrease their confidence and trust in police.

Figure 11. Strategies to Promote Confidence and Trust in Police Moving Forward

Police using body &/or dash cameras
- 1%
- 1%
- 15%
- 23%
- 60%

Police organize focus groups of community members to discuss police practices
- 1%
- 1%
- 19%
- 30%
- 50%

Increase frequency of patrols
- 1%
- 1%
- 27%
- 31%
- 40%

Increase proportion of officers that are minority officers
- 1%
- 1%
- 30%
- 25%
- 44%

Seeing police officers participate in community events
- 2%
- 2%
- 29%
- 38%
- 30%

Share statistics about racial breakdown of stops & arrests with public
- 5%
- 4%
- 33%
- 26%
- 32%

Police using social media to share information with public
- 3%
- 4%
- 39%
- 32%
- 22%

Decrease frequency of patrols
- 37%
- 27%
- 29%
- 6%
- 1%

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%   50%   60%   70%

- ■ Greatly Decrease Confidence & Trust
- ■ Somewhat Decrease Confidence & Trust
- ■ Not Change My Confidence & Trust
- ■ Somewhat Improve Confidence & Trust
- ■ Greatly Impove Confidence & Trust

Residents generally did not differ by race in their views about how these strategies would affect their confidence and trust in police. Only two differences were detected. African American residents were more likely to report that increasing the proportion of police officers that are of a minority race would increase their trust and confidence, and non-Black residents were more likely than African American residents to report that seeing police officers participate in area community events would have a positive influence.

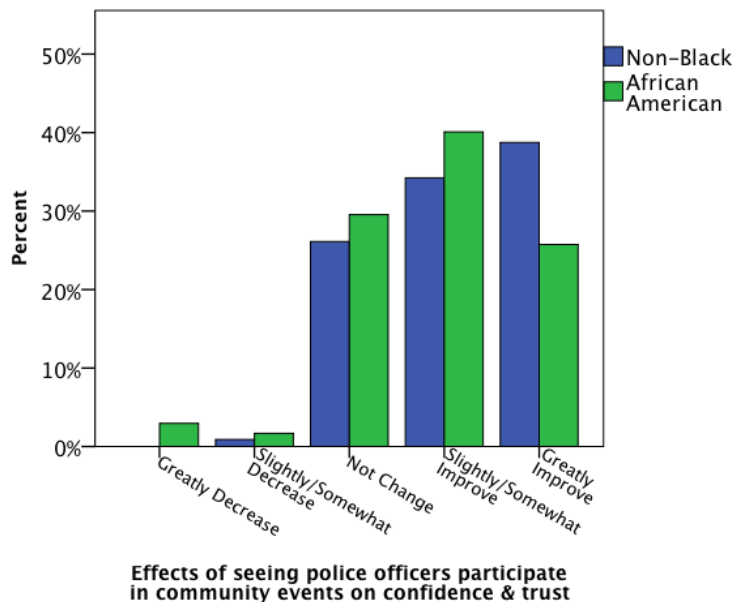**Figure 12. Racial Differences in Views about Hiring Minority Officers**
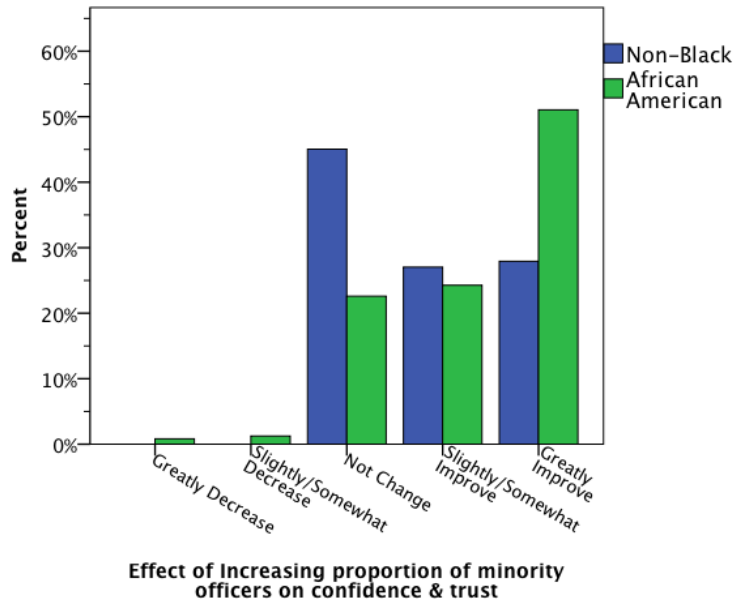
Figure 13. Racial Differences in Views about Police Participation in Community Events

One resident offered specific comments that speak to the importance of both of these approaches to improving trust and confidence in police.

"The system doesn't care about the people. This problem needs to be addressed in the social media. Now, the County police do a good job, but the cops need to participate more with the community like back in the day. Need to have cops that actually live in the area they patrol. We should have a cop that lives in the neighborhood or at least have a substation in the area. …People wanting to be cops need to be screened before becoming cops. It needs to be made apparent whether if they have had experience with a colored community or not because this matters. Why put white cops into a colored community?"

Initial Conclusions

What is clear from these initial findings is that minority residents of the county have been active in response to the shooting incident and view the incident and its response as the impetus for raising awareness about and addressing concerns about racial tension, police-community relations, crime, inequality, profiling, and excessive force. While these residents were more favorable about the public response to the shooting than the police response to the civil unrest, they clearly disagreed with public looting, rioting, violence, and vandalism. The greatest support was for peaceful protest and nearly 1 in 5 residents we spoke with had engaged in peaceful protest. The greatest concerns about the police response were on perceived overaggressive tactics, especially military-style tactics and use of tear gas, with some suggesting that such approaches instigated further negative responses from the public. Even so, 27% of those we spoke to claim that police did use appropriate responses or those required by the conditions.

Perhaps most useful finding to support moving forward, residents strongly supported the use of body or dash cameras and also organizing focus groups of community members to discuss police practices as means of greatly improving confidence and trust in police. Additionally, minority residents, in particular, strongly support increasing the proportion of minority officers to improve confidence and trust in police.

Part 2 of this report will address the specific impact of the shooting and public and police responses to it on a variety of views about police: assessing the effects on perceived police legitimacy, effectiveness, and procedural justice, and residents' willingness to cooperate with police and comply with the law, among other outcomes, by comparing individuals views prior to the incident and those reported in the weeks following the incident.