

## TRANSCRIPT

# "POLICING BLACK BODIES: DO BLACK LIVES MATTER? A CONVERSATION ABOUT POLICING IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES"

*Announcer: Mary Miller Flowers*

*Panel: Marlon Peterson, Wagner Moreira Campos, Francisca Sena, and Jennifer Shaw*

*Moderator: Jasmine Mickens*

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## **MARY MILLER FLOWERS:**

(UNINTEL) here in the room. Oh, thank you. As well as with the Brazil Human Rights Fund-- deputy director Maira is here, and-- and Pedro as well. We have some-- been supporting groups in Brazil that are looking at the criminal justice system and state sponsored violence from a perspective of racial disparities and racial discrimination for the past about three years now.

It's an ongoing collaboration with the Brazil Fund that is able to be on the ground and help us identify good partners and help us think through strategy. And we wanted to take the opportunity to bring those activists to the U.S. during this very auspicious week of the Smart on Crime conference, and the Drug Policy Alliance conference in Atlanta, where we're headed next, to really get a chance to be in dialogue with activists-- on the U.S. side who are facing similar issues around police violence, mass incarceration, and the drug war.

So it's really an opportunity to learn a little bit about the Brazilian context, and to hear about some of their struggles, and to compare, share notes with our U.S. colleagues and activists, build a little solidarity, see where the commonalities are, and how we take-- a strategy forward. So I invite you to-- be ready with questions and I will let Jasmine finish the introductions.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Thank you. All right, good afternoon, thank you all for joining us today for this really-- critical conversation on policing black bodies. It's my honor to present to you our panelists today-- activists within the U.S. and in Brazil. So I'm just gonna ask that each person-- introduce yourself with-- a one or two sentence-- summary of the work you do and its relationship to policing and mass incarceration.

## **MARLON PETERSON:**

Good-- good evening-- good evening. Evening? Good evening, everyone, how you feelin'? My name is Marlon Peterson. So-- I'm a Brooklyn native, I always throw that out there, by way of Trinidad, West Indies. And that-- the work that I do has revolved over the last couple years around the intersections of police violence but also gun violence prevention.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, my name is-- Wagner Campos (FOREIGN LANGUAGE) and I work with the movement-- IDEAS Assessoria Popular, and I work with advocacy. I work with-- territorial issues. And the last one was?

## **UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

Racial discrimination.

## **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And racial discrimination issues.

## **FRANCISCA SENA:**

Good afternoon.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

My name is Francisca Sena, I am Brazilian, from the state of Ceara, and I work-- with a group of-- Brazilian black females. And the-- organization is called-- Institute of-- Black Brazilian Women of the State of Ceara.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- I work on-- various-- different aspects. But here I am going to speak about-- my work in the-- Ceara, state of Ceara-- incarceration system-- and how we develop, and the work that we do with women-- who are incarcerated, and women who are also recidivists, and women who are outside-- incarceration and waiting for-- a resolution to their cases.

## **JENNIFER SHAW:**

Good evening. I'm Jennifer Shaw. I'm-- a program officer here at Open Society Foundation, and I work in the U.S. programs on the-- the justice team. My portfolio

focuses on police reform and death penalty, so most relevant tonight is the police reform work that-- that I-- that I'm working on. I'm really excited to hear what my colleagues from Brazil have to say today too.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Excellent, thank you. So I guess when we think about our current state of policing and the recent movements that have emerged as a result of police violence in the U.S., it's really important for us to think about the roots of policing, where did the-- the current system of policing begin?

And (THROAT CLEAR) it really starts with the early dehumanization, commodification, and criminalization of black people-- specifically lookin' at things that happened after slavery, like Black Codes-- in which black people would be arrested for-- crimes like loitering-- and then convict leasing systems, which also emerged after slavery, in which people were not legally-- enslaved, but private individuals could lease-- people who had been in prison as a result of some of these Black Codes. And their labor-- would be to benefit a private individual.

So that's kind of the first piece. But I think what I wanna highlight before I pass it off to Marlon is lookin' at the subhuman and the primitive labels that black people were given, which thus justified the bondage and commodification of black people, and the life of black people didn't matter, but the value-- the economic value of their lives.

The second piece I wanna underscore, as we're talkin' about kind of the early criminalization of black bodies-- was the labeling of black people as dangerous or as threats, which our system of policing emerged to police black bodies and to protect white lives. So Marlon-- if you could elaborate a little bit more on the relationship today between-- American's his-- America's history of slavery and how it has shaped policing.

## **MARLON PETERSON:**

Thank you, thank you. Thank you-- for that-- for that segue way. And thanks-- I meant to say this in the beginning, but I always say thank you for allowing me to be in your space, any time in front of a panel of folks, a group of folks. So we-- this is-- we-- we can look at the present now and go backwards. I think there's no time like the present.

And-- but I mean, like, really, like, digital pr-- present, and in terms of the commodification of-- of bodies, but also-- of the dehuman-- devalue-- devaluing of bodies. So-- we are familiar with many-- we sh-- we-- many of us are familiar with takin' a lot of-- takin'-- a lot of attention in the news with-- the president, and the-- NFL, and the current-- protest against police violence. That's what this whole thing is about, police violence.

But I wanna sorta, like, one of the tweets that-- one of the things that the president said is-- you know, which one-- which one of these NFL owners would-- tell one of these SOB's-- son of a bitches that-- that-- who are kneeling that, you know, "Get off the field, get off the field." And my-- my sorta analysis of it is that it's very much of a dog whistle sorta thing, because the majority of the people in the NFL are people of color.

But it's a matter of that owners are now, NFL owners are now sort of saying, "Well, we pay you to do a certain thing. And because we pay you to do a certain thing, that is all you are worth to us. You're not allowed to have an opinion about anything." Right? So that's kinda like we see it now, and I-- I-- just wanna-- had a conversation earlier today about how if we're thinking-- we-- we're living in a moment of history right now, where we can literally see things happening now, and-- and for many of us who may wonder, "Well, how did this happen? How did we allow-- police to do this sort of violence to folks back in the-- in the '60s and the '30s and in 19-- the early 1900s and the late 1800s?" Well, we're allowing it now.

I just wanted to sorta, like, give that sorta context for it, and how-- how we can always use-- capital, money, as the reason why these things should be allowed. So, you know-- policing in this country sorta evolved from slave catchers, right? Policing was primarily about property and protecting property.

And of course, people who were-- well, it were-- people-- people-- enslaved Africans were commodity. So, you know, slave catchers were the, you know, original-- sort of what we evol-- what policing evolved from-- in this country as protecting property, black bodies. And then that evolved-- into the 1900s as, you know, policing is spread throughout the rest of the country-- or institutional policing is spread throughout the country, particularly here in New York City, et cetera.

Where, like, the earliest sort of-- incidents of police violence that ended up in some sorta uprising, you know, one of the things in-- in Harlem in 1935, and Harlem in 1943-- because of-- rumored police violence against black folks, black young folks-- unarmed black folks in-- in Harlem-- there were uprisings. Some people like to call 'em riots-- back in the 1930s.

And then we can go forward into Watts in 1965 and, you know, Baltimore and-- and Newark, et cetera, back in the late '60s. And the reason why I'm sorta, like, givin' that timeline and that-- and that stream of history is that this conversation about police violence is not a new conversation that we are having. And no-- by no means is it new. In fact, if you-- you know, if just--

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So before-- before we get into the present and-- and how--

## **MARLON PETERSON:**

Oh, my fault.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

It's okay. Before we get into how policing has developed to what we see it as today, I wanna pass it over to our-- our Brazilian guests, because I think it's really key to look at how the U.S. and Brazil have very similar histories of slavery, but what's very distinctive about Brazil is one, Brazil is the country with the largest black population outside of the continent of Africa.

And it also has, it's the country with the largest-- second largest black population in the world outside of Nigeria. So-- I just really want us here in the U.S. to understand that

racial context, but also to understand that Brazil was the last country in the Western world to end slavery, and they had I wanna say four times as many slaves as any other country in the West. So they have a very unique and similar history. And I wanna pass it over to them to kinda highlight for us how that history of slavery and the military dictatorship has shaped policing in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So let me start. I come from a city called Salvador. It's-- the capitol of the state of Bahia, northeast of Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- Salvador was the first capitol of Brazil, and is the largest-- black population city outside of Africa.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So after slavery, actually-- you know, around the time of slavery, Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So during the empire, or what we call the province, during those days-- there were oligarchies, or-- economic powers that really had-- the-- the control of the economy in Brazil, which were the big-- coffee plantation owners-- the ones who-- exported slaves and also the military.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- right before-- the-- ab-- abolishment of slavery-- these oligarchies started to think what would be-- the best-- position of functioning-- for slaves, or for-- that-- the slaves within the job market, after they were abolished.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- they-- the decision after-- slavery would be to-- bring-- white Europeans-- as labor-- to Brazil. So that would be a white population coming to Brazil for-- so that the population-- would be-- we could mis-- it would be a miscegenation-- mis-- of-- the population in Brazil, so that it would-- dilute, so to speak, the black pup.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So that was in 1888, and-- security, which was-- law enforcement at that time, was a private law enforcement. And it was hired-- only to-- protect-- the owners of slave.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So there was a new republic, and that was two years later. So-- those security guards-- they became-- own-- they were owned then by the state, or hired-- by the state-- so that they wouldn't just be (UNINTEL) they would have a job. And they-- that's when-- law enforcement was institutionalized.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

You know, and that that period-- what happened is that they started to criminalize-- actions such as loitering. So basically if someone was just found not doing anything, not working, anything-- they could be incarcerated. But thinking that-- there was no work, because they started-- to import-- labor, white labor, from Europe anyway, so.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- anything that had to do with African culture started to become criminalized-- such as-- samba, Candomble and other aspects of black culture started to be criminalized.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And up until-- almost-- the '80s, actually 1978, any Candomble-- gathering had to be-- registered with the police. So until almost the '80s, any kind of black gathering place had to be registered with the police.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And-- there were two elements on the-- or aspects on the 20th century that were f-- very important when it comes to criminalizing-- black culture. And one of them was the decision by the congress to criminalize, 1938, the use of cannabis.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And-- another aspect of criminalizing-- blacks in Brazil is the creation of the law of heinous crimes, basically a person who is in jail and they commit these crimes-- they cannot post bail and leave prison.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So criminalizing drugs in Brazil-- such as marijuana or opium-- is not really war against the product, because-- you don't shoot the product, you shoot the persons, people.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- when you make a drug-related crime into a heinous crime-- what you're doing is you're showing the inefficacy of the law enforcement in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

But, you know, I don't want to-- speak too much, because we don't have that much time. So that will be for another opportunity. (LAUGH)

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right. So on that note-- can you-- elaborate more on the two types of policing that exist in Brazil today, and specifically tell us what the role is and how it functions on a daily basis? And please do highlight for the-- our audience how policing is different in black communities in Brazil versus the white communities.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So good evening. The first-- first I would like to say, which is very important to mention, is that-- the black-- black population, initially when it came to our continent-- it came as-- commodity, it came as product. And-- something that was animalized, and something to be explored, to ex-- its maximum life.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So in the first half of the 19th-- century, prisons in general, they decided to change their approach, and they became more humanized, so to speak. So-- basically the treatment of people who committed crimes would be more human-- less brutal, with the exception of the treatment of black people in those days, or-- slaves or-- former slaves in those days.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

Since at that time-- most-- majority of black population, the black population in Brazil were already free, or they were not slaves anymore, they were-- the ones who mostly populated-- prisons in those days.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So basically we had-- part of the population was still enslaved, and then the ones who were-- free, they had their behavior-- regulated, and certain-- behaviors were-- considered against the law, such as a person, a black person was forbidden, could not go to school or study. So if anybody was caught studying they were arrested. If they were black--

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So I just wanted-- before we continue on-- the history-- the historical connection, I just wanna underscore the question of the types of policing that exist in Brazil today. Specifically, I know there is, like, a military police and there's a civil police. So Wagner, can you explain to us how that policing functions in black communities in Brazil?  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)



**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So going back to what I was talking about, about how heinous crimes were treated-- in that time, and-- and-- and the duo or two policies to deal with them.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Actually two police forces, thank you. So in Brazil we have two-- polices. One we call the military police, the other one we'll call the civil police.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So the civil police is mostly-- responsible for investigations, and so we can see that their performance is really low, only 6% of-- homicides in Brazil are investigated by them.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So basically-- since the-- military police is in charge of-- repressive-- repression-- they are on the streets, and they are arresting-- let's say people who are-- committing-- drug crimes or infractions. The civil police-- did not have the funds or the opportunity or the means to investigate them so that they could go through the due process and-- be-- charged or--

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- making-- drug-related crimes into heinous crimes is a problem, because 52% of the population who is incarcerated in Brazil-- is incarcerated and has not gone to trial.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And in some states, and I'm talking about states, I'm not talking about just cities, in some states 82%-- or eight out of ten persons are incarcerated without having gone through any trial whatsoever.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I would like to add to it, because in my state, which is the state of Ciera in northeastern Brazil, more than 80% of the incarcerated population has not gone through trial.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So if we consider-- most of the incarcerated population in Brazil, what are they? Most of them are black, up to 60%. Most of them are young, more than 60%.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)



**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

Low education, 63% have not complete-- the fundamental-- fundamental or basic schooling.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also when we think of gender, 80% of women who are incarcerated-- have children.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And they're incarcerated because they were charged with-- drug dealing.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And 60%, which is a contradiction in itself, because-- most of-- drug trafficking defendant-- defendants are men.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So-- you know, it's-- interesting, because we have 25 women-- 25% women who are-- arrested due to-- trafficking, and almost 70%--

**UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

25% men.

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

25% men, thank you. And-- who are arrested and almost 70% women, thank you very much.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And most of the women-- are arrested with less than 100 grams of-- drugs.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And the fact-- and the fact that the women are into, as I say, in the outskirts of-- trafficking command-- determines their incarceration.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

In the last 15 years-- the increase of incarceration-- for men has been 220%, and the increase of incarceration of women has-- gone up to 700%.

## JASMINE MICKENS:

So I just wanna make the connection here, so I appreciate you, Sena, highlighting the relationship between policing and mass incarceration. As we know, this is a continuum that often starts with police, and the discretion that police officers have to decide who goes to jail and who gets charged.

But then our criminal justice system-- it's just another pipeline, not just from, you know, who gets to get bail, but who gets sentenced, how long they get sentenced-- and then how individuals are able to get back on their feet upon-- completing their time. So I wanna pass it over to Marlon to kinda highlight for the U.S. what is that connection between our policing system and mass incarceration?

## MARLON PETERSON:

Thank you. So policing is, like, directly connected to mass incarceration. Obviously police have the-- have the ability to put-- take away people's freedom, take away liberty and put people in prison. The correlation between the drug, the quote unquote "war on drugs" from the '70s-- and movin' over into the n-- the '90s and-- (UNINTEL) 2000s was-- as my colleague mentioned-- they weren't-- let me take it back a little bit.

There was-- there's currently a public health approach to addressing-- drugs in this country now, right, particularly the opioid epidemic in this country. There's a public health approach to it, as it should be, right? But however back in the-- late '60s, early '70s, when opioids was a problem in this country, and eventually moved on to crack cocaine in the late '80s-- I mean, in the mid-'80s, into the '90s-- it was not looked at as a public health approach.

It was looked at as a criminal-- a criminal justice problem. So with that, what came along with that was an expansion in the prison boom. And people in mass became-- you know, t-- in mass were taken out of communities by police and put inside jails and prisons, and that was the skyrocket of the prison boom that with-- that-- and the creation of the term "mass incarceration."

Ironically also the time when mass incar-- when the-- war on drugs-- when-- when Nixon was the first person to sorta bring up to-- and to mention it, Reagan was the one to really implement it. But it come-- with-- with-- when Nixon-- President Nixon-- first brought that into the public conversation-- it was literally also at the height of-- civil unrest in black communities.

When there was-- a huge amount of black nationalism as well as activism in communities, ala, you know, civil rights leaders, et cetera. So I'm sorta, like, tryin' to-- kinda puttin' that bridge together between the quelling of black voices-- in terms of seeking liberation-- and the criminal justice approach to a public health problem that resulted in what we have now, as mass incarceration. It just coincides with what folks are seeing in Brazil. It's kinda like, you know, these-- the p-- the policymakers have been sharing notes for a very long time. (LAUGHTER)

## JASMINE MICKENS:

So I think you make-- a great point, Marlon, on the different ways that-- drug use and drug criminalization is being treated-- you know, specifically if we look at the-- the

heroin EC-- epidemic that was-- a major problem, like, in Baltimore and in New York City.

But now it's bein' treated as a public health issue, so we see a difference in the way our criminal justice system treats black bodies when they are dealin' with addiction versus white communities. What I want us to highlight now, and you can elaborate more on this-- is how is policing different in these communities? We-- we see how-- our drug enforcement has changed, but how has our policing-- changed or stayed the same?

## **MARLON PETERSON:**

Is this for me?

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

For you, and then we'll pass it to Brazil.

## **MARLON PETERSON:**

Well it-- it's bec-- well, I mean-- technically, policing has become, quote unquote, "more professionalized"-- after several commissions-- federal commissions in the '60s-- they-- it became more professionalized. However, the way policing actually-- interacts with people in particular communities, I can tell you from-- personally right now, and in-- even up to, like, a month ago-- police interacted with people of color, particularly in different communities, different.

So I always give this example. So I'm from Brooklyn and I currently live in Bed-Stuy. If you just go a couple miles-- I believe east-- west, excuse me, to what's called, like, Boerum Hill or Brooklyn Heights-- we can-- you can-- it's-- if you're riding a bicycle, maybe 20 minutes, it is a completely different-- outlook in terms of policing.

You see it. You visibly see how policing interacts, and how you don't see police in these communities, which-- speaks to the fact that police aren't necessarily the thing that creates safer communities-- but it-- because these folks don't have policing in their communities as much as we do in-- in Bed-Stuy or Crown Heights or Brownsville.

So I mean, in terms of what policing looks like in different communities, there is a term, and you know, I also have a criminal justice degree and spent a buncha time inside. But, you know, there's something called selective policing. Select-- selective policing. And-- and it's literally implemented differently-- it's implemented in particular in communities of color differently. Where once again, there is a feel that we need to police these people more than we need to police certain other people.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

And I would-- just wanna add in there, and Jennifer please jump in-- how do you all think, in the U.S., gentrification changing the way that policing happens? Because gentrification is changing the racial and economic-- economic dynamics of our communities, and that is changing policing. How would you describe that?

## **JENNIFER SHAW:**

Well, one-- one of the things we've seen, I mean, you've-- you've already given the history, so the reason why we have police in this country is to protect-- basically to

protect white people from everyone else. And so when white people move into different communities, then the policing is done differently. So issues that might have been ignored when the-- the-- the victims were black people are now suddenly-- a lot more-- noticed by the police and by the community.

You know, I-- I have-- done this work for over a decade, and police will always say, "Well, we're-- we just respond to the calls that we receive." The problem is that the calls that they're receiving are coming from primarily white communities who are calling-- the police on-- on people that they think don't belong in their neighborhoods.

So you see, it-- as gentrification expands, you see a lot more of-- you know, the-- the-- the civility kinds of complaints. Littering and graffiti, and-- vehicle prowling-- it-- issues like that. And that's where the police then focus their attention, instead of on the violent offenses that are happening in black communities. And if you look-- I-- I haven't done a whole nationwide study, but I would guess that if you looked in any major city in the United States-- the-- the closure rate, the-- and certainly the conviction rate for violent crimes that-- that are committed in black communities is far lower than those in white communities.

Somehow police detectives become much more capable when the person that is-- is complaining is a white person. So-- I mean, it's-- it's directly connected, and it's-- it's directly-- you know, what-- what everyone's talking about. It is directly connected to our history of-- of race in this country.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Wagner and Sena, can either of you elaborate on how policing happens in-- black communities in Brazil versus the white communities?  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So in big cities-- per-- poor communities there are no real rules-- for how the police should act in those communities.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

There are more and more victims of these-- police fights against war and against crime, and-- it's-- certain death for the black population, these situations, which is-- increasing.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

On a daily basis, we see-- the police-- trampling with evidence in crime scenes. And sometimes they will put something like a gun or drugs into a crime scene so that they have a pretext or a reason to incarcerate. And-- more and more we see also what they are claiming are-- killings, self-defense, so basically they usually kill-- youth, black youth, and they say they had to do it to-- protect or to defend themselves.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So I would like to say, just to add that-- it's-- the approach is more brutal for anyone who is stereotypically or phenotypically a black.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So, you know, and I would like to point out that-- there's also a differentiation-- when it comes to police and the way they treat people is-- if you're white and upper middle class or rich, and you have tattoos around your body, a bunch of them, you know, it's called just a lifestyle. And but if you have the same tattoos around your body and you're poor and live in a poor community, that is-- you're considered that you're loitering or you're not doing anything with your life.

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So-- I think that context is really helpful for us to kinda put side-by-side policing in Brazil and policing in the U.S. I guess the next thing that will be helpful to think about is, you know, when these killings and these-- terrible cases of police brutality happen, there is-- there is an outrage to it.

And in 2014, that was a particularly big year for the U.S. That came after the acquittal of George Zimmerman and a series of non-indictments-- and then all these traumatizing videos of police violence, but particularly the murders of Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and Eric Garner really just struck a serious nerve in the American public. And we saw a lot of outrage. And that was kind of the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement. I would be curious to know, for Brazil, you know, was there a particular moment that sparked your movement?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Before we get into that, I would like to bring up some information, just to-- help you understand-- the difference between-- black issues in Brazil and in the U.S.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

If I'm not mistaken, according to your census of 2005-- 20.8% of the U.S.-- 12, yeah, I put 12, thank you. 12.8% of the-- u-- U.S. population is black.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And-- even though-- you have only 12.8%-- black population here, you have better-- representation. You have a black president, and also you had-- important-- black-- prosecutors. And-- in my country, we have-- Brazil, we have 53%-- black population. My city, actually, not my state, my city-- is comprised of-- more than 80% of blacks.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And-- we have-- we-- in 20-- according to-- 2015-- data-- there were 60,000-- homicides in Brazil, and we'll call these-- war numbers. They're-- war numbers, because-- in Brazil is-- Brazil is a place where there are more homicides, and where also police officers-- die (UNINTEL) numbers when it comes to deaths from homicides are higher than the deaths caused in the Syrian war.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And, you know, one emblematic case-- is the recent case of Rafael Braga that I would like to say also--

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Your microphone, it's not on.

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Recent case, sorry, a recent case was-- the case of-- Rafael Braga. And I would like to remind you also that-- we have-- historically, we've had massacres by-- perf-- perpetrated by the police, large massacres. As a matter of fact, less than a year ago, or a year ago, we had one in the state of Bahia, we called the Cabula Massacre, in which-- 12 young black men were killed by the police. And I would like to say that none of the police officers involved in that killing were charged, or convicted, thank you.

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So-- do you wanna--

### **MARLON PETERSON:**

Yeah. I-- I just-- you know, I wanna sorta, like, I'm not gonna say push back, I don't think that's the right term. But I think the comment about, you know, we had better representation, and-- and because we have the president, we had President Obama, while I-- you know, I-- I admire President Obama, there's no question about that.

But-- I think black and brown folks have been harmed so much in this country that when we see something that looks a little good, we think is-- we think it is actually good. And so kinda like goin' back to the Malcolm X quote where, like, you-- you gotta-- a knife in my back and you pull it out halfway, am I gonna be happy that you pulled it out halfway? I need you to take the knife all the way outta my back.

And I think that while pr-- President Obama has-- has done-- has done-- is probably the best president this empire has ever had, he's still a part of this empire. And during that time-- we still had (UNINTEL PHRASE) we had Trayvon, we had Mike Brown. We had-- you know, I can, like, name the list.

We had all these things here, and we still had police officers held-- not held accountable for that. I think the cloak to believe that because we had a black man in representation in the highest-- executive office in this country allows us to-- allows us-- allows us to sorta, like, believe that things have been better.

And now, because he's just been out of office a couple of months, and look where we're at right now. If things were-- if things were tremendously better, it wouldn't take just a couple of months to undo that. Right? I just wanna put-- I just, like, wanted to, like, put that there. And I think that the other part just to book-- bookend this-- is that the levels of police massacres in this country were-- towards people of color is not spoken up enough. I mean, we had police bomb an area in Philadelphia, the MOVE movement in the late-- in the late '70s, we had-- or, like, we had Tulsa, Oklahoma, we had the Easter Day Massacre in-- in-- in-- New Orleans in the late 1800s. Like, the-- the context for police violence and police massacres happen in this country, and it's happened in mass. And I don't think we give enough.

That's-- that's not g-- that's not spoken about enough, so it looks like-- it looks like it's okay. Similar to, like, when we see what happened over the past eight years. And I applaud what he has done in those past eight years, it looks like things went away, whereas they're still very much there.

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Thank you for highlighting that. I j-- wanna pass it over to Jennifer-- because I think when we talk about the president and what kind of expectations we have, especially of a black president, to do something about-- the violence that we see particularly happening to black people-- Jennifer, can you highlight what the challenges are to holding police-- holding police accountable.

### **JENNIFER SHAW:**

Well--

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

Whether that be hiring-- firing-- or actually prosecuting an officer for abusive conduct.

### **JENNIFER SHAW:**

And the-- the biggest challenge to holding police accountable in this country is that the majority don't wanna hold the police accountable. And-- and that-- all of the-- the efforts are kinda designed around trying to convince white people, I mean, to be honest, that-- that the officer should be held accountable. And the laws are designed to prevent that. There are use of force laws that allow police to claim self-defense-- for shooting people, even when you and I would've been prosecuted for murder. There-- there are protections around-- all-- all kinds of, you know, "That's-- my training says that this is what I'm supposed to do," and so then everybody says, "Okay, fine that was-- that was how this officer was trained," so no one gets held accountable.

Even when police officers are criminally prosecuted, juries almost never convict. Sometimes they do, but it's very rare. And it's rare because we have been-- indoctrinated in this country since most of us were little kids that it's-- when something goes wrong, you go to the police, and the police are the good guys, and the police are supposed to protect you. And if this officer was just doin' his job, you know, it's too bad that somebody died, but-- but we can't really-- fault him for that. That's-- he's doin' a dangerous job.



It's-- I mean, I hate to be so just stark, but that's the reality of it. I think that the efforts-- particularly during the Obama administration were to look at ways not to use the criminal system to hold police accountable, because clearly that wasn't working. And so instead, the-- Department of Justice started really using its power to do investigations of police departments across the country.

And-- and the most investigations of any Department of Justice since the law was enacted that gave them that power to do that. It was not a perfect tool. It was very labor-intensive and very expensive, but it did start to highlight the really significant structural problems with police departments and policing. In Baltimore, for example, and there-- there-- there was a direct line in the-- in the findings letter in the balt-- the Baltimore investigation to redlining, and to intentional segregation.

There's a Chicago pl-- finding that, of course, who knows what's gonna happen in Chicago, but that investigation was really designed-- I was-- talking to one of the attorneys who was working on that investigation, and they took it to the c-- the activists. And the activists said, "Well, duh. I mean, we knew this. This is not news." But that wasn't-- that's not the audience.

These investigations are designed to show the majority population that what people of color have been saying for s-- centuries is true. And that was really-- a lot of the value of these Department of Justice investigations. Of course, now we don't have that tool anymore, and-- folks are having to regroup and figure out how-- how to continue on with the advocacy and activism without having the federal government even somewhat on their side. So.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

And Wagner-- can you tell us, in Brazil, what are the challenges to holding police accountable?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- one of the first issues that I would like to mention is-- torture, which is institutionalized on prisons, and also when a person comes to the police department-- and-- also when he passes through the police department.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And I would like to say that this torture, I would like to stress that this torture involves sexual violence against women when the person incarcerated is a woman.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And I would like to-- also criticize the judiciary that sees-- incarceration as a solution to a lotta problems, and also that the number of-- black women that are incarcerated is threefold-- compared to the non-black population.

## **UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

The stigma that they face.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So-- so before we--

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

--continue-- before we continue on incarceration, can we just highlight for the audience what specifically are the challenges to holding police accountable in Brazil? Why are police in Brazil able to get away with abusive conduct?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I would like to stress-- and I'm g-- I'm gonna give the word to w-- Wagner or Wagner about the conditions of-- prisons in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

We saw it during our conference on modern crime, we saw a few images-- shown to us of situations that we do not even dream about in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And I would like to talk about the degrading and nonhuman conditions of the prisons in Brazil. There was a visit by the-- national council-- to prisons in Brazil, and they said that-- those prisons would be forbidden for animals in a zoo to live there, so-- and humans are living there.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And with this rationale, the incarceration rationale to-- find solutions to problems, they're building more and more prisons.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And we're fighting more and more as activists to-- end the-- so many prisons.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

So I think solutions is key when we talk about the problems that exist in our criminal justice system, whether it be prison conditions or policing. So I guess we're about to wrap it up so we can open it up to questions. But I wanna ask each panelist what do you-- see as a vision for, like, how policing should happen? If you are using your imagination right now, how should policing take place in the most productive way?

## MARLON PETERSON:

Well, I wanna say, like, when hearing all of us speak here, do you understand, like, why we say black lives matter? Like, do you get it? Like, even beyond an American context? So I think in terms of policing, I-- I think I'm a little bit more to the fringe of the conversation that I don't see-- training and ref-- reformation of the police-- as the institution of policing as the actual answer.

That has been tried, and-- and history will tell you that there have been several commissions, even up to the president's-- former-- President Obama's 21st Century-- Commission on Policing. But there have been several commissions over the years about how we can make policing better. And I'm saying that policing can be better, there's no question about that.

But I think that probably-- we have to identify what the problem is, and there's the fact that we rely on police for everything, but particularly in specific spaces in particular communities, right? You can't-- but the things that police do to people in communities of color they're not trained to do.

They're not trained to give that chokehold that they gave to Eric Garner. They were told not to do that, they did that. They were told not to shoot the other-- the brother who was killed the other day, they was trained not to shoot him in the back. They shot him in the back. Right? Police-- it's-- it's not a matter of training, it's a matter that we have to be thinking more creatively about what-- what-- what does it take to create-- community efficacy, community empowerment?

Because I also ask everyone in here to close their eyes at the moment and think about the safest community, greatest day and what-- what have you. You-- and who would you see in that vision? You wouldn't see law enforcement. You would be conditioned-- even though our vision doesn't see it when we open our eyes, we think, "Well-- we need police here." And I think that's-- that's-- that's not the reality of what it is, as-- you mentioned in the beginning. I can't remember the young lady on the end-- but--

## JASMINE MICKENS:

Jennifer.

## MARLON PETERSON:

Jennifer, I'm sorry Jennifer. But we've been conditioned to see policing as the-- end all-- by-- end all, be all, but only for particular communities-- and particular communities of colors. And I'll just give one little example, and then pass it off.

There's-- I'm looking at it right now, I'm on-- on my computer, but for bicycle summonses, and and something as simple as bicycle summonses-- and you look at-- communities in Brooklyn like Park Slope or communities-- in Staten Island, Greenpoint-- communities where there are more white people that live there. And you compare it to the amount of summons that were given to-- communities-- in-- in the Bronx and in-- in South Jamaica and Bed-Stuy, East New York, Brownsville-- it's almost double the amount of summonses that was given to-- in these communities, which are predominantly communities of color.

Are we saying that people of communities of color ride a bike more? Of course not. That's-- of cour-- actually, that's absolutely not true, especially not with gentrification. But what-- (LAUGHTER) but-- but-- but it's literally re-- it's similar to the Second Amendment. That's a whole 'nother day and another topic, but it's literally we-- really rethinking the role of policing period.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So we have two situations in Brazil-- and-- I would say I'm gonna talk first about one case, but-- if we don't change structural racism-- it's-- we're not gonna go too far. A good example is of Rafael Braga, which I was talking about. He was-- had-- was carrying Pine Sol-- cleaning-- a cleaning product. You know, but-- just because he's-- black, and-- he was-- charged by a white judge, so that's one situation, and the other situation is?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Jhonata m-- Matos-- he was killed by the police he was-- just carrying a bag of popcorn, and police thought that popcorn somehow were drugs, and he was executed by the police.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- if-- a person-- is black, and-- it doesn't matter if he or she is carrying something that's legal or illegal. What matters, really in Brazil, is the model of law enforcement. And that model comes from our military dictatorship.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And there's a similarity, of something in common between-- slavery, a military dictatorship in Brazil, and the war against drugs, is-- and the approaches, we have an internal enemy, and that enemy is the black person in Brazil.

### **JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right, I'm gonna pass it over to Sena. What do you think are possible solutions to the policing in Brazil?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So first of all, I think-- that people should get organized and we should have different-- resistance movements.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also the denunciations of-- reports of-- human rights violations is important.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also what's key to me is that this fight-- has to-- include the direct participation or involvement of the-- human beings who are affected by that.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also civil society-- or pressure by civil society-- when it comes to law enforcement, to-- p-- to policies, and-- to-- policies-- against drugs, et cetera.

## **JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right, I'm gonna end with Jennifer. What do you think, if you use your imagination, would be a way to think about better policing in the U.S.?

## **JENNIFER SHAW:**

I have so many things. And I agree with-- with what my colleagues have said. I particularly agree with Marlon that we ask the police to do too much. They are not trained and they are not-- equipped and they're not capable of doing so much of what we ask them to do. They're not mental health professionals.

They are not family care givers. I mean, maybe they are in their homes, but why do we expect that they will be able to take care of our children better than we take care of our own children? So we need to take away those tasks from them, and fund the social services that can actually do those-- those-- tasks, do them safely, and do them appropriately for the communities that they're working with.

And we have too many crimes. We just have too many crimes. There are too many. I mean, the idea that-- that you've got all these people getting these citations for bicycling? You know, if you-- if you kinda do a cost benefit analysis, or even just look at what-- I mean, everybody has a different definition of public safety, but really, is it making Brooklyn any-- any safer to have all of those bicycle s-- citations out there? I seriously doubt it.

But there-- there are groups across the country that are really looking at some of those offenses-- loitering was mentioned, jaywalking-- littering. Those things that right now allow police to interact with people in a discretionary anyway, and-- and those discretionary interactions end up with somebody dead. Very-- not very often, but-- but can.

And because of that, we need to take away those-- those things from their toolbox. There's no reason why someone jaywalking should end up face down on the ground because they refused to not-- not jaywalk in front a police officer. So-- yes, let's take things away-- from the police. That's my solution.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

I would like to-- apologize, but I would be extremely negligent if I didn't mention two situations-- at the moment that are going on in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

One is a popular movement that is-- coming from-- civil society, and also organizations. That is called-- Agenda Against Incarceration.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So there are-- ten-- different points-- that-- organizations as well as the civil society are addressing in order to-- reduce or-- to end in some cases incarceration.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And as per law enforcement, there are also-- two measures that are very important that are taking place right now. One of them is the demilitarizing of police.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And second is a discussion that has been going on in Brazil on-- certain states and-- it-- certain states--  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

That-- it's police officers against fascism.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And there are commissions with ten (?) law enforcement that are fighting-- in favor of demilitarizing law enforcement.

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right. Well, thank you so much. Can we get a round of applause (APPLAUSE) for our panel? And now we have a couplea minutes-- to open it up for Q and A. If you can, just line up here at the mic and we can-- take your questions.

**QUESTION:**

Okay, so-- my question is about sort of the idea of-- that-- of-- I think Peterson, you might have been touching on this a little bit, but, like, the abolition of police, rather than, like, trying to, you know-- you know, do reform-- or create change sort of using the system. What are sort of the pros and cons you see of sort of, instead of pursuing the systemic change that we've been trying to do for so long without seeing a lot of meaningful change or impact, what are the pros and cons of the idea of abolition of police in-- in-- as a whole? And do you see that as a viable option? That's to everybody.

**MARLON PETERSON:**

I'll-- I'll take a shot at it really quick. I think-- there's a quote from-- my mentor who passed away, Eddie Ellis, who used to say, "There are no prison problems, there are only

community problems." And by that he didn't mean that there were problems specific to prison, but that all the problems that we have in the prisons are microcosms of what's happening in the communities.

And one of the problems that we have in communities is, I think, that we think about policing-- there needs to be a both/and. There are folks who are doing reform, and that's fine, we need folks doin' that work. It's not an either/or yet. But what I'm saying is that if you're-- if-- in the reform space, we should be working towards the reduction of police as a force in our communities as a whole.

If you think about the numbers just in New York-- New York City, it's about 35,000 or more police officers in the city. That's more than many countries' standing armies. And when-- the majority of police officers are-- are concentrated in specific communities. But we need to be thinking about what-- what-- as I said earlier-- any reform initiative should be with the viewpoint and the sight of how can we eliminate the use-- for law enforcement in this space?

There's-- there's-- inherently, I think history tell us inherently there is (I'm not supposed to get short, right?) but r-- but inherently-- inherently, there's something that's attached to the weapon and the power that police officers have. They can literally take your life or your liberty. And I think as-- as-- in-- in the human psyche-- the more encounters that there are with police, we'll continue to have these what we call mistakes that we've been having over and over again.

So I do think that abolition is super important. I don't think that happens tomorrow. That's-- that's-- that's mayhem. That's ha-- that's chaos. But I think we need to be thinking about, like, what can we do, as I said before, to build up community so they're not so reliant upon law enforcement?

## QUESTION:

Is this on? I apologize in advance, my question's gonna be kinda long-winded. But I wanna--

## JASMINE MICKENS:

Okay, wait, wait, wait, so before you do that-- (LAUGH) I'm gonna have to ask you to keep your question as brief as possible-- so that we can give the-- the panel an opportunity to respond.

## QUESTION:

I like make it brief. But I wanted to highlight something for our Brazilian guests. When they were talking about representation-- our system of policing and incarceration, it's a carceral system that's very capital-driven, no matter if you're a Democrat or a Republican.

And both Obama, the past president, and now current Democratic candidate, or our last Democratic candidate, Hillary, were both very capitalist-driven. And I wanted to know, in Brazil, when you look at mass incarceration and policing, is there definitely a profit aspect to that?



**JASMINE MICKENS:**

Great question.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

As a matter of fact, absolutely. In Brazil-- the incarceration system-- is very good for profit, because-- there is exploitation of labor in Brazil, so basically in-- in prisons. So basically-- what they earn is less than anybody could survive on--  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- there's also a system of privatizing-- prisons. So basically the-- the public or the government keeps-- supporting or giving money to prisons. So-- even if they don't have, you know, even if they get to a point where they don't have enough-- people in prisons, but that in a way, encourages-- prisons to exist, and to get more and more people incarcerated.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

There is a dual profit-- that comes from incarceration.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

The private-- system is going to make money when-- you incarcerate someone, so that's one way.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And also there's exploitation of labor with the incarceration of human beings, because-- it's-- very-- labor-- very cheap labor, much lower than anywhere in the market.

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right, any on the other hand questions? Okay. Oh, go ahead. (LAUGH)

**QUESTION:**

I was wondering, in Brazil, what the rough, like, racial represent--  
(OVERTALK)

**QUESTION:**

I was wondering, in Brazil, what the-- racial representation looks like in law enforcement, because I know that's a huge issue here. Like-- the police forces will be extremely white, despite-- being in a very black community. So I was wondering what that looks like in Brazil.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I have a comment about the previous answer first.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

About privatizing and-- prisons, I would like to say that Brazil loves to-- emulate the United States. (LAUGHTER)  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And as this country has inspired Brazil-- to have-- increase its war against drugs.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

At this time-- more and more prisons are being privatized as well.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

Because as Wagner just-- mentioned, it's a very profitable business.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- regarding your question, most police officers in Brazil are black.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I think I've mentioned-- before you were (UNINTEL). Sorry you-- you talked about-- I'm sorry.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

You're talking about training of police officers.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I would say that-- police officers are "well-trained" in Brazil, quote unquote, but-- they are racially-- racially trained.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- training textbooks-- it's on those books-- they train police officers that the darker the skin color, the more they should work on identifying criminals.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

So in these-- gatherings, where they're mostly black people or-- mostly black neighborhoods-- the-- training is no questions asked. So police officers just get to these-- neighborhoods or these gatherings and they just start shooting. And with that, a lot of-- people die. A lot of innocent lives are lost.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

In some, there's nothing, absolutely nothing to do with-- (UNINTEL) training at all.

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

Thank you. One more question? Yes.

**QUESTION:**

Thank you for a very excellent and very informative-- panel. In the United States, we have something called the police code of silence, wherein if there's wrong-doing or-- brutality or misconduct by-- police, that the other police rally around them and don't-- don't reveal the illegal-- conduct that's there. Is there something similar to that in Brazil?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

There are very specific-- situations in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So things that happen here that make it easier for a police officer who commits-- an illegal act to be identified, that is not the same in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

In Brazil-- many times we see-- video-- footage of-- body cameras that are carried by police officers.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And I think-- technologically, the-- it's easy to implement, and it's not that costly to implement-- for law enforcement in Brazil.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- I'll give you exam-- the-- example of the Cabula Massacre, in which-- the-- car, or the-- the car, the police car GPSes were turned off. So while they were-- engaged in the massacre, they would not be found.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And-- when-- the first time Rafael Braga-- was-- freed-- from incarceration-- the GPS, actually the police officer's GPS-- were on, was on. But still-- the judge-- decided-- in favor of them. And--

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Because-- there-- Rafael's-- Braga's attorneys-- asked-- to-- for-- proof or evidence to be - gathered about the police GPS.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And the judge denied-- to have any evidence during trial of-- the GPS.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- so the issue here is not technology. We have great-- good-- technology for law enforcement, but it's-- a mentality in Brazil that the police or law enforcement should not be controlled by civil society.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So yes, their ombudsmen-- within-- the-- law enforcement-- within law enforcement, and there are-- social-- there are internal controls of law enforcement, but-- police officers, they are required to wear their names or their IDs, and they never do. And the law requires that they carry their names, that they show their names, their ID, but they never do it with their uniform.

**QUESTION:**

Thank you so much for-- the presentation. You've made a great connection historically between Brazil and the U.S., but my question's a little bit more forward looking. Both in Brazil and in the U.S., there a rising tide toward-- politically towards the right. So what do you see the impact of that in the work that you do?

**UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

Can you repeat the question?

**QUESTION:**

Do you want me to do it Portuguese?

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**QUESTION:**

Okay, so the question in English was that--

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## MARLON PETERSON:

I'm-- I just wanna be clear, you said how much does, like, the tide-- the tide towards the right politically, how does it affect--

## QUESTION:

How do you think it's gonna affect the work that you do, how is it gonna affect the policing? Because in Brazil, there's a really popular support for the right, and actually a dictatorship. There is actually popular support in some-- in some factions of society towards the-- (UNINTEL).

## MARLON PETERSON:

I mean, the-- the-- the rise of populism on the right is something that comes and goes in this country. You think back in the early '80s with-- after Carter, there was the Reagan, there was-- there was a rise towards populism towards the right (UNINTEL) the middle. And so-- this comes with ebbs. It comes and it goes. What I do-- what we see is happening, at least in this country, even with-- the current attorney general-- is a rollback of policies that the previous attorney general and the previous administration had implemented. Not only-- but not only a rollback only, it's a neglect even more-- even-- even a more overt neglect of issues, of-- police violence, and injus-- racial injustices. So-- what we're seeing now is literally that you can't even critique it, literally. Like, you can't critique it now, as we see now, and I opened up with the NFL. Like, you can't critique it without seemin' as unpatriotic, un-American et cetera. That has happened before. But I'm just sayin', like, you can't even critique it right now.

I think at this point in time, what needs to be done-- is that folks need to be doubling down-- on the critique, on the resistance-- towards these-- towards these policies. But also, here's a moment where the right, the fringe on the right is now getting a platform. Right? Here's that moment, the fringe on the right is getting a platform. I think those of us who are on the other side need to be brave enough to be able to embolden those on the fringes.

Because that's one of the things-- if there's a critique on-- the previous president, it's that he didn't g-- he-- he sorta shied-- he's a centrist, and he shied away from emboldening and from giving-- empowering folks who were somewhat on the fringes of it. He was sorta like, you know, separate. You can do that there, but don't ask me to say it. And because-- when we see that on the right, they're able to do it, and they do it with confidence, and they do it with str-- with strategy.

And I think that for those of us-- we need to be using these-- these moments, as these are moments of heightened awareness of injustices, to be-- to be emboldened in some of these more radical ideas in terms of what justice looks like for black and brown people. (FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

## TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):

Please let me know if I am being redundant, because there was a problem with my headphones, so I didn't hear part of what was just said by Marlon. (FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So two aspects-- of-- important aspects of-- popular democratic-- regimes in Latin America are that there-- there's always the force. There's militarization of-- those movements. So-- even today-- we see-- within the Brazilian democracy, we see the use of force, and we see more of a militarizing of law enforcement in Brazil.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So-- as-- our friend Jennifer was mentioning-- about gentrification-- I would like to say that the popular democratic governments are-- the ones that have-- approaches such as-- protecting Brazil, Rio de Janeiro actually during the-- World Cup and Olympics-- that they had to militarize the streets in order to have these-- this level of protection and security, so that the games could go on in Brazil.

### **UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

He means even left-leaning governments. Even the left has had militarized approaches. And now we're on the right today, right?  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So Dilma-- President Rousseff-- had signed-- agreements in order to be able to receive-- people during the games and the Olympics. One of them was the anti-terrorism bill or law.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And that criminalizes today any-- protests or any-- movements in favor of-- human rights today, any protest.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

With our current government, which we consider-- that was formed through a coup d'état.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So this-- bill that was passed into a law was actually used also-- to stop movements against her impeachment. So in other words-- the-- former president-- ended up-- tasting its own venom, so to speak.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

### **TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

And last but not least, I would like to say that in June-- there was a decree that was passed, and it's illegitimate. And-- it's called the-- law and order guarantee decree that puts the army on the streets-- and-- against the population.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

So we have the army against the population on the streets in Brazil, and-- the name of this-- law and order re-establishing, this quote unquote "law and order." And we have actually sectors of the civil society of the population in favor of bringing back-- the military to the streets.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (CAMPOS):**

Actually-- someone from the (UNINTEL) said that-- if-- the-- current corruption-- is not contained, current issues are not contained, that the military would come and take over. So they're not contained by the-- law enforcement.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I would like to-- stress-- the increase of conservatives-- conservative forces in Brazil (UNINTEL)--

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I would like to talk first about criminalizing abortion, women who--

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

So before we-- before we get off topic-- I just wanna redirect us back to the question, or pass it over to Jennifer for a response.

**JENNIFER SHAW:**

To the rise in--

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

Yeah, the rise of--

**JENNIFER SHAW:**

Of the right. I think that it is a frightening time-- because I believe that there-- there are people who are feeling even more empowered than they were before to use the police and to-- encourage police abuse. But if there's a potential ray of sunshine in all of this, it's that people are really, like me, scared, and realizing that we can't just sit back and say, "Oh yeah, this-- this-- those fools, those whatever."

That there really has to be, and I've seen a lot more organizing, a lot more willingness for people to stand up. So I think that's encouraging. I-- I feel like things are gonna get a lot worse before they get better. And-- I just very-- very-- encouraged by the hard work of the activists that I-- I get to interact with over the-- throughout the country, because-- they're there. They're in their cities. They're on the ground. These folks are on the ground in Brazil, and it is not easy work.



And they're willing to do it, even though they're putting themselves at risk. And that's what we have to do. We can't be complacent and assume that somebody else is gonna come in and save us. Folks have to stand up, and they've gotta stand together. And-- if-- if there's a way to-- to do that, then-- I-- I have some hope. It'll take some years, but I have some hope that we'll-- we'll be able to-- to right this ship a little bit.

**JASMINE MICKENS:**

All right, I wanna thank everyone for attending this event, and (APPLAUSE) we look forward to keeping you posted on our next steps.  
(BREAK IN TAPE)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

Very-- important issue to raise right here. So I would like to-- to continue.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

I was-- going to talk about-- fundamentalists and religious-- forces within our congress right now.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- there are forces against-- passing by congress, which hasn't passed yet, but-- bills to-- allow abortion if either a woman is threatened or her life is threatened, or if she's pregnant-- due to rape.  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And so-- there is-- these possible bills, there-- there are forces against them. And also-- forces-- to criminalize even persons who may help or give support to a woman to have abortion-- have an abortion--  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also, this also has to do with-- the same level of-- the ones who are in favor of reducing-- the age-- for-- to be--

**UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:**

Criminally responsible. Criminal responsibility.

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

Criminal responsibility, they want to-- they reduce--  
(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And-- city-- city law enforcement, who is usually-- just there to keep order and peace-- they're being more and they carry more and more guns, and they're involved in more and

more-- brutality, and they're just-- they shouldn't, because they're just there to keep-- peace and order in towns.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And also I would like to-- talk about criminalizing social movements and criminalizing people who-- fight for human rights.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And we have been-- threatened, especially-- when-- we report any g-- anything against-- law enforcement.

(FOREIGN LANGUAGE NOT TRANSCRIBED)

**TRANSLATOR (SENA):**

And that's it. (APPLAUSE)

**MARY MILLER FLOWERS:**

I just wanna say thank you to our panelists and thank you. We have other Brazilians who are here with us on the trip, and-- I'm sure they'd be interested in talking to you further. I also wanna say-- Jasmine had to run to catch a train, so I'm sorry she ran off the panel.

(LAUGH) But-- Soheila can you stand up right here? She's been behind the scenes organizing this, so thank you so much for Soheila, organizing, and of course-- our lovely translators and interpreters. Thank you, please enjoy the reception.

\* \* \*END OF TRANSCRIPT\* \* \*