SKILL over force

A critical analysis of the use-of-force statistics of the Puerto Rico Police against the people

Luis Emmanuel Rodríguez and Mari Mari Narváez
December 4, 2018
© Kilómetro 0, Inc
What is the Police’s role in a nation with democratic aspirations? Can the Police be transformed into a security force with professional, constitutional, trustworthy parameters that protect the people and their fundamental rights and forward accountability processes against people who commit serious crimes?
We can have many discussions about the needs of the Puerto Rico Police Department. Without a doubt, one of the most serious tasks ahead for communities in this process is to observe and oversee the use of force exerted by this agency. Because of this, we at Kilómetro Cero have analyzed 9 reports provided by the Police about their use-of-force practices during 2014-2018 and we have found serious deficiencies and incongruencies.

In these documents, we have seen inconsistencies in how periods are divided into the reports: the numbers reported in the same document are contradictory and the fields of information provided are confusing. Aside from several inconsistencies, we have noticed that the Police categorizes their data erroneously; they mix unrelated information and incorrectly use statistical concepts in their analyses. For these reasons, we do not deem Police data to be trustworthy. Although it is a significant step forward that, for the first time in their history, the Police are documenting their use of force, we have evidenced in this analysis that after four years of training, the Police have yet to gather and report effectively their agents’ use of force.

Secondly, this analysis denounces that the Police hide information regarding the number of people who have died because of their use of force, as well as about the instances in which their agents have used force. The Police hide from the public information regarding use-of-force related deaths: documents available on their website state that there were zero. However, five documents we obtained after several requests to the agency state that from 2014 to 2018 there have been at least 38 people who have died by the Puerto Rico Police's use of force.

Apart from this, for the deaths in 2018, we received a document that has been significantly redacted in the information fields for three cases. Having public data and failing to present it to the people is a violation of our right to information, which is granted by the Constitution.

The Police Department not only hides information to the people regarding deaths but also about the number of use-of-force incidents. The use-of-force incident numbers reported in all documents are inconsistent. A document with information of 2016-2017 states that there were 85 reported incidents, whereas another document of the same
period states that there were only 20; in the documents, the difference is of 65 reports. Despite the fact that the Police must document and report all use-of-force incidents, nowhere in the nine documents, there are reports that mention or include force exerted by agents in several social protests where the Press extensively covered the use of chemical agents and other use-of-force incidents. Some protests that do not appear in these use-of-force reports by the Police are:

- August 31, 2016, at Condado (Dos Hermanos Bridge)
- April 18, 2017, at the Capitol Building
- April 23, 2017, at the Capitol Building
- May 1, 2017, at Milla de Oro, in Hato Rey
- February 20, 2018, in Hato Rey
- May 1, 2018, at Milla de Oro, in Hato Rey

We at Kilómetro Cero believe that failing to report use-of-force related death erases the people that have passed away, as does hiding the consequences of the State's use of force that could have been illegal, excessive, unreasonable or disproportionate.

Thirdly, we assert that excessive force by the police corps is a public health issue and must be analyzed as such. In Public Health, studying and seeking how to fight the effects of violence is a pillar of the discipline. The World Health Organization (WHO) declared violence as a public health global issue in 1996.

One of the papers we use as a reference to build this report assures that all data about deaths, either caused by police agents or as a product of the use of force by the Police, is a public health matter and should be viewed as such. The deaths of police officers or produced by police violence influence a country's mortality rate. In Kilómetro Cero we agree with that reasoning and we have even expanded its reach.
The use of force against the public has an effect on health at an individual and collective level. Official data by the Police consistently report men to be the gender that suffers the largest number of use-of-force interventions. Young men aged 18-25 are always the group that is subject to the most Police interventions. Because of these use-of-force interventions, citizens are always significantly more injured than Police officials. During the 2016-2017 period, the ratio of Police to injured citizens is 1:4.5, which is a serious public health indicator. It is paramount that the Department of Health and other related agencies have records of the date of use of force by the Police, they analyze them and design interventions and strategies with other agencies to reduce and mitigate the risk of injuries, serious damages, and deaths.

We conclude our report with a series of public policy recommendations, as well as specific recommendations for the Puerto Rico Police Department in order to improve the quality of the use-of-force statistics.
Introduction

What is the role of the Police in a country with democratic aspirations? Can the Police be transformed into a security force with professional, constitutional, trustworthy parameters that protect people and their fundamental rights, and forwards accountability processes against people who commit serious crimes?

There are many discussions we should foster about what the Puerto Rico Police Department needs. Without a doubt, one of the most important tasks that communities face in that process is to observe and oversee the use of force exerted by this law enforcement agency. If there is something in which we are certain, that is that the role of the Police is never to punish people, not even those that have committed heinous crimes. When a public order official witnesses a crime or has reasonable cause to believe that a person has committed a crime, their duty is to arrest and process them to be put on trial if it proceeds. If the person is found guilty, then the judicial system is responsible for punishing this person.

Of course, the Police’s job is high-risk. To be able to fulfill their duty to protect life, liberty, and property, officials are authorized by the State to use force (Puerto Rico Police, 2016b). However, because they are dealing with the lives and integrity of human beings, that use of force must always follow strict rules. It cannot be arbitrary or based on the impulses and prejudices of a single person. The Police must be duly trained in use-of-force policies and must always be subject to a rigorous accountability and transparency process.

After the Agreement on a Sustainable Reform of the Puerto Rico Police Department, the Police defines force as an “instrumental or physical contact toward a person that is used to achieve, influence or persuade a person to comply with an order by a member of the Puerto Rico Police.” It was not until 2012 that there was a use-of-force policy in this agency: General Order, chapter 600, section 601 (Espacios Abiertos, 2014; Puerto Rico Police 2016b). Section 601 of this order details all types of rules, procedures, and limits that the Puerto Rico Police Department has enacted so that the use of force protects the rights included in the Constitution of Puerto Rico and of the United States.
It begins by establishing clearly: “unreasonable use of force will not be tolerated” (Puerto Rico Police, 2016b).

The policy states the specific reasons when use of force may be exerted: during arrests, to prevent escapes, to defend oneself or others, to preventively protect people that appear to be under the influence of alcohol or other substances, or to prevent a person from committing suicide or injuring themselves (Puerto Rico Police, b). The use of force is not subject to the will of individual criteria.

Officials must follow a protocol before using force. Whenever they respond to an event, they must identify as a member of the Police, and give verbal instructions to solve a situation within a reasonable timeframe for a response (Puerto Rico Police Department, 2016b). If the issue is not resolved with instructions, an analysis must be made to determine if it is reasonable to use force. To determine if it is reasonable, three criteria are considered: legality, necessity, and proportionality. Using force is reasonable as long as: it has a legal objective and it is a response to a threat of damages that requires intervention and is proportional to the resistance offered by the intervened party. Also, officials must consider how serious is the crime they are responding to, the number of police officers and other people in the place of the incident, and the possibility of using other techniques (Puerto Rico Police, 2016a). Having considered the protocol described before and considering the circumstances of the event, a decision of which force to use and when to use it may be taken. Up to a certain point, the objective of the protocol is to reinforce the idea that “force is used only when reasonable” (Puerto Rico Police, 2016b).

Besides reinforcing the concept of using force only when it is reasonable and doing so in a proportional manner, the policy of the Puerto Rico Police Department includes documenting and reporting all use-of-force incidents incurred by Police officials. Section 605 of chapter 600 of the General Order states the rules for documentation (Puerto Rico Police, 2016a). Reports follow a form included in section 605 that, among the information to gather, also includes a recount of the facts and categorizes the use of force in four levels.
The documentation process begins with the use of force by an agent (Puerto Rico Police, 2016a). According to this policy, when every year starts, the Force Incident Unit Division (FIU) must prepare a report on the use of force during the previous year and deliver it to the Police Commissioner and the Office of the Police Reform. The FIU must publish on the Police’s website a report regarding use-of-force “Tendencies”. Kilómetro Cero has analyzed these reports and has found serious deficiencies and incongruencies. We will go over this in detail later in the report.

Our document *Skill over Force: a critical analysis of the use-of-force data of the Puerto Rico Police against the public* is the product of an independent citizen analysis of the data gathered by Police. Some data stems from the documents published in the Puerto Rico Police's website. Others were given to Kilómetro Cero by the Police during a costly process of requesting information, to which the Police has responded half-heartedly. The most recent requests by Kilómetro Cero were done at the end of September 2018 and have been completely ignored.

Below, we argue that the Police data from 2014 to September 2018 is not trustworthy. After more than four years of training, the Police do not seem to be prepared to gather and report information about their agents’ use of force.

We also evidence that the Agency hides information about the people that have died due to the use of force and about the times that their agents use force. We also assure that the excessive uses of force by the Police are a public health program and should be analyzed as such. We conclude by proposing recommendations to improve data analysis and communication practices.
Sources of information

The use-of-force data that Kilómetro Cero has, with great difficulty, been able to obtain comes directly from the Force Incidents Unit. All the documents we used are provided in Appendix 1. During 2014-2015, the Police reported the use-of-force incidents per Police Area, the techniques that were used, and the corresponding level of force, the gender of the people intervened, and the field research done by the FIU.

For the 2016-2017 period, the Police changed the report’s format. During these years, they reported the events of each Police area and included several information fields that were never included. We have also been able to obtain preliminary data from 2018, in the same format as the years 2016-2017. Information regarding deaths, mutilations and serious injuries for the years 2014-2018 that we report here were obtained through several information requests to the Police. We wish to point out that data regarding deaths, mutilations, and serious injuries are NOT available to the public at the Police’s website.

To have a common starting point, we detail the levels of force used by the Police in their report. The uses of force are categorized by levels, ranging from 1 to 4 (Puerto Rico Police, 2016a). Levels 1 and 2 include the use of force of lesser intensity. Level 3 is used for intermediate uses of force. This type of force is not supposed to be lethal but has a substantially greater impact than levels 1 and 2. Level 4 is where force is categorized as lethal. Any use at this level could strip someone of their life.
What uses of force are categorized in each “level”?

Level 1: soft contact techniques
Defense and control techniques such as escorting, baton, immobilization, vulnerable area control techniques, pulling hair and restricting in pressure points.

- Applying pressure to pressure points, pulling hair, twisting wrists and shoulder pulling.
- Using the service weapon to compassionately kill an animal.
- Using impact weapons (bludgeons, extensible batons, shields) to escort, separate or immobilize a person.

Level 2: hard contact techniques
Direct or indirect use of chemicals, tasers and hard contact techniques.

- Hitting with elbows, legs, and punching.
- Pulling someone with the leg.
- Throw a person to the floor.
- Using pepper spray or tear gas.
- It also includes any failed attack with police K-9 or horse.

Level 3: intermediate techniques
When there is contact with a weapon of impact, intentionally point a firearm, a bite or impact by a K-9 or horse.

- Striking with impact weapons
- Including any Police K-9 or horse attack that achieves contact.
- Using a taser.
- Pointing at someone with the service weapon.

Level 4: lethal techniques
Any use-of-force technique that causes death, risk of death, or serious injury.

- Shooting with the service weapon.
- Any blow or hold from the neck up.
- Any act by a police officer that causes someone’s death or serious injury.
After more than four years of training, the Police have yet to demonstrate that they are ready to gather and report on their agents’ use of force practices.

Kilómetro Cero was able to obtain a total of nine documents where the Police details the use of force by their agents. For the years 2015 and 2016, these are **Use of force incidents 2014-2015** and **Deaths, mutilations and serious injuries 2014-2015**. We will refer to the first as document A and the latter as document B. For the years 2016 and 2017, we obtained four documents: **Uses of force reported for 2017**, **Use of force deaths and serious injuries for 2017**, **Use of force deaths in 2016** and the **Report on the use-of-force tendencies in 2016-2017**. Hereon these will be labeled as C, D, E and F. In 2018, Kilómetro Cero obtained preliminary data in 5 documents: **Copy of the general table of tendencies**, **Report on tendencies from July 2017 to June 2018** and **use-of-force injuries in 2018**, as well as two unnamed documents. We will refer to the 2018 documents as G, H, I, J and K. They are included in Appendix I for your convenience.

Because there were several documents provided, we at Kilómetro Cero took on the task of carefully verifying if the same information was being reported in the years of the study. To our surprise, the documents significantly differ. We found inconsistencies in how the time periods were divided on reports, the numbers that were being reported in the same document, and the information fields that were being provided. Aside from the inconsistencies, we noticed that the Police is categorizing data erroneously, they mix unrelated information and use terms incorrectly.

First, a statistical analysis requires precision in the dates that cover the period of the study. The documents we obtained have serious inconsistencies in the dates and periods they cover. For the years 2014-2015 document A is dated December 1-31, 2015, but the period that it encompasses is not clearly established. The documents present data from 2014, 2015 and part of 2016, but the date is up to December 31, 2015.
Something similar happens in document B. There is data on 2014, 2015 and 2016, but it does not state the period it covers. There are also incongruencies in the dates for the years 2016-2017. Of the four documents related to the period, only C and F present dates, but they are different. Document C covers the period from January 1 to December 31, 2017. Document F covers July 1, 2016, to July 31, 2017. In fact, it is erratic to categorize a reporting period of a year and one month. When comparing to other years, it is unclear which data corresponds to 2016 and which data to 2017. After this, the Police has corrected this error.

In preliminary documents for 2018, there is the same phenomenon: document I has no dates, while documents G and H have different dates. Document G covers January 1 to September 11, but document H covers July 1, 2017, to June 30, 2018. With no regular date ranges as a starting point, analyzing information and comparing time periods between the documents is done in uncertainty.

It is paramount to have precise dates to be able to compare all documents. Without them, we cannot determine if the time covered is comparable throughout the years. Even if we want to make comparisons within the same year, but we do not have precise dates, we face a great probability of making a wrong account on the events we are interested in. This could entail that there are more – or less – events included than those that happened. Not having consistency in these periods of time creates uncertainty and doubts about how data can be analyzed, how data is collected, and how it is interpreted. It also diminishes the credibility of the analysis and the decisions based on them.

For any data analysis, the credibility of the source of information is a vital element. It is presumed that official documents report final numbers and are true. However, throughout the documents provided by the Police, we have noticed that reported numbers contain errors. In the same document, numbers presented in the fields differ from the totals in the same fields. For example, in the tables of “Injured people” of document A, the total of injured people in the year 2014 is incorrect: 126 + 237 equals 363, but they report a total of 350 injured people. The difference is of 13 injured people that, presumably, are not being reported in the field's total.
Within that same document, the total of use-of-force incidents reported in 2015 is 818, but when adding the data of the table titled “Techniques used”, they add up to 819. There is an event that is not being reported. These differences affect the credibility of the data.

Likewise, the information regarding the service weapon presents a pattern of inconsistencies. Document A includes two tables that demonstrate the use of department-issued weapons: “Techniques used” and “Service weapon use.” Reported numbers are different in both tables. The number of times detailed in the “Techniques used” that service weapons were used in 2014 is 144 times, and in the table “Service weapon use” is 105 times. The difference between the tables is of 39 times in the year 2014. The same happens for the year 2015. The Police report 134 instances in “Service weapon use”, while in “Techniques used” they report 164 times. The difference between the two is 30. Based on what we have mentioned, once again we question the credibility of the data. The question arises: Why is there a difference in the numbers reported in both tables related to the use of the service weapon?

The 2016-2017 period also presents problems that diminish data credibility. Document F show added data to several fields, like document A of 2014-2015, but its format is different. There are four parts in document F: introduction, summary table with data added of all police areas, an analysis of the techniques of reported incidents throughout the island, and data tables per police area. Compared to document A, there are more information fields.

Fields included are: techniques used and their level of force, why was force used, injured people, days of a greater occurrence, use of force against human beings or animals, shifts with a greater incident occurrence, gender of people intervened, average age of the people intervened, number of adults or minors intervened, number of investigations done by FIU, method of identification by the Police, and number of incidents sent to the Professional Responsibility Auxiliary Superintendence (SARP, for its Spanish acronym). The structure of the data table is the same for each police area and for the summary table.
Despite having more fields, in document F there is no definition on which information is included in each field. For example, the “average age of intervened people”, instead of being an average (in other words, the number that summarizes a tendency in the ages), it presents 12 age sub-categories with frequencies associated to them. This is an incorrect use of the concept of an average. It should say “age categories of people intervened” or “age distribution of people intervened.” The incorrect use of terms diminishes the credibility of the information presented and of the agency that administers the data.

In that same field, animals and human beings are mixed in one of the age sub-categories. The document does not include an explanation as to why animals and people are reported under the same age category. Mixing information that cannot be compared in a table is erroneous and causes confusion. This casts doubts about the certainty of the information presented. When carefully analyzing, there are also inconsistencies in the 12 age sub-categories. Each sub-category has 5 ages, except for the 18-25-year-old field. Between the ages of 18 and 25, there are seven years. Creating different categories could produce an error in counting ages, because an age group may contain more information than the rest. There are no details as to why there is a category that is ampler than the rest.

Another confusing field is titled “motive for the use of force.” This field has 8 sub-categories but why they were chosen is never defined nor explained. If our report does not detail the reasons why the Police can use force, the context of the provided alternatives would not be understood. However, there is a sub-category titled “other reasons”. The use-of-force policy only includes the 7 previously mentioned categories, so “other reasons” is not a legitimate category. However, in the 2016-2017 period, the “other reasons” category was second in frequency. Throughout document F there are no accounts as to what are the “other reasons” why force was used. In sum, failing to define the fields causes distrust and hinders communication. Using categories that are not valid and do not provide specific information could be considered a violation of the use-of-force policy.
Document C also has credibility and consistency issues. The first table of the document presents the number of use-of-force reports per area, with a total of 618 reported events. The second table shows the account of the techniques used in each area and the level of force per use-of-force report. When comparing both tables, the total of reports per area is different. The first table, “Use-of-force report per police area” presents 618 reports, and yet the second table, “Reported use-of-force report” has a total of 981 reports. The difference between the two is 363. Also, the numbers reported regarding force levels are different between the documents. Although there are only two tables in the entire document, there are no explanations regarding the fields used and the data is contradictory.

Documents G and H contain preliminary data of 2018 and follow a similar format in document F, but since the year is not entirely included, the whole data is not available. However, it is important to point out that in the field “average age of intervened people” they do not include animals in their 12 categories. However, it does maintain the inconsistencies pointed out in document F: incorrect use of the concept of average and the size of the 18-25 category.

After more than four years of training, it seems as though the Police do not yet have the resources and the necessary knowledge to manage use-of-force statistics. We have detailed five areas that need development. For their data to be trustworthy, the Puerto Rico Police Department must once again set forth efforts that seek to improve the analysis and the communication of their data. The agency must use precise and consistent dates for each analysis period of its use-of-force statistics. All document that presents statistics must undergo a rigorous quality control process to ensure that each one of the categories in the fields is consistent. Accurate statistics are ensured like this.

As for published data, they must explain each one of the categories they report. The idea that numbers speak for themselves is a myth. Any analysis, table or graph must include definitions of concepts and an interpretation of the included information.
The Police are not saying the truth publicly about the number of people that have died due to use-of-force tactics and about the number of times in which their agents use force. They also hide information and fail to explain why.

We mentioned before that the Puerto Rico Police department has available several documents and we obtained others through several costly information requests that were merely partially addressed by the agency. The documents received due to the requests completely contradict the information included in public documents. The number of dead people and the number of use-of-force incidents throughout the years are greater than what is reported in the public documents they provide on their website.

First, the Police are not sharing information regarding deaths related to the use of force. Document H covers the 2017-2018 period and is available through the Police’s website. In the document, there are two columns with information related to deaths caused by level four force. When closely looking at the 2017 and 2018 columns, there is not a single use-of-force related death. However, documents B, D, E, I and J, which were obtained through several information requests, present another reality. From 2014 to 2018, 38 people have died due to the Puerto Rico Police’s use of force.

Graph 1 shows the people that died at the hands of the Police’s use of force during the years 2014-2018. This graph was built using documents B, D, E, I and J as sources of information.
In 2014, when the Police began documenting uses of force for the first time, the death of 1 citizen was reported.

In 2015, 6 police agents and 6 citizens died (12 people). Document B fails to provide more details about these deaths.

In 2016, 9 people died, according to document E, seven of which were citizens and two were members of the Police. The deaths in 2016 are described in greater detail. They include the following fields: name of the affected person, name of the agent involved, date of the event, and a description of the events.

In 2017, document D includes the deaths of 5 citizens and 2 police agents, for a total of 7 people dead. The document includes the name of the person affected, the date, the agent involved, a description of the facts, and other information fields. It should be noted that, in the data regarding the deaths in 2017, there are none reported after September 2017.
It could be assumed that the Police stopped documenting and reporting use-of-force incidents due to the chaos of the lack of preparation and minimal and effective response after the hurricane.

As the year 2018 concludes, there have been 9 deaths related to use-of-force tactics by the Police, eight of whom are evidenced in documents I and J. We have taken the liberty of including the ninth death although it is not detailed in the statistics provided by the Police. Several news outlets reported the November 23 event, when agent Luis Daniel Negrón Reyes, Puerto Rico Police Department badge number 36776, killed his spouse, Pilar del Lirio Hernández.

We at Kilómetro Cero believe that failing to report deaths by use-of-force erases the people that have passed away, as is hiding the consequences of the State's use of force that could have been illegal, excessive, unreasonable or disproportionate. When hiding information, the people of Puerto Rico are not allowed to evaluate and judge the work done by the Police and how they treat the public.

Every person who has passed away has a story that should be told or denounced. Discrepancies between numbers reported publicly and those reported in requested information are very concerning and create distrust and suspicion. Why does the Police not want to report the deaths in documents that are available to the public?

A public order agency that hides the deaths that it is responsible for is not worthy of the people’s trust. This is counterproductive to the authority and the public performance of the Police, who are called upon to protect citizens and fight insecurity.

To remedy this invisibility, we have built the profiles of the people that have died. Some are incomplete because the Police have failed to provide the necessary information. However, thanks to the databases of the Puerto Rico Demographic Registry, which were liberated after the Investigative Journalism Center (CPI, for its Spanish acronym) researched and submitted motions in court to liberate them, we have been able to find additional information regarding the use-of-force related deaths that occurred in 2016 and 2017. These are included in Appendix II of this document. To be brief, we will present here two cases that allow us to exemplify how each Police intervention is a story that must be told to foster accountability and the State's transparency. All profiles are included in Appendix II.
The first case is Jesús M. Valentín Ramos, a construction worker that studied up until eight grade and died at the age of 40. Jesús dies in Police custody because he was tasered.

- Name: Jesús M. Valentín Ramos  
- Sex: Male  
- Age at the time of death: 40 years  
- Education: 8th grade or less  
- Occupation: construction worker  
- Mental health patient: unknown  
- Date of death: May 26, 2017  
- Municipality of residence: Vega Baja  
- Municipality where he died: Vega Baja  
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry): other causes of death that were not defined  
- The person that reports the death: Carmen Ramos (mother)  
- Cause of death (according to the Police): died in custody by drive stun  
- Agents involved: Carlos Rossy Santana, Roberto Díaz Rivera, and Gamalier Delgado Santiago  
- Date of the incident: May 26, 2017
The second case we wish to bring forward is Antonio Rubén Martínez Pomales, a mental health patient that also died at the age of 40. The Police only states that Antonio was disoriented, aggressive and incoherent, and “suddenly died” when arrested.

- Name: Antonio Rubén Martínez Pomales
- Sex: M
- Age at time of death: 40
- Education: 9th or 12th grade (no diploma)
- Occupation: mechanic, installer, and vehicle and mobile equipment repairman
- Mental health patient: Yes
- Date of death: January 3, 2016
- Municipality of residence: Juana Díaz
- Municipality of death: Guaynabo
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Car accident
- The person that reports the death: Irene Pomales (mother)
- Cause of death (according to the Police): “sudden death”
- The agent involved: Sgt. Juan Alicea López
- Date of the incident: January 3, 2016
As for the death statistics, not all documents have the same information fields. Some documents categorize deaths as “deaths in custody” and the number of details that the descriptions of the events provide carry considerably throughout the years. There are no categories that explain: if the person intervened is a mental health patient, if the person intervened was armed, the person's level of resistance, the race of the victim, the address of where the events took place, or the approximate time of the event. For a better analysis, we recommend standardizing the reported information regarding the deaths and that the terms and categories used in the reports are detailed.

We must denounce something that we noticed in the information related to the people that died in 2018. The document is significantly redacted in the fields provided for three of the cases. Redacting documents does not allow us to read the data. The only thing we can determine is that at least one of these redacted fields is about a person that died. Nowhere in the document is it explained why there are these deletions and, although we have asked on several occasions, the Police has yet to give us an answer or explanation. Having public data and failing to present them to the people is a violation of our right of information, which is established by the Constitution. Also, having to jump hurdles to request information and then receiving them with unexplained redactions surpasses any doubts or lack of confidence. It only leads us to conclude that they are deliberately hiding information from us. Why are they hiding it, why are they lying to us?

The Puerto Rico Police Department not only hides information about these deaths but also about the number of use-of-force incidents. Tendency documents F, H and G present statistics that are contradicted by documents B, C, D and I.

Document B contradicts the data presented in document A. The number of use-of-force incidents in Fajardo shows fewer events in 2014 in document A than in document B, with 13 and 14 incidents, respectively. This change in number causes that the total of reported events has one less use-of-force instance reported. In 2015, numbers are radically different. There is a difference of 102 of reported use-of-force cases: 818 according to document A, and 920
reported in document B. In the 2016 and 2017 period, the same thing happens. There are more reported in one document than in the other. The number of reported use-of-force events in all documents is inconsistent. The number of 804 presented in document F contradicts the two numbers of events provided in document C (618 and 981). Related to the previous point, the number of use-of-force reports according to the level of force categories are different. For example, if filtered for Level 3 in document D, there are 223 reports. Document F states that there are 48 reports in Level 3. This difference is of 175 cases. Likewise, when repeating the process with the Level 4 data, document F presents 85 reports. Meanwhile, document F states there are only 20. There is a 65-report difference between the documents. Graph 2 shows a comparison between the number of reports in level 3 and level 4 in 2017, according to documents F and D.
Discrepancies between reported numbers raise serious questions regarding the credibility of the Puerto Rico Police Department. The quality of Police data is very deficient. This deficiency causes mistrust and produces more questions. How does the Police count the incidents? Do the documents refer to the same incidents? Why are fewer events reported in documents available to the public and more are documented in those that we obtained through specific requests? Why do they not define the information fields in the tables?
Furthermore, if the Police are in a reform and federal oversight process: How and why are there such serious deficiencies like these allowed? The federal monitor reports have questioned, for example, the dramatic reductions in use-of-force incidents reported in the year 2017. However, the reports do not explain these inconsistencies and do not offer a theory as to why it could have happened, nor do they detail the inconsistencies and the errors in the numbers. The question is: who is in charge of overseeing and correcting the Police and of offering the people of Puerto Rico a corroboration and confidence in the statistics that the agency generates?

Finally, in the documents of 2018, the same thing happens – there are more numbers in one document than in the other. Documents H, G and I present contradictory information. In terms of the use-of-force incidents and the reported levels, the three documents are very contradictory. For example, in the Level 1 events in document I, there are 30 reports; document G states there were 83, and H states that there were 86 reports. They all reference the number of reported incidents as a level 1 force – soft hands. There is no consistency and because of this, it is impossible to trust the information provided.
Where are the reports of the use of force during protests?

The situation regarding the lack of information provided by the Puerto Rico Police is not limited to individual events of use of force that are unknown to the people. There are at least six instances of protests that the press has extensively covered the Police’s use of force and, however, there are no reports regarding the use of force by the Police. Some dates and places of these protests were:

- August 31, 2016, in Condado (Dos Hermanos Bridge, in front of the Condado Plaza Hotel)
- April 18, 2017, in front of the Capitol Building
- April 23, in front of the Capitol Building
- May 1, 2017, at Milla de Oro in Hato Rey
- February 20, 2018, in Hato Rey
- May 1, 2018, at Milla de Oro in Hato Rey

On September 28, 2018, Kilómetro Cero requested information to Mr. Henry Escalera, suggesting that the new packet of the required information should include the use-of-force reports regarding these protests. Our request has been completely ignored.

It is an insult to our democracy that, after having exhibited multiple use-of-force cases of abuse in several protests and being obligated to document them, the Police do not report citizens about the force they exerted against people that were exercising their fundamental right to protesting. Now, more than ever, in this crucial moment when our citizens are losing their rights, their democratic faculties and their quality of life are rapidly diminishing, the right to free speech should be protected and safeguarded. In fact, because it is a fundamental right, freedom of expression needs greater protection.
Our country needs a Police Force that ensures the safety and the rights of all our communities, particularly those that are more disadvantaged. This includes people that sacrifice themselves for the common good and go out to the streets to protest and exercise their rights.

Due to the Police Reform, there have been protocols designed to address precisely these types of events in a manner that is constitutional, with no need to repress a legitimate protest. If the Police have been incapable of managing protests with the current protocols and policies, the least that is expected is that this institution reports honestly and effectively all citizens the use-of-force incidents that were applied against it.
III. Excessive uses of force by the Police constitute a public health issue

The World Health Organization (WHO) declares violence as a worldwide public health problem in 1996 and in 2002 publishes the World Report on Violence and Health. In the report, they define violence as: "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (WHO, 2002).” The definition states that violence is a potentially harmful action against an individual or a group of individuals.

Our Police are authorized to exert violence against citizens to protect life, liberty, and property. However, exerting violence could entail causing damages, injuries and even deaths. In the previous section, we detailed 38 deaths in Puerto Rico as a product of violence by the Police. Later, we will detail the injuries that have occurred and the people that are subject to greater risks.

In Public Health, studying and seeking how to fight the effects of violence is a pillar of the discipline. So much so that the WHO’s Commission on Social Determinants of Health includes violence as a social determinant of health. The World Report on Violence and Health provides tools to face this health problem. In the first chapter, there is a health-based focus with four steps that lead to contribute a solution (WHO, 2002). These steps are:

- Gaining the knowledge regarding all violence aspects through the gathering of data about the magnitude, the reach, the characteristics and the consequences of violence at the local, national and international levels.”
- Investigate why violence is produced through studies directed at identifying the causes, the factors that increase or decrease the risk, and the factors that could be modified.
Seek possible ways to prevent violence through interventions that are designed and based on the results of scientific research.

Executing effective actions, sharing gathered information and evaluating implemented programs.

Although violence has been framed as a public health problem that allows the study of violence by the Police, it has yet to be worked on from a public health perspective. Aside from this limitation, there is a lack of reliable official information to make the corresponding studies.

According to Hannah Cooper, public health research on Police violence has been focused on interventions with drug users or sex workers (2016; 2004). Adding to what Cooper points out, there have been no studies on the use of force by the Police in Puerto Rico. Excessive violence by the Police has captured the attention of health experts due to investigations as “The Counted”, by British newspaper The Guardian, and movements by affected communities, such as Black Lives Matter, Movement for Black Lives and El Grito de Sunset Park. Through media coverage and activism, health experts have started to address Police violence as an object of study and have begun to provide possible solutions.

In 2016, Marisela B. Gómez led a case study in Baltimore, Maryland, where she interviewed 21 black men and women (Gómez, 2016). The study subjects were residents in poor communities with a high arrest rate and low health indicators. The object of study was to analyze the role of excessive police control over the fragmentation of the social networks of the community and public health. Participants shared their perception on the Police, stating that the Police was not available to protect the residents of black communities, but that they perceived that they were watched and intimidated. All participants said they had been witnesses to violent acts by the Police and 18 of the 21 participants were detained by the Police at some point. The study results suggest that Police violence increases the risk of negative health states as a result of a stressor environment and they also fragment communities.
That same year, Abigail A. Swell and Kevin A. Jefferson published their research with New York data (Swell & Jefferson, 2016). The researchers were trying to analyze the effect on frisking citizens because of the Stop, Question and Frisk (SQF) policy, on the health of the people of New York, and to determine if there were racial differences. The SQF policy allowed the Police to establish terry stops, or investigative interventions against citizens, allowing the Police to frisk them without any other basis than the agent’s suspicion. As a product of the SQF documentation, it was known that 9 out of 10 intervened people by the Police were Latino or Black (Swell & Jefferson, 2016).

Swell and Jefferson combined two databases – one with information of the Health and Mental Hygiene Department, and another with the Police Department’s – to investigate them. The general result of their research points out that residents of the communities where there is a high invasive frisk rate were more inclined to have poor health. Another fact they noticed was that being a part of a racial minority increases the severity of some of the effects of the interventions. In conclusion, the study states that people do not have to be a part of the criminal justice system to be affected by it. Police vigilance by itself influences the health of citizens and directly affects health indicators (Swell & Jefferson, 2016).

There are not many studies that address the excess of violence by the Police because there is a grave problem of accessing reliable official data. Police departments have also resisted sharing information, which makes it even more difficult to access official data. To broaden access, the FBI is collaborating with several law enforcement organizations in the United States, with the objective of developing a national use-of-force data collection. The idea of this initiative is formidable, but it has no foundation because law enforcement agencies are not forced to report the information. When they do it, it is absolutely voluntary.

The essay *Police Deaths Are Public Health Data and Can Be Counted* by Nancy Krieger and other colleagues presents a solution: addressing excessive use of force as a public health issue. The authors argue that all data about deaths at the hands of police, or as a product of the use of force by police agents, is a public health statistic and must be
To sustain this argument, they explain that deaths by police officers or as a result of police violence influence the country’s mortality rate. Mortality is one of the main subjects of study in Epidemiology and Demography. Aside from being a matter of direct relation to public health, Krieger et al. state that each death affects the wellbeing of families and the communities of the deceased, so these deaths are not only a justice-related matter (Krieger et al., 2015).

To analyze the data from the public health standpoint, the essay proposes that all deaths related to the Police force should be dealt with as a condition of compulsory notice. Because it is a notifiable condition, there is already a vigilance system that allows public health departments to access, manage, analyze and report the statistics. The analysis could also provide the necessary information to understand and prevent the health problem and detail possible interventions that prevent more deaths (Krieger et al., 2015).

Below we share a basic comparison with two states in the United States. We present official data of the deceased persons because of the use of force by Police in the states of New York and California. We have been able to identify some details regarding the use-of-force incidents, but the definitions of these uses of force are different. To be brief and clear, we will only include mortality data from the years 2016 and 2015 in our comparison. The data regarding these deaths come from the use-of-force reports provided by the Police departments of said states and the population statistics were taken from the United States Census.

- According to population estimates by the Census, the City of Los Angeles had 3,981,116 inhabitants in 2016 and 19 people died that year due to the use of force by the Police.
- New York City, with an estimated population in 2016 of 8,615,426 residents, reported 9 deaths that year.
- The Puerto Rico Police Department reported 7 civilian deaths in 2016 and 2 police deaths for a total of 9 deaths. Our estimated population in 2016 was of 3,406,520 inhabitants.
Broadly speaking, a direct comparison of the number reported for the year 2016 places Los Angeles as the city with the greatest number of deceased people due to the use-of-force incidents, followed by New York and then Puerto Rico.

To make more effective comparison data must be adjusted according to the population of the place and then report the adjusted rate. When adjusting according to the population, the comparison changes. The adjusted rate in 2016 for the City of Los Angeles is 4.77 deaths for every 1,000,000 inhabitants. The adjusted rate for the city of New York is 1.04 deaths for every 1,000,000 inhabitants, while Puerto Rico’s is 2.6 deaths per 1,000,000 inhabitants. According to this information, there is another order: The City of Los Angeles has the greatest death rate due to the use of force by the Police per million inhabitants, followed by Puerto Rico, and then New York.

In 2015 the results are similar. The City of Los Angeles had an estimated population of 3,953,459 inhabitants and reported the greatest number of deaths – 21 cases. New York City had an estimated population of 8,582,489 inhabitants and reported 8 deaths. Puerto Rico reported 12 deaths and had an estimated population of 3,473,177 inhabitants. Generally speaking, the pattern presents the City of Los Angeles as the place with the greatest number of deaths reported, followed by Puerto Rico and then New York.

When adjusting according to the population, the pattern is consistent with the year 2016. The City of Los Angeles continues to have the greatest death rate per million inhabitants, followed by Puerto Rico, and then New York. The adjusted rates for the year 2015 in each jurisdiction are:

- City of Los Angeles: 5.31 deaths per 1,000,000 inhabitants.
- New York City: 0.93 deaths per 1,000,000 inhabitants.
- Puerto Rico: 3.46 deaths per 1,000,000 inhabitants.

When compared to other jurisdictions and based on scientific literature, we understand that Police violence should be studied more in-depth in Puerto Rico. Below we detail the experience of Puerto Rico with use-of-force incidents by the Police, according to official data obtained.
The data included in document G state that the Puerto Rico Police intervened with 301 people from January 1, 2018, until September 11, 2018. The document details the gender, age and the number of people injured in the period. Graph 3 shows the percentage of interventions per gender. Of the 301 people intervened, 246 (82%) were men, 42 (14%) were female and 13 (4%) state no gender. According to these statistics, men were subject to more interventions in 2018.

Graph 3: Gender of the people involved in use-of-force interventions by the Police, 2018
Graph 4 shows the age distribution of the people who were intervened in 2018. The group that faced the most interventions was 18-25, with 83 reported incidents.

Graph 4: Age distribution of intervened people, 2018
As for injured people, graph 5 details the percentage of injured civilians and police officers in the period. A total of 178 were injured during use-of-force interventions, of which 139 (78%) were civilians and 39 (22%) were police officers. Citizens were the group with the greatest number of injuries during interventions.

Graph 5: People injured due to use-of-force incidents, 2018
With the information included in the injuries and the gender of affected people, two extremely important measurements can be derived. When taking the number of injured people and dividing it by the total of people intervened (the field “gender of the person intervened”), we obtain the percentage of injured people. This measurement presents that of the 301 persons intervened during 2018, 46% were injured (139/301). The second measurement is the ration of injured people per each official. The only information needed is that included in the “injured people” field, then dividing it by the number of injured police officers. For 2018 the ratio demonstrates that for each injured officer there are 4 injured civilians (139/39). This information is not informed by the Police, it was analyzed from the data provided by them.
In 2016-2017, 710 people were intervened by the Police in use-of-force incidents, according to document F for the period of July 1, 2016 to July 31, 2017. Like document G, the gender, the age of the people intervened and the number of injured people during use-of-force incidents are presented. Of the total of people intervened, 565 (80%) were men and 145 (20%) were women. Graph 6 shows the gender of the people intervened. The pattern of men as the group with the most interventions is consistent with the statistics reported in 2018.

Graph 6: Gender of the people that faced use-of-force interventions by the Police, 2016-2017
The ages of the people intervened in 2016-2017 are presented in graph 7. The ages of 18-25 were the most affected, with 225 reported instances. This statistic is consistent with the information of 2018.

Graph 7: Age distribution of people subject to interventions, 2016-2018
With respect to injured people, graph 6 details the percentage of civilians and police officers. A total of 302 people, of which 247 (82%) were citizens and 55 (18%) were police officers. As in 2018, citizens were the most affected group.

Graph 8: People injured during use-of-force incidents, 2016-2017
Using the information "gender of the person intervened" and "injured people" for the 2016-2017 period other percentage measurements of injured citizens and the citizens injured per agent ratio may be derived. The percentage of injured people as a product of the 2016-2017 interventions was 35% (302/710). The ratio of injured citizens per official during this period was 4.5 (247/55).
For the analysis of gender and the 2014-2015 injured people, we used document A. Of the 1,103 people, 985 were male (89%) and 118 were female (11%). Graph 9 details the gender of the people intervened. Once again, this reiterates the pattern of men as the most impacted group.

Graph 9: Gender of the people that were subject to use-of-force interventions, 2014-2015
The number of injured citizens adds up to 484 (66%), while the number of injured police officers is 253 (34%). Graph 10 details injured people in 2014-2015. Consistent with previous years, citizens are the most injured group because of use-of-force incidents.
As in previous years, document A contains the necessary statistics to determine the percentage of injured intervened people and the ratio of injured citizens per every official. In 2014-2015, 44% of intervened people were injured (484/1103). For each police officer, 1.9 citizens were injured (484/253) during the 2014-2015 period.
To summarize, throughout 2014-2018, there are three generalized patterns.

- First, men consistently suffer more interventions in which the police use force.
- Second, young people between the ages of 18 to 25 are always the group that suffers the most interventions.
- And third, as a result of use-of-force interventions, citizens always suffer more injuries than the police officers.

Curiously, the Government of Puerto Rico has a Young Person’s Rights Charter approved since 2003, Act Number 167. In this charter, a young person is “anyone who is between the ages of 13 and 29.” If this definition is applied, interventions against young people in 2016-2017 are 52% of reported information in this period. If the same exercise is done for 2018, 44% of all interventions were against young people.

This factor contributes to the previous one about the high volume of citizens that were injured after a use-of-force intervention by the police. This demonstrates the fact that, not only do the public’s encounters with the State’s “security” arm are a great health risk, but that those that are most subject are, precisely, young people – the demographic group that shows the most promise and is the most productive and whose health and wellbeing should be particularly protected by the State.

Because this is a public health issue, it is important that the Health Department and other related agencies have a record of the use-of-force statistics of the Police; and that they analyze and design interventions with other agencies to reduce the risk of minor and serious injuries and deaths due to the use of force by any agency of law enforcement.
Specific recommendations for the Puerto Rico Police to improve the quality of their use-of-force statistics:

- Consistently define the periods of each year.
- Define the variables presented in their analysis.
- Separate unrelated information to avoid confusion.
- In documents that focus on analyzing tendencies:
  - Change the average age of the person intervened in the distribution of ages of the people intervened.
  - Recategorizing the age variable in equal intervals.
  - Clarifying the definition of an event in all the documents and measurements they use.
    - Is it based on use-of-force reports? Is it based on use-of-force incidents?
    - Explain the measurement used in percentage changes.
- Elaborate and present a consistent report of the damages of injured, mutilated or deceased people and present the statistic. This information is not included in their website, they provide it in a separate report when it is requested by interested parties.
- State concrete dates to update use-of-force statistics and comply with such dates.
- Be consistent in the numbers they report. All documents present serious consistency problems. This also diminishes their credibility.
- Be more transparent, have statistics available and accessible to the public in a way that can be processed.
Public policy recommendations:

It is time for the State to show their commitment to the constitutionality and professionalization of the Police, and that it is more than just an intention to do so. That commitment must be with the safety and protection of the rights of all residents of this country, with no exceptions regarding race, nationality, social status, skin color, appearance, gender identity, sexual orientation or other discriminatory criteria.

Something that is highly recommended by international law and that we also promote in Kilómetro Cero is the legislation of the use of force for law enforcement officers. Although the Police’s administrative rulebook about the use of force is satisfactory, a general order is also relatively easy to change. In Puerto Rico, changes in government every four years put us in a position of great vulnerability.

Use-of-force legislation is not only a regulation measure that is much more permanent. It also provides adequate penal accountability mechanisms for officials that are responsible for enforcing the law. When there is no such law, Police officials are only subject to the Penal Code and the Constitution of our country and of the United States but, due to the nature of their work, which includes protections, immunities and an open collaboration with the State and the prosecutors, the accountability of officials that use lethal force is very hard to prove. A use-of-force law in the compliance of laws would offer greater guarantees against police abuse or the excessive use of force by police officers.

Meanwhile, just like organizations as the Community Work Group on the Police Reform and the ACLU - Puerto Rico Chapter have recommended, Kilómetro Cero supports that there is a process to create an independent and citizen-led oversight group for the Puerto Rico Police Department. This entity would be an independent authority that investigates police misconduct and has access to data, the power to issue subpoenas, to investigate and to audit.

The oversight and the investigation of police conduct cannot be left in the hands of the Police. In modern democracies around the world, public institutions – particularly those that are problematic – do not watch over themselves. It does not work. It is neither transparent nor efficient.
This system is used in hundreds of countries in the world with different models (e.g. Canada, Ireland, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Finland) and more than 200 cities in the United States.

The federal monitor for the Police Reform, retired Coronel Arnaldo Claudio, oversees the compliance with the reform and gives accountability reports to the Court, but his function is not to investigate citizen complaints. Who then will ensure that the Police are accountable to the communities of the country that it serves?

Citizen oversight not only provides responsibility and accountability mechanisms to the public and helps to restore confidence between communities and the Police; their objective and independent investigations also protect the many professional police officers that do their work with a high sense of responsibility and soundness. Everyone, at a point in time, has encountered one of these police officers. If an officer works correctly, under independent oversight, they have more possibilities of maintaining a clean record without the collective suspicion that currently lies upon cases of police misconduct.

Furthermore, it has been proved that citizens submit more complaints when an independent oversight body is available because they feel less intimidated and more comfortable and motivated to talk about their difficult – and many times traumatic – experiences with the Police.

Also, with an opportune, just and efficient disciplinary process, autonomous and exhaustive police misconduct investigations prevent other officers from developing a pattern of misconduct. When disciplinary measures are taken against police misconduct in the initial stages, we avoid escalating the sense of impunity and the possibility of continuing to commit greater misconduct.

Citizen oversights offer a sense of transparency and participation. This only strengthens democracy and the communities’ involvement with their institutions. After all, like Emilio Álvarez Icaza, former Secretary Executive of the Inter American Commission on Human Rights: “In a democracy, the State does not exist to control citizens. It is the citizens who must control State institutions.”
Conclusion

In Kilómetro Cero, with our report *Skill over force*, we argue that the use-of-force data provided by Police are not reliable. Four years of training have passed but the inconsistencies and the mistakes that fill their use-of-force reports are deficient and do not allow for their statistics to be trustworthy. We have also demonstrated that they hide information from the public regarding use-of-force related deaths, as well as the instances in which agents used force.

With this report, we have also wanted to present excessive violence in the exercise of their duty as a public health problem, with evidence of studies that show how health could be affected. As a result, we believe that data should be analyzed as health information and should be accessible.

The Campaign Zero website includes several investigations that demonstrate that as use-of-force policies become more restrictive, more civilian and police lives are saved. It is paramount to put into practice a good use-of-force policy, including rigorous documentation, to cause a significative reduction in serious and deathly use-of-force cases in the Police, such as mutilations, serious injuries, and deaths. That is, precisely, why the regulation of force in the Police corps exists -- to reduce the risk of injuries and deaths of civilians and police officers.

Also important is that statistics and information documented by the Police are accessible to civilians in a clear, detailed and up-to-date way through different media. This is particularly important in the case of statistics that are very relevant to promote the agency’s accountability to citizens, such as the use-of-force data and administrative complaints. All public entities must make available to the public a registry of all their documents and ensure an easy, opportune and free access to this information. It should be complete, objective, true and written in a comprehensible and simple language. The information should also be reutilized and processable so that community organizations, programmers, journalists, and the public can view it, use it, analyze it and, in other words, democratize them.
Kilómetro Cero has reflected upon the meaning and the application of transparency in a modern democracy. As a sign of the evolution and commitment to a true Puerto Rico Police Reform, we invite the Puerto Rico Police to adopt the recommendations we have made throughout this report.

A new Puerto Rico Police, with constitutional safeguards, professional and transparent practices, and a community empathy focus, is essential to develop and foster a truly democratic and prosperous society.
References


Puerto Rico Police Department. (s.f.). *Sobre La Reforma Policiaca. ¿Por qué surgió la Reforma?* https://policia.pr.gov/informacion-sobre-reforma-policia/


Appendix II: Profiles of the deceased.

Deaths in 2014 and 2015

1. In 2014 the Police reports on the death of one civilian. They provide no details.
2. In 2015 the Police reports 12 deaths: 6 citizens and 6 police officers. They provide no more details.

Deaths in 2016

- Name: Antonio Rubén Martínez Pomales
- Sex: M
- Age at the time of death: 40
- Education: 9th to 12th grade (no diploma)
- Occupation: mechanic, installer, and vehicle and mobile equipment repairman
- Mental health patient: Yes
- Subject armed: Unknown
- Date of death: January 3, 2016
- Municipality of residence: Juana Díaz
- Municipality of death: Guaynabo
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Car accident
- The person that reports the death: Irene Pomales (mother)
- Cause of death (Police): Disoriented, incoherent and aggressive person (mental health patient) is arrested. Dies suddenly.
- The agent involved: Sgt. Juan Alicea López
- Date of the incident: January 3, 2016
Name: Edwin José Centeno
Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 38
Education: 8th grade or less
Occupation: landscape maintenance worker
Mental health patient: Unspecified
Subject armed: Yes, with a knife
Date of death: February 22, 2018
Municipality of residence: Humacao
Municipality of death: Humacao
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Homicide/gunshot wound
The person who reports the death: Angélica Martínez Piñeiro (mother)
Cause of death (Police): Individual with a knife attacks police agent on the knee and he shot him.
The agent involved: Agt. José Pagán Serrano
Date of the incident: February 22, 2018
● Name: José Ramón Ruiz Santana
● Sex: M
● Age at the time of death: 52
● Education: 8th grade or less
● Occupation: unknown
● Mental health patient: unknown
● Subject armed: unknown
● Date of death: June 26, 2016
● Municipality of residence: Humacao
● Municipality of death: Humacao
● Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Death by suicide (hanging)
● The person that reports the death: Pablo Santana Santana (family member)
● Cause of death (Police): Individual in jail cell was found hanging
● The agent involved: Agt. Edelmiro Rodríguez Abreu
● Date of the incident: June 26, 2016
Name: Second Lt. Manuel Ángel Báez Ferrer
Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 36
Education: High school diploma or GED
Occupation: Police officer
Mental health patient: unknown
Subject armed: Yes, with his service weapon
Date of death: August 20, 2016
Municipality of residence: Cataño
Municipality of death: Toa Baja
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): death by suicide (gunshot)
- The person who reports the death: Carlos A. Báez (father) *inconsistency in the Demographic Registry, his father's name is Manuel A. Báez.
- Cause of death (Police): A police officer with his service weapon took his own life in his residence
- The agent involved: himself
- Date of the incident: August 20, 2016
Name: Michelle Sánchez Tirado
Sex: F
Age at the time of death: 22
Education: 9th - 12th grade (no diploma)
Occupation: homemaker
Mental health patient: unknown
Subject armed: unknown
Date of death: August 27, 2016
Municipality of residence: Isabela
Municipality of death: Isabela
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): car accident
The person who reports the death: Miriam Tirado Barreto (mother)
Cause of death (Police): In persecution, a civilian crashes into cement barrier and the passenger dies.
The agent involved: Inspector Miguel Vélez Vargas
Date of the incident: August 27, 2016
Name: Sgt. Luis Ángel Meléndez Maldonado

Sex: M

Age at the time of death: 51

Education: high school diploma or GED

Occupation: police officer

Mental health patient: unknown

Subject armed: Yes, with his service weapon

Date of death: October 12, 2016

Municipality of residence: Juncos

Municipality of death: Humacao

Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Homicide/gunshot

The person who reports the death: Zulma I Villa Rodríguez (other)

Cause of death (Police): While in service, individuals carrying firearms shot the officer

The agent involved: himself

Date of the incident: October 12, 2016
Name: Rafael Orlando Maldonado Breslin
Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 48
Education: some college credits, no diploma
Occupation: sales representative
Mental health patient: unknown
Subject armed: unknown
Date of death: November 12, 2016
Municipality of residence: Bayamón
Municipality of death: Cataño
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): Other unspecified causes
The person who reports the death: Christopher A. Maldonado (son)
Cause of death (Police): Act 54 (Domestic violence), the individual was under the influence of alcohol and took several prescription pills
The agent involved: Agt. Malvin Martínez Rivera
Date of the incident: November 12, 2016
• Name: Edgardo Joel Santiago Alvarado
• Sex: M
• Age at the time of death: 19
• Education: 9th - 12th grade, no diploma
• Occupation: never worked
• Mental health patient: unknown
• Subject armed: Yes, but there is no specification as to the type of weapon.
• Date of death: December 1, 2016
• Municipality of residence: Cayey
• Municipality of death: Cayey
• Cause of death (Demographic Registry): homicide/gunshot
• The person who reports the death: Rosa Alvarado (mother)
• Cause of death (Police): While under vigilance due to a special complaint, there were shots fired by each side
• The agent involved: Agt. Walter García Luna
• Date of the incident: December 1, 2016
• Name: Carlos Alexis Dueño Dávila
• Sex: M
• Age at the time of death: 21
• Education: associate degree
• Occupation: unknown
• Mental health patient: unknown
• Subject armed: Yes, but the weapon is unspecified.
• Date of death: December 2, 2016
• Municipality of residence: Carolina
• Municipality of death: Carolina
• Cause of death (Demographic Registry): unspecified fall
• The person who reports the death: Josefina Canales Cruz (other family member)
• Cause of death (Police): Armed individual was fleeing the Police, climbed up balconies and falls from the seventh floor.
• Agent involved: Agt. O’Neil Tejada Jiménez
• Date of the incident: December 2, 2016
Deaths in 2017

- Name: Jesús M Valentín Ramos
- Sex: M
- Age at the time of death: 40
- Education: 8th grade or less
- Occupation: construction worker
- Mental health patient: unknown
- Subject armed: unknown
- Date of death: May 26, 2017
- Municipality of residence: Vega Baja
- Municipality of death: Vega Baja
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry) Other undefined causes of death
- The person who reports the death: Carmen Ramos (mother)
- Cause of death (Police): Death during a drive stun
- Date of the incident: May 26, 2017
Name: Anewky Gross Polanco
Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 25
Education: 8th grade or less
Occupation: construction worker
Mental health patient: unknown
Subject armed: unknown
Date of death: July 29, 2017
Municipality of residence: Carolina
Municipality of death: Carolina
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): unspecified homicide and an open wound in the body
The person who reports the death: Rafael Gregorio de León Álamo (other)
Cause of death (Police): Off duty.
Cause according to the press: Gross Polanco arrived at a food truck at Road 190 and entered an argument with the cook. The now-convict was visiting the place while off-duty and intervened with Gross Polanco, whom he showed his service weapon and loaded it. Later, Gross Polanco came up to the driver’s window of the vehicle that Pérez Ortiz was in – who had already taken his gun out – and the agent shot him in the face, killing him instantly. The agent was found guilty of murder in 2018.
The agent involved: Agt. Nieves Pérez Ortiz
Date of the incident: July 29, 2017
- Name: Agt. Roberto Medina Mariari
- Sex: M
- Age at the time of death: 34
- Education: Bachelor’s degree
- Occupation: Police officer
- Mental health patient: unknown
- Subject armed: unknown
- Date of death: September 17, 2017
- Municipality of residence: Ponce
- Municipality of death: Ponce
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry): homicide / shot with a firearm
- The person who reports the death: Roberto Medina Gueits (father)
- Cause of death (Police): Off duty avoids a robbery
- The agent involved: Agt. Roberto Medina Mariari
- Date of the incident: September 11, 2017
● Name: José Álvarez Portalatín (no more information available on the Demographic Registry)
● Sex: M
● Age at the time of death: 
● Education:
● Occupation:
● Mental health patient: 
● Subject armed: unknown
● Date of death:
● Municipality of residence: 
● Municipality of death: 
● Cause of death (Demographic Registry): 
● The person who reports the death: 
● Cause of death (Police): “During the persecution, he was arrested, he was under the effects of (controlled) substances. He died in the Hospital (Death during Custody)”
Ángel Pérez Romero

- Date of the incident: February 18, 2017
● Name: Agt. Benjamín de los Santos Barbosa
● Sex: M
● Age at the time of death: 32
● Education: 9th - 12th grade, no diploma
● Occupation: police officer
● Mental health patient: unknown
● Subject armed: Yes, with his service weapon
● Date of death: April 21, 2019
● Municipality of residence: Ponce
● Municipality of death: San Juan
● Cause of death (Demographic Registry): homicide/gunshot
● The person who reports the death: Sheila Pérez Madera (wife)
● Cause of death (Police): Vehicular intervention (firing exchange)
● Agent involved: Agt. Félix Negrón Martínez and Agt. Alexander Pabón Rodríguez
● Date of the incident: April 16, 2017
Name: Carlos Javier Cruz Feliciano  Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 24
Education: associate degree
Occupation: food transport employees’ supervisor
Mental health patient: unknown
Subject armed: unknown
Date of death: May 5, 2017
Municipality of residence: Bayamón
Municipality of death: Bayamón
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): homicide/gunshot
The person who reports the death: Luz María Feliciano Rivera (mother)
Cause of death (Police): “Vehicular persecution (the subject was firing) where there was a gunfire exchange and the subject died”
Date of the incident: May 5, 2017
- Name: John Doe (we have not been able to cross-reference it with the Demographic Registry)
- Age at the time of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Subject armed: unknown
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): Dies avoiding a hold-up at a Subway
- The agent involved: Agt. José L. Acevedo Delgado
- Date of the incident: April 27, 2017
Profiles of the deceased in 2018

- Name: Joan D. Melendez Rodríguez
- Sex:
- Age at the time of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): Off-duty police officer prevents robbery
- The agent involved: Agt. Benjamín Santiago Morales 33205
- Date of the incident: March 30, 2018
- Name:
- Sex: F
- Age at the time of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): Police officer kills former partner and commits suicide
- Agent involved 2nd. Lt. Carlos H. Cruz Martínez 7-12448
- Date of the incident: July 3, 2018
- Name: Gustavo Rodríguez Galarza
- Sex: M
- Age at the time of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): Person commits suicide in the police station’s cell (death during custody)
- The agent involved: Agt. Sorangel Rivera Novelet 33225
- Date of incident: July 8, 2018
Name: Germinan Ramos Reyes
Sex: M
Age at the time of death: 
Education: 
Occupation: 
Mental health patient: 
Date of death: 
Municipality of residence: 
Municipality of death: 
Cause of death (Demographic Registry): 
The person who reports the death: 
Cause of death (Police): Person commits suicide while a police officer was intervening due to a violation of Act. 54 (domestic violence). Death during custody.
Involved agents: 2nd. Lt. Otoniel Cruz Cruz 7-16679, Agt. Eliut Martínez Nazario 20207, Agt. Sergio Pabón Ortiz 29008
Date of incident: July 9, 2018
Name: Luis Alberto Villodas Soto
Sex: M
Age at the time of death:
Education:
Occupation:
Mental health patient:
Date of death:
Municipality of residence:
Municipality of death:
Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
The person who reports the death:
Cause of death (Police): On-duty (hostage situation) Condado (dead)
The agent involved: Agt. José Vargas Lugo 34316
Date of incident: July 27, 2018
Name: Plinio de Jesús Solano
Sex: M
Age at the time of death:
Education:
Occupation:
Mental health patient:
Date of death:
Municipality of residence:
Municipality of death:
Cause of death (Demographical Registry):
The person who reports the death:
Cause of death (Police): The subject was entrenched with a firearm, stating that he would commit suicide (SWAT comes in, does DCE, the subject had a firearm in his hand when they realize he was injured) he then dies. Subject commits suicide by shooting himself in the head (death during custody)
The agent involved: Sgt. Elliot García Caraballo 8-26655, Sgt. Josymael Lasalle Román 8-33678
Date of the incident: August 9, 2018

- Name: Agt. Frances Pagán Resto 32646 (former partner)
- Sex: F
- Age at the time of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): Agent Vargas 33554 was with Agent Pagán 32646, who have been separated 3 years and have a child together. They were arguing. Agent Vargas 33554 shot her once with his service weapon on the right side of the head and then took his own life with one shot to the right side of his head.
- The agent involved: Agent Jonathan Vargas Semidey 33554
- Name: [redacted]
- Sex:
- Date of death:
- Education:
- Occupation:
- Mental health patient:
- Date of death:
- Municipality of residence:
- Municipality of death:
- Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
- The person who reports the death:
- Cause of death (Police): died due to apparent gunshot wound to the shoulder blade.
- The agent involved: [redacted]
- Date of the incident: September 12, 2018
Name: Pilar Hernández Llera
Sex: F
Age at the time of death: 39
Education:
Occupation:
Mental health patient:
Date of death:
Municipality of residence:
Municipality of death:
Cause of death (Demographic Registry):
The person who reports the death:
Cause of death (Police):
Cause of death according to the media: Pilar Hernández Lleva was shot in the chest.
The agent involved: Luis Daniel Negrón Reyes
Date of the incident: November 23, 2018