

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

UNIFORMED FIRE OFFICERS  
ASSOCIATION; UNIFORMED  
FIREFIGHTERS ASSOCIATION OF  
GREATER NEW YORK; CORRECTION  
OFFICERS' BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, INC.;  
POLICE BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF  
THE CITY OF NEW YORK, INC.;  
SERGEANTS BENEVOLENT  
ASSOCIATION; LIEUTENANTS  
BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION; CAPTAINS  
ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION; and  
DETECTIVES' ENDOWMENT  
ASSOCIATION,

Plaintiffs,

-against-

BILL de BLASIO, in his official capacity as  
Mayor of the City of New York; THE CITY  
OF NEW YORK; FIRE DEPARTMENT OF  
THE CITY OF NEW YORK; DANIEL A.  
NIGRO, in his official capacity as the  
Commissioner of the Fire Department of the  
City of New York; NEW YORK CITY  
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION;  
CYNTHIA BRANN, in her official capacity as  
the Commissioner of the New York City  
Department of Correction; DERMOT F.  
SHEA, in his official capacity as the  
Commissioner of the New York City Police  
Department; THE NEW YORK CITY  
POLICE DEPARTMENT; FREDERICK  
DAVIE, in his official capacity as the Chair of  
the Civilian Complaint Review Board; and  
THE CIVILIAN COMPLAINT REVIEW  
BOARD,

Defendants.

Case No. 1:20-CV-05441-KPF

**DECLARATION OF DR. SAMUEL  
WALKER IN SUPPORT OF  
COMMUNITIES UNITED FOR POLICE  
REFORM'S OPPOSITION TO  
PLAINTIFF'S REQUEST FOR A  
PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Samuel Walker declares under penalty of perjury as follows.

1. I submit this sworn statement in support of Communities United for Police Reform's ("CPR") Opposition to Plaintiff's Request for a Preliminary Injunction. I have personal knowledge of the facts contained in this declaration, and, if called as a witness, am competent to testify to those facts, except as to matters expressly stated to be upon opinion and belief. As to those, I believe them to be true.

2. I am Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. My area of expertise is police accountability, broadly defined as the study of policies and procedures designed to hold individual police officers accountable for their actions in contacts with members of the public. Citizen complaints against officers for perceived misconduct is one of the important subjects in the field of police accountability.

3. I am the author of 14 books, which have been published in 39 separate editions, on policing in America, crime policy, and civil liberties. For the purpose of this Declaration, the relevant works are *A Critical History of Police Reform* (1977), *Popular Justice: A History of American Criminal Justice* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1998), *The Police in America: An Introduction* (with Charles Katz, 10<sup>th</sup> edition, forthcoming 2021), *Police Accountability: The Role of Citizen Oversight* (2001), *The Color of Justice: Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in America*, (with Cassia Spohn and Miriam De Lone, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 2018). and *The New World of Police Accountability* (with Carol Archbold, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 2020).

4. My book *Police Accountability: The Role of Citizen Oversight* (2001) remains the only scholarly study of citizen oversight of the police, providing a comprehensive picture and analysis of the history of police oversight, the different models of oversight, the different

organizational structures, procedures and authority, and both the positive achievements and limitations of each model.

5. I am also the author of numerous articles and reports on various aspects of policing. For the U.S. Department of Justice, I am the author of *Early Intervention Systems for Law Enforcement Agencies* (2003) and *Mediating Citizen Complaints Against Police Officers* (2002).

6. I have served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division in its pattern or practice police reform work; the attorney general of New Jersey; and the cities of Austin, TX, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and others. I have also spoken widely around the country to community groups and civil rights organizations on police issues in the cities or counties of Boston, New York City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Houston, and others. I also served as a consultant to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) on police early intervention systems in 2015-2016.

7. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A to this Declaration.

**The Importance of Publicly Available Civilian Complaint Data**

8. Making publicly available detailed data about civilian<sup>1</sup> complaints against police officers is a vital element of establishing and maintaining police departments that are professional in their relations with the public they serve, respectful to the individuals they

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<sup>1</sup>The term "citizen" complaints has been widely used for over fifty years. Some experts in the field prefer the term "public" complaints because not all of the people whom police officers encounters are formally citizens of the United States.



encounter in their day-to-day work, lawful in their conduct, and fully accountable to the public and elected officials for their actions in all aspects of policing.<sup>2</sup>

9. Making publicly available detailed data about civilian complaints is especially important in the new paradigm regarding policing that has emerged in the past decade. While the elements of the new paradigm were building for many years, the *Final Report* of the President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing 2015 crystallized this new thinking, gave it conceptual coherence, and made a comprehensive series of recommendations for police departments on how they can achieve compliance with the new paradigm.<sup>3</sup>

10. The core principle of the new paradigm is the legitimacy of the police in the minds of the public they serve. Legitimacy is defined as the freely given belief by members of the public that the police serve their interests in maintaining a good society, listen to their views on what good policing consists of, and takes into account those views in taking the steps necessary to improve the quality of police services and build legitimacy.<sup>4</sup>

11. A key element in legitimacy is trust, the freely given trust on the part of members of the public that their local police department can be trusted to be professional, respectful, lawful, and accountable.

12. Achieving legitimacy, in turn, requires openness on the part of the police; openness about its policies, procedures, and strategies for responding to crime and disorder; openness about demographic composition of the department; openness to criticisms and

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<sup>2</sup> Overview of police accountability: Samuel Walker and Carole A. Archbold, *The New World of Police Accountability*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (2020).

<sup>3</sup> President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing, *Final Report* (2015).

<sup>4</sup> Tom R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*, Rev. ed. (2006).

suggestions for changes in policies and practices; and openness to active public participation in the change process.

13. The President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing regarded openness on the part of the police as so important to achieving trust and legitimacy that its *Final Report* included over 25 specific recommendations on how police departments can achieve greater openness., including Recommendations 1.3: "establish a culture of transparency and accountability to build public trust and legitimacy" and 1.3.2: "When serious incidents occur, including those involving *alleged* police misconduct, agencies should communicate with citizens and the media swiftly, openly, and neutrally, respecting areas where the law requires confidentiality

14. For the last six years (beginning roughly with the tragic events in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014) the U.S. has been embroiled in a National Police Crisis regarding the conduct of the police, primarily with regard to the African American community.<sup>5</sup> Many reforms have been implemented in departments across the country since then. But as the events in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in May 2020, and the wave protests across the country have made clear, much remains to be done to make American policing fully professional, respectful, lawful, and accountable. With this in mind, the issues of openness addressed in this Declaration have special relevance to the problem of police relations with the African American community.

#### **The Origins of the Historic Secrecy Surrounding American Police Departments**

15. When they were first established beginning roughly in the 1830s, American police departments immediately became overtaken by local political influence. In the American system

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<sup>5</sup> Samuel Walker, *Not Dead Yet: The National Police Crisis, The New Conversation About Policing, And the Prospects for Accountability-related Police Reform*, 5 U. ILL. L. REV. 1777-1841 (2018).

of federalism and constitutional democracy, police departments (and public schools) were controlled by local police authorities. There were no national or even state-level controls over basic police issues. The result was virtually no standards for officer recruitment and training; no written guidelines for officer conduct; rampant corruption; widespread brutality; no serious crime-fighting capacity; and a lack of professional standards for policing. This condition was finally challenged by the professionalization movement, beginning roughly around 1900. Over the decades, the professionalization movement introduced basic professional standards, but much remains to be done in that regard.<sup>6</sup>

16. One of the unfortunate byproducts of the professionalism movement was the American police departments became highly insular bureaucracies in which police chiefs valued their autonomy from external influence and rejected public scrutiny and meaningful public participation shaping policies and practices. Public input was defined as “political influence” and rejected out of hand.<sup>7</sup>

17. As a result of the insular bureaucratic culture, a veil or wall of secrecy enveloped important police operations.<sup>8</sup> Secrecy was a component of an “us vs. them” attitude toward the public.<sup>9</sup> This Declaration specifically addresses the impact of this culture of secrecy on civilian complaints.

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<sup>6</sup> Samuel Walker, *A Critical History of Police Reform* (1977); Robert Fogelson, *Big City Police* (1977).

<sup>7</sup> Walker, *supra* note 6, at 171-174. Herman Goldstein, *Policing a Free Society* (1977) at 136 (arguing that the leaders of the police professionalization movement had placed a high value on police autonomy from political influences and as an unfortunate consequence isolated the police from potentially valuable sources of information and support in the community).

<sup>8</sup> Police secrecy is variously referred to as “the code of silence” or the “blue wall.” Goldstein, *supra* note 7, at 165-167 (the blue curtain”).

<sup>9</sup> William A. Westly, *Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality* (1970; the study was conducted in 1950 but not published for twenty years); Paul



**The Culture of Secrecy and Civilian Complaints About Police Conduct**

18. When the civil rights movement escalated in the 1960s, police misconduct (generally labelled “police brutality” in the public arena) became one of the major issues for civil rights activists.<sup>10</sup> National surveys of public opinion found that African Americans were twice as likely as whites to have negative assessments of the police, and that gulf has remained almost constant over the intervening decades.<sup>11</sup>

19. Criticisms by civil rights activists focused on several points:
- (a) that police office use of excessive force was widespread;
  - (b) that it was used primarily against African Americans;
  - (c) that many police departments had no procedure or special unit for receiving and investigating civilian complaints;<sup>12</sup>
  - (d) that complaint investigations were biased against complainants, and particularly so against African Americans, on the grounds that all civilian complaints were invalid;<sup>13</sup>
  - (e) that the serious underrepresentation of African American officers in police departments contributed to the bias against complainants;<sup>14</sup>

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Chevigny, *Police Power: Police Abuses in New York City* (1969), at 141 (“There can be no doubt that policy lying is the most pervasive of all [police] abuses”).

<sup>10</sup> David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, *Minorities and the Police* (1968).

<sup>11</sup> President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (1967) at 145-149; Pew Research Center, “On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart (June 27, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *supra* note 11, at 195-196 (with 37 percent of departments reporting in 1967 they had no special unit to handle civilian complaints).

<sup>13</sup> National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report*, at 310 (noting “the almost total lack of effective channels for redress for complaints against police conduct”).

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, at 321-322.

- (f) that a code of secrecy regarding complaints about police misconduct, and other important police operations, became an important part of the police officer subculture.<sup>15</sup>
- (g) that incidents of police misconduct were consistently rarely punished or not punished at all;<sup>16</sup> that internal police complaint procedures were opaque and shrouded in secrecy. This problem continues today. The 2016 report of the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force concluded that “Chicago’s police oversight system is essentially structured to prevent [discipline] from happening in a meaningful way.”<sup>17</sup> The San Francisco Blue Ribbon Commission on the city police department found the internal affairs process to be “opaque” with little publicly available information.<sup>18</sup>

20. The complaints voiced by members of the African American community in the 1960s were confirmed by the investigations of two national agencies. The police report of the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) found that many police departments did even not have formal complaint review procedures.<sup>19</sup> The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the “Kerner Commission”) meanwhile, found that in many cases police departments routinely refused to accept complaints from members of the public.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Westley, *supra* note 9; Chevigny, *supra* note 9.

<sup>16</sup> The pattern of a lack of discipline for the more serious forms of misconduct persists today; see New York Civil Liberties Union, *Mission Failure: Civilian Review of Policing in New York City, 1994-2006* (2006).

<sup>17</sup> Chicago, Police Accountability Task Force, *Recommendations for Reform* (2016), at 84.

<sup>18</sup> *San Francisco Blue Ribbon Commission on Transparency, Accountability, and Fairness in Law Enforcement* (2016), at 89.

<sup>19</sup> President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *supra* note 11 at 194-204 (with 37 percent of departments reporting in 1967 they had no special unit to handle civilian complaints).

<sup>20</sup> National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report* (1968), at 310 (noting that “In Milwaukee, Wisconsin and Plainfield, New Jersey, for example, ghetto residents complained that police chiefs reject all complaints out of hand”).



21. The circumstances cited in ¶ 19, fueled powerful distrust of the police, particularly among African Americans, as indicated by virtually all public opinion surveys.<sup>21</sup> In today's terminology, the lack of trust undermined the legitimacy of local police departments

22. The circumstances in ¶ 19, particularly the culture of secrecy in law enforcement, also fueled demands for the creation of external and independent (i.e. independent of the police department) public complaint review procedures (as in the New York City Citizen Complaint Review Board).<sup>22</sup> After several decades of political activism, there are now an estimated 144 local civilian police oversight agencies in the United States.<sup>23</sup>

23. The growth of external and independent civilian complaint procedures, however, has not alleviated the widespread distrust among African Americans about civilian complaint procedures. Many of these agencies are underfunded and understaffed. Most lack the power to interview police officers (because they lack subpoena power) or to obtain police documents they feel need to be reviewed.<sup>24</sup>

#### **The Public Value of Disclosing Unsubstantiated Civilian Complaints**

24. For public complaint data to serve as a useful police accountability tool, it is important to include and to make public *all* complaints that are received and recorded by a police department and/or an oversight agency, regardless of whether they are ultimately substantiated.

25. Even complaints that that have not reached "final disposition" should be publicly released, on the grounds that an officer's record should not reflect a complaint that has not yet

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<sup>21</sup> Pew Research Center, *supra* note 11.

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Walker, *Police Accountability: The Role of Citizen Oversight* (2001), at 119-145.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph de Angelis, Richard Rosenthal, Brian Buchner, *Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement: Assessing the Evidence* (2016).

<sup>24</sup> Walker, *supra* note 22 at 123-145.

reached final disposition because there has not been a final determination that the officer did in fact commit the conduct in question.

26. Inclusion of all complaints that are officially filed and investigated has been accepted by the law enforcement profession and the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice for over thirty years.

27. Early intervention systems (EIS) emerged about thirty years ago as a powerful management tool for holding police officers accountable for their conduct. In brief, an EIS is a computerized data base of officer performance which includes department data on anywhere from five to twenty-five different police actions. These actions include officer uses of force (including the results of investigations of force incidents), citizen complaints (including both public complaints and internally generated complaints), officer discipline histories, commendations, vehicle pursuits, failure to appear in court, and others. Analysis of the data in EIS systems almost universally finds that a small percentage of officers with complaints have higher rates of problematic behavior than the average rate of their peer officers without complaints. Officers identified as “problem officers” are then subject to non-disciplinary corrective action, which might include counseling by a command officer, retraining on the officers conduct that is problematic, or referral to professional counseling for substance abuse problems, family problems, anger management, or other issues. Subject officers are then monitored for a specific period of time to determine whether or not their performance has improved.

28. The official data on both public and internally generated complaints in EIS systems include the nature of the complaint (e.g., use of force, abusive language) and the disposition of the complaint (sustained, not sustained, exonerated, and unfounded). It is the

consensus of opinion in the law enforcement profession that it is critically important to have a comprehensive picture of an officer's performance, notwithstanding the disposition. The reason for this is based on the nature of complaint investigations. Civilian misconduct complaints are inherently difficult to sustain for the simple reason that objective evidence, in the form of independent witnesses or forensic evidence (particularly injury or medical attention) is commonly very rare. A low rate of substantiated complaints may also reflect a lack of professionalism and effective leadership on the part of a particular police department (e.g., lack of training for investigator, lack of an investigative protocol, etc.). Thus, the investigation of complaints often becomes a matter of the word of the officer versus the word of the complainant, a situation in which police department investigators have long favored the word of the officer. Nationally, the percentage of complaints that are sustained falls somewhere between 5 and 15 percent. Excluding the remaining 85 to 95 percent of all complaints would leave only a small percentage of all complaints, which would violate the standard of including all complaints as is accepted by the leaders of the law enforcement profession and the U.S. Civil Rights Division (as discussed above in ¶ 27).<sup>25</sup>

29. There is also a consensus of opinion among experts on EIS that the vast number of complaints that are not sustained represent an important part of the overall picture of a police officer's performance. For example, an officer with a sustained complaint and two non-sustained in a two-year period represents a very different situation than a peer officer with two sustained complaints and eight non-sustained complaints in the same two-year period. There are reasonable grounds to suggest that the latter officer has performance problems that the department has a responsibility to address and attempt to correct.

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<sup>25</sup> Walker, *supra* note 22, at 120-122, 134-135.



30. The Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice is authorized under 34 Sec. 12601 (originally 42 Sec. 14141, which is the cite used in earlier publications) to investigate and bring civil suits against police departments where an investigation has found a “pattern or practice” of violations of constitutional rights. Since 1997 the Civil Rights Division has reached 40 settlements with local or state law enforcement agencies which involve a judicially enforced consent decree.<sup>26</sup> Virtually all of those 40 settlements mandate the development of an EIS or major reforms of an existing but dysfunctional EIS.<sup>27</sup>

**The Positive Contributions of the Public Release Civilian Compliant Data**

31. The public release of data on civilian complaints, whether substantiated or not, has the potential for greatly increasing public knowledge about the civilian complaint process, identifying possible problems in police training and supervision and also in the complaint review process, and thereby providing the basis for informed public discussions about necessary reforms designed to improve the quality of policing. The end result of such reforms would be greater trust in and legitimacy of the police. Greater trust in the police and stronger feelings that the police are legitimate on the part of members of the public will, in turn, lead to greater public cooperation with the police in terms of reporting crimes, cooperating with investigations, and willingness to testify at trial – all of which will help to improve public safety.

32. The potential positive contributions of public release of civilian complaint data extend to all the different “publics” involving police departments.<sup>28</sup> Each of these publics plays

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<sup>26</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, *Civil Rights Division, The Civil Rights Division’s Pattern of Practice Police Reform Work: 1994- Present* (2017).

<sup>27</sup> *Id.*, at 31; Walker, “Not Dead Yet,” *supra* note 5, at 1799-1836.

<sup>28</sup> The argument that the police deal with several different “publics” is described in Samuel Walker and Charles M. Katz, *The Police in America: An Introduction*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. at Ch. 12 (forthcoming 2021).

some role in enhancing the accountability of the police, and by improving the overall quality of police services delivered to the public enhances public trust in the police and the development of legitimacy. These publics include:

- (a) elected public officials, who will gain expert knowledge and perspective on a major government institution. As discussed above, in the decentralized structure of American law enforcement, the 15,322 local agencies (12,261 municipal police departments and 3,012 country sheriff's departments), elected mayors and city councils have the primary responsibility for the control of police departments.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, it is essential that these elected officials have access to all information that would help them make informed decisions about the law enforcement agency for which they are responsible. Informed decisions would help lead to improving police professionalism, respectfulness, lawful conduct, and accountability.<sup>30</sup>
- (b) the news media, who will also gain expert knowledge and perspective on a major government institution, about which they routinely report;<sup>31</sup>
- (c) non-elected community leaders, who play important roles as people of influence in the community and who in some cases play leadership roles in local private foundations;
- (d) community activist, civil rights, and civil liberties groups, who are involved in issues of policing, the criminal justice system, and racial and ethnic tensions;<sup>32</sup>
- (e) academic researchers who will gain access to a rich body of data that can yield invaluable empirical findings on the various questions that surround civilian complaint data.
- (f) members of the community who, as discussed above, will have greater trust in the police and as a consequence be more willing to cooperate with

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<sup>29</sup> Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Local Police Departments, 2016: Personnel* (2019), at Table 2.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Walker, "Governing the American Police: Wrestling with the Problems of Democracy," *Chicago Legal Forum* 2018: 615-660.

<sup>31</sup> On the news media as an instrument of police accountability, see Walker and Katz, *The Police in America: An Introduction*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed (2018), at 531.

<sup>32</sup> On the role of civil rights and civil liberties groups as police accountability instruments, see Charles R. Epp, *Making Rights Real: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the Creation of the Legalistic State* (2010), at 60-72.

police in terms of reporting crime, cooperating with interviews with officers, and testifying in court—all of which will enhance public safety.

33. In short, ¶ 32 indicates that the public release of civilian complaint data will enrich the knowledge, understanding and perspective of six different “publics” with an interest in American policing.<sup>33</sup> The resulting “knowledge explosion” can help lead to evidence-based reforms that can improve complaint review procedures and by extension lead to greater community trust in the police and feelings of police legitimacy.

34. The public release of civilian complaint data can provide data and perspective on several different questions that surround the complaint process and about which we today have precious little systematic data. These issues include but are not limited to:

- (a) providing a reliable overall picture of civilian complaints for each police department;
- (b) permitting an analysis of the prevalence of civilian complaints about particular issues (e.g., excessive force, racial or ethnic bias in stops arrests or other actions; offensive language, particularly racial, ethnic or gender slurs), relative to other categories of complaints;<sup>34</sup>
- (c) permitting an analysis of whether there is an identifiable group of “problem” officers who receive significantly more complaints than their peer officers, the relative size of that group among officers who receive complaints;<sup>35</sup>
- (d) permitting an analysis of the level of seriousness of the misconduct among the worst of the “problem” officers (for example, are there some officers who have records of particularly egregious excessive force complaints);

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<sup>33</sup> “Publics” and the police: Walker and Katz, *supra* note 31.

<sup>34</sup> New York Civil Liberties Union, *supra* note 16, at 4 (“CCRB complaint data indicate that the more serious forms of police misconduct occur with significant frequency”).

<sup>35</sup> “Problem officers:” Samuel Walker, *Early Intervention Systems for Law Enforcement Agencies: A Planning and Management Guide* (2003); Goldstein, *supra* note 7, at 171 (“Such officers are well-known to their supervisors, to the top administrators, to their peers, and to the residents of the areas in which they work”).



- (e) permitting an analysis of the patterns of discipline, or lack thereof, among officers with sustained complaints (in particular, is there a pattern in which serious misconduct rarely results in meaningful discipline);<sup>36</sup>
- (f) are there patterns or racial, ethnic or gender disparities among officers who do experience various categories of discipline;
- (g) and other possible issues.

### Conclusion

35. The public release of data on civilian complaints against police officers, including officers' names, will serve to promote several developments related to making police departments more professional, respectful, lawful and accountable, to increase trust in the police in the eyes of the community, and to enhance their legitimacy in the eyes of the community. These outcomes are central to the new paradigm about policing in America as defined by the President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing in 2015.

36. Increasing trust in and the legitimacy of the police is especially important with respect to the African American community and also the Latinx community. In the last six years, the U.S. has been engulfed in a National Police Crisis related to unjustified police shootings of people and other forms of misconduct. Thus, full transparency around public complaints, investigations, and discipline against police officers will address in a positive way the nation's serious racial crisis.

37. The public release of data on civilian complaints against the police will go a long way toward ending the secrecy about the complaint investigation process that has done so much to undermine community trust in the police.

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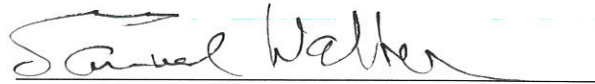
<sup>36</sup> Chicago Police Accountability Task Force, *supra* note 17; New York Civil Liberties Union, *supra* note 16, at 4. ("Complaints that accuse police officers of using excessive force rarely result in discipline").

38. The public release of data on civilian complaints against police officers will make available a wealth of data that will be of use to all of the “publics” who have an interest in and in some cases a direct responsibility for shaping police policy and improving the quality of police services.

Executed on this 13<sup>th</sup> day of August, 2020, in Omaha, Nebraska.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Samuel Walker". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Dr. Samuel Walker

# **Exhibit A**



## VITA

**Samuel Walker**

**2018**

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### **WEB SITES**

<http://samuelwalker.net>

Personal web site with research and commentary on policing and civil liberties.

<http://todayinlh.com>

*Today in Civil Liberties History*. A web-based calendar of civil liberties events for each day of the year.

<https://www.theserights.org> This web site contains alternative lyrics for Woody Guthrie's classic song, "This Land is Your Land," which are "These Rights Are Our Rights," an anthem for the Bill of Rights.

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Ohio State University, December 1973, Department of History  
M.A., University of Nebraska at Omaha, August 1970, Department of History  
B.A., University of Michigan, May 1965, American Culture Program

### **EXPERIENCE**

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Professor Emeritus, 2005 -  
Coordinator, Police Professionalism Initiative, 2002 -  
Isaacson Professor, 1999-2005  
Kiewit Professor, 1993 -1999

Professor, 1984-1993  
Associate Professor, 1978-1983  
Assistant Professor, 1974-1977  
Research Director, Educational Development Consortium, 1974-1976

## **BOOKS**

A Critical History of Police Reform: The Emergence of Professionalism. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1977.

Popular Justice: A History of American Criminal Justice. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Second edition, revised; 1998.

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3rd. ed., revised, 1999

4<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2002, with Charles M. Katz

5<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2005, With Charles M. Katz

6<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2007, with Charles M. Katz

7<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2011, with Charles M. Katz

8<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2013, with Charles M. Katz

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3rd ed., revised, Sense and Nonsense About Crime and Drugs, 1994.

4<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 1998.

5<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2001.

6<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2006.

7<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2011

8<sup>th</sup> ed., revised, 2014

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"Hate Speech": The History of and American Controversy. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

The Color of Justice: Race and Ethnicity in American Criminal Justice. [With Cassia Spohn and Miriam DeLone]. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1996.

2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised, 2000

3<sup>rd</sup> edition, revised, 2004.

4<sup>th</sup> edition, revised, 2011.

5<sup>th</sup> edition, revised, 2012.

6<sup>th</sup> edition, revised, 2018.

The Rights Revolution: Rights and Community in Modern America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Police Accountability: The Role of Citizen Oversight. Belmont: Wadsworth, 2001.

Civil Liberties in America: A Reference Handbook. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004.

The New World of Police Accountability. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 2005.

2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Revised, with Carol Archbold, 2014

3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Revised, with Carol Archbold, 2020

Presidents and Civil Liberties, From Woodrow Wilson to Barack Obama: A Story of Poor Custodians. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

### **GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, CONTRACTS**

Developing and Early Intervention System. Contract, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa, Canada. July 2015-2016. \$25,000.



Police Professionalism Initiative. U.S. Congress. \$1,000,000. July 1, 2002 - June 30, 2005.

Promoting Police Accountability: Technical Assistance to Law Enforcement Agencies for Developing Early Warning Systems. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. October 1, 2000 - September 30, 2000. \$240,929.

Program Development in Mediation of Citizen Complaints. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Fall 1999 - December 2000. \$148,000.

Grant-in-Aid. University Committee on Research, UNO. Summer, 1999. "A Study of Police Interactions with Hispanic Citizens.

Analysis of the QSA Survey Forms. Minneapolis Civilian Review Authority. \$500. February - March 1999.

Follow-up Analysis and Report, January 2001. \$250.

Quality Service Audit Development. Minneapolis Civilian Review Authority. \$2,500. May-August, 1998

A National Evaluation of Early Warning Systems. Grant. National Institute of Justice. \$174,643. January, 1998 - June, 1999.

Fellowship. Center on Crime and Communities, Open Society Institute. \$49,000. Fall, 1997-August 1998. Renewed, 1998-1999. \$49,000.

Sub-contract. Buffalo (NY) Police Department. A Study of Stress Among Minority and Female Police Officers. \$25,000. December, 1996-December 1998.

Consultant. City Council, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Evaluation of the Oversight for the Albuquerque Police Department. \$15,000. October, 1996-February, 1997.

Consultant. KPMG Peat Marwick. Evaluation of the Charlotte, North Carolina Police Department. March, 1997-1998.

A Survey of Public Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Minority Employment in the Chicago Police Department. Contract. \$15,000. City of Chicago. 1996.

Summer Grant-in-Aid, UNO University Committee on Research. "An Evaluation of the Police Review Function of Citizen Review. Summer 1996. \$5090.00.

Ford Foundation Fellowship, History and Analysis of the Survey of the Administration of Criminal Justice, September, 1987-December, 1988.

Summer Research Fellowship, University of Nebraska at Omaha, University Committee on Research, 1979, 1985.

Summer Research Travel Grant, University of Nebraska at Omaha, University Committee on Research, 1983.

## **COMMISSIONS, TASK FORCES**

Member, American Law Institute (ALI), Advisory Committee, *Principles of Law: Police Investigations*, 2015-.

Consultant, National Academy of Sciences, Project of Proactive Policing, 2015-2016.

Testimony, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Hearings on Police-Community Relations, New York City, April 20, 2015.

Testimony, Ohio Governor's Task Force on Police-Community Relations, Toledo, OH, March 17, 2015.

Testimony, President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing, Hearings, Washington, DC, January 13, 2015.

Member, National Academy of Sciences, Panel on *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*, 2001-2004.

## **HONORS, AWARDS**

Lifetime Achievement Award. Division on Policing. American Society of Criminology (ASC), November 15, 2018

Academic Freedom Award. Academic Freedom Coalition of Nebraska (AFCON), October 13, 2018.

Langum Prize for Best Book in American Legal History 2012, for *Presidents and Civil Liberties From Wilson to Obama* (2012).

W. E. B. DuBois Award for contributions to the field of Criminal Justice on race and ethnicity. Western Society of Criminology, February 5, 2011.

*Sense and Nonsense About Crime* named one of the "Great Books" in Criminal Justice. The rating is in a survey by Gennare F. Vito and Richard Tewksbury published in the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, (V. 19, November 2008).

Tribute to Civil Libertarians Award. ACLU Membership Meeting. Washington, DC. October 16, 2006.

Outstanding Achievement Award. National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement (NACOLE). December, 2005.

Academic Freedom Award, 2005. Academic Freedom Coalition of Nebraska. November, 2005.

Graduate Student Mentor Award. University of Nebraska at Omaha. April, 2002.

Faculty Member of the Year. Department of Criminal Justice. UNO. 2002.

Distinguished Alumni Award. College of Humanities. Ohio State University. June 2001.

Isaacson Professorship. University of Nebraska at Omaha. Fall 1999-present.

Bruce Smith Award. Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS). 1998

MCB Publishing Award for Best Article Published in the American Journal of Police, 1996, for "Varieties of Citizen Review" (with Betsy Kreisel).

Gustavus Myers Award for the Outstanding Books on Human Rights, 1995.  
For Hate Speech (University of Nebraska Press).

Fellow, Center For Great Plains Studies. University of Nebraska. Lincoln, NE

Peter T. Kiewit Professor, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1993-96  
Renewed for 2nd term, 1996-1999

Finalist, 1994-95 Outstanding Book Award, for Hate Speech, Society of Midland Authors.

American Library Association, Citation for "Best Bibliographies in History - 1994," for The American Civil Liberties Union: An Annotated Bibliography (1992)

Gustavus Myers Award For the Outstanding Books on Prejudice Published in 1990, Awarded in 1992 for In Defense of American Liberties, by the Gustavus Myers Center.

"You Made A Difference" Award, Nebraska Pro-Choice Coalition, 1992.

"Civil Libertarian of the Year," 1991. Nebraska Civil Liberties Union.

Award for Distinguished Research and Creative Activity, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1989

Honorary Fellow, Institute for Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin Law School, 1987-1988.

Visiting Scholar, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, May-November, 1985.

Frederick H. Kayser Professorship, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1985-1991.

### **ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS, and REPORTS**

“Not Dead Yet:” The National Police Crisis, A New Conversation About Policing, and the Prospects for Accountability-related Police Reform,” *Illinois Law Review*, V. 5 (2018).

“Governing the American Police: Wrestling with the Problems of Democracy,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (2016): 615-660.

“The History of Proactive Policing.” Commissioned Paper, National Academy of Sciences, Panel on Proactive Policing. Presented at Panel Meeting, Washington, DC, April 4, 2016.

“The Community Voice in Policing: Old Issues, New Evidence,” *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 10 (2015): 1-16.

“The Engineer as Progressive: The Wickersham Commission in The Arc of Herbert Hoover’s Life and Work,” *Marquette Law Review* 96 (Summer 2013): 1165-1197.

“Institutionalizing Police Accountability Reforms: The Problem of Making Police Reforms Endure,” *St. Louis University Public Law Review*, XXXII (No. 1, 2012): 57-92.

“Civil Liberties.” Michael Kazin, ed., *The Concise Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. Pp. 79-82.

“Policing the Police: Citizens Encourage Ethical Policing.” With Andrea Lorenz. U.S. State Department, *E-Journal USA*, 15 (April 2011): 22-23.

*Making Police Reforms Endure: The Keys For Success*. Trent Ikerd and Samuel Walker. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, April 2010.

“Not Just Police Use of Deadly Force: The Larger Contributions of Jim Fyfe to American Criminal Justice,” in Candace McCoy and Samuel Walker, eds., *Holding Police Accountable*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2010.

“An Alternative Remedy for Police Misconduct: A Model State Pattern or Practice Statute” [with Morgan MacDonald], *George Mason Civil Rights Law Journal*, 19 (Summer 2009): 479-552.

“The Impact of Traffic Stops on Calling the Police,” Chris Gibson, Samuel Walker, Wesley G. Jennings, J. Mitchell Miller, *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 21 (June 2010): 139-159.

“The Neglect of Police Unions: Exploring one of the most Important Areas of Policing,” *Police Practice and Research*, 9 (May 2008), No. 2): 95-111.

Reprinted in Monique Marks and David Sklansky, eds. *Police Reform from the Bottom Up: Officers and their Unions as Agents of Change* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2012).

“Police Accountability: Current Issues and Research Needs” National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, May, 2007. [www.ncjrs.gov](http://www.ncjrs.gov).

“Too Many Sticks, Not Enough Carrots: Limits and New Opportunities in American Crime Policy,” *University of St. Thomas Law Journal* 3 (Spring 2006): 430-461.

“History of the Civilian Oversight Movement,” (Chapter 1) and “Models of Civilian Oversight Agencies” (Chapter 2), *Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement: Legal Issues and Policy Considerations* (Chicago: American Bar Association Section of State and Local Government Law, 2006).

“Education: The Key to Civil Liberties.” In Woody Klein, ed., *Liberties Lost*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

*Strategies for Intervention with Officers Through Early Intervention Systems: A Guide for Front-line Supervisors*. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 2006.

*Supervision and Intervention within Early Intervention Systems: A Guide for Law Enforcement Chief Executives*. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 2005.

“Race and Criminal Justice,” “American Civil Liberties Union,” “Nat Hentoff,” “Police Investigation Commissions,” *Encyclopedia of Civil Liberties* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

“An Impediment of Police Accountability?: An Analysis of Statutory Law Enforcement Officers’ Bills of Rights,” [with Kevin M. Keenan], *Boston University Public Interest Law Journal*, 14 (2005): 185-243.

“American Civil Liberties Union.” *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

“American Civil Liberties Union.” *Governments of the World* (New York: Macmillan Reference, forthcoming).

“Science and Politics in Police Research: Reflections on Their Tangled Relationship,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, V. 593 (May 2004): 137-155.



“Citizen Oversight, 2003: Developments and Prospects,” New York State Bar Association, Government, Law and Policy Journal, 5 (Fall 2003): 5-10

Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence. Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 2003. [Member of the Committee; principal author of Chapter Three].

Early Intervention Systems for Law Enforcement Agencies: A Planning and Management Guide. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2003.

“Police Sexual Abuse of Teenage Girls: A 2003 Update of ‘Driving While Female.’” With Dawn Irlbeck. Police Professionalism Initiative. June 2003. [www.policeaccountability.org](http://www.policeaccountability.org).

“The New Paradigm of Police Accountability: The U.S. Justice Department ‘Pattern or Practice Suits in Context.’” St. Louis University Public Law Review, XXII (No. 1, 2003): 3-52.

Internal Benchmarking for Traffic Stop Data: An Early Intervention System Approach. Discussion Paper. Police Professionalism Initiative. April 2003. [www.policeaccountability.org](http://www.policeaccountability.org).

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Frequently Asked Questions About Early Warning Systems.  
Frequently Asked Questions About Mediating Citizen Complaints.  
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Mediating Citizen Complaints Against Police Officers: A Guide for Police and Community Leaders. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2002.

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“Mediating Citizen Complaints Against the Police: An Exploratory Study,” Journal of Dispute

Resolution, V. 2001 (No. 2, 2001): 231-244 [With Carol Archbold].

“Language Barriers in the Delivery of Police Services: A Study of Police and Hispanic Interactions in a Midwestern City” [with Leigh Herbst], *Journal of Criminal Justice* 29 (July/August 2001): 1-12.

“Police Accountability and Early Warning Systems: Developing Policies and Programs,” *Justice Research and Policy*, 2 (Fall 2000): 59-72.

“Police Accountability: Establishing an Early Warning System,” *International City Management Association, IQ Service Report*, 32 (No. 8, August 2000).

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“Institutional Structure vs. Political Will: Albuquerque as a Case Study in the Effectiveness of Citizen Oversight of the Police” [with Eileen Luna]. A. Goldsmith and C. Lewis, ed., *Civilian Oversight of Policing: Governance, Democracy and Human Rights*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2000. Pp. 83-104.

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“New Directions in Citizen Oversight: The Auditor Approach to Handling Citizen Complaints,” in T.O. Shelley and A. Grant, eds., *Problem-Oriented Policing*. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 1998. Pp. 161-178.

*Policing in Indian Country: A National Survey of Tribal Law Enforcement Agencies* [With Eileen Luna]. Washington: Police Executive Research Forum, 1998.

“Citizen Complaints in Response to Police Misconduct: The Results of a Victimization Survey,” *Police Quarterly*, I (No 1, 1998): 65-89 [with Nanette Graham].

*Achieving Police Accountability: New Directions in Citizen Review of Complaints* (New York: Open Society Institute, 1998).

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“Complaints Against the Police: A Focus Group Study of Citizen Perceptions, Goals, and Expectations,” *Criminal Justice Review*, 22 (Autumn 1997): 207-226.

“A Primer on Police Complaint Data,” *Subject to Debate*, (March 1998).

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Declaration. Affirmative Action in American Policing. Appendix to Brief Filed in Opposition to State of California Proposition 209. November 1996.

Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Minority Employment in the Chicago Police Department. (With Vincent J. Webb). June, 1996.

"Wars on Crime - Struggles For Justice: Conflicting Trends in American Criminal Justice, 1970-1995." Lawrence W. Friedman and George Fisher, eds., *The Crime Conundrum: Essays on Criminal Justice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 191-210.

"The State of the Police." (Contributor, with Fyfe, Greene, McMurray, Skolnick, and Weisheit). *American Society of Criminology, Critical Criminal Justice Issues* (Columbus: ASC, March 1996).

"Varieties of Citizen Review: The Implications of Structure, Mission, and Policies for Police Accountability," *American Journal of Police*, XV (1996, No. 3): 65-88. [with Betsy Kreisel].

"Introduction and Reader's Guide." *Records of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1929-1931* [Wickersham Commission]. Washington, DC: National Archives/University Publications of America, forthcoming.

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"Less Than Meets the Eye: Police Department Bias Crimes Units," *American Journal of Police*, XIV (No. 1 1995): 29-48. [with Charles M. Katz].

"A Pale Reflection of Reality: The Neglect of Racial and Ethnic Minorities in Introductory Criminal Justice Textbooks." *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 6 (Spring 1995): 61-83. [With Molly Brown].

*Citizen Review of the Police 1994: A National Survey*. [With Betsy Wright]. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 1995.

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"A Strange Atmosphere of Consistent Illegality: Myrdal on 'The Police and Other Contacts,'" *Challenge*, 5 (July 1994): 38-57.

Also published in Obie Clayton, Jr., ed., *An American Dilemma Revisited: Race Relations in a Changing World*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996. 226-246.

"Guide to the Papers of the American Civil Liberties Union," *The Papers of the American Civil Liberties Union, 1920-1989: Microfilm Edition* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms Incorporated, 1994).

"Involving Citizens in Violence Prevention," *American Journal of Police*, XII (1993, No. 3): 59-64.

"The Communitarian Cop-Out," *National Civic Review*, 82 (Summer 1993): 246-254.

"Hijacked!: How the War on Drugs Stole Community Policing." *The Faces of Change: Seventh International Conference on Drug Policy Reform*. Washington, DC: Drug Policy Foundation, 1993. Pp. M/1-7.

"Historical Roots of the Legal Control of Police Behavior," in D. Weisburd and C. Uchida, eds., *Police Innovation and the Rule of Law*. New York: Springer - Verlag, 1993. Pp. 32-55.

"Roger Baldwin." *American Reform and Reformers: A Biographical Dictionary*. R. M. Miller and P. A. Cimballa, eds. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996. Pp. 26-36.

"Law Enforcement," *Encyclopedia of the American Presidency*, V. 3. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. Pp. 942-944.

"Between Two Worlds: The President's Crime Commission and the Police, 1967-1992," in *The 1967 President's Crime Commission Report: Its Impact 25 Years Later*. John Conley, ed. Cincinnati: Anderson, 1994. Pp. 21-35.

"Putting Justice Back Into Criminal Justice: Notes For a Liberal Criminal Justice Policy," *Criminal Justice: Law and Politics*, 6th ed., George Cole, ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1993. Pp. 503-516.

Reprinted, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 1998.

"Does Anyone Remember Team Policing?: Lessons of the Team Policing Experience for Community Policing." *American Journal of Police*, XII (No. 1 1993): 33-55.

"The Effectiveness of Civilian Review: Observations on Recent Trends and New Issues Regarding Civilian Review of the Police." *American Journal of Police*, XI (No. 4, 1992): 1-26. With Vic Bumphus; 80% authorship.

"A Decade of Modest Progress: Black and Hispanic Police Employment in the 50 Largest Cities, 1983-1992" (with K. B. Turner). Omaha: University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1992.

ACLU, *Fighting Police Abuse: A Community Action Manual*. (New York: ACLU, 1992). 80% authorship.

Spanish language edition: *La Lucha Contra Los Abusos De La Policia: Manual De Accion Comunitaria* (1993)

Second edition, revised, 1997.

"Answers to 10 Key Questions About Civilian Review," *Law Enforcement News* (March 31, 1992).

"Getting From Here to There: A Reply to George Kelling," *Issues in Community Policing*, William A. Geller, ed. Washington: Police Executive Research Forum, forthcoming.

"The Creation of the Contemporary Criminal Justice Paradigm: The American Bar Foundation Survey of Criminal Justice, 1956-1969," *Justice Quarterly*, 9 (March, 1992): 201-230.

"The American Civil Liberties Union," in Kermit L. Hall, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 29-30.

"The American Civil Liberties Union." *Encyclopedia of African American Culture*. New York: Macmillan, forthcoming.

"Special Report: Police Misconduct." *The Americana Annual 1992*. New York: Grolier, 1992. p. 205.

"Morris Ernst," "Osmond K. Fraenkel," "Walter Pollak," in John A. Garraty, Ed., *American National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming.

"Forces of Change in Police Policy: The Impact of *Tennessee v. Garner*," *American Journal of Police*, XI (1992, No. 3): 97-112. (50% contribution).

"Urban Crime Policy," (with J. Greene, D. Gordon, D. Steelman). *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 14 (No. 3/4, 1992): 359-375. 25% Contribution.

"American Civil Liberties Union," "Roger Baldwin," "Crystal Eastman," *Encyclopedia of New York City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

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"Civilian Review: Facing the New Reality," *Police Union News*, II (December, 1991): 1-3, 7.

*Civilian Review of the Police: A National Survey*. Omaha: UNO. 1991 (with Vic Bumphus). 50% contribution.



- "The ACLU and Economic Rights," in Symposium on Economic Rights, Society, 28 (January/February 1991): 14-16.
- "Forward," to Geoffrey Alpert and Lorie Fridell, *Police Vehicles and Firearms: Instruments of Deadly Force*. Prospect Hts., IL: Waveland Press, 1991.
- "The Growth of Civil Liberties, 1890-1945: Reflections in the Magic Mirror of American Life," in Ray Arseneault, ed., *Crucible of Liberty: 200 Years of the Bill of Rights*. New York: The Free Press, 1991: 36-51.
- "Rights Before Trial," in Kermit Hall, ed., *By and For the People: Constitutional Rights in American History*. Arlington Hts., IL: Harlan Davidson, 1991. Pp. 78-88.
- "Douglas as Civil Libertarian: Criminal Law and Privacy," in Stephen L. Wasby, ed., *"He Shall Not Pass This Way Again": The Legacy of William O. Douglas*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. Pp 129-131.
- "Beyond the Supreme Court: Alternative Paths to the Control of Police Behavior," *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 14 (1990): 189-204.
- "Paths to Police Reform: Reflections on 25 Years of Change," in Dennis Jay Kenney, ed., *Police and Policing* (New York: Praeger, 1989), pp. 271-284.
- Employment of Black and Hispanic Police Officers, 1983-1988: A Follow-up Study (Omaha: UNO Center For Applied Urban Research, 1988). Reprinted in *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, 1988 (Washington: Department of Justice, 1989), pp. 89-90.
- "Penal Reform," "Police Reform," *Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era*, John D. Buenker and Edward R. Kantowicz, eds., Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 360-361, 372-373.
- The Rule Revolution: Reflections on the Transformation of American Criminal Justice, 1950-1988* (Madison: Institute for Legal Studies, 1988).
- "Sixties Civil Rights Gave Momentum to Prisoners' Rights," " *Prison Journal*, No. 13, (Fall, 1987).
- "Sooner or Later We All Need Our Civil Liberties (Ask Ollie North)," *The World and I* (June 1987), pp. 633-640; reprinted in *The New York City Tribune*, June 26, 1987.
- "Official Crime Reports Conflict," *Prison Journal* (No. 9, Fall 1986), 6, 11-12.
- "Controlling the Cops: A Legislative Approach to Police Rulemaking," *University of Detroit Law Review*, 63 (Spring 1986), 361-391.

"The Insider as Outsider: Patrick V. Murphy and the Dilemmas of Police Reform," in Hubert G. Locke, ed., *Essays in Honor of Patrick V. Murphy* (forthcoming).

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"The Limits of Segregation in Prisons: A Reply to Jacobs," *Criminal Law Bulletin*, 21 (November/December 1985), pp. 485-494.

"The Politics of Police Accountability: The Seattle Police Spying Ordinance as a Case Study," in E. Fairchild and V. Webb, eds. *The Politics of Criminal Justice*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985. Pp. 144-157.

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"The Employment of Black and Hispanic Police Officers: Trends in the 50 Largest Cities," University of Nebraska at Omaha, *Review of Applied Urban Research*, XI (October 1983).

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## PRESENTATIONS

"Not Dead Yet: The National Police Crisis, the Legacy of the Justice Department 'Pattern or Practice' Program, and the Prospects for Police Reform." Presentation, Symposium on Federal Responses to Police Misconduct. University of Illinois Law School, Champaign, IL. April 4, 2018

"Not Muted Voices at All: The Long-Term Contributions of the Voices of World War I Conscientious Objectors and Dissenters Against the War." Presentation, Conference, Remembering Muted Voices: Conscience, Dissent, Resistance, and Civil Liberties in World War I through Today. Kansas City, MO, October 20, 2017.

"The Future of Race and Policing in the Trump Era." Presentation, Wisconsin Bar Association, Annual Meeting, Wisconsin Dells, June 15, 2017.

Panelist. Symposium on Community Oversight of the Police. Chicago, IL, May 18, 2017.

Panelist. Symposium for Texas Journalists on "Cops, Reform, and Justice." University of Texas, School of Journalism. Austin, TX, April 14, 2017.

"Actually, Effective Strategies Do Exist: Police and Community Violence." Presentation, Symposium on Addressing Violence as a Public Health Issue." College of Public Health, University of Nebraska Medical Center, Omaha, NE, April 21, 2017.

Discussant. Panel on Police Community Relations, following screening of *Do Not Resist*. February 7, 2017.

"'The Heart of the Matter: Officer Use of Force Reports as the Core of Police Accountability.' Presentation, University of California, Irvine Law School. Irvine, CA, October 7, 2016."

"The National Police Crisis: What Can We Do." Presentation, Jewish Community Center, Omaha, NE, July 20, 2016.

"Policing – and Governing—the Police: Wrestling with the Problem of Democracy." University of Chicago Law Forum, Chicago, IL, November 6, 2015.

"Police Auditors." Presentation, Community Renewal Society, Chicago, IL, November 5, 2015.



- “Police Union Contract Provisions: Impediments to Police Accountability.” Presentation. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), Annual Conference, Warrenton, VA, October 23, 2015
- “An Independent Police Auditor: An Effective form of Citizen Oversight of the Police.” Presentation. Coalition for Increased Civilian Oversight of the Pasadena Police.” Community Conference, Pasadena, CA, October 6, 2015.
- “Ferguson, Baltimore, and the Challenges for Citizen Oversight of the Police.” Presentation, Community Conference for Just and Dignified Policing, Riverside, CA, October 5, 2015.
- “Police Response to the Mentally Ill: Lessons from Recent U.S. Experience.” Presentation, XXXIX International Conference on Law and Mental Health, Vienna, Austria, July 17, 2015.
- “Achieving Respectful Policing.” Testimony. United States Commission on Civil Rights. Hearings. New York City, April 20, 2015.
- “Getting Serious About Day-to-Day Police Misconduct. Keynote Address. April Symposium on Racial Justice. Arizona State University. Phoenix, AZ, April 10, 2015.
- “Statement on Respectful Policing.” Ohio Task Force on Police-Community Relations. Written Submission. March 17, 2015.
- “After Ferguson: Lessons from a Tragedy.” Presentation. Conference on Race, Justice and Community: Can We All Get Along? John Jay College. New York City. February 9, 2015.
- “Citizen Voice in Police Policy Making: Old Issues, New Evidence” Presentation. Conference on Moving Beyond Discipline: The Role of Civilians in Policing. National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement and Seattle University. Seattle, WA, February 6, 2015.
- “A Respectful Policing Initiative.” Presentation. President’s Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing. Washington, DC. January 13, 2015.
- “The Most Important Police Research Needs.” Presentation. Police Section Meeting, American Society of Criminology. San Francisco. November 20, 2014.
- “Police-Community Relations Today.” Presentation and discussion. Reason/Omaha, Monthly meeting. Omaha, NE. December 10, 2014.
- “Militarization of the Police,” Panelist. Public Forum. Nebraskans for Peace. Lincoln, NE. November 17, 2014.

“Police Officer Body Cameras: Their Place in the Larger Police Accountability Picture. Presentation. Conference on Police Officer Body Cameras, Seattle University, Seattle, WA, October 10, 2014.

“Community vs. Chaos: Community Dialogue; What Would We Do if Ferguson Happened in Omaha?” Panelist. Community Forum. Omaha, NE. September 8, 2014.

“The PTSR Framework: A Systematic Approach to Police Accountability.” Presentation. Phoenix, AZ Metropolitan Area Police Chiefs Groups. Phoenix, AZ. April 21, 2014.

“An Unprecedented Situation for Police Reform.” Community Forum on the NYPD. Cardozo Law School. New York City. January 27, 2014.

“Finding the Right Balance.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement,” September 23, 2013. Salt Lake City, Utah.

“On the Stand: What I Learned as an Expert Witness in the NYPD Stop and Frisk Trial.” University of Nebraska at Omaha. Constitution Day Talk. September 17, 2013.

Presidents and Civil Liberties: What History Tells Us About Obama and Romney.” Presentation, Colorado State University, October 22, 2012.

“Pattern or Practice Litigation and Police Accountability.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, National Association for Citizen Oversight of Accountability. San Diego, October 17, 2012.

“The Engineer as Progressive: The Wickersham Commission in the Arc of Herbert Hoover’s Life and Work. Presentation. Conference on America’s First National Crime Commission And the Federalization of Law Enforcement.” Marquette University Law School. October 4, 2012.

“Police Accountability – Lawfulness and Legitimacy.” Seminar. Center for Public Safety, Northwestern University. September 12, 2012.

“Presidents and Civil Liberties: Scenes from the White House.” Presentation, Binghamton University, March 21, 2012.

“Police Accountability.” Workshop, Safe Communities, Fair Sentences Conference. Omaha, Nebraska, March 10, 2012.

“Police Practices that Contribute to the Prison Pipeline – And How to End Them.” Presentation, Malcolm X Conference, University of Nebraska at Omaha, March 7, 2012.

“Institutionalizing Accountability Reforms.” Presentation, Conference on Control of Police

Misconduct in a Post-Exclusionary Rule World: Can it be Done? St. Louis University Law School. February 24, 2012.

Commentator. Panel on “Job Commitment, Satisfaction, and Corruption: Papers from the National Police Platform. American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, November 18, 2011. Washington, DC.

“Making Police Reforms Endure: The Keys for Success.” Presentation. Annual Meeting. National Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement. October 18, 2011. New Orleans, LA.

“Rethinking Police Litigation Strategies,” Presentation, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York City, August 17, 2001.

“Citizen Oversight of the Police: Why it is Needed, What is the Best Model? Presentation, African American Studies Department, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, March 1, 2011.

“Two Steps Forward, One Step Backwards: Forty Years of Police Reform.” George Beto Lecture, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX, February 15, 2011.

“Race and Justice in America: A 40 Year Perspective. Keynote Address, Western Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Vancouver, CA, February 5, 2011.

“Linking Policy Change, Officer Response, and Organizational Transformation: A Theoretical Perspective,” with Dennis Rosenbaum. Presentation. American Society of Criminology, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, November 18, 2010.

“Roundtable Discussion: The Auditor Model of Citizen Oversight. Roundtable Leader. National Association for Citizen Oversight of the Police, Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, September 21, 2010.

“Alternative Strategies for Dealing with Police Misconduct.” Presentation. Rights Working Group. Washington, DC, May 11, 2010.

“Rethinking Packer’s ‘The Two Models of the Criminal Process’.” Presentation. American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, PA. November 6, 2009.

“Renewing Research on Police Accountability.” Moderator and Presenter. American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, PA. November 5, 2009.

“Models of Oversight: The Auditor Model.” Roundtable Discussion Moderator. National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement. Annual Meeting, Austin, TX. October 31, 2009.

“Problem-Solving Approaches to Reducing Violence.” Forum: From Awareness to Action: A Community Approach to Youth Violence. League of Women Voters, Omaha, NE. November 17, 2008.

“Current Directions in Police Accountability.” Community Forum. St. Louis, MO. November 13, 2008.

Commentary. Author Meets Critics: Richard Leo on Police Interrogations. Annual Meeting, American Society of Criminology, November 12, 2008.

“The Auditor Model of Citizen Oversight.” Roundtable Discussion Leader. NACOLE Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH. October 27, 2008.

“Can We Reform the Police Through Pattern or Practice Litigation?” University of Cincinnati. Cincinnati, OH. October 27, 2008.

“Core Principles for Effective Violence Reduction Strategies.” Presentation. Judiciary Committee, Nebraska Unicameral. Omaha, NE. September 12, 2008.

“Building Trust in Police– Needed for Effective Crime Fighting.” Presentation. Stop the Violence Conference. Omaha, NE. April 25, 2008.

“Omaha’s Police Problems in National Perspective.” Presentation. League of Women Voters of Omaha. Annual Meeting. April 19, 2008.

“Alternatives for Citizen Oversight of the Police.” Presentation to the Commission on the Creation of a Civilian Review Board, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 6, 2008.

“Presidents and Civil Liberties.” ACLU Washington Legislative Office. Washington, DC. December 14, 2007.

“The Abuse of Presidential Power: Wilson, FDR, Nixon, and Bush.” Presentation. Brownville Lyceum. Brownville, NE. October 7, 2007.

“The Survival of Citizen Oversight Agencies.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement. San Jose, CA. September 25, 2007.

“Not the Same Old Police-Community Relations Issue.” Presentation. Conference on Immigration. Arizona State University. Phoenix, AZ. April 5, 2007.

“Lessons of the Scopes Case: Strategies for Responding to the Religious Right.” C. E. Sorensen Memorial Lecture. Unitarian Church of Lincoln, Nebraska. April 1, 2007.

“Police Accountability: Issues and Research Needs.” National Institute of Justice, Police Planning Research Workshop. Washington, DC. November 28, 2006



- “Lessons of the Scopes Case: Strategies for Responding to the Religious Right.” Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Nebraska Chapter Meeting. Omaha, NE. November 8, 2006.
- “The Impact of Consent Decrees on Policing.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, American Society of Criminology. Los Angeles, November 2, 2006.
- “The New World of Police Accountability.” Presentation. Americans for Effective Law Enforcement (AELE). Las Vegas, NV, October 30, 2006.
- “Why the Neglect of Police Unions? Exploring One of the Most Important Areas of American Policing.” Presentation. Conference on Police Reform from the Bottom Up. The Law School. University of California, Berkeley. October 12-13, 2006.
- “The Larger Legacy of Jim Fyfe: The Control of Discretion in Criminal Justice.” Presentation. Memorial Conference on The Legacy of James Fyfe. John Jay College. New York City. October 5, 2006.
- “An Uncertain Defense: Presidents and Civil Liberties, From Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush.” Constitution Day Address. University of Nebraska at Omaha. September 18, 2006.
- “DNA Dragnets: Use and Experience.” Presentation. Conference on DNA Fingerprinting and Civil Liberties. American Society of Law, Medicine and Ethics. Boston, MA. May 12, 2006.
- “Too Many Sticks, Not Enough Carrots.” Presentation. University of St. Thomas Law School. Minneapolis, MN. March 30, 2006.
- “National Trends in Early Intervention Systems.” EIS Best Practices Conference. Phoenix Police Department. Phoenix, AZ. March 27, 2006.
- “Diversity in Law Enforcement Employment: Values, Goals, Results.” Presentation. Performance Institute. Washington, DC. February 16, 2006.
- “Innovations in Police Accountability: Opportunities and Challenges.” Conference on Innovations in Police Accountability. Upper Midwest Regional Community Policing Institute. Minneapolis, MN. January 17, 2006.
- “Models of Citizen Oversight: The Auditor Model.” Workshop. National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement. Miami, Florida. December 13, 2005.
- “What Real Police Accountability Looks Like.” Presentation. National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement. Annual Meeting. Miami, FL. December 12, 2005.

“The Worst President Ever on Civil Liberties?” History News Network. On line edition.  
<http://hnn.us>. December 5, 2005.

“Evidence-Based Police Accountability: What We Know, What We Need to Know.”  
Presentation. American Society of Criminology, Annual Meeting. Toronto, Canada.  
November 17, 2005.

“Race, Incarceration and Social Policy.” Presentation. Dana College. October 17, 2005.

“DNA Sweeps by Police: An Ineffectual Investigative Tactic.” Presentation. Police Executive  
Research Forum, Annual Meeting. New York City. April 24, 2005.

“The New World of Police Accountability.” Presentation. Crime, Law and Public Policy Lecture  
Series. University of Arizona Law School. Tucson, AZ. March 9, 2005.

“Issues in Criminal Justice.” Omaha Public Schools, Improving Teaching Workshop. February  
22, 2005. Omaha, NE.

“Racial Profiling.” University of Nebraska - Lincoln, Martin Luther King Week Program.  
January 18, 2005.

“Citizen Complaints as a Performance Measure for the Police,” American Society of  
Criminology, Annual Meeting. November 17, 2004. Nashville. TN

Keynote Address, “The New World of Police Accountability.” Toronto Police Service, 4<sup>th</sup>  
Annual Professional Standards Conference. October 27, 2004. Toronto, Canada.

Keynote Address: “Only One Part of the Picture: Traffic Stop Data Collection in Perspective.”  
Police Executive Research Forum By the Numbers Conference, August 24, 2004. Kansas  
City, MO.

“Best Practices: Early Intervention Systems in Policing” (with Geoffrey P. Alpert). National  
Institute of Justice Annual Research and Evaluation Conference. July 17, 2004.  
Washington, DC.

“Whistle Blower Protection for Police Officers: The Need and the Obstacles.” Presentation.  
Rutgers-Camden Law School. April 2, 2004. Camden, NJ.

“The New World of Police Accountability.” Presentation. University of Houston Law Center.  
March 25, 2004. Houston, TX.

“A Closer Look at the History of Policing in the U.S.” Workshop. Annual Meeting. Academy of  
Criminal Justice Sciences. March 10, 2004. Las Vegas.

- “Police Auditors in the United States: An Emerging Model of Oversight.” Conference, Comparative Perspectives on Police Accountability.” United Nations. New York, NY. December 3-4, 2003.
- “The Auditor Model of Citizen Oversight of the Police.” American Society of Criminology. Denver, CO. November 13, 2003.
- “Alternative Strategies for Citizen Oversight of the Police.” Citizens Investigative Panel. Miami, Florida. November 6, 2003.
- “The Hispanic Community and the Police: Research Opportunities.” National Latino Peace Officers Association Annual Meeting. Washington, DC. October 23, 3003.
- “New Directions in Police Accountability.” Police Executive Research Forum. Washington, DC. September 12, 2003.
- “Internal Benchmarking for Traffic Stop Data.” New Jersey Attorney General’s Stop Data Committee. Police Institute. Rutgers University. April 9, 2003.
- “Internal Benchmarking for Traffic Stop Data.” Dean’s Forum. School of Criminal Justice. Rutgers University. April 9, 2003.
- “Internal Benchmarking for Traffic Stop Data.” Racial Profiling Conference. Northeastern University. Boston, MA. March 8, 2003.
- “Best Practices in Early Intervention Systems.” Teleconference. U.S. Justice Department. February 13, 2003.
- “Is There Still No Justice?: Race and Criminal Justice 35 Years After the Kerner Commission.” On-line Teleconference. Wadsworth Publishing. January 24, 2003.
- “Is There Still No Justice?: Reflections on 40 Years of Struggle for Racial Justice.” Keynote Address. Texas Philosophical Society. Fort Worth, TX. December 7, 2002.
- “Early Intervention Systems for Police.” PATC Conference. Las Vegas, NV. December 3, 2002.
- “Models of Civilian Oversight.” Discussant. Annual Meeting, National Association for Citizen Oversight of Law Enforcement. Boston, MA. November 1, 2002.
- “Accountability and Police Ethics.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, International Association of Chiefs of Police. Minneapolis, MN. October 9, 2002.
- “Innovations in Handling Citizen Complaints.” Presentation, Conference on Community Policing Keeps America Safe.” Washington, DC. July 16, 2002.

- “Planning and Implementing Early Warning Systems.” Presentation, Conference on Community Policing Keeps America Safe.” Washington, DC. July 16, 2002.
- “Race, Ethnicity, and Police Accountability. Old Problems, New Approaches.” Presentation. California State University at Northridge. April 16, 2002.
- “The New World of Police Accountability.” Keynote Address. Conference on Police Accountability. St. Louis University Law School. April 5, 2002.
- “Strategies for Combating Racism in Criminal Justice.” Nebraskans for Peace, Annual Conference. Omaha, NE. February 16, 2002.
- “Covering the Police: Criteria for News Media.” Annenberg School. University of Southern California. Los Angeles, CA. December 5, 2001.
- “New Directions in Police Accountability.” Police Training Seminar. Las Vegas, NV. December 4, 2001.
- “Implementing Citizen Oversight.” Presentation. Annual Meeting, National Association of Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement (NACOLE). Denver, CO. October 11, 2001.
- “Early Warning Systems and Racial Profiling.” Racial Profiling Report Implementation Conference. Police Executive Research Forum. August 6, 2001.
- “The New World of Police Accountability.” Presentation. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. New York, NY. June 27, 2001.
- “Linking Internal and External Accountability Mechanisms.” Presentation. Performance and Accountability Summit for Law Enforcement. February 27, 2001. Washington, DC.
- “What Are Police Doing to Police Themselves?” Presentation. University of Illinois - Chicago. February 20, 2001. Chicago, Illinois.
- “Understanding Complaints Against the Police: A Theoretical Perspective.” Presentation. Center for the Study of Law and Society. University of California - Berkeley. January 25, 2001.
- “Early Warning Systems as a Best Practice.” Conference. U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC. November 29, 2000.
- “Citizen and Police Satisfaction with Civilian Review.” Presentation [with Leigh Herbst]. American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. San Francisco. November 17, 2000.
- “Early Warning Systems as an Accountability Mechanism.” Presentation. American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. San Francisco. November 15, 2000

“Best Practices in Police Accountability.” Presentation. Justice Coalition of Greater Chicago. Chicago, IL. October 25, 2000.

“The Auditor Model of Oversight as a Means of Promoting Police Accountability.” Seminar. New York University Law School. New York, NY. October 2, 2000.

“Mediating Citizen Complaints Against the Police: A New Form of Community Justice?” Presentation. John Jay College of Criminal Justice. New York, NY. October 2, 2000.

“Technology is NOT the Issue.” Presentation. American Bar Association. Council on Racial and Ethnic Justice. ABA Annual Meeting. New York City. July 8, 2000.

“Citizen Oversight Procedures.” Presentation. Mayor’s Working Group. Portland, OR. June 8, 2000.

“Mediating Citizen Complaints Against the Police.” Presentation. American Bar Association. Section on Dispute Resolution. Annual Conference. San Francisco. April 8, 2000.

Workshop. Police Accountability. Academy of Criminal Justice Science. Annual Meeting. New Orleans. March 24, 2000.

Chair. Panel on Police Misconduct. Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Annual Meeting. New Orleans. March 23, 2000.

“A Historical Perspective on Police Accountability.” Hearings. Public Advocate of New York. New York City. November 15, 1999.

“Early Warning Systems: An Overview.” Conference, “Building Accountability into Police Operations.” U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, DC. November 12, 1999.

“Early Warning Systems.” Workshop. Kansas City Police Department. Kansas City. September 28, 1999.

“Citizen Oversight of the Police.” Workshop. Mayor’s Police Oversight Task Force. Austin, TX. August 31, 1999.

“The False Dichotomy Between Individual Rights and Community.” Presentation. Communitarian Summit. Washington, DC. February 28, 1999.

“The Police and Race.” Panel Discussion. American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting. Washington, DC. November 11, 1998.

“Citizens in the POP Process: Ethical considerations.” Presentation. Problem-Oriented Policing Conference. San Diego, CA. November 1-3, 1998.

“Louisville’s War on Crime.” Panel Discussion. Louisville, KY. October 12, 1998



- “External Oversight of Federal Law Enforcement Agencies: A Proposal.” Presentation. Commission on the Advancement of Federal Law Enforcement. Washington, DC. August 24, 1998.
- “Zero-Tolerance Policing: Unanswered Accountability Issues.” Conference. Albany, NY. April 24, 1998.
- “Policing the Police: Who, How, and Why?” Public Forum. Albuquerque Law School. Albuquerque, NM. March 12, 1998.
- “Are the Police Changing?” Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NW. March 12, 1998
- "Public Perceptions of Racial Minority Employment and its Perceived Impact on Police Service" (with Vincent J. Webb). Presentation. Annual Meeting, ASC. San Diego. November 19, 1997.
- Panelist. "Author Meets Critics: James B. Jacobs, 'The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity'." San Diego. Annual Meeting, ASC. November 21, 1997.
- "New Developments in Citizen Oversight of the Police." Presentation. Sand Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board. San Diego. November 17, 1997.
- "New Developments in Citizen Oversight of Police." Presentation. Problem-Oriented Policing Conference. San Diego, CA. November 16, 1997.
- "Best Practices in Citizen Oversight." Presentation. External Review Advisory Commission. Eugene, Oregon. October 31, 1997.
- "Future Directions in Citizen Oversight of Police." Presentation. National Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement (NACOLE). Annual Meeting. Oakland, CA. October 16, 1997.
- "Revitalizing the New York CCRB: A Proposal for Change," Presentation, Open Society Institute, New York City, September 26, 1997.
- "Strategies for Combating Police Misconduct," Presentation, ACLU Biennial Conference, Santa Fe, New Mexico, June 7, 1997.
- "Citizen Review of the Police." Community Forum. Des Moines, IA. May 15, 1997.
- "Hate Speech in America." Arizona State West University. Phoenix, AZ. April 23, 1997.
- "Responding to Racist Incidents on Campus: Hate Crimes and Hate Speech. April 2 1997. University of Nebraska at Omaha.

"Best Practices in Citizen Review of the Police." City Manager's Task Force. Charlotte, North Carolina. February 5, 1997.

"Police Reform and Human Rights," Keynote Address, Human Rights Day Observance, University of Nebraska - Lincoln. December 10, 1996

"Police Misconduct and Citizen Complaints: The Results of a Victimization Survey." (with Nanette Graham). American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. November 1996.

"Roundtable Discussion: The Future of Citizen Review." American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. November, 1996.

"The Heart of Darkness: Crime and Social Control in Contemporary America." Organizer and Presenter. Lay School of Theology. Augustana Lutheran Church. Omaha, NE. October 7, 14, 21, 28, and November 4, 1996.

"Comparative Studies of Citizen Review." Presentation. International Association for Citizen Review of Law Enforcement. Annual Meeting. Washington, DC. September 27, 1996.

"The Impact of External Forces on Police Integrity." Presentation. National Symposium on Police Integrity. National Institute of Justice. Washington, DC. July 16, 1996.

"Sense and Nonsense About the Administration of Justice." Iowa Western Community College. Council Bluffs, Iowa. March 25, 1996.

"Curbing Police Misconduct." Presentation. Criminal Law and Individual Rights Section of the District of Columbia Bar Association. Washington, DC. February 28, 1996.

"The Constitution and First Amendment Rights." Nebraska LEAD Program. Nebraska Agricultural Leadership Council, Inc. Lincoln, NE. February 10, 1996/

"The Police and the Race Crisis." Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. November 16, 1995.

"Citizen Review of the Police: Alternative Strategies." Boston, MA. November 15, 1995.

"Rethinking the Sustain Rate: New Perspectives on Evaluating the Success of Police Complaint Procedures. American Society of Criminology. Annual Meeting. Boston, MA. November 15, 1995.

"Racial Justice and Policing: Where Do We Stand." Presentation. Police Executive Research Forum. Semiannual Meeting. Miami, Florida. October 14, 1995.

"Wars on Crime/Struggles for Justice: Conflicting Trends in American Criminal Justice, 1965-1995." Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice. Stanford University. October 7, 1995.

"The Differences Among Citizen Oversight Agencies -- And the Difference it Makes."  
Presentation. International Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement.  
Annual Meeting, Vancouver, Canada. September 27, 1995.

Workshop on "Hate Crime Legislation." Omaha Public Schools Curriculum Day. September 5,  
1995. Omaha, NE.

"The Police and the Community: New Approaches." Presentation. Des Moines League of  
Women Voters. March 16, 1995. Des Moines, Iowa.

"Citizen Review of the Police- 1994: The Findings of a National Survey." Academy of Criminal  
Justice Sciences. March 1995. Boston, MA.

"The Treatment of Women in Introductory Criminal Justice Textbooks." [With Molly Brown].  
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. March 1995. Boston, MA.

"A Theory of Criminal Justice." Presentation. Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. March,  
1995. Boston, MA.

Discussant. Session on "Twentieth Century Civil Rights Struggles." Conference on African  
Americans and the Great Plains. Center For Great Plains Studies. Lincoln, NE. February  
24, 1995.

"A Classic Revisited: Justice Without Trial in History." Presentation. American Society of  
Criminology. November 11, 1994. Miami, Florida.

"Through the Looking Glass Ceiling: Gender and Race in Police Promotions." [With Susan E.  
Martin. American Society of Criminology. November 11, 1994. Miami, Florida.

"Crime and Community." Presentation. Omaha League of Women Voters. October 13, 1994.  
Omaha, NE

"Hate Speech: Historical Perspective on a Current Problem." Presentation. Author's Lecture  
Series. Prairie Lights Book Store and Iowa Public Radio. September 29, 1994. Iowa City,  
IA.

"Crime, Race, and Community." Presentation. Iowa Attorney General's Conference. July 28,  
1994. Des Moines, Iowa.

"Hate Speech: American Policy and the Holocaust Connection." Presentation. The National  
Archives. July 19, 1994. Washington, DC.

"Law Enforcement." Paper. Conference on the 50th Anniversary of Gunnar Myrdal's An  
American Dilemma. Atlanta, GA. April, 1994.

- "Communitarianism and Organ Donations," Presentation. Nebraska-Dartmouth Project Colloquium. February 18, 1994. Omaha, NE,
- "Less Than Meets the Eye: Police Bias Crimes Units: An Exploratory Survey" (with Charles M. Katz). Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. March 1994.
- "Hijacked!: How the War on Drugs Co-opted the Idea of Community Policing." Presentation. Seventh International Conference on Drug Policy Reform. November 17-20, 1993. Washington, DC.
- "Progress in Racial Minority and Female Employment in Policing: Thoughts on What Works and What Doesn't," Presentation, American Society of Criminology, Phoenix, AZ. October 1993.
- Panelist, Authors Meet Critics: Skolnick and Fyfe: Above the Law. American Society of Criminology, Phoenix, AZ, October 1993.
- "Trends in the Employment of African-American and Hispanic Police Officers, 1983-1992." Presentation, Police Executive Research Forum, Annual Meeting, Washington DC, May 5, 1993.
- "The American Bar Foundation Survey of Criminal Justice: Origins and Impact." Presentation, American Bar Association, Annual Midwinter Meeting, Boston, MA, February 6, 1993.
- "Between Two Worlds: The President's Crime Commission and the Police." Presentation, American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, November, 1992.
- "Civilian Review of the Police: Recent Trends and New Questions." Presentation. American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, November, 1992.
- "Are Civilian Review Boards the Answer?" Presentation. Southwestern Law Enforcement Institute, 13th Annual Contemporary Issues in Police Administration Conference, Dallas, TX, March 20, 1992.
- "Revisionism and the First Amendment." Presentation. Conference on Revisionism and the Holocaust, Millersville University, Millersville, PA, April 5, 1992.
- "History." Panel on Criminology: A Multi-Disciplinary Focus. American Society of Criminology, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, November 21, 1991.
- "Stress and the Hispanic Police Office." Presentation. Hispanic Institute of Law Enforcement. National Convention. Chicago, IL, July 3, 1991.
- "Private Realms and Public Issues: Civil Liberties and the Changing American Legal Culture." Conference in Honor of Paul L. Murphy, University of Minnesota, May 5-7, 1991

"The Growth of Civil Liberties, 1890-1945." University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, Florida, February 4, 1991.

"The Drug War and Civil Liberties." Conference on Police and Community Responses to Drugs, Chicago, Illinois, December 7, 1990.

"Community Policing: Philosophy and Promise," Administration forum, John Jay College, New York City, September 25, 1990.

"Alternatives to Incarceration: The Good News and the Bad News." Iowa Correctional Association Annual meeting, October 18, 1990.

"Community Policing." Panel Discussion, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Annual Meeting, April, 1990.

"Reflections on the History of Punishment," Nebraska Conference on Alternatives to Incarceration. Lincoln, Nebraska, October 20, 1991.

"Human Rights: America and the World," US West, Human Rights Month Seminar, Omaha, NE, January 30, 1990.

"The History of Police Corruption," FBI Public Corruption Conference, Tampa, Florida, November 14, 1989.

Presentation, Community Policing: Prospects and Problems, Washington Council on Crime and Delinquency, Seattle, WA, April 18, 1989.

Chair, Session on Douglas as Civil Libertarian, William O. Douglas Commemorative Symposium, Seattle, WA, April 15-17, 1989

Chair and Commentator, Session on Knowledge Utilization: The Use and Misuse of Academic Research by Criminal Justice Policymakers, Annual Meeting, Academy of Criminal Justice Science, March 29, 1989.

Presentation: "Paths to Police Reform." Annual Meeting, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, San Francisco, April, 1988.

Participant, Roundtable Discussion, "Controlling the Cops: Alternative Strategies," ACJS Annual Meeting, San Francisco, April, 1988.

Participant, Symposium on Miranda, Creighton University Law School, August 31, 1987.

"Responding to Hysteria: The Lessons From ACLU History," ACLU Biennial Conference, Philadelphia, June 18, 1987.

"The Library Bill of Rights, 1938, and the Des Moines Public Library," Presentation to the Des Moines Public Library, May 14, 1987.



"The ABA Committee on the Bill of Rights and the 150th Anniversary of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, 1937-1941," Missouri Valley History Conference, Omaha, NE, March, 1987.

"The Police and Domestic Violence: Unanswered Questions," Austin, Texas, May, 1986.

"The President's Crime Commission" A Twenty-Year Perspective on Police Reform," Marquette University, April, 1986.

"Private Realms and Public Events: Towards a Reconstruction of American Social History," Ohio State University, April, 1986.

"The Historian's Perspective," Conference on Redefining the Crime Debate," Atlanta, GA, March 6-8, 1986.

"New Directions in Police Reform," Rutgers-Newark, February, 1986.

"Searching for a Middle Ground: Quantitative and Qualitative methodologies in Criminal Justice History," American Society of Criminology, Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, 1984.

"Controlling Police Misconduct: The Seattle Police Intelligence as a Model," Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Annual Meeting, Chicago, March, 1984.

"Achieving Affirmative Action: Observations on Black and Hispanic Police Officer Recruitment in the 50 Largest American Cities," Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Annual Meeting, Chicago, March, 1984.

"Broken Windows and Fractured History: The Use and Misuse of History in Recent Police Patrol Analysis," American Society of Criminology, November, 1983.

"Reform as History: The Dynamics of Change in American Criminal Justice," Conference on The Impact of Reform in Criminal Justice, sponsored by NCCD, November, 1983.

"The Varieties of Police History: Recent Work and Future Needs," Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, forthcoming, March, 1983, San Antonio, Texas.

"Police-Community Relations, Social Science, and the Responsibility of Scholars." Paper, Conference on Moral Issues in Policing, November 19-21, 1981, Boston, Mass.

Commentator, Session on Criminal Justice History, Social Science History Association Meeting, October, 1980, Rochester, NY.

"Popular Justice: A Theoretical Framework for the History of American Criminal Justice." Paper, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, March, 1978.

"Research Opportunities in the Comparative Study of the American Police." Paper, Organization of American Historians, April, 1978.

"Neo-Conservatism and Criminal Justice Policy: Thinking About James Q. Wilson." Co-Author with Vincent J. Webb. Paper, Western Social Science Association Meeting, April 30, 1976, Tempe, Arizona.

"The Rise of Women Police in the Progressive Era." Paper, Missouri Valley History Conference, March 13, 1976, Omaha, Nebraska.

"Powderly, The Knights of Labor, and Temperance Reform." Paper, Ohio Academy of History, April 28, 1973, Dayton, Ohio.

"Terence V. Powderly and the Social Contest of the Early American Labor Movement." Paper, Missouri Valley History Conference, March 8, 1973, Omaha, Nebraska.

"Abolish the Waste System: The Rhetoric of Labor Reform,," Centennial Conference on the Knights of Labor, May, 1979, Chicago, Illinois.

Moderator. Session on "America in the Late 19th Century." Missouri Valley Historical Conference, March 10-12, 1977, Omaha, Nebraska.

Commentator. Session on "Law Enforcement: A Look into the Future." Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences,, March 25, 1976, Dallas, Texas.