

Confronting the Tragedy: Law Enforcement, Unionism & Communities of Color

Day One - Friday, April 28th 2017

9:00 Welcome

Gregory Mantsios, Director, Murphy Institute, CUNY

Dr. Michael Javen Fortner, Academic Director Urban Studies, Murphy Institute, CUNY

9:15 Panel I: The Origins and Scope of the Tragedy

This panel will examine: 1. Trends in discriminatory law enforcement practices with regard to class and race; 2. Perspectives and concerns on policing communities of color; and 3. The nature and implications of demographic trends in the law enforcement workforce.

Moderator: Gloria Browne Marshall, Associate Professor of Constitutional Law, John Jay, CUNY

An Associate Professor of Constitutional Law at John Jay College of Criminal Justice (CUNY), Prof. Gloria Browne-Marshall is the author of many articles and several books including *Race, Law, and American Society: 1607 to Present*, and the forthcoming *Black Women: Salem Witch Trials to Civil Rights Activists – A Legal History*. She also teaches classes in Race and the Law, Evidence, and Gender and Justice. She is a former civil rights attorney who litigated cases for Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama, Community Legal Services in Philadelphia, and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc. Prof. Browne-Marshall is a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and a Fellow of the American Bar Foundation.

Gloria J. Browne-Marshall has been the recipient of several honors including the Ida B. Wells-Barnett Justice Award for her work with civil rights and women's justice issues and the Wiley College Woman of Excellence in Law award. An award-winning playwright of seven produced plays, her most recent play "Diversity" examines marriage choices. She is a member of the Dramatist Guild, Mystery Writers of America, National Association of Black Journalists, PEN American Center, and the National Press Club.

Panelists:

- **Lisa L. Miller, Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University**

Lisa L. Miller is a professor of political science at Rutgers University. Her interests are in race and class inequality, crime and violence, political mobilization, constitutionalism and democratic accountability. Miller teaches Law and Politics, Constitutional Law and Comparative Crime and Punishment at the undergraduate level, and Research Design and Advanced Law and Politics seminars at the graduate level. In 2015-16 she served as the John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Politics at the Rothermere American Institute at the University of Oxford.

Miller is the author of three books on criminal justice, including the *The Myth of Mob Rule: Violent Crime and Democratic Politics* (2016), *The Perils of Federalism: Race, Poverty and the Politics of Crime Control* (2008), and *The Politics of Community Crime Prevention: Implementing Weed and Seed in Seattle* (2001).

- **John Pfaff, Professor of Law, Fordham University**

John Pfaff is a Professor of Law where he teaches criminal law, sentencing law, and law and economics. He is the author of the recently released *Locked In: The True Causes of Mass Incarceration—and How to Achieve Real Reform*.

Before coming to Fordham, he was the John M. Olin Fellow at the Northwestern University School of Law and clerked for Judge Stephen F. Williams on the US Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit.

Prof. Pfaff's research focuses primarily on empirical matters related to criminal justice, especially criminal sentencing. He has paid particular attention to trying to understand the causes of the unprecedented 40 year boom in US incarceration rates. His recent work has illuminated the previously-underappreciated role that prosecutorial discretion has played in driving up prison populations. The second looks at how to incorporate evidence based practices into the judicial review of scientific and empirical evidence. For his work on this issue Professor Pfaff received a two-year grant from the John Templeton Foundation and the University of Chicago's Arete Initiative for the study of wisdom.

- **Thomas Abt, Senior Research Fellow, Kennedy School, Harvard University**

As a Senior Fellow with the Harvard Law and Kennedy Schools, Thomas Abt teaches, studies, and writes on the use of evidence-informed approaches to reducing gun, gang, and youth violence, among other topics. He also works as a Senior Fellow to the Igarapé Institute in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and as an Advisory Board Member to the Police Executive Programme at the University of Cambridge. Before joining Harvard, Abt served as Deputy Secretary for Public Safety to Governor Andrew Cuomo in New York, where he oversaw all criminal justice and homeland security agencies. During his tenure, Abt led the development of New York's GIVE (Gun-Involved Violence Elimination) Initiative, which employs evidence-informed, data-driven approaches to reduce violence. Before his work as Deputy Secretary, Abt served as Chief of Staff to the Office of Justice Programs at the U.S. Department of Justice, where he worked with the nation's principal criminal justice grant-making and research agencies to integrate evidence, policy, and practice. There he played a leading role in establishing the National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention, a network of federal agencies and local communities working together to reduce youth and gang violence."

10:45 Panel II: The Nature and Scope of Bargaining within Police and Corrections Unions

This panel will explore: 1. The chief bargaining and representational concerns of police and corrections officers; and 2. The manner in which various options for addressing these concerns impacts policing in the communities of color; 3. How law enforcement contracts been used to support or impede accountability and reform.

Moderator: Kafui Attoh, Assistant Professor of Urban Studies, Murphy Institute, CUNY

Kafui Attoh received his BA from Macalester College and his PhD in Geography from Syracuse University. His broad interests are in the political economy of cities, the politics of public space and debates in and around the idea of the "right to the city." More narrowly, Attoh's research has focused on three areas: 1) urban transit's role within the political economy of cities, 2) the struggles and livelihoods of the transportation disadvantaged and 3) the role of urban social movements (including the labor movement) in shaping mass transit policy. His work has appeared in *Progress in Human Geography*, *New Labor Forum*, *The Journal of Cultural Geography*, *The Geographical Bulletin*, *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, *Urban Studies*, *Antipode* and *Space and Polity*.

Panelists:

- **Derek Willingham, Labor Relations Specialist, American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)**

Derek Willingham is responsible for developing strategies and tactics for the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements. Willingham provides AFGE's National Councils and National Locals with leadership, while being assigned as the Chief Negotiator of their negotiating team, where he is responsible for the negotiations of labor-management agreements. He develops and uses training courses to teach groups and individuals how to bargain effectively under various conditions, with an emphasis on preparation and on membership involvement. Willingham is often requested to provide training and counseling for both bargaining unit, and management on joint labor-management issues. When he is not in these roles, he provides guidance and training on labor relations activities to help

ensure the implementation of a strategic plan for workplace representation, federal sector employee rights/advocacy and workplace representation rights.

- **Rebecca Neusteter, Director of Policing Program, Vera Institute of Justice.**

Dr. Rebecca Neusteter is an experienced criminal justice researcher and practitioner. Dr. Neusteter has worked with numerous units of local and state government, assisting jurisdictions in understanding their criminal justice populations and implementing measures to enhance public safety, equity, and effectiveness. She currently serves as the Vera Institute of Justice's Policing Program Director. Her previous positions include Director of Research, Policy, and Planning at the New York Police Department, Director of Criminal Justice for the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, Research Associate with the Urban Institute's Justice Policy Center, and Senior Analyst in the New York City Office of Management and Budget.

- **Ronald G. DeLord PLLC, Public Sector Labor Relations Consultant**

Ron DeLord runs a private law practice and public sector labor relations consulting firm specializing in assisting public employees, fire fighters, police officers and their associations and unions in dealing with contract negotiations, impasse resolutions, media relations, political action, leadership development, organizational governance, strategic planning, training and critical incidents. He served as the chief negotiator for the union on more than 150 contracts. DeLord has conducted more than 50 seminars in U.S., Canada and Australia on such topics as police leadership, organizational power, politics and conflict management for both labor and management associations. He has authored or co-authored eight books, including, *LAW ENFORCEMENT, POLICE UNIONS, AND THE FUTURE: Educating Police Management and Unions About the Challenges Ahead*.

DeLord previously served as the President, Executive Director, and Special Counsel for the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas, the largest statewide police association in Texas with more than 20,000-members. He is a former officer with the Mesquite, TX and Beaumont, TX Police Departments.

- **Tom Robbins, Contributing Writer, Marshall Project; Columnist and staff, Village Voice, the New York Daily News, and The New York Observer; Investigative journalist in residence, CUNY Graduate School of Journalism.**

Tom Robbins has been investigative journalist in residence at the CUNY Graduate School of Journalism since February 2011, and he manages the school's Urban Reporting Grants Program.

His series on violence in New York prisons, produced in collaboration with the Marshall Project and The New York Times, was named a 2016 Pulitzer Prize finalist for Investigative Reporting and won the 2016 Hillman Prize for Newspaper Journalism. The series included stories by Times reporters Michael Winerip and Michael Schwartz.

Robbins has been a columnist and staff writer at the Village Voice, the New York Daily News, and The New York Observer. His stories on political corruption and urban issues have been cited by Investigative Reporters and Editors, the New York Press Club, the Deadline Club, and the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies, which gave his political columns in the Voice its top award in both 2009 and 2010.

A former housing organizer, he is a past editor of City Limits Magazine. He was a Revson Fellow for the City of New York in 1985 and was the Jack Newfield Visiting Professor at Hunter College in 2007 where he taught investigative journalism. He has lived in New York since 1968 and resides in Brooklyn.

1:30 Panel III: Communities of Color, Policing, and the Labor Movement

This panel will assess: 1. Historical and contemporary sources of conflict between police unions and the broader labor movement; 2. The nature and responsibilities of law enforcement and the labor movement in relation to the safety and well-being of communities of color and the public at large.

Moderator: Michael Leo Owens Political Science, Emory University

A past president of the Urban Affairs Association and former member of the board of directors of Prison Policy Initiative, Owens serves on the national advisory board of the Georgia Justice Project. Author of God and Government in the Ghetto: The Politics of Church-State Collaboration in Black America (University of Chicago Press, 2007), Owens has two decades of applied and university-based research experience co-designing and co-leading studies of public policy implementation and the consequences of social welfare and carceral policy reforms on African-American neighborhoods and other communities of color, including his work as co-principal investigator for the Atlanta Reentry Mapping Network and current studies related to the outcomes of former public housing residents and the restoration of political rights for formerly imprisoned people.

Panelists:

- **Kevin Stuckey, President, Seattle Police Officers Guild; Member of Seattle's Community Police Commission**

Officer Kevin Stuckey has been with the Seattle Police Department for 20 years. He is currently serving as the President of the Seattle Police Officers Guild, the largest police union in the Northwest which represents over 1300 sworn Seattle Police Officers and Sergeants. Prior to serving in this role, he was a Community Police Team (CPT) Officer a School Emphasis Officer and a Patrol Officer. Stuckey greatly enjoyed his years as a school emphasis officer (SEO). SEOs focus on education and mentoring to help at-risk youth stay in school. He has maintained relationships with many students even after their graduation and is very proud of their success as young adults. Stuckey is a founding member of the Seattle Police Department Community Police Commission and has served in that capacity since 2013. In his spare time, he enjoys spending time with his wife and children and is an award winning BBQ champion.

- **Deborah Jacobs, Director, Office of Law Enforcement Oversight, King County, WA.**

Deborah Jacobs serves as Director for the King County Office of Law Enforcement Oversight, an independent government agency that oversees the King County Sheriff's Office in Seattle. In a career dedicated to social justice, Jacobs has also held executive leadership positions for the ACLU and the Ms. Foundation for Women.

As Executive Director for the ACLU of New Jersey for 13 years, Jacobs worked on a wide array of policing issues including internal affairs policies, bias-based policing, sexual harassment, local enforcement of federal immigration laws, civilian review, certification and training. Under Jacobs' leadership, the ACLU-NJ developed a successful petition for DOJ intervention in the Newark Police Department. From 2014 to 2016, Jacobs advocated for fair and just police services in the St. Louis region as a member of the local Don't Shoot Coalition, formed in the aftermath of the police shooting of Michael Brown. In addition to police practices, Jacobs has expertise in First Amendment rights, privacy, government transparency, economic justice, criminal justice policy and women's safety. She holds a B.A. in English and an M.A. in Liberal Studies from Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, NY. Jacobs served as a Fulbright Scholar for one year in Helsinki, Finland. She grew up in Ellensburg, WA.

- **Adreina Adams, Vice President, NY Public Employees Federation (PEF)**

Adreina Adams is a 32 year union activist and an aggressive fighter against injustice. A parole officer for

19 years, Adams was elected PEF Vice President in June of 2015. Prior to becoming Vice President, she held a number of positions including PEF Convention delegate, Division Treasurer, Division Secretary and Shop Steward. Known for her activism and compassion, Adams is a voice for the voiceless by challenging the status quo within management and the union.

Adams earned her BPS degree from the College for Human Services, received certification in Interpersonal Behavior and Conflict Resolution from the Cornell University School of Industrial & Labor Relations, and her certification in Basic Union Peer Counseling from the NYC Central Labor Council.

3:15 Panel IV: Building toward a Common Good

This panel will examine: 1. Criminal justice reforms with potential for ending discriminatory law enforcement while simultaneously addressing the concerns of police and corrections workers and their unions; and 2. The current social and political environment impacting the chances for reform.

Panelists:

- **Dr. Michael Javen Fortner, Academic Director Urban Studies, Murphy Institute, CUNY**

Dr. Michael Javen Fortner received a BA in political science and African American studies from Emory University and a PhD in government and social policy from Harvard University. At Harvard, he was a doctoral fellow in the multidisciplinary program in inequality and social policy and an affiliate of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. In fall 2005, he was a visiting fellow at the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics. Currently, he is an associate editor of the *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* (JREP), an official section journal of the American Political Science Association (APSA), and he chairs APSA's Ethics Committee. His work studies the intersection of American political development and political philosophy—particularly in the areas of race, ethnicity, and class. He is the author of *Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment* (2015). Along with Amy Bridges, he edited a volume on city politics, *Urban Citizenship and American Democracy* (2016). His scholarly articles have appeared in *Studies in American Political Development*, the *Journal of Urban History*, the *Journal of Policy History*, and *Urban Affairs Review*. He has also been published in the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Dissent* magazine, and his research has been covered in major media outlets, such as the *Atlantic*, the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, *New York Magazine*, the *Daily Beast*, *Time*, *WNYC* and *NPR*. He has been awarded fellowships and grants from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Aspen Institute, the Center for American Political Studies, the American Political Science Association, the New York State Archives, the Rockefeller Archive Center, and the Mortar Board Honor Society. He has also received several teaching awards.

- **Marie Gottschalk, Professor of Political Science University of Pennsylvania**

Prof. Gottschalk specializes in American politics, with a focus on criminal justice, health policy, and the development of the welfare state. She is the author of, among other works, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*, which won the 2007 Ellis W. Hawley Prize from the Organization of American Historians, and *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*. Her latest book is *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics*, which won the Michael Harrington Award from the American Political Science Association for “an outstanding book that demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world.”
