FEB 27-MAR 1, 2018

RACE & INEQUALITY IN AMERICA

THE KERNER COMMISSION @ 50
1968-2018
Conference Agenda

ALL SESSIONS TAKE PLACE IN THE MLK PAULEY BALLROOM AND LOBBY.

TUESDAY
FEB 27

4:00 PM
Welcome Remarks
UC Berkeley
Chancellor Carol Christ

4:10 PM
Conference Opening
john a. powell

4:40 PM
Keynote
Shaun Donovan

5:10 PM
Reading
Chinaka Hodge

5:20 PM
America from 1968 to 2018: What’s Changed, What Hasn’t?
Ian Haney Lopez, Julian Zelizer, Shantel Buggs, Eric Tang

6:45 PM
Reception

THURSDAY
MARCH 1

9:00 AM
Welcome Address
Mayor Mitch Landrieu

9:15 AM
Health and Race
Lisa Cooper, Mahasin Mujahid, Leana Wen, Robert Hahn

11:00 AM
Education, Achievement, and Performance

12:45 PM
Keynote
Sherrilyn Ifill

1:30 PM
Remedies, Big and Small

3:00 PM
Thank You and Closing
john a. powell

WEDNESDAY
FEB 28

9:00 AM
Welcome
Johns Hopkins University
President Ronald J. Daniels

9:15 AM
History, Origins, and Legacy of Kerner Commission
John Koskinen, Senator Fred Harris, Victor Palmieri, Jay Kriegel

10:20 AM
Student Art Collective Presentation

10:30 AM
Black Lives Matter & Criminal Justice Reform

1:00 PM
Keynote
Robert Sampson

2:00 PM
Reading: Ordinary Human Beings
Campo Santo

2:20 PM
Housing & Neighborhoods

3:45 PM
Employment, Jobs and Transportation
Thea Lee, Steven Pitts, Elizabeth Kneebone, Guillermo Mayer. Video from William Julius Wilson.

6:30 PM
Film screening: Whose Streets?
With remarks and Q&A with co-director Sabaah Folayan
Conference Information

ON-SITE ASSISTANCE
Conference staff are located throughout the venue to provide assistance, information, or support at any time during the conference. Please feel free to approach anyone with badges labeled "Staff" to ask for assistance or offer any feedback.

If you have an emergency or a special concern, do not hesitate to contact Puanani Forbes at the registration/information desk.

BATHROOMS
Bathrooms are located on the fourth floor of the MLK Student Union.

ACCESSIBILITY
If you require any services for accessibility or mobility, please see any of our staff at the registration desk.

EVALUATIONS
Please give us your feedback on the conference. Conference evaluation forms will be at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/kerner50. Paper evaluations for the conference can be found at the Haas Institute information table in the lobby. You are also welcome to email feedback to haasinstitute@berkeley.edu.

SOCIAL MEDIA
The conference hashtag is #Kerner50. We will be posting live updates throughout the conference from Twitter and Instagram @haasinstitute and @21stCenturyCity, so be sure to follow our social media accounts.

FILMING
Video recording or filming, including social media streaming such as FacebookLive, is not allowed during our conference due to contracted agreements with our speakers and artists. Please refrain from using flash photography as it can be distracting for attendees and speakers.

We will be taking photos and videos during the conference which will be made publicly available online and in written materials. If you do not wish for your photo to be in any of our public materials, please talk to one of our staff at our registration desk or email haasinstitute@berkeley.edu.

POST-CONFERENCE MATERIALS
We will be making the ideas and knowledge shared here widely available in multiple formats following the conference, including multimedia and written proceedings.

Videos available of all conference panels and talks will be posted at youtube.com/haasinstitute and haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/kerner50.

Welcome

In the mid-1960s, a series of violent police encounters with Black Americans sparked uprisings in more than one hundred American cities. I was in Detroit at that time and witness to one of the two largest of the rebellions which, during its five days, left over 43 people dead. These outbreaks were in part a response to police brutality, harassment and disrespect. And they were in part a response to being locked out of the system, having bad schools, suffering discrimination in housing and employment—really the vestiges of slavery, in what was in essence a racial caste system that kept Black Americans from fully participating in American life.

Shaken by the civil unrest across the nation in 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, a bipartisan and politically mainstream group, to investigate the immediate causes of the rebellions, as well as the underlying conditions of racial segregation and discrimination that gave rise to them. Headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, with Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York as vice chairman, the Commission issued its findings in a landmark report on February 29, 1968, which became commonly known as simply the Kerner Report.

The Kerner Report, unanimously signed by the nine-member Commission, was wide-ranging and dramatic and concluded that white society had denied opportunity to Black Americans living in poor urban neighborhoods. The report offered both dire warnings along with a bold plan of federal action. In what would become its most famous line, the Commission noted:

“Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

The 500-page report explicitly identified white racism as being responsible for fostering the environment which allowed the rebellions across the country to unfold and pointed to creating and maintaining the black ghetto with massive concentrations of poverty, and where basic human needs weren’t being met: “What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.”

The findings and recommendations of the Kerner Commission have never seemed more relevant since its release. The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, the Johns Hopkins 21st Century Cities Initiative, and the Economic Policy Institute have organized this conference to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Kerner Report release as a historical marker that helps us judge where we are as a society now, where have we been, and what might we do in the future. One key area we will examine is why the nation did not implement more of the Commission’s recommendations.

The challenge of the country today is even more stark than it was in 1968. If we don’t address many of these issues we will see a threat to the viability of our social fabric and our democracy. It’s hard to imagine implementing many of these things in the era of rising white nationalism, and yet this is precisely why the need remains important and the timing urgent. We see expressions of hope coming from communities around the country, whether from Black Lives Matter, whether from sanctuary cities, whether from the removal of Confederate monuments, or whether from our youth and Native communities leading the way to fight climate change.

The Commission framed their findings largely in terms of Black and white populations. Fifty years later, we have many of the same conditions, only the country is much more diverse. The white population has declined, Latinos have become the largest minority population, there is a large Asian population, a growing Muslim population, and there are our Native and indigenous populations, who have always been here yet never received due or adequate institutional support.
The lessons of the Kerner Report still ring very true today, in terms of how people are still locked out of opportunity. We see retrenchment in voting, retrenchment in the federal government in addressing issues such as school segregation, and retrenchment in terms of fair housing. All of these things tend to be racially coded, although they affect all populations. The Department of Justice has pulled back from enforcing consent decrees on police departments that violate the Constitution. The war on drugs is being reconstituted and the narrative of law and order is being re-elevated from the highest legal representative in the country.

The killings of unarmed Black teenagers that sparked the Black Lives Matter movement, and the ensuing Movement for Black Lives that grew out of it, have re-awakened American consciousness to the pervasiveness of systemic racism, segregation, growing inequality, and state violence. Whether through the rise of white nationalism throughout the country, seen in deadly manifestations in places such as Charlottesville and Charleston, or the protests on college campuses and state capitols over monuments and buildings that honor figures responsible for slavery and segregation, race remains at the forefront of our American life.

The Kerner Report sits at the heart of our most elemental questions of politics and policy. Only until we understand the underlying causes of our divisions and what remedies they require can we begin to move towards a fair and just society where all belong. It’s not enough to just ask who belongs, but what does it take to realize our answer? It’s not just about what we must accomplish, but the means by which we accomplish it—how do we build a movement and a political and institutional pathway that can realize a more equitable future?

Joined by many of our most prominent scholars and advocates working to advance racial justice today, we will over the next few days examine core questions we must confront about racial resentment, racial anxiety, and the backlash to racial progress. We will examine the legacy, successes and failures of the Kerner Commission, and together envision what a contemporary Kerner Report might look like in every major area of American life, including housing, education, healthcare, policing, and more.

On behalf of all who have been part of organizing and producing this event in Berkeley and Baltimore, thank you for joining us at the Race & Inequality in America: the Kerner Commission at 50 conference, an event that aims to serve as a landmark retrospective as well as a roadmap for a policy agenda that can grapple with the challenges of racial inequality today and in the future.

john a. powell
Director, Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society and Professor of Law, African American Studies, and Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley

P.S. Disseminating the ideas and materials that will be shared over the next 2.5 days, and making them widely and publicly accessible, is a critical part of making this event a success. Videos of all conference talks will be available at youtube.com/haasinstitute shortly following the conference and we are also publishing a comprehensive report later this spring that will include conference findings and further analysis of the themes we will be discussing together. Join the conversation online by using the hashtag #Kerner50 or following @haasinstitute and @21CenturyCity.
First Level of Intensity

1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
8. Discriminatory administration of justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
12. Inadequate welfare programs
About the Speakers

IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE

Welcome Remarks

Chancellor Carol Christ began her term as the 11th chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley on July 1, 2017. A celebrated scholar of Victorian literature, Christ is also well known as an advocate for quality, accessible public higher education, a proponent of the value of a broad education in the liberal arts and sciences, and a champion of women’s issues and diversity on college campuses. Christ spent more than three decades as a professor and administrator at UC Berkeley before serving as president of Smith College, one of the country’s most distinguished liberal arts colleges, from 2002 to 2013. She returned to Berkeley in January 2015 to direct the campus’s Center for Studies in Higher Education, and was appointed interim executive vice chancellor and provost in April 2016 before being named chancellor in March 2017. Since returning to Berkeley, Christ has played an instrumental role in efforts to stabilize the institution’s budget, confront sexual violence and sexual harassment on campus, and create a long-term plan for housing students and scholars.

Conference Opening

John a. powell is a Professor of Law, African American Studies and Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley, where he holds the Robert D. Haas Chancellor’s Chair in Equity and Inclusion as the Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. An internationally recognized expert in civil rights and civil liberties, John writes and speaks extensively on race, structural racialization, poverty, fair housing, voting rights, identity, spirituality and social justice, and the needs of citizens in a democratic society. John was formerly the Executive Director of the Kirwan Institute at Ohio State University and the Gregory H. Williams Chair at the Moritz College of Law. He also founded and directed the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota and was the National Legal Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. John has taught at numerous law schools including Harvard and Columbia University and is the author of several books, including his most recent work, Racing to Justice: Transforming our Concepts of Self and Other to Build an Inclusive Society.

Keynote

Shaun Donovan is an American government administrator and housing specialist who served as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget from 2014 to 2017. Donovan is also the former United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, serving from 2009 to 2014. Prior to this, he headed the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), where he created and implemented HPD’s New Housing Marketplace Plan to build and preserve 165,000 affordable homes, the largest municipal affordable housing plan in the nation’s history. Secretary Donovan worked in the private sector on financing affordable housing. He was also a consultant to the Millennial Housing Commission on strategies for increasing the production of multifamily housing, created by the United States Congress to recommend ways to expand housing opportunities across the nation.
America from 1968 to 2018: What’s Changed, What Hasn’t?

Ian Haney López holds an endowed chair as the John H. Boalt Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, where he teaches in the areas of race and constitutional law. One of the nation’s leading thinkers on racism’s evolution since the civil rights era, he is also a Senior Fellow at Demos and the director of the Racial Politics program at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. Haney López has been a visiting professor at Yale, New York University, and Harvard, where he served as the Ralph E. Shikes Visiting Fellow in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. The author or editor of five books, his most recent, Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class, lays bare how politicians exploit racial pandering to build resentment toward government, fooling voters into supporting policies that favor the very wealthiest while hurting everyone else.

Julian E. Zelizer is the Malcolm Stevenson Forbes, Class of 1941 Professor of History and Public Affairs at Princeton University and a CNN Political Analyst. His first book, Taxing America, was awarded the 2000 Ellis Hawley Prize and the 1998 D.B. Hardeman Prize. In addition to his scholarly articles and book chapters, Zelizer is a frequent commentator in the international and national media on political history and contemporary politics. He has published over 800 op-eds, including his weekly column on CNN.com. The History News Network named Zelizer as one of the top young historians in the country. He has received fellowships from the Brookings Institution, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation.

Shantel Gabrieal Buggs is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Florida State University and affiliated faculty in the Program for African American Studies. She earned her Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin in the Department of Sociology, with portfolios in the Departments of African and African Diaspora Studies and Women’s and Gender Studies. Her research interests center on how race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality shape the ways that people build and negotiate family, and pursue and maintain romantic intimate relationships. Through this work, she illustrates how interpersonal relationships structure and reify identities and social inequalities. In particular, her research focuses on multiracial populations and interracial couplings as people move through life course processes like dating, cohabitation, marriage, and parenthood.

Eric Tang is an Associate Professor in the African and African Diaspora Studies Department and faculty member in the Center for Asian American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. He holds a courtesy appointment in the Department of Sociology and serves as a faculty fellow with both the Institute for Urban Policy Research & Analysis and the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement. A former community organizer, Tang has published several articles on race and urban social movements, including award-winning writing on post-Katrina New Orleans and the book Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the NYC Hyperghetto. He is at work on a second book, Fire In the Streets, which revisits the urban rebellions of the late 1960s. Tang also does research on racial segregation in Austin with attention to the gentrification-driven displacements of the city’s longstanding African American residents.
Ronald J. Daniels is the 14th president of Johns Hopkins University and a professor in the Department of Political Science. Since taking office in 2009, Daniels has focused his leadership on three overarching themes – enhanced interdisciplinary collaboration, individual excellence, and community engagement. These themes are the backbone of the Ten by Twenty, the university’s strategic vision through 2020. A law and economics scholar, Daniels’ research focuses on the intersections of law, economics, development, and public policy in areas such as corporate and securities law, social and economic regulation, and the role of law and legal institutions in promoting third-world development. His recent writing has focused on advocating for young investigators in American life-science research and on the role of the research university in promoting community development. He is the author or co-author of seven books and dozens of scholarly articles, as well as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

History, Origins, and Legacy of the Kerner Commission

John Koskinen was the head of the Internal Revenue Service from 2013-2017, and is the former Non-Executive Chairman of Freddie Mac. Koskinen was an aide to the Vice-Chairman of the Kerner Commission, John Lindsay. Koskinen previously served as the deputy mayor of the District of Columbia, the deputy director for management of the Office of Management and Budget, and then later President Clinton’s chairman of the President’s Council on Y2K, 2000 Conversion, the Year 2000 problem. Prior to entering government service, Koskinen worked for 21 years for The Palmieri Company as vice president, president, CEO, and chairman.

Senator Fred Harris is the former US Senator from Oklahoma, and the only surviving member of the nine-member Kerner Commission. From 1969 to 1970, he served as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Harris left elective politics for academia after 1976. He became a professor of political science at the University of New Mexico and wrote many books on political subjects.

Victor Palmieri is an American lawyer, real estate financier, and corporate turnaround specialist. Palmieri was the Deputy Executive Director of the Kerner Commission Staff. He was also Ambassador at Large and US Coordinator for Refugee Affairs in the US Department of State during the Jimmy Carter administration. Palmieri was also the chief executive officer of The Palmieri Company, a general management consulting firm that has specialized in large-scale reorganizations and restructurings since 1969. He has taught courses on corporate crisis management at Stanford Law School and at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Jay Kriegel is the Senior Adviser at Related Companies who previously served as assistant to the Vice Chairman of the Kerner Commission, John Lindsay. Kriegel served for over a decade as Counsellor to the financial communications firm of Abernathy MacGregor Group. His area of expertise lies in strategic communications with an emphasis on public policy for governments, businesses and nonprofits. He has served with the Prime Minister of Turkey, the President of Peru, the Beijing Women’s Conference, and the President of the University of Pennsylvania. Kriegel was previously a Senior Vice President of CBS Inc. He co-founded and was the publisher for The American Lawyer.
Black Lives Matter & Criminal Justice Reform


Chris Magnus started his public safety career with the Lansing Police Department. He served as the police chief in Fargo, North Dakota, and in 2006, Magnus became police chief for Richmond, California, a position he held for 10 years. During that time Magnus was significantly involved in strengthening ties between the community and its police force, addressing historically high levels of crime, and implementing reforms within the department. Magnus was appointed to be the police chief for Tucson, Arizona in 2016. In 2015, Magnus testified before the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing on best practice models of community policing.

Ronald Davis is the former Director of the Department of Justice COPS Office and the Executive Director of President Obama’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Prior to that, Davis had a distinguished career in law enforcement serving eight years as Chief of Police of East Palo Alto and 20 years with the Oakland Police Dept. Davis was recognized for his innovative community policing efforts and for working with the community to dramatically reduce crime and violence in a city once named as the murder capital of the US.

Sandra Susan Smith is an associate professor of sociology at UC Berkeley. Her research lies at the intersection of urban poverty and joblessness, social capital and social networks, race and ethnicity, and, more recently, re-entry. In a new project, generously funded by the Arnold Foundation, Smith turns her attention to the front end of criminal case processing and asks how pretrial detention and diversion fundamentally alter offenders’ future criminal involvement trajectories. Smith has been a deputy editor of the ASR and a consulting editor of the AJS. Currently she is the chair of the Inequality, Poverty, and Mobility section of the ASA, a member of the Executive Session on Community Corrections at Harvard’s Kennedy School, and a member of the National Research Advisory Board for the Misdemeanor Justice Project.

Sonya Joseph is a community organizer for Faith in New York, a PICO National affiliate and LIVE FREE representative, working in the Brooklyn and Queens area. In 2011, Sonya interned with NYC Council Member Jumaane Williams, eventually becoming a senior intern. Sonya completed service with Americorps and has worked as a tenants rights organizer to combat gentrification in Brooklyn. Her work is focused on centering directly-impacted people, empowering and educating new leaders, and building community amongst all faith traditions. She is an alumna of Brooklyn College. She was raised in New York by parents of Caribbean descent.

Baltimore moderator: Lester Spence is an Associate Professor of political science and Africana studies at Johns Hopkins University. He specializes in black, racial, and urban politics. An award-winning scholar and teacher, he can regularly be heard on National Public Radio and the Marc Steiner Show. In 2013, Spence received the W.E.B. DuBois Distinguished Book Award for his book, *Stare in the Darkness: The Limits of Hip-hop and Black Politics.*
Evan Bissell, Don’t talk about it be about it (Detroit public safety budget and community and neighborhood services budget, 2017), paper collage, 2018
Introduction to Keynote

Stephen Menendian is the Assistant Director and Director of Research at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, and the former senior legal associate at the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University. Stephen co-authored the amicus brief Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. the Inclusive Communities Project, as well as the Institute’s United States Supreme Court Amicus brief in Fisher v. Texas asking the Court to uphold the University of Texas’ race-conscious admissions policy, the Amicus brief for Mount Holly arguing that disparate impact standard remains essential to address the ongoing legacy of historical housing segregation.

Keynote

Robert J. Sampson is the Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences at Harvard University, founding director of the Boston Area Research Initiative, and Affiliated Research Professor at the American Bar Foundation. He served as Chair of the Department of Sociology and taught at the University of Chicago for a dozen years. In the 1990s he was the Scientific Director of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, which collected original longitudinal data spanning individuals and neighborhoods and has produced two decades of research from scholars around the world. In 2011, he was appointed as Director of the Social Sciences at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University. Sampson’s research and teaching cover areas including crime, disorder, the life course, neighborhood effects, civic engagement, inequality, “ecometrics,” and the social structure of the city. He is the author of three award-winning books, his most recent being Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect, which won the best book award from the American Sociological Association and the American Society of Criminology.

Housing and Neighborhoods

Richard Rothstein is a research associate of the Economic Policy Institute, a fellow at the Thurgood Marshall Institute of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and a Senior Fellow at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at UC Berkeley. He is the author of The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America. The book, nominated for the National Book Award, recovers a forgotten history of how federal, state, and local policy explicitly segregated metropolitan areas nationwide, creating racially homogenous neighborhoods in patterns that violate the Constitution and require remediation.

Camille Charles is Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Term Professor in the Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, Graduate School of Education, and the Center for Africana Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. She is author of Won’t You Be My Neighbor: Race, Class and Residence in Los Angeles, which offers class- and race-based explanations for persisting residential segregation. She is also nearing completion of a sole-authored book on Black racial identity in the United States, tentatively titled, The New Black: Race-Conscious or Post-Racial? Charles earned her Ph.D. from UCLA where she was a project manager for the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality. Her work has appeared in Social Forces, Social Problems, the American Journal of Education, the Annual Review of Sociology, the Chronicle of Higher
Education, The Root, and other publications.

Betsy Julian is Founder and Senior Counsel of the Inclusive Communities Project, a Dallas-based non-profit organization working for the creation and maintenance of racially and economically inclusive communities. From 1994 to 1999, Ms. Julian served the Clinton administration at the Department of Housing and Urban Development as Deputy General Counsel for Civil Rights, Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, and Secretary’s Representative for the Southwest Region.

Myron Orfield is the Director of the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity. He has written three books and dozens of articles and book chapters on local government law, spatial inequality, fair housing, school desegregation, charter schools, state and local taxation and finance, and land use law. Orfield’s research has led to legislative and judicial reforms at the federal level and state level. Professor Orfield has been a litigator in a large law firm, a civil rights lawyer, and an assistant attorney general of Minnesota, representing Minnesota in appellate courts, including the United States Supreme Court. Recently, Orfield served on the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, as an academic advisor to the Congressional Black Caucus, an advisor to President Obama’s transition team for urban policy, to the White House Office of Urban Affairs, and as special consultant to the HUD’s Office for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity. At FHEO, Professor Orfield assisted in the development of the Fair Housing Act’s Discriminatory Effects Standard (the “disparate impact rule”) and the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Rule.

Baltimore moderator: Stefanie DeLuca is the James Coleman Professor of Sociology & Social Policy at Johns Hopkins University. Her research focuses on the way social context affects the outcomes of disadvantaged young people, primarily in adolescence and at the transition to adulthood.

Employment, Jobs, and Transportation

Thea Lee became president of the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) in 2018. Lee has a longstanding relationship with EPI, having begun her career there as an international trade economist in the 1990s. Lee is committed to EPI’s mission of building an economy that works for everyone, not just the wealthy few. To ensure that policymakers and advocates have the tools they need to fight and win key battles on behalf of working people, Lee is extending EPI’s reach through expanded engagement at the state level and with progressive organizers.

William Julius Wilson is Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor at Harvard University. He is one of only 20 University Professors, the highest professional distinction for a Harvard faculty member. His current research focuses on a cultural analysis of life in poverty based on ethnographic and survey research in three cities—Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio. Recent studies, which he directed in Chicago, examine this “new urban poverty” from a broad perspective and consider the causative role of macro-economic conditions, culture, social welfare policy, and historical circumstances. In addition, Professor Wilson’s research addresses the impact of inequality and poverty concentration on racial and ethnic relations, family structure, and joblessness, as well as the role of public policies in both alleviating and exacerbating these problems.

Steven Pitts is the Associate Chair of the Center for Labor Research and Education at
dependent populations. In 2009, he co-led a groundbreaking civil rights administrative challenge against the Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART) for its failure to evaluate the impact of the Oakland Airport Connector on low-income and minority communities in East Oakland.

**Thurs. March 1**

**Special Welcome Remarks**

**Mitch Landrieu** was sworn in as the 61st Mayor of New Orleans on May 3, 2010 with a clear mandate to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity in New Orleans. In 2014, Mayor Landrieu was overwhelmingly reelected to a second term. He is the first mayor in the city to be elected by majorities of both white and African-American voters, a feat he accomplished twice. Under Landrieu, New Orleans has become America’s best comeback story and one of the fastest growing major cities in America. Since 2010, New Orleans has been ranked as the #1 metropolitan area for overall economic recovery by the Brookings Institute and as America’s Best City for School Reform by the Fordham Institute. New Orleans also received the World Tourism Award for outstanding accomplishments in the travel and hospitality industry.

**Health and Race**

**Lisa Cooper** is a Bloomberg Distinguished Professor at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and Bloomberg School of Public Health. Currently, Dr. Cooper directs the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Equity, where she and her transdisciplinary team work with stakeholders from healthcare and the community to implement...
In several important respects, a riot is no different from any other kind of collective action. A truly revolutionary spirit has begun to take hold, an unwillingness to compromise or wait any longer, to risk death rather than have their people continue in a subordinate status.

A new mood has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."
rigorous clinical trials, identifying interventions that alleviate racial and income disparities in social determinants and health outcomes. The Center also provides training to a new generation of health equality scholars and advocates for social change with policymakers. Dr. Cooper was born in Liberia, West Africa, where she witnessed the effects of social deprivation on the health of many of her fellow citizens and developed the passion for her career in medicine and public health.

Mahasin Mujahid PhD, MS, FAHA is an Associate Professor of Epidemiology, Director of the MPH Program in Epidemiology and Biostatistics, Co-Director of the Master of City Planning/Master of Public Health MPH Program, and Chancellor’s Professor at the UC Berkeley School of Public Health. Her primary area of research examines the role of neighborhood environment in cardiovascular health. Dr. Mujahid’s research, funded by the National Institutes of Health and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation among others, has been published in leading public health and medical journals nationally. Dr. Mujahid earned her B.S. in Mathematics from Xavier University and her M.S. in Biostatistics and Ph.D in Epidemiology from the University of Michigan. Dr. Mujahid has received several teaching honors from UC Berkeley, including the Distinguished Faculty Mentor Award, the Committee on Teaching Excellence Award, and the Leon Henkin Citation for Distinguished Service.

Leana Wen is the Commissioner of Health in Baltimore, where she oversees the nation’s oldest health department. Facing an unprecedented number of people dying from opioid overdose, Dr. Wen issued a blanket prescription for the opioid antidote, naloxone, which has saved 1,500 lives in two years. Other transformative projects include a collective impact strategy that has reduced infant mortality by 40 percent, an initiative to get glasses to every child who needs them, and a program to engage returning citizens and hospitals in treating violence as a contagious disease. A board-certified emergency physician, Dr. Wen was a Rhodes Scholar, Clinical Fellow at Harvard, consultant with the World Health Organization, and professor at George Washington University. She has published over 100 scientific articles and is the author of the book When Doctors Don’t Listen. In 2016, Dr. Wen was honored to be the recipient of the American Public Health Association’s highest award for local public health work.

Robert A. Hahn has served as an epidemiologist at the CDC since 1986. He received his doctorate in anthropology at Harvard University (1976) and his MPH in epidemiology from the University of Washington (1986). He is the author of Sickness and Healing: An Anthropological Perspective and editor of Anthropology and Public Health: Bridging Differences in Culture and Society. He is currently coordinating scientist of systematic reviews interventions to promote health equity with the Guide to Community Preventive Services.

Education, Achievement, and Performance

Erica Frankenberg is an associate professor of education and demography in the College of Education at the Pennsylvania State University. Her research interests focus on racial desegregation and inequality in K-12 schools, and the connections between school segregation and other metropolitan policies. At Penn State, Dr. Frankenberg teaches classes on education policy and politics. In 2014, she coordinated the Civil Rights and Education conference at Penn State. With Liliana Garces, Dr. Frankenberg directs a civil rights and education center at Penn State.

Rucker Johnson is an Associate Professor in the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. He has focused on such topics as low-wage labor...
markets, spatial mismatch, the societal consequences of incarceration, the socioeconomic determinants of health disparities over the life course, and the effects of growing up poor and poor infant health on childhood cognition, child health, educational attainment, and later-life health and socioeconomic success.

**Linda Darling-Hammond** is the Charles E. Ducommun Professor of Education Emeritus at Stanford University where she founded the Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education and served as the faculty sponsor of the Stanford Teacher Education Program, which she helped to redesign. She has consulted widely with federal, state and local officials and educators on strategies for improving education policies and practices. Among her more than 500 publications are a number of award-winning books, including *The Right to Learn, Teaching as the Learning Profession, Preparing Teachers for a Changing World* and *The Flat World and Education*.

**Jitu Brown** is the National Director of Journey for Justice Alliance. Brown started volunteering with the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) in 1991, became a board member in 1993, and served as the Board president for a number of years. He joined the staff as education organizer in 2006. Jitu has organized in the Kenwood Oakland neighborhood for over 17 years bringing community voices to the table on school issues. Jitu helped develop the Mid-South Education Association, a grassroots advocacy group comprised of administrators, parents, teachers, young people and local school council (LSC) members to meet the needs of schools in the area. They were the first group to certify parents as LSC facilitators, which has become a model being replicated across the city of Chicago. KOCO has served as a resource for organizations nationwide, dealing with school closings and the elimination of community voice from the decision-making process.

**Baltimore moderator. David Steiner** is Director of the Johns Hopkins Institute for Education Policy and Professor of Education at Johns Hopkins University. He currently serves as a member of the State Board of Education and on the Maryland Commission for Innovation and Excellence in Education.

**Keynote**

**Sherrilyn Ifill** is the seventh President and Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Ms. Ifill is a longtime member of the LDF family. After graduating law school, Ifill served first as a fellow at the American Civil Liberties Union and then for five years as an assistant counsel in LDF’s New York office, where she litigated voting rights cases. Among her successful litigation was the landmark Voting Rights Act case [*Houston Lawyers’ Association vs. Attorney General of Texas*], in which the Supreme Court held that judicial elections are covered by the provisions of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. A critically acclaimed author, her book *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the 21st Century* reflects her lifelong engagement in and analysis of issues of race and American public life. Ifill’s scholarly writing has focused on the importance of diversity on the bench, and she is currently writing a book about race and Supreme Court confirmation hearings. Ifill is the immediate past Chair of the Board of US Programs at the Open Society Institute, one of the largest philanthropic supporters of civil rights and social justice organizations in the country.
Remedies, Big and Small

Christopher Edley, Jr. was Dean of the UC Berkeley School of Law from 2004 to 2013, after 23 years as a Harvard Law professor. His academic work is in administrative law, civil rights, education policy, and domestic public policy generally. Professor Edley has moved between academia and public service, each enriching the other and together giving him broad familiarity with many areas of public policy. He served in White House policy and budget positions under Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton. More recently, Edley co-chaired the congressionally chartered National Commission on Education Equity and Excellence from 2011 to 2013. The Commission’s charge was to revisit the 1983 report, A Nation at Risk, and recommend future directions for reform; he chairs the follow-on effort, For Each & Every Child. He continues as a Berkeley Professor.

Christina Livingston is the Executive Director of ACCE and the ACCE Institute. She began her organizing career in 2004 as a field organizer for Los Angeles ACORN where she worked in South LA developing leaders and organizing campaigns to improve community conditions. She later became the Field Director for California ACORN, directly managing operations in four cities. In 2010, Christina, along with former ACORN staff and leaders, started ACCE and later the ACCE Institute where she worked for two years as Deputy Director before becoming Executive Director. Her work during those years focused heavily on coordinating and advancing the revenue and banking accountability campaigns.

Philip Tegeler has worked as a civil rights lawyer for over 30 years, specializing in fair housing and educational equity policy and litigation. In 2004, Tegeler was appointed Executive Director of the Poverty and Race Research Action Council (PRRAC) where he supports housing policy and housing mobility work, while also helping lead the work of the National Coalition on School Diversity, which PRRAC cofounded in 2009. Prior, Mr. Tegeler was an attorney with the Connecticut ACLU, where he also served as Legal Director from 1997 to 2003. At the ACLU, Mr. Tegeler litigated cases in federal and state courts involving fair housing, school desegregation, land use law, voting rights, first amendment law, gay rights, prison conditions, criminal justice, and other institutional reform litigation.

Jack Boger joined the staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) in 1978, where he litigated capital punishment cases for a decade and became director of the fund’s Capital Punishment Project. In 1987, he became director of a poverty and justice program at LDF established to enlarge the legal rights of the minority poor. Boger joined the UNC School of Law faculty in 1990, and from 1995–1999 served as associate dean for academic affairs. In 2002, he became deputy director of the UNC Center for Civil Rights and, in 2006, UNC Law’s 13th dean. Boger was chair from 1989-2016 of the Poverty and Race Research Action Council (PRRAC), a Washington, DC-based federation of civil rights and legal services groups that encourages national coordination of social scientific research and legal advocacy on behalf of the poor.

Baltimore moderator: Robert Lieberman is the Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. A distinguished political scientist and former academic administrator at Columbia University, Lieberman served as provost and senior vice president for academic affairs at Johns Hopkins from 2013–16. He stepped down to pursue his research and scholarship on issues of race and inequality.
Arts and Culture

THE KERNER REPORT and the mirror it holds up to our contemporary moment is rich framing for artists. Alongside the Kerner Commission’s extensive efforts to describe the summer of 1967, and more broadly the social landscape of race and reality in America, there remains ample room to expand our understanding of what the continuity of life and resistance means in the last 50 years in US cities. The creative work gathered for this conference seeks to fold layers of texture and provocation into our discussions on policy, systems, and social change. For the Race & Inequality in America: The Kerner Commission at 50 conference, we commissioned or convened the following work, most of it original or new:

• A Kerner@50 Student Art Collaborative used readings and discussions from the Kerner Report to explore the theme of “Why are you afraid?” The student artists used that question as an anchoring point to explore multiple themes: the tangled relationship between domestic policing and foreign policy, and how expressions of the mundane reveal the depth of intersectional oppression as well as the humanity of everyday resistance.

• Artist Damon Davis’s new visual art series, The Riot Report, displayed in the lobby and a few in this program, is a contemporary take on historical materials from the period that disrupt stagnant consumption of the documentation of such histories, splicing in new stories for the people in the photos, and asking us to look again.

• Poet, playwright, and cultural scribe Chinaka Hodge’s commissioned poem interrogates the Kerner Report with an insistently human lens, building on a body of work throughout her career that addresses the layered and rippling impact of police violence and structural racism.

• Theater collective Campo Santo’s reading and performance piece, Ordinary Human Beings, brings three texts into a transhistorical conversation; W.E.B Du Bois’ Black Reconstruction, the Kerner Report, and the policy platform from the Movement for Black Lives. Like Evan Bissell’s drawings, the Campo Santo piece (which Bissell developed with director Sean San Jose) combines text from the Kerner Report with contemporary artifacts such as budget and grocery coupons from Detroit. Both of these works use our contemporary moment as a question to the past: If this is where we are again, what is it about our efforts to make change that need to change?

In addition to the above new works, artist Sadie Barnette granted us the use of one of her pieces from Dear 1968 which traces elements that flew under the Kerner Commission’s radar and accelerated out of that moment—COINTELPRO and the government efforts to destroy the revolutionary activities of that time, including the character and livelihood of her father who is featured in the piece.

And images from All Hands on Deck, a project created by Damon Davis during the 2014 Ferguson uprising, crowns the main conference room, reminding us of the many hands that uplift social movements and hold them together. While referencing the constant refrain of that summer, “Hands up, don’t shoot”, the hands are from the viewpoint of the person holding them up, thereby joining us into this collective effort.

We are also thrilled to be able to bring media maker Sabaah Folayan to Berkeley for a special screening of the documentary she co-directed with Davis, Whose Streets?, a first-hand account about the Ferguson movement-makers who resoundingly claimed through their grassroots activism that Michael Brown’s life mattered, their lives matter, and that Black life matters.

It is our sincere hope that these works not only re-energize and cause us to feel these issues deeply, but add to the vision of long-term change that is spacious enough for people to thrive.

- Rachelle Galloway-Popotas, Evan Bissell, and Nikko Duren
Arts & Culture Committee
About the Artists

READING

Chinaka Hodge is a poet, educator playwright and screenwriter. Originally from Oakland, California, she graduated from NYU’s Gallatin School of Individualized Study 2006, and was honored to be the student speaker at the 17th Commencement. Chinaka was a 2012 Artist in Residence at The Headlands Center for the Arts in Marin, California. In 2013, Hodge was a Sundance Feature Film lab Fellow. Chinaka has also served in many roles at Youth Speaks/The Living Word Project, the nation’s leading literary arts non-profit where she worked directly with Youth Speaks’ core population as a teaching artist and poet mentor. Her poems, editorials, interviews and prose have been featured in Newsweek, San Francisco Magazine, Believer Magazine, PBS, NPR, CNN, CSpan, and HBO’s Def Poetry.

READING: ORDINARY HUMAN BEINGS

Campo Santo is a multicultural new performances group that gives voice to untold stories through socially relevant world premieres of plays created in long-term processes.

Sean San José is a Director, Writer, Performer and Co-Founder of Campo Santo. He is the Artistic Director of the Emerging Artists Program at Youth Speaks, and a Lecture in the Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies Department at UC Berkeley. San José’s body of work spans 50 premiere theatre productions for Campo Santo including the first plays by Sharif Abu-Hamdeh, Jimmy Santiago Baca, Jorge Ignacio Cortinas, Junot Díaz, Dave Eggers, Chinaka Hodge, Denis Johnson, Greg Sarris, Luis Saguaro, and Vendela Vida.

Britney (Brit) Frazier has performed with Shotgun Players in Bulrush, Lorraine Hansberry Theatre’s production of Fabulation, The Voyage with Shotgun Players, In a Daughter’s Eyes at Brava Theater, Rapunzel as Rafi at the Marin Theater Company, Superheroes as Magnolia with Campo Santo and Florrie in Waiting for Lefty with the Ubuntu Theater Project. Brit received her BA degree in Theatrical Performance from San Francisco State.

Delina Patrice Brooks is a multi-disciplinary artist, and Founder & Director of DelinaDream Productions. Brooks is a three-time Isadora Duncan “Izzie” Award nominee, winning in 2017 for “An Open Love Letter to Black Fathers”. She has performed at National Performance Network’s “Live & On Stage,” Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, Youth Speaks, AfroSolo Festival, Dance Brigade’s D.I.R.T Festival, the 16th Annual Malcolm X Jazz Festival, SF Juneteenth Festival, The Black Choreographers Festival, La Pena Cultural Center, among others. She joined Marc Bamuthi Joseph’s Living Word Project in 2004 performing with Zap Mama, Nas & Damian Marley, ASE Dance Theatre Collective, and more. She is a resident member of Campo Santo.

Dezi Solèy is a prizmatic artist—actor, model, dancer, choreographer, writer, designer—dedicated to co-creating embodiments of the Divine through explorations in theater, film & performance art. She has trained and performed with folkloric Haitian & South African dance theatre companies at the 2013/15 SF Ethnic Dance Festivals. Her original choreographed works consist of four multimedia pieces in the 2014/16 National Queer Arts Festival. In 2016 Solèy debuted FMMTPN, a short film & installation at SOMArts in conjunction with The Black Woman is God and played in
the west coast premiere of Keith Josef Adkins’ *Safe House* at the Aurora Theater. Soléy’s most recent work includes starring in Star Finch’s *BONDAGE* with AlterTheater, performing in Campo Santo’s *Ethos De Masquerade* at ACT’s The Strand as well as in THEATRE-F1RST’s production of The Farm and The Participants.

**Ashley Smiley** is a core member of Campo Santo and an emerging director. Ashley currently holds the position of Youth Theatre Programs/Rising Voices Director where she is responsible for the budget, productions, and curriculum for the CWW Youth Theatre Elective at The Academy SF @ McAteer High School, the CWW After School Theatre Elective, and the Rising Voices Theatre and Performance Program. Ashley is also a part of the Las Hocionas Lab, a residency program that aims to support, encourage and uplift the voices of womxn/queer/trans artists of color that want to use their work to speak out against injustices locally and worldwide which will have a culminating performance in March at Studio Grand in Oakland.

**FILM SCREENING: WHOSE STREETS?**

**Sabaah Folayan** is an award-winning storyteller who uses written and visual media to bring a fresh perspective to the urgent questions of our time. A Los Angeles native, she has thrived in vastly different environments from South Central LA to the Upper West Side. Outside-the-box thinking and passion for social good drew her to community organizing. She honed strategic planning skills in the nonprofit and grassroots sectors before becoming a filmmaker. Sabaah made her directorial debut at the 2017 Sundance Film Festival with *Whose Streets?*, which chronicles the experiences of activists living in Ferguson when Michael Brown, Jr. was killed. The film has been supported by the Sundance Documentary Film Program, Tribeca Film Institute, Ford Foundation, MacArthur and more. Sabaah is especially interested in creating episodic content for digital and television broadcast.

**STUDENT ART COLLABORATIVE**

**Nikko Duren** is a multidisciplinary artist who engages in a reactionary process of transtemporal creation. Nikko’s work offers both mediated and unmediated responses to the lived experiences of their black queer and trans* ancestry. Historically, Nikko’s work has manifested as choreographed dance, oratorical presentations, video art, film production, and music making.

**Dulce María López González**’s art is based on her experience as a low-income Mexican immigrant woman living in the United States. Through her artworks, she intends to shake the audience out of their comfort zone, in order to provoke, question, and analyze societal structures, racism, sexism, immigration, culture, and politics.

**Ashley Holloway** is a visual artist/storyteller, currently a senior at San Francisco State University with a concentration in Sociology and Africana Studies. Her work is influenced by interpreting the intersection between Black consciousness and uplifting the Black community. Ashley’s work at the Museum of African Diaspora, curating art showcases at the African American Art & Culture Complex, and role as a teacher’s assistant alongside Black Lives Matter activist Alicia Garza, are all in the hope of being a vessel to uplift the consciousness of the Black community.
el lee is a visual and performing artist interested in dynamics of loss/care, longing/memory, dream/suffering in order to process through gender and geographic dysphorias.

Lulu Matute is a senior in the American Studies department writing her honor’s thesis on law, media and social memory in post-military coup d’état Honduras. Her McNair Scholars research is focused on the life and death of environmental activist Berta Cáceres. Lulu designs and produces multimedia projects on progressive politics in the US, the Central American diaspora, and urban Latinx culture. She launched the production of Democracy in Color Podcast in 2016 which explores issues of race and politics in the US.

Kiana Nicole Parker is a senior majoring in Media Studies at UC Berkeley. Kiana often seeks communities and programs where she is able to intertwine her art and academia. Her preferred medium of art practice is performance, specifically with vocal music.

Sadie Barnette is from Oakland, California. Her work has been exhibited throughout the world at venues including The Studio Museum in Harlem, where she was Artist in Residence, the Oakland Museum of California, and Goodman Gallery in Johannesburg, South Africa. She is the recipient of Art Matters and Artadia awards and has been featured in The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, Artforum, and Vogue. Her work is in the permanent collections of The Pérez Art Museum in Miami, the California African American Museum, and The Studio Museum in Harlem. She lives and works in Oakland and is represented by Charlie James Gallery in Los Angeles.

Evan Bissell facilitates participatory art and research projects that support equitable systems and liberatory processes. Evan has exhibited at CUNY Graduate Center, on Alcatraz Island, and at Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, and facilitated projects in schools, universities, and community settings throughout the country. He teaches about art and social change at UC Berkeley and is the Arts and Culture Strategist at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. He holds a master’s in Public Health and City Planning from UC Berkeley.

VISUAL ARTS

Damon Davis is a multimedia American artist, musician, and filmmaker based in St. Louis, Missouri. His 2014 public art installation “All Hands on Deck” has been collected in the National Museum of African American History and Culture. He is also a founder of Far-Fetched, a St. Louis-based artist collective, and co-director of Whose Streets?, a documentary on the Ferguson unrest following police officer Darren Wilson’s fatal shooting of teenager Michael Brown. The film premiered at the Sundance Film Festival in 2017 and is being screened at the Kerner@50 conference in Berkeley as part of its programming.
Race & Inequality in America: The Kerner Commission at 50 is organized by the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at UC Berkeley, the 21st Century Cities Initiative at Johns Hopkins University and the Economic Policy Institute, and is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Spencer Foundation.

**Conference Chairs**
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Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society

Stephen Menendian
Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society

Richard Rothstein
Economic Policy Institute and Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society

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Johns Hopkins:
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**Arts/Culture Committee**
Evan Bissell, Nikko Duren, Rachelle Galloway-Popotas

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**Haas Institute**
for a Fair and Inclusive Society

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at UC Berkeley brings together researchers, community stakeholders, policymakers, and communicators to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society in order to create transformative change.

haasinstitute.berkeley.edu

**Johns Hopkins 21st Century Cities Initiative**
The Johns Hopkins 21st Century Cities Initiative (21CC) is committed to understanding and solving economic, health, education, safety, and housing inequities that many cities are struggling to address. The goal of 21CC is to help cities transform neighborhoods and communities so that all urban residents can thrive in the 21st century.

21cc.jhu.edu

**Economic Policy Institute**
The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) is a nonprofit think tank that researches the impact of economic trends and policies on working people in the US. EPI’s research helps policymakers, opinion leaders, advocates, journalists, and the public understand the bread-and-butter issues affecting ordinary Americans. EPI provides a roadmap to becoming an America where hard-working low-wage employees earn enough to make a living, the middle class is strong and healthy, and workers who help our economy grow share in its prosperity.

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A Conference Exploring Race, Segregation, and Inequality 50 Years After the Release of the Historic Kerner Commission Report

haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/kerner50