



The Bridge: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal & Social Policy

Volume 6 *Police Misconduct and Qualified Immunity: Reimagining "We the People"*

Article 1

2021

Police Misconduct & Qualified Immunity: Reimagining "We the People" Conference Introduction

Sarah R. Guidry

Executive Director, Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy, sarah.guidry@tmslaw.tsu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/thebridge>

Recommended Citation

Guidry, Sarah R. (2021) "Police Misconduct & Qualified Immunity: Reimagining "We the People" Conference Introduction," *The Bridge: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal & Social Policy*: Vol. 6 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/thebridge/vol6/iss1/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Thurgood Marshall School of Law at Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Bridge: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal & Social Policy by an authorized editor of Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. For more information, please contact haiying.li@tsu.edu.

INTRODUCTION¹

The killing of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, at the hands of Minneapolis police officers, sparked nationwide protests and rekindled the national debate concerning the use and misuse of physical violence by law enforcement officers in Black communities. It also reinforced the need for greater police accountability. The public also raised concerns about the way officers responded to these public protests, primarily led by black protestors.

According to Statista Research, “Sadly, the trend of fatal police shootings in the United States seems to only be increasing, with a total 292 civilians having been shot, 62 of whom were Black, in the first four months of 2021. In 2020, there were 1,021 fatal police shootings, and in 2019 there were 999 fatal shootings. Additionally, the rate of fatal police shootings among Black Americans was much higher than that for any other ethnicity, standing at 35 fatal shootings per million of the population as of April 2021.”²

As a result of this type of data, these events, and in observance of Black History Month 2021, on Thursday, February 4, 2021, The Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy partnered with Texas Southern University’s (TSU) Thurgood Law, the Thurgood Marshall Law Review and the TSU Center for Justice Research to co-present a virtual national conference, sponsored by the American Association for Justice, Robert L. Habush Endowment, entitled, ***“Police Misconduct & Qualified Immunity: Reimagining “We the People.”*** This conference provided a timely, relevant, and much-needed discussion on the disproportionate use of force by police in interactions with

¹ Sarah R. Guidry is the Executive Director of the Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy, Inc. at the Thurgood Marshall School of Law on the campus of Texas Southern University, a Historically Black College and University.

² *People shot to death by U.S. police, by race 2017-2021*, Statista Research Department (May 3, 2021); <https://www.statista.com/statistics/585152/people-shot-to-death-by-us-police-by-race/>.

black people and the disparate treatment of black protestors in the United States. It also examined the long-lasting effect of police violence on families, remedies for people injured by police violence and how protestors should be treated given First Amendment Protections, including a review of the inequitable treatment of black protestors throughout U.S. history. This publication is a transcription of the conference sessions which were:

- *The Criminal Justice System: "George Floyd Bill" & Qualified Immunity*
- *The Anatomy of §1983 Litigation*
- *The U.S. Constitution, Reimagining "We the People as an Inclusive Construct*
- *The Future of 1st Amendment Protests Protections: Examining the Use of Brutality on those Fighting Against Violence*

The Conference had several noteworthy presenters including the keynote speaker Attorney Sherrilyn Ifill, the president and director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Honorable Craig Washington, Former Texas Senator and U.S. Representative, Gary Bledsoe, NAACP Texas President, other prominent civil rights attorneys and advocates, law school and other professors, a documentary producer, and protestors both current and from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

This Special Issue of the *Earl Carl Institute's The Bridge: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal & Social Policy* captures, by transcription, the proceedings of the Conference that assembled this expert group of presenters to discuss the state of racial unrest in this country, historically and currently. The following sections will layout the issues underlying the scope of each presentation at the Symposium.

POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

After George Floyd's tragic death, his daughter Gianna Floyd said, "Daddy changed the world" as his death again placed the spotlight on a history of deadly suppression, oppression, and

history of excessive violence when interacting with Black citizens. In no time, there were massive protests against excessive use of force by police officers and other police misconduct, including the use of chokeholds, no-knock warrants, and escalations of traffic stops. Numerous proposed reforms after George Floyd's death have led to over fifteen state legislatures introducing, amending, and passing 159 bills and resolutions related to policing.³ Many other bills are currently pending in legislatures across the country. Various reforms have been recommended to curtail the use of force, decrease escalations in police interactions with people of color and increase police accountability. Reforms directed at holding police officers accountable for their actions include strict requirements for wearing bodycams and for the immediate release of bodycam videos, calls to eliminate qualified immunity, more transparency as it relates to police disciplinary records, police contracts, police unions, community oversight boards with subpoena powers, and hotlines for reporting police misconduct.

The U.S. House of Representatives passed [George Floyd Justice in Policing Act](#) in May 2020. The bill addresses police accountability, transparency, training and policies (including prohibiting racial profiling), use of body cameras, banning no-knock warrants and the use of chokeholds and reforming qualified immunity.⁴

The George Floyd Bill⁵, currently pending in the Texas Legislature, would end arrests for fine-only violations, eliminate qualified immunity by creating a state cause of action for police violations, limit the use of force and create requirements for de-escalation, and create a clear,

³ Weihua Li & Humera Lodhi, *The States Taking on Police Reform After the Death of George Floyd*, *FiveThirtyEight* (June 18, 2020, 3:00 PM), <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/which-states-are-taking-on-police-reform-after-george-floyd/> [https://perma.cc/W47B-SG5P].

⁴ *George Floyd Justice in Policing Act*, H.R. 7120, 116th Cong. (2020).

⁵ *George Floyd Act*, H.R. 88, 87(R) Legislature (2021).

progressive disciplinary matrix that cannot be overturned or changed by contract with police union.

QUALIFIED IMMUNITY

Qualified immunity is a judicially created doctrine that shields government officials from being held personally liable for constitutional violations—like the right to be free from excessive police force—for money damages under federal law so long as the officials did not violate “clearly established” law. This is a civil remedy that does not shield police from criminal prosecution. However, given the historical reluctance to hold law enforcement criminally liable, this may be the only remedy for individuals, particularly people of color, to hold police accountable. Many reformers and protestors are calling for the elimination of the qualified immunity doctrine. In 2020, Colorado passed the [Enhance Law Enforcement Integrity Act](#) which eliminated qualified immunity as a defense in a civil action for violation of an individual’s rights under the bill of rights of the Colorado Constitution.⁶ Now, members of the judiciary are also weighing in.

District Judge Carlton W. Reeves, writing the opinion in *Jamison v. McClendon*, 476 F. Supp. 3d 386, 390–92 (S.D. Miss. 2020), addressed the issue of qualified immunity, as it applies to the police as follows.

“Clarence Jamison wasn’t jaywalking.⁷
He wasn’t outside playing with a toy gun.⁸
He didn’t look like a “suspicious person.”⁹
He wasn’t suspected of “selling loose, untaxed cigarettes.”¹⁰

⁶ Colo. Rev. Stat. § 13-21-131.

⁷ That was Michael Brown. See Max Ehrenfreund, *The risks of walking while black in Ferguson*, WASH. POST (Mar. 4, 2015).

⁸ That was 12-year-old Tamir Rice. See Zola Ray, *This Is the Toy Gun That Got Tamir Rice Killed 3 Years Ago Today*, NEWSWEEK (Nov. 22, 2017).

⁹ That was Elijah McClain. See Claire Lampen, *What We Know About the Killing of Elijah McClain*, THE CUT (July 5, 2020).

¹⁰ That was Eric Garner. See Assoc. Press, *From Eric Garner's death to firing of NYPD officer: A timeline of key events*, USA TODAY (Aug. 20, 2019).

He wasn't suspected of passing a counterfeit \$20 bill.¹¹
He didn't look like anyone suspected of a crime.¹²
He wasn't mentally ill and in need of help.¹³
He wasn't assisting an autistic patient who had wandered away from a group home.¹⁴
He wasn't walking home from an after-school job.¹⁵
He wasn't walking back from a restaurant.¹⁶ He wasn't hanging out on a college campus.¹⁷
He wasn't standing outside of his apartment.¹⁸
He wasn't inside his apartment eating ice cream.¹⁹
He wasn't sleeping in his bed.²⁰
He wasn't sleeping in his car.²¹
He didn't make an "improper lane change."²²
He didn't have a broken tail light.²³

¹¹ That was George Floyd. See Jemima McEvoy, *New Transcripts Reveal How Suspicion Over Counterfeit Money Escalated into The Death of George Floyd*, FORBES (July 8, 2020).

¹² That was Philando Castile and Tony McDade. See Andy Mannix, *Police audio: Officer stopped Philando Castile on robbery suspicion*, STAR TRIB. (July 12, 2016); Meredith Deliso, *LGBTQ community calls for justice after Tony McDade, a black trans man, shot and killed by police*, ABC NEWS (June 2, 2020).

¹³ That was Jason Harrison. See Byron Pitts et al., *The Deadly Consequences When Police Lack Proper Training to Handle Mental Illness Calls*, ABC NEWS (Sept. 30, 2015).

¹⁴ That was Charles Kinsey. See *Florida policeman shoots autistic man's un-armed black therapist*, BBC (July 21, 2016).

¹⁵ That was 17-year-old James Earl Green. See Robert Luckett, *In 50 Years from Gibbs-Green Deaths to Ahmaud Arbery Killing, White Supremacy Still Lives*, JACKSON FREE PRESS (May 8, 2020); see also Robert Luckett, *50 Years Ago, Police Fired on Students at a Historically Black College*, N.Y. TIMES (May 14, 2020); Rachel James-Terry & L.A. Warren, *'All hell broke loose': Memories still vivid of Jackson State shooting 50 years ago*, CLARION LEDGER (May 15, 2020).

¹⁶ That was Ben Brown. See Notice to Close File, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, CIVIL RIGHTS DIV. (Mar. 24, 2017), available at <https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/benjamin-brown-notice-close-file>; see also Jackson State Univ., Center for University-Based Development, *The Life of Benjamin Brown, 50 Years Later*, W. JACKSON (May 11, 2017).

¹⁷ That was Phillip Gibbs. See James-Terry & Warren, *supra*.

¹⁸ That was Amadou Diallo. See *Police fired 41 shots when they killed Amadou Diallo. His mom hopes today's protests will bring change.*, CBS NEWS (June 9, 2020).

¹⁹ That was Botham Jean. See Bill Hutchinson, *Death of an innocent man: Timeline of wrong-apartment murder trial of Amber Guyger*, ABC NEWS (Oct. 2, 2019).

²⁰ That was Breonna Taylor. See Amina Elahi, *'Sleeping While Black': Louisville Police Kill Unarmed Black Woman*, NPR (May 13, 2020).

²¹ That was Rayshard Brooks. See Jacob Sullum, *Was the Shooting of Ray-shard Brooks 'Lawful but Awful'?*, REASON (June 15, 2020).

²² That was Sandra Bland. See Ben Mathis-Lilley & Elliott Hannon, *A Black Woman Named Sandra Bland Got Pulled Over in Texas and Died in Jail Three Days Later. Why?* SLATE (July 16, 2015).

²³ That was Walter Scott. See Michael E. Miller et al., *How a cellphone video led to murder charges against a cop in North Charleston, S.C.*, WASH. POST (Apr. 8, 2015).

He wasn't driving over the speed limit.²⁴

He wasn't driving under the speed limit.²⁵

No, Clarence Jamison was a Black man driving a Mercedes convertible.

As he made his way home to South Carolina from a vacation in Arizona, Jamison was pulled over and subjected to one hundred and ten minutes of an armed police officer badgering him, pressuring him, lying to him, and then searching his car top-to-bottom for drugs.

Nothing was found. Jamison isn't a drug courier. He's a welder.

Unsatisfied, the officer then brought out a canine to sniff the car. The dog found nothing. So nearly two hours after it started, the officer left Jamison by the side of the road to put his car back together.

Thankfully, Jamison left the stop with his life. Too many others have not.²⁶

The Constitution says everyone is entitled to equal protection of the law – even at the hands of law enforcement. Over the decades, however, judges have invented a legal doctrine to protect law enforcement officers from having to face any consequences for wrongdoing. The doctrine is called “qualified immunity.” In real life it operates like absolute immunity.

In a recent qualified immunity case, the Fourth Circuit wrote:

Although we recognize that our police officers are often asked to make split-second decisions, we expect them to do so with respect for the dignity and worth of black lives.²⁷

This Court agrees. Tragically, thousands have died at the hands of law enforcement over the years, and the death toll continues to rise.²⁸ Countless more have suffered from other forms of abuse and misconduct by police.²⁹ Qualified immunity has served as a shield for

²⁴ That was Hannah Fizer. See Luke Nozicka, *'Where's the gun?': Family of Sedalia woman killed by deputy skeptical of narrative*, KANSAS CITY STAR (June 15, 2020).

²⁵ That was Ace Perry. See Jodi Leese Glusco, *Run-in with Sampson deputy leaves driver feeling unsafe*, WRAL (Feb. 14, 2020).

²⁶ See, e.g., Mike Baker et al., *Three Words. 70 cases. The tragic History of 'I Can't Breathe.'*, N.Y. TIMES (June 29, 2020) (discussing the deaths of Eric Garner, George Floyd, and 68 other people killed while in law enforcement custody whose last words included the statement, “I can't breathe.”).

²⁷ *Estate of Jones v. City of Martinsburg*, 961 F.3d 661, 673 (4th Cir. 2020), *as amended* (June 10, 2020).

²⁸ Mark Berman et al., *Protests spread over police shootings. Police promised reforms. Every year, they still shoot and kill nearly 1,000 people.*, WASH. POST (June 8, 2020) (“Since 2015, police have shot and killed 5,400 people.”); see also Alicia Victoria Lozano, *Fatal Encounters: One man is tracking every officer-involved killing in the U.S.*, NBC NEWS (July 11, 2020), (“As of July 10, Fatal Encounters lists more than 28,400 deaths dating to Jan. 1, 2000. The entries include both headline-making cases and thousands of lesser-known deaths.”).

²⁹ See, e.g., Jamie Kalven, *Invisible Institute Relaunches the Citizens Police Data Project*, THE INTERCEPT (Aug. 16, 2018) (discussing “a public database containing the disciplinary histories of Chicago police officers It includes more than 240,000 allegations of misconduct involving more than 22,000 Chicago police officers over a 50-year period.”); Andrea J. Ritchie, *How some cops use the badge to commit sex crimes*, WASH. POST (Jan. 12., 2018) (“According to a 2010 Cato Institute review, sexual misconduct is the second-most-frequently reported form of police misconduct, after excessive force.”).

these officers, protecting them from accountability.

This Court is required to apply the law as stated by the Supreme Court. Under that law, the officer who transformed a short traffic stop into an almost two-hour, life-altering ordeal is entitled to qualified immunity. The officer's motion seeking as much is therefore granted.

But let us not be fooled by legal jargon. **Immunity is not exoneration. And the harm in this case to one man sheds light on the harm done to the nation by this manufactured doctrine.**

As the Fourth Circuit concluded, "This has to stop." (emphasis added)"³⁰

ANATOMY OF PLAINTIFF'S 1983 LITIGATION

The Civil Rights Act of 1871 is a federal statute, numbered 42 U.S.C. § 1983, that allows people to sue the government for civil rights violations. It applies when someone acting "under color of" state-level or local law has deprived a person of rights created by the U.S. Constitution or federal statutes. It is often the basis for relief when someone has been the victim of excessive use of force or other police misconduct, ostensibly while under the authority generally vested by the state or municipality.

The Qualified Immunity defense in 42 U.S.C. § 1983 claims often make them difficult to succeed, in that an element is that the rights were so clearly established that a reasonable officer would have known their conduct was a violation.³¹

This session of the symposium addressed the following elements of 42 U.S.C. § 1983 litigation:

- *The Beginning*: Client and Forum Assessment, Drafting of the Complaint, identifying available resources, determining whether to join co-counsel and Media
- *Next Steps*: Motions to Dismiss and Understanding Immunities and Pleading Requirements, Discovery (including custom, pattern, policy, and practice, and moving force) and Motions for Summary Judgment
- *Deciding a Trial Strategy*

³⁰ *Estate of Jones*, 961 F.3d at 673.

³¹ *Harlow v. Fitzgerald*, 457 U.S. 800 (1982).

- *Jury Selection and Voir Dire* (including how to handle jury selection in courts that do not permit voir dire or that permit extremely limited voir dire)
- *The Trial*
- *Holding onto your Verdict*

REIMAGINING “WE THE PEOPLE”

Former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan of Texas, a graduate of Texas Southern University, on July 25, 1974, in a speech to the House Judiciary Committee said, “Earlier today, we heard the beginning of the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, “We, the people.” It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed on the seventeenth of September 1787, I was not included in that “We, the people.” I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision I have finally been included in “We, the people.”” Additionally, she said “My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. “I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution.”³²

This presentation explored whether “We the People” as conceived in the constitution actually includes Black people and other persons of color, immigrants, non-English speakers, LGBTQ communities and criminalized and/or incarcerated citizens.

1ST AMENDMENT PROTESTS PROTECTIONS

In the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd and so many others, protests have increased around the Country. There is racial diversity among protestors like never before, determined to

³² “How Barbara Jordan’s 1974 Speech Marked a Turning Point in ...” <https://watergate.info/1974/07/25/barbara-jordan-speech-on-impeachment.html>.

“SAY THEIR NAMES” and affirm that “BLACK LIVES MATTER.” But many of the protesters who took their plea for systemic change to the streets often faced a violent police response, which appears particularly pervasive when it comes to Black protestors.

Livio De La Cruz, board member of Black Lives Matter Seattle-King County has been quoted as saying “Police must not respond to demands to dismantle systemic racism and end their violence against Black people with more violence.” Police brutality and use of excessive force has spread to protests all over the United States. In response, many protestors are finding themselves the subjects of police brutality as they seek to peacefully assemble to petition the government for systemic change.

The 1st Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances".³³ Texas Constitution, Article I, Section 27, states, “The citizens shall have the right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good.”

What constitutes peaceful protest and limitations on such speech has been questioned for decades. Law enforcement agencies have, over the years, used various means of restricting free speech and peaceful assembly. Recall, during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, snarling dogs and high-powered water hoses were used in addition to other brutal physical attacks and excessive use of force on adults and children alike. In the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd, protestors have been met by law enforcement with the use of varying means of repressing protest including the use of police batons or other striking weapons; chokeholds and other combat maneuvers, free

³³ U.S. Const. amend I.

speech zones; arrests on masse without probable cause; and initiating curfews. The recent lawsuit, *Black Lives Matter Seattle-King Cnty. v. City of Seattle*, 466 F. Supp. 3d 1206, 1210 (W.D. Wash. 2020), was filed in response to the use of tear gas, pepper spray, and other less-lethal weapons against protestors claiming that the use of chemical weapons and projectiles for crowd control when not necessary to prevent injury is an excessive use of force that is a form of retaliation that violates the First Amendment.

The suit argues the use of chemical weapons and projectiles for crowd control when not necessary to prevent injury is an excessive use of force that is a form of retaliation in violation of the First Amendment. That court explained, “One would be missing the point to conclude that the protests that are the subject of this motion are only about George Floyd. His death just happens to be the current tragic flashpoint in the generational claims of racism and police brutality in America. The global strength of the Black lives movement and the obvious commitment to change are a clear indication—not just to this Court, but globally—that these protests will not be short-lived, and the protestors have made it clear that their determination will be relentless until change and police reform is made.”³⁴

This presentation examined current jurisprudence surrounding these issues. It questions what the future of the First Amendment right to protest does and should look like while affirming the need to defend this critical right in protecting democracy. It further demonstrates the need to expand the constitutional protection for peaceful protestors as it relates to racial and social justice.

Presenters in this session included protestors arrested in Houston, Texas following the murder of George Floyd, a civil rights protestor from the 1960s Houston sit-ins by Texas Southern University Students and information about the legal rights of protestors.

³⁴ *Black Lives Matter v. Seattle* at 1210.

CONCLUSION

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness...”

BUT, from the beginning of these “United States” Blacks were considered to be only 3/5ths of a citizen for representation in this country.³⁵ It is time for America to erase that legacy and actually live the words of the Declaration of Independence as well as our nation’s constitution!

The Earl Carl Institute joins many around the world who remember and say the name of George Floyd and too many others. We stand in solidarity with those who express concern, outrage, and condemnation of the unjustifiable killing of yet another African American at the hands of law enforcement. The killing of George Floyd, a son, brother, father, and fellow human being, by Minneapolis police officers reminds us once again of the racism that continues to exist among us and strengthens our resolve to work diligently to seek and demand systemic change.

We shed tears in pain, anger, and frustration. After so many incidents that relegate African Americans in this country as less than animals, our young brothers and sisters still deal with the vestiges of slavery and the perceptions that have persisted throughout the history of this country. Our young men are treated like savages and our young women are perceived as hypersexual, loud, aggressive, and lacking innocence. We must keep this conversation going and we must finally make real transforming change to eradicate the prejudice, discrimination and even hatred that has been allowed to fester for far too long. We must unite across race and gender in our cries of outrage,

³⁵ On July 12, 1787, the Convention agreed to the 3/5th rule as a principle to govern direct taxation. The Convention resolved “that the rule of contribution by direct taxation for the support of the government of the United States shall be the number of white inhabitants, and three fifths of every other description in the several States...” 1 THE RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787 (Max Farrand ed., 1911), at 589 (Journal, Jul. 12, 1787).

cries for courage, and our search for solutions. The Earl Carl Institute will continue its fight to address disproportionality, disparity and cruelty towards our neighbors, friends, communities, citizens, and fellow human beings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, I want to thank and acknowledge our sponsors, the American Association for Justice and the AAJ Robert L. Habush Endowment for sponsoring *Police Misconduct & Qualified Immunity: Reimagining "We the People."* Thank you to the members of the planning committee including the Dean of Texas Southern University, Thurgood Law, Joan R.M. Bullock, the Deputy Director of the Earl Carl Institute for Legal and Social Policy, Lucinda Daniels, Prudence Smith, Thurgood Law Assistant Dean for External Affairs, Dr. Howard Henderson with the Texas Southern University's Center for Justice and Research and Brittani Armstrong, the Program Coordinator for the event and, most especially, thanks to Attorney Larry Taylor, of the Cochran Law Firm and AAJ member, who brought everyone together to create, produce and execute this outstanding event. If you are an attorney and have any questions about American Association for Justice, visit www.justice.org. For more information about the Earl Carl Institute, visit <http://www.tsulaw.edu/centers/ECI/>.

Guidry: Reimagining "We the People" Conference Program

"SAY THEIR NAMES"



POLICE MISCONDUCT & QUALIFIED IMMUNITY: REIMAGINING “WE THE PEOPLE”

9:00

Welcome & Introductions

Attorney Larry F. Taylor Jr.

Managing Partner, Cochran Law Firm Texas

9:15-10:00

Panel I: The Criminal Justice System: "George Floyd Bill" & Qualified Immunity

Dr. Howard Henderson, Moderator

Director, Center for Justice Research, Texas Southern University

April Frazier Camara

Director of National Legal Aid & Defender Association (NLADA)

Professor Joanna C. Schwartz

UCLA Law

Chris Colbert

Executive producer of "Say Their Name" Podcast

10:00-10:15

Q & A

10:15-11:45

Panel II: The Anatomy of §1983 Litigation

Attorney Gary Bledsoe, Moderator

President, NAACP Texas

Bhavani Raveendran

Senior Associate Attorney, Romanucci & Blandin LLC

Attorney Brian Dunn

The Cochran Firm, California

Honorable Federal Judge Ken Hoyt

US District Court for the Southern District of Texas

11:45-12:00

Q&A

12:00-12:15

Break

POLICE MISCONDUCT & QUALIFIED IMMUNITY: REIMAGINING "WE THE PEOPLE"

Guidry: Reimagining "We the People" Conference Program

12:15-1:15

Introduction of Keynote Speaker:
Gary Bledsoe

Conversation with Sherrilyn Ifill

President and Director-Counsel of the
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc. (LDF)

1:15-1:45

Panel III: The U.S. Constitution
Reimagining "We the People as
an Inclusive Construct

Dean Joan RM Bullock, Moderator

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Professor Constance Fain

Earl Carl Professor of Law, Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Professor L. Darnell Weeden

Roberson King Professor of Law, Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Professor Spearlt

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

1:45-2:00

Q&A

2:00-2:15

Break

2:15-3:00

Panel IV: The Future of 1st
Amendment Protests Protections:
Examining the Use of Brutality on
those Fighting Against Violence

Sarah Guidry, Moderator

Executive Director, Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy

Honorable Craig Washington, Attorney

Former Texas Senator & US Representative

Professor L. Darnell Weeden

Roberson King Professor of Law, Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Attorney Roy J. Rodney Jr.

Rodney & Etter, LLC

Attorney George Oginni

Leo & Oginni Trial Lawyers, PLLC

3:00-3:15

Q&A

3:15-3:30

Break

3:30-4:30

Panel IV (Part II): The Future of 1st
Amendment Protests Protections:
Examining the Use of Brutality on
those Fighting Against Violence

Serbino Sandifer-Walker

Texas Southern University Professor & Journalist

Dr. Halcyon Sadberry Watkins

60s sit-in protestor, America's 11th Black female veterinarian

Attorney Nikeyla Johnson

The Cochran Firm

Jessica Brown

Protestor

Yasmeen Davila

Protestor

Becky Selle

Protestor, West Street Recovery

Chris Colbert

Executive producer of "Say Their Name" podcast

4:30-4:45

Q&A

4:45

Closing Remarks

POLICE MISCONDUCT & QUALIFIED IMMUNITY: REIMAGINING "WE THE PEOPLE"

Larry F. Taylor Jr.

Cochran law Firm



Larry F. Taylor Jr. is managing partner for The Cochran Firm Texas. Larry oversees our Mass Torts, Criminal, Employment and Civil Rights practice areas as well as leads our community involvement efforts. While Larry is active daily in Mass Tort litigation, he continues to play a role in client communications, and those cases that involve everyday folks. He is an active coach in youth sports and sits on the board or executive committee for a number of diverse community stakeholder entities, such as the Tri-City NAACP, The American Association for Justice, Texas Trial Lawyers, Los Barrios Unidos Community Clinic.

Between growing up in Duval County Florida and Harris County Texas (3rd Ward, Acers Homes, Greenspoint) and raising his kids in rural Texas, Larry has gained an appreciation for those who struggle for a sense of fairness. From the client in Urban America seeking to be heard, to the small town rural American wanting fairness, it all resonates with Larry's desire to fight for them.

Dr. Howard Henderson

Center for Justice Research, Texas Southern University

Howard Henderson is a professor of justice administration and the founding director of the Center for Justice Research at Texas Southern University. He is also a Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution and the University of Virginia's Institute for Advances Studies in Culture.

Dr. Henderson's research identifies culturally-responsive approaches to criminal justice reform and predictive error. Howard's rigorous theoretical and empirical studies are informing the design of equitable criminal justice policy.





April Frazer Camara

Director of National Legal Aid & Defender Association

April Frazier-Camara is the Chief of Lifelong Learning at the National Legal Aid and Defender Association ("NLADA"). She is a nationally recognized trainer in the area of leadership, racial equity, diversity and inclusion, and criminal justice reform.

Prior to joining NLADA, April worked as a community public defender at the Public Defender Service for the District of Columbia, which is widely recognized as the national model for quality public defense. She later served as the Special Assistant in the Juvenile Defender Unit at the Law Office of the Shelby County Public Defender where she was responsible for implementing Department of Justice reforms and helping to build the first-ever holistic and team-based juvenile defense practice in Shelby County that employed both social workers and attorneys. She also has experience working on national policy reform at the American Bar Association in Washington, D.C. and Legal Action Center in NY.

She is a leader within the American Bar Association currently serving as chair-elect of the ABA Criminal Justice Section and member of the ABA Women in Criminal Justice Taskforce. She is also the co-founder of the new Black Public Defender Association, which is a membership section of the NLADA. April is a graduate of Tennessee State University and Howard University School of Law.

Professor Joanna C. Schwartz

UCLA Law

Joanna Schwartz is Professor of Law at UCLA School of Law. She teaches Civil Procedure and a variety of courses on police accountability and public interest lawyering. She received UCLA's Distinguished Teaching Award in 2015, and served as Vice Dean for Faculty Development from 2017-2019.





Chris Colbert

Executive Producer, "Say Their Name" Podcast

Chris began his career in audio production over a decade ago as an intern and consultant for Sirius Satellite Radio (now SiriusXM Radio). While simultaneously earning his degree from Seton Hall University, he helped create Oscar and Grammy award winner Jamie Foxx's comedy and music channel "The Foxxhole".

Having worked with names like Jamie Foxx, Touré, James Andrew Miller, Joy-Ann Reid, Zak Levitt, Andrew Jenks, Joe Madison, ESSENCE, PEOPLE, Crooked Media, Sports Illustrated, WME, and the United Negro College Fund, Chris specializes in media partnerships and content development.

With a passion for connecting audiences with innovative and inspiring content, Chris founded DCP Entertainment; a place to bring together audio and visual storytelling. And is now the Executive Producer of Say Their Name, a podcast that focuses on the assault and killing of unarmed Black people by police and in 'Stand Your Ground' states, highlighting incidents throughout the United States. The series serves as a memorialization for these individuals, as we learn about who these people were through the words of the people that knew them best, while also helping us understand what these situations do to their families and communities not only in the immediate aftermath, but also what happens when the news-cycle moves on and the social media attention shifts focus.

Attorney Gary Bledsoe

President, NAACP Texas

Gary Bledsoe is President of the Texas NAACP and has held that position since being elected in 1991. He is an Austin lawyer, who specializes in employment, civil rights, and public interest law. Bledsoe served as Austin Branch President from 1987 to 1991 and has served on the National Board of Directors since 2003. He currently is the Chair of the Housing Committee and Vice-Chair of the Environmental and Climate Justice Subcommittee and the Legal Committee.

Bledsoe's legal acumen has earned him lawyer of the year awards from the Travis County Bar Association and the Attorney General's Office and an inclusion in Who's Who in American Law. He is also the author of the Predatory Lending Principles used by the National NAACP to engage banks and seek to change their practices so that the African-American Community has greater access to capital. These principles resulted from a landmark lawsuit brought by Bledsoe and other lawyers for the National NAACP.

Currently, Bledsoe is the Executive Director for External Affairs at Texas Southern University and teaches at the Thurgood Marshall School of Law.

Bledsoe earned a Doctorate of Jurisprudence from The University Of Texas School Of Law, where he is the permanent class president of

Produced by The Carl Institute for Legal and Social Policy, Inc., 2021





Bhavani Raveendran

Senior Associate Attorney, Romanucci & Blandin LLC

Bhavani Raveendran is a senior associate at Romanucci & Blandin where she focuses on civil rights, police misconduct, prison litigation, and sexual assault litigation.

Her case load includes cases representing individuals and their families seeking justice and accountability for violations of fundamental rights at the hands of law enforcement. Notably, this work includes being a member of the attorney team representing the family of George Floyd, and numerous families that have experienced injury or the loss of a loved one through police violence. Ms. Raveendran also represents the estate of Desiree Robinson, a 16-year-old sex trafficking victim who was murdered, in its civil case against Backpage.com to hold them liable for sex-trafficking minors. She also works extensively on police misconduct cases, including a \$21.3 million verdict for an innocent family devastated by a police chase.

Ms. Raveendran is the Current Chair of the Police Misconduct Litigation Group for the American Association of Justice and the Current Co-Chair and a Founding Member of the Diversity and Inclusion Committee for the Illinois Trial Lawyers Association. Ms. Raveendran is grateful for work that allows her to channel her frustration and to fight the tide of injustice.

Attorney Brian Dunn

The Cochran Firm, California

Brian Dunn is the Managing Partner and lead Civil Rights Attorney for The Cochran Firm California, the office founded by the late Johnnie L. Cochran, Jr.

For the past 25 years, Brian Dunn is one of very few attorneys that has focused the majority of his practice on civil rights cases, representing over 200 victims of police misconduct since 1995. As one of the most experienced working advocates for victims of police misconduct in the state of California, Mr. Dunn has a proven track record of results against government entities on the municipal, state, and federal levels, often in the most complex and misunderstood fact patterns surrounding officer involved shootings.

Recently named among the Nations Top 100 Trial Lawyers





Dean Joan RM Bullock

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Joan R. M. Bullock is the dean of Texas Southern University Thurgood Marshall School of Law. Previously, she served as the president and dean of the Thomas Jefferson School of Law, and as a senior founding faculty member and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the Florida A&M University College of Law.

Dean Bullock is a Michigan lawyer and CPA who has practiced before the United States Tax Court and has assisted many start-up enterprises with outsourced general counsel and CFO services and law firms with business advisory services.

Joan is a fellow of the American Bar Foundation and is active in the American Bar Association (ABA). She is a past chair of the ABA Law Practice Division is a representative of the Law Practice Division to the ABA House of Delegates. Additionally, Joan is a member of the Council of the ABA Section of Science and Technology Law and serves as vicechair of its Membership and Development Committee.

Professor Constance Fain

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Constance Frisby Fain is the Earl Carl Professor of Law at Texas Southern University, Thurgood Marshall School of Law and a former practicing attorney with a Houston

law firm. She received her B.S. degree in education from Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, a J.D. from Texas Southern University School of Law, and LL.M. from University of Pennsylvania. She is licensed to practice law in Texas, Pennsylvania, and the United States Courts of Appeals for the Fifth and Eleventh Circuits. Professor

Fain has written extensively for law reviews and publishing companies. Additionally, Professor Fain has been a presenter at national conferences, continuing legal education seminars, university and law school programs, and community events.





Professor L. Darnell Weeden

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

Professor Weeden has authored more than sixty law review publications. He is a Professor of Law at Thurgood Marshall School of Law, Texas Southern University in Houston with two degrees a Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A. 1972) with a double major in Journalism and Political Science and a Juris Doctor (J.D. 1975) from the University of Mississippi. Weeden is the first African American to graduate from the University of Mississippi Journalism School. He has been a tenured Professor at Texas Southern University's Thurgood Marshall School of Law since 1990 and served as its Associate Dean for Faculty Development & Research from 2005- 2012 and from 2018 - 2020. He served as the interim Dean of Thurgood Marshall School of Law in 1998 for one year, and as its director of clinical programs from 1990-1992. While serving as the law school's legal clinic director, Weeden coauthored (with Ken Williams) a \$250,000 federal grant to establish a legal clinic to assist homeless people in Houston.

Professor SpearIt

Thurgood Marshall School of Law

SpearIt earned a B.A. in philosophy, magna cum laude, from the University of Houston, master's in theological studies at Harvard Divinity School, Ph.D. in religious studies at UC Santa Barbara, and J.D. from UC Berkeley School of Law. Currently, he is a Professor of Law at Thurgood Marshall School of Law, Texas Southern University, where he teaches Evidence, Professional Responsibility, and Criminal Procedure. SpearIt has extensive teaching experience and in addition to teaching law, he has taught undergraduate courses as well as taught inmates at San Quentin State Prison. He is the author of *American Prisons: A Critical Primer on Culture and Conversion to Islam* (First Edition Design Publishing 2017). He also serves as Chair for the American Bar Association Subcommittee on Pell Grant Funding, Board Member of the American Association of Law Schools Section on Law and Religion and Section on Minority Groups, Editorial Board Member of the Race and the Law Prof Blog, and is a Contributing Editor at The Islamic Monthly magazine and JOTWELL Criminal Law.





Sarah Guidry

Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy

Sarah R. Guidry, Executive Director, is a graduate of the University of Texas School of Law. Ms. Guidry has worked in the public interest arena most of her career. She has served as an adjunct professor in Trial Simulation and Appellate Litigation. She was previously the East Texas Regional Managing Attorney for Disability Rights Texas where she represented disabled persons in various discrimination matters. In her position there she also provided representation to persons denied health care in the Harris County Jail, TYC facilities, and other facilities housing persons with mental disabilities. Ms. Guidry previously held positions with the Department of Family and Protective Services (DFPS). At DFPS, Ms. Guidry was the supervising attorney of the statewide Special Litigation Unit which handled the most complex cases in the agency, both in jury trials and on appeal. She was also a Special Projects Attorney and in that role created statewide standardized training and best practice materials for social workers, prosecutors and judges, as well as providing legislative analysis to bills that would potentially impact agency litigation. Ms. Guidry began her work in the public interest arena as a legal aid staff attorney and subsequently Supervising Attorney at Coastal Bend Legal Services. She has authored numerous CLE articles as well as authored several chapters for SBOT Family Law Expert Witness Manual.

Honorable Craig Washington

US District Court for the Southern District of Texas

Honorable Craig A. Washington attended Texas Southern University Law School, graduating number one in his class, with honors. Mr. Washington served Texas Southern University Law School as Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor of Law and later returning, as Distinguished Visiting Professor.

Mr. Washington is licensed to practice law before the Supreme Court of Texas, the United States District Courts of the Southern, Western, Eastern, and Northern Districts of Texas, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, the United States Supreme Court and has had eight cases before the Supreme Court. In November 1982, Representative Washington was elected to State Senate District 13 for the 68th Legislature. He was the second Black to have served in the Texas State Senate since Reconstruction. Representative Washington was well known for his consistent support of civil rights and civil liberties and for his efforts to increase the participation of women and minorities in the political process. Highlights of his legislative career include passage of bills creating the Texas Department of Aging, increasing monthly payments to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), limiting state investments in businesses involved with South Africa, addressing the needs of people with disabilities, and coordinating Texas' fight against AIDS.

While working in Washington, Representative Washington was well known for his consistent support of civil rights and civil liberties and for his efforts to increase the participation of women and minorities in the political process. Produced by The Earl Carl Institute for Legal and Social Policy, Inc., 2021



Attorney Roy J. Rodney

Rodney & Etter, LLC

Roy has been a practicing attorney for thirty years and is the leader of Rodney and Etter, LLC. Attorney Rodney's work focuses on class action cases, toxic torts, complex contracts, extensive pro bono work in civil and voting rights.



Attorney George Oginni

Leo & Oginni Trial Lawyer, PLLC

"George Oginni was born and raised in Dallas, Texas where he attended the University of Texas at Dallas. While at UTD, George worked with the City of Garland as an economic forecaster to build a water park for the city. After achieving his undergraduate degree in Economics, George moved to Houston to receive a Masters in Business Administration at Texas Southern University.

Subsequently, George Oginni attended Thurgood Marshall School of Law, where he served as the Editor-in-Chief of the law school's law review, tutored all 1L courses offered by the school for ALSA, graduated Summa Cum Laude, and competed in various mock trial and negotiation competitions.

After law school, Mr. Oginni worked as a legal clerk for one of the best commercial litigation and criminal defense law firms in America, as nationally ranked in "Prestigious Best Law Firms list for 2020." Mr. Oginni uses his commercial litigation experience to help our client's cases and fight for the highest settlements; our clients deserve the best.

George Oginni's primary focus in the law firm Leo & Oginni Trial Lawyers is personal injury and helping people who have been injured in car accidents, delivery truck crashes, or got bit by a dog. Throughout the years, George Oginni has worked as a legal clerk for notable personal injury trial law firms which include cases ranging from Car Wrecks, 18-Wheeler Crashes, Product Liability, Wrongful Deaths, and many more.

"I naturally have a desire to help people, which is why I love to practice law for a living." - George Oginni"





Serbino Sandifer-Walker

Texas Southern University

Serbino Sandifer-Walker is an award-winning multimedia journalist, journalism professor and assistant dean in the School of Communication at Texas Southern University. She was recently named a "Living Legend" by a local publication based on her stellar record as a journalist, educator, and co-collaborator for the creation of KTSU2, TSU's all student run digital multimedia station. KTSU2 is a 24-hour operation and the first of its kind at TSU. Programming also includes hourly news and sports updates and public affairs programs highlighting TSU, Third Ward and the greater Houston community.

Sandifer-Walker is breaking-ground in digital storytelling where journalists use cutting-edge technology, social media, mobiles and tablets to tell in-depth news stories and develop innovative content for multimedia platforms. She created the first Social Media Correspondents team on a college campus at TSU.

She is also creator of the historic website, Houston Student Movement, which focuses on Houston's civil rights movement. She is currently working on a multimedia publication about Houston's civil rights movement.

As a journalist with more than two decades of experience, Sandifer-Walker has covered everything from hurricanes to political elections in New York City. She has interviewed some of this country's most noted leaders and entertainers. Sandifer-Walker's work has been published in local and national media and scholarly publications.

Attorney Nikeyla Johnson

The Cochran Firm

Nikeyla Johnson is currently the Managing Partner of Johnson Law Firm with law offices in both Houston, Texas and Los Angeles, CA. She also serves as Legal Counsel to the Cochran Firm Texas (Houston office) and Houston Law Group, PLLC. Admitted to the Texas State Bar in 2008; U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas (2008); California State Bar in 2017; Central District of California in 2019; and Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 2019. Education: Spelman College (BS 2001), Thurgood Marshall School of Law (JD 2008), Summa Cum Laude Honors, Law Review Editor, Government Law Society Executive Board Member, Texas Legislative Intern, Commercial Litigation Amjur Award, and Business Associations Amjur Award. Areas of practice: civil litigation, employment discrimination, criminal law, police brutality/excessive force, business and entertainment law.



Becky Selle

Protestor, West Street Recovery

(she/they) is a co-founder of West Street Recovery, a horizontally-structured, grassroots Disaster Recovery and Environmental Justice organization.

She's a queer organizer focused on building just and equitable society through community action grounded in popular education, racial justice, democratic decision making, inclusion, relationship with nature, and abolition.



Jessica Brown

Protestor

Jessica A. Brown, ED.S, LSSP, NCSP is a Texas native from the north Houston area. After graduating from Baylor University's undergraduate and graduate psychology programs she moved back to Houston to work as a Licensed Specialist in School Psychology in city Residential Treatment Centers. After working as an LSSP in RTCs, Jessica began contracting psychological services to Houston school districts including Katy ISD, Humble ISD, HISD, and charter districts. Jessica continues to serve students and families by contracting to Houston public school districts. This is her eighth year working in schools. Jessica is also a proud member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority INC, does creative designer for local photographers, models, and photo shoots, and is an avid traveler.





Yasmeen Davila

Protestor

Yasmeen Dávila is a multi-disciplinary non-binary queer artist and organizer in Houston, Texas. Their advocacy work began in Central Texas concentrating on Native, Indigenous, and undocumented immigrant's rights.

They are currently working on different archival projects, including the documentation of police brutality during the protests in 2020, following the murder of George Floyd.

Keynote Speaker



Sherrilyn Ifill

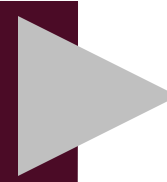
Sherrilyn Ifill is the seventh President and Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF), the nation's premier civil rights legal organization. LDF was founded in 1940 by legendary civil rights lawyer (and later Supreme Court Justice) Thurgood Marshall. Ifill served as an Assistant Counsel for LDF from 1988-1993, litigating voting rights cases. She left LDF to teach at the University of Maryland School of Law in Baltimore, where in addition to teaching in the classroom, she litigated civil rights cases alongside her students for 20 years.

Ifill returned to LDF to lead the organization in 2013 and has emerged as one of the nation's leading voices in the struggle for racial justice and equality. Under her leadership, LDF has intensified its litigation challenging voter suppression, racial discrimination in the criminal justice system and housing discrimination, and has taken a leadership role in resisting federal efforts to roll back civil rights gains in areas such as affirmative action, employment discrimination and school discipline policies. The organization is at the forefront of civil rights organizations challenging unconstitutional policing practices in cities around the country.

A critically acclaimed author, her scholarly articles and her 2007 book "On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the 21st Century," reflect Ifill's lifelong engagement in and analysis of issues of race and American public life. Ifill graduated from Vassar College in 1984 with a B.A. in English and earned her J.D. from New York University School of Law in 1987. She has received honorary doctorates from New York University, Bard College, Fordham Law School and CUNY Law School. In 2019, Ifill was inducted into the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. She serves on the board of the Learning Policy Institute and on the Advisory board for the Profiles in Courage Award. She is a past chair of U.S. board of the Open Society Foundations, one of the largest philanthropic supporters of civil rights and liberties in the country.

About Us....

Guidry: Reimagining "We the People" Conference Program



American Associations for Justice

For over 70 years, AAJ has successfully defended the constitutional right to trial by jury and fights every day to make sure people have a fair chance to seek justice when they are injured by the negligence or misconduct of others—even when it means taking on the most powerful corporations and government institutions. AAJ members represent families injured by police misconduct and violence and seek to hold accountable those who cause harm or abuse their power.



The Center for Justice Research

The Center for Justice Research is committed to creating justice reform-oriented solutions for the reduction of mass incarceration by connecting and applying academic thought to practical challenges. As a university-level research center, the Center for Justice Research provides a culturally responsive approach to mass incarceration and to criminal justice reform. Our targeted research advances data-driven solutions by supporting innovation, collecting committed reformers, compelling policy arguments and engendering broad consensus amongst community stakeholders.



Thurgood Marshall Law

Since 1947, Thurgood Marshall Law has transformed the lives of many students, initiating them into legal professionals serving in Congress, the state legislature and judiciary in Texas, the United States and abroad. Heralded as one of the most diverse law schools in the country, and being part of Texas Southern University, the second largest historically Black college and university (HBCU) in the world, Thurgood Marshall Law upholds its leadership responsibility of providing a dynamic legal training program to a diverse cadre of students, who possess the leadership qualifications to become outstanding members of the legal profession.



About Us....

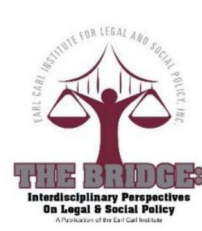
The Bridge: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal & Social Policy, Vol. 6 [2021], Art. 1

Earl Carl Institute for Legal & Social Policy, Inc.

The Earl Carl Institute for Legal and Social Policy, Inc. is a §501(c)(3) non-profit corporation established in 1992 as a research, writing and advocacy think tank at the Texas Southern University Thurgood Marshall School of Law. The Earl Carl Institute's mission is to empower underserved and disenfranchised communities by addressing systemic social issues through legal representation, research, education and advocacy. The Institute is dedicated to identifying implementable solutions to legal and social issues disproportionately impacting the communities of color. The Institute pursues, through academic and grassroots efforts, opportunities to promote policy changes in many areas affecting ECI's target population including juvenile justice, school discipline, criminal justice, and homeownership.



The mission of the Thurgood Marshall School of Law is to expand opportunities for the underserved in the legal profession; prepare a diverse group of students for leadership roles in the legal profession, business and government; and offer leadership in teaching, research and service with special emphasis on a historically black heritage and tradition.



We Are ECI

Creating a new vision for legal & social justice

Because truth matters: Freeing the Innocent

Helping Children Today to Have a Better Future Tomorrow

Taking it to the streets: TMSL Street Law Program

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Legal

& Social Policy: The Bridge

Increasing wealth through homeownership

Advocacy through academic and grassroots efforts

Creating opportunities to promote policy changes

Student Development

Reducing disproportionality & disparity

Serving the community

Educational programming

LEGENDS AND LEADERS

WE ARE

The Earl Carl Institute For Legal & Social Policy, Inc.

www.earlcarlinstitute.org

BECOME A PART OF THE MOVEMENT

713.313.1139