

BRENNAN

CENTER

FOR JUSTICE

RACIAL DISPARITIES IN
FEDERAL PROSECUTIONS

A joint project of the Brennan Center for Justice and
the National Institute on Law and Equity

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

James E. Johnson chairs the Board of Directors of the Brennan Center for Justice. A litigation partner at Debevoise and Plimpton in New York, Mr. Johnson was Under Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement during the Clinton Administration, prior to which he was an Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York. Mr. Johnson was appointed chairman of the New Jersey Advisory Committee on Police Standards by Governor Corzine in August 2006. His Committee's recommendations have been codified in a pathbreaking law: The Law Enforcement Professional Standards Act of 2009. In August 2009, he became the federal court appointed monitor overseeing the consent decree intended to promote fair and affordable housing in Westchester, NY. Mr. Johnson clerked for the Hon. Robert E. Keeton, U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts. He received his J.D. cum laude from Harvard Law School and received his A.B. cum laude from Harvard College.

Nicole Austin-Hillery is Director and Counsel of the Washington, D.C. office of the Brennan Center for Justice. Ms. Austin-Hillery oversees the Center's D.C. operations and serves as the chief advocate for the Brennan Center on a host of justice and democracy issues. Her primary focus is on criminal and racial justice reform and voting issues. Formerly with the firm of Mehri & Skalet PLLC where she handled employment discrimination class action cases, Ms. Austin-Hillery was the George N. Lindsay Civil Rights Law Fellow at the national office of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, where she also served as a member of their NGO delegation to the 2001 World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia. A graduate of Howard University School of Law and Carnegie Mellon University, Ms. Austin-Hillery was a 2006 - 2007 Wasserstein Public Interest Fellow at Harvard Law School.

Melanca Clark is Counsel in the Justice Program at the Brennan Center for Justice where she directs the Community Oriented Defender Network, and works on other criminal justice initiatives dedicated to strengthening defender services and addressing racial disparities in the criminal justice system. Ms. Clark also works on legislative and policy reform to increase access to legal representation for low-income individuals in high-stakes civil cases, including in foreclosure proceedings. Ms. Clark, a former John J. Gibbons Fellow in Public Interest and Constitutional Law and a Skadden Fellow at the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, also was an associate at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind and Garrison and clerked for Judge Joseph A. Greenway, Jr. of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey. She received her J.D. from Harvard Law School and her B.A. from Brown University.

Lynn Lu was Katz Fellow and Counsel at the Brennan Center for Justice when she conducted her work on this report. Ms. Lu is currently an Acting Assistant Professor of Lawyering at NYU School of Law. She served as a Staff Attorney at the National Center for Law and Economic Justice (formerly the Welfare Law Center) following her work at the Brennan Center and before becoming Acting Assistant Professor of Lawyering. After graduating from NYU School of Law magna cum laude, Lynn clerked for the Honorable Kermit V. Lipez, U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

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Brennan Center staff, David Udell, Director, Justice Program, Nicole Austin-Hillery, Director and Counsel, D.C. Office, and Melanca Clark, Counsel, Justice Program, guided republication of this report in 2010.

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FOREWORD

Prosecutors and law enforcement officers have enormous power; they can make the difference between a community united by common aims and one riven by conflict. The men and women of the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) wield the power of the state to enforce the rule of law and keep our communities safe. Most discharge their duties in a vigorous and fair way, but neither human beings nor the institutions they run are perfect. As a result, our ability to reach a deep sense of fairness with criminal enforcement efforts is compromised by the racial and ethnic disparities that bedevil our criminal justice system and continue to damage individuals and communities. What is so exciting, today, is the new opportunity that exists to illuminate and address these disparities.

It is important that DOJ bring particular focus to these types of problems in our federal criminal justice system. In one of his first public speeches as Attorney General, Eric Holder encouraged all Americans to engage in conversations about race.¹ The Brennan Center respectfully suggests that, as next steps, DOJ take the following actions. First, adopt the Guidelines included in this report. The product of collaboration between the Brennan Center and the National Institute on Law and Equity, these Guidelines set forth views of former U.S. Attorneys, based on their experiences confronting the undercurrents of race and ethnicity in the federal justice system. Their recommendations include strategies for considering racially disparate impacts when setting office priorities, putting prosecutors in leading roles on task forces focused on the problem, improving training of prosecutors, tracking data, and supporting sentencing reform.

Second, DOJ should implement broad reform to enable the Department's own U.S. Attorneys to examine how race and ethnicity affect minorities throughout the criminal justice system at the federal, state and local levels. Ideas for achieving reform in this respect are illustrated in the Justice Integrity Act (JIA) (the brainchild of former Senator Joseph Biden), which was re-introduced in 2009 in both the House and Senate. Some of the JIA's recommendations are similar to those proposed in this Brennan Center report. Ideas such as increasing data collection and encouraging innovation at the state level are policies that DOJ could implement easily, at no or low cost, to make a significant difference.

The implications of this effort are promising. The momentum we are seeing in the states would be dramatically accelerated by federal leadership on this issue. There is no more powerful message for the entire criminal justice system than to have federal prosecutors lead the national effort to eradicate the impact of racial and ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system.

James E. Johnson
Chair, Board of Directors

Brennan Center for Justice
March 2010

INTRODUCTION

Racial disparities have been documented at every stage of the criminal justice system. African Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to be arrested than white citizens, more likely to be charged once arrested, and more likely to be convicted and imprisoned once charged.

In 2005, the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law and the National Institute for Law and Equity brought together 12 former prosecutors, most of whom had served as United States Attorneys, to look hard at racial and ethnic disparities within the federal criminal justice system and begin to craft a solution to this long-standing and troubling problem.

All acknowledged that prosecutors wield great power throughout criminal prosecution. All agreed that it is essential to monitor the role that race and ethnicity play in each stage of the prosecutorial process. Together, the participants proceeded to draft guidelines for federal prosecutors in six distinct areas:

- 1. Prosecutorial Decision-Making:*
Prosecutors should consider racial and ethnic disparate impacts when setting priorities and should partner with law enforcement to eliminate racial and ethnic bias in charging practices.
- 2. Law Enforcement and Task Forces:*
Prosecutors should lead ethnically diverse task forces formed to promote equal treatment without regard to race and ethnicity.
- 3. Training:*
Prosecutors should train staff and law enforcement to identify and eliminate racial bias at all phases of criminal prosecution process.
- 4. Management and Accountability:*
Prosecutors and the Executive Office of United States Attorneys should collect data to identify systemic racial and ethnic disparities in the federal criminal justice system and should work to increase the racial and ethnic diversity of U.S. Attorney's staff.
- 5. Community:*
Prosecutors should adopt practices to obtain views of community members on real or perceived disparate treatment by prosecutors based on race and ethnicity.
- 6. Influencing Legislation and Policy:*
Prosecutors should support sentencing policy reforms designed to reduce racial and ethnic disparities in the federal criminal justice system.

These Guidelines are hardly radical. However, the Department of Justice (DOJ) declined to implement them after they were formally published in the 2007 Federal Sentencing Reporter. We are republishing them now, in the hope that the election of the nation's first African-American President reflects an environment in which renewed and deepened efforts can help to improve race relations in this country.

We have much work to do. In March 2009, in a report entitled *Created Equal: Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the U.S. Criminal Justice System*, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency found that minorities, particularly African Americans, remain overrepresented – in proportion to their representative population – within our criminal justice system.¹ In 2007, African Americans represented 13 percent of the general population, yet comprised 39 percent of the nation's federal prison population.² As recently as January, a federal court of appeals struck down Washington's felon disenfranchisement law under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act in light of unrefuted evidence of significant statistical racial disparities in the operation of the criminal justice system that could not be explained in race-neutral ways.³ Scientific research shows that implicit and unconscious biases continue to play a role in Americans' day-to-day decision-making, a discovery that indicates how very entrenched is the problem.⁴

Over-involvement of minorities in the justice system poses problems for all Americans. Incarceration and supervision are, as a purely bottom-line consideration, enormously expensive. The disproportionate incarceration of minorities has consequences that extend far beyond monetary considerations: it has helped unravel minority communities across America and contributed to general disenfranchisement of members of those communities. The nation's recent economic downturn exacerbates these concerns for all of us: now, more than ever, it is essential that we ensure just prosecution and law enforcement.

Mindful of racial disparities that undermine the national promise of “equal justice under law,” then-Senator Joseph Biden introduced the Justice Integrity Act (JIA), federal legislation that would create a system to tackle the problem of racial and ethnic disparities in the federal criminal justice system. A welcome step forward, the Act, reintroduced in 2009, would build on the original Guidelines authored by the former U.S. Attorneys in 2005 and described in this Brennan Center report.⁵ Specifically, the Act directs United States Attorneys in ten federal districts to coordinate “advisory committees” (comprised of prosecutors and defenders, judges, correctional officers, civil rights advocates, and other stakeholders) that would “collect and examine racial and ethnic data on investigations and prosecutions and the causes of disparities, if any.” It further provides for the advisory committees to identify ways to reduce disparities, determine whether the perception of bias in the federal system has undermined confidence in the system, and make recommendations to secure fairness in the system.

The JIA and related bills will not be needed, however, if DOJ seizes this historic opportunity to effectuate genuine reform. Attorney General Holder observed that DOJ, which oversees the 93 U.S. Attorneys stationed throughout the United States and its territories, has a special responsibility to engage in frank conversations about matters of race. “Through its work and through its example the Department of Justice ... must – and will – lead the nation to the new birth of freedom,” Holder said, “so long ago promised by our greatest President.”⁶ Given this mandate, DOJ should exercise its authority and act to end practices that contribute to racial disparities within the justice system.

We are encouraged by DOJ's having convened an internal task force on racial and ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system, and by the series of "listening sessions" the task force has conducted to secure views of advocates, academics and other criminal-justice stakeholders.

A critical opportunity exists for DOJ to take concrete actions to achieve meaningful reform at both the federal and state levels. Our hope is that DOJ will: i) expand its capacity to track data on practices that produce bias; ii) support local and state-based initiatives run by prosecutors and by defenders that aim to reduce unwarranted racial and ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system; and iii) provide racial and ethnic sensitivity training to the staff of U.S. Attorney offices, and where practicable, state and local prosecutors and law enforcement officials.

As we republish these Guidelines, our hope is that Congress and the Administration will work together to take all necessary steps to incorporate these core principles into legislative and administrative directives designed to eliminate unwarranted racial and ethnic disparities from our criminal justice system and to begin to restore public confidence in the promise of equal justice.

Nicole Austin-Hillery
Director and Counsel, D.C. Office
&
Melanca Clark
Counsel, Justice Program

Brennan Center for Justice
March 2010

RECOMMENDATIONS OF FORMER U.S. ATTORNEYS

The United States Attorney is the representative not of an ordinary party to a controversy, but of a sovereignty whose obligation to govern impartially is as compelling as its obligation to govern at all; and whose interest, therefore, in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case, but that justice shall be done. As such, he is in a peculiar and very definite sense the servant of the law, the twofold aim of which is that guilt shall not escape or innocence suffer. He may prosecute with earnestness and vigor—indeed, he should do so. But, while he may strike hard blows, he is not at liberty to strike foul ones. It is as much his duty to refrain from improper methods calculated to produce a wrongful conviction as it is to use every legitimate means to bring about a just one.

—U.S. Supreme Court Justice George Sutherland,
Berger v. United States, 295 U.S. 78, 88 (1935)

Federal prosecutors are respected members of a respected profession. Despite an occasional misstep, the excellence of their work abundantly justifies the presumption that “they have properly discharged their official duties.” Nevertheless, the possibility that political or racial animosity may infect a decision to institute criminal proceedings cannot be ignored. For that reason, it has long been settled that the prosecutor’s broad discretion to determine when criminal charges should be filed is not completely unbridled.

—U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, dissenting,
United States v. Armstrong, 517 U.S. 456, 476
(internal citation omitted)

I. PREFACE

Our country was founded on the principle that all are created equal. We are a nation of laws that promote liberty and justice for all without regard to race, ethnic origin, religion, creed, or gender. We are mindful that our nation's racial history has sorely tested those beliefs of equality, liberty, and justice, and that there should be no room for the vestiges of racial or ethnic discrimination in our criminal justice system.

The federal criminal justice system is often viewed with great distrust because of the disproportionate numbers of African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and other racial or ethnic minorities in our jails and prisons – and especially because of the disproportionate severity in their sentences. The role of the federal prosecutor in the system is one of gatekeeper to ensure that as s/he “strike[s] hard blows” in the name of justice,¹ s/he does so in a manner that is fair and free from racial/ethnic bias or stereotyping. Doing what is just is not measured simply by the number of convictions obtained but also by the public's trust that the U.S. Attorney seeks and declines prosecutions based upon law, justice, and equality.

As former U.S. Attorneys, we know that the men and women who are the legal representatives of the U.S. government pursue the highest ethical standards with the goal of protecting our communities and preserving the rule of law. However, existing federal prosecutorial guidelines do not adequately address unwarranted racial/ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system or propose ways in which prosecutors may reduce such disparities.² We introduce these principles and guidelines not as a cure-all for racial/ethnic and social inequalities but as a way to begin the process of eliminating unwarranted racial/ethnic disparities in the federal criminal justice system. Leadership from the top, by each U.S. Attorney, must set the tone for equal justice under the law, and the following principles and guidelines are intended to challenge and encourage all federal prosecutors to take action within their spheres of influence to ensure that law enforcement priorities and initiatives, charging decisions, and sentencing recommendations are not influenced by racial/ethnic bias or stereotyping, and do not exacerbate unnecessary disparate effects of facially neutral laws or policies.

It is against this backdrop that we trust our colleagues will recognize the need to increase public confidence in the fairness of the federal criminal justice system, will embrace these principles and guidelines, and will promote them within their offices and law enforcement communities.

II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL JUSTICE

- The pursuit of justice requires the fair application of the law to ensure public confidence and trust in the criminal justice system.
- Justice means observing the highest ethical standards by ensuring that racial bias and stereotyping do not play a role in federal prosecutions.
- Fairness and equality demand that similarly situated defendants be treated equally and that unwarranted racially disparate impact be eliminated.
- Prosecutorial decision-making should be well-reasoned and transparent.

III. GUIDELINES ON REDUCING RACIAL & ETHNIC DISPARITIES IN FEDERAL PROSECUTIONS

A. Prosecutorial Decision-Making

- The U.S. Attorney should be conscious of potential racially disparate impact when setting district prosecution priorities.
- The U.S. Attorney should consider statistical evidence of community crime indicators and qualitative evidence of community concerns in setting prosecution priorities and initiatives.
- The U.S. Attorney should be proactive in his/her leadership and partnership with law enforcement agencies to prevent racial and ethnic bias and ensure that similarly situated defendants receive similar charges and sentences.
- The U.S. Attorney should consider the racial effects of his/her charging and disposition policies and ensure that racially disparate effects are tolerated only where strongly justified by legitimate law enforcement needs.

Comment: The conscious, informed exercise of prosecutorial discretion should mitigate the illegitimate use of race/ethnicity, including stereotypes or proxies for race/ethnicity (such as class/socio-economic status or geography), in decision-making. Well-reasoned discretionary decisions should avoid unwarranted racially/ethnically disparate effects of facially neutral policies.

The U.S. Attorney has broad jurisdiction and cannot be involved in every case brought by the prosecutors in their offices. However, as the leaders of federal law enforcement in their districts, the priorities, policies, and missions established by U.S. Attorneys carry great weight with others. U.S. Attorneys set many priorities during their tenure. State and federal street crime initiatives often marginalize federal resources that could be focused on crime that the U.S. Attorney is well-suited to prosecute, such as redlining by banks, environmental dumping in poor neighborhoods, and gun or drug trafficking as opposed to street crimes such as simple possession of drugs or illegal firearms.

Prosecutors must weigh multiple factors in determining prosecution policies and priorities. Such factors include: legislative mandates, Department of Justice initiatives, human and financial resources, local law enforcement priorities, and community priorities. In weighing priorities, prosecutors should avoid racial bias at all stages in the prosecutorial decision-making process. They must use their best judgment in pursuit of justice by making conscious and informed use of their discretion in order to eliminate the illegitimate use of race in setting prosecution priorities.

In addition to evaluating the racial impact of prosecutorial priorities, every U.S. Attorney should review his/her office's charging, plea, and sentence recommendation policies and ask the following questions: "Is this policy focused predominantly in a particular racial or ethnic group community?" and "Is the focus justified because crime data and community members demand the resources of the federal government?" In response, the U.S. Attorney may establish additional policies, such as setting minimum drug quantity guidelines for crack cocaine prosecution in a medium sized city, where cases involving small quantities can be adequately prosecuted by local and state law enforcement.

The U.S. Attorney should establish periodic review of prosecutorial charging, plea, and sentencing decisions to ask tough questions about the role race may or may not have played in the decision to prosecute. This will help ensure that their staff and task forces are consciously making decisions that treat similarly situated defendants the same. This recommendation to periodically review the decisions of the U.S. Attorney's Office applies as much to lenient treatment as it does to harsh treatment.

B. Law Enforcement & Task Forces

- The U.S. Attorney should provide oversight of all law enforcement task forces operating under his/her jurisdiction and encourage diversity of membership, leadership, policy makers, and decision-makers in each task force enterprise.
- The U.S. Attorney should charge task forces with the obligation to consciously review their rationales for conducting or declining to conduct investigations in order to eliminate racially disparate treatment and effects.

Comment: U.S. Attorneys have sole responsibility to determine what cases to prosecute. Accordingly, U.S. Attorneys in their partnership with law enforcement cannot lose sight of their role as gatekeepers with responsibility to screen cases for and to prevent racial disparities.

The U.S. Attorney is the top federal law enforcement official in the district and should lead the way in making certain that law enforcement task force membership reflects the diversity of the communities the task force serves. The U.S. Attorney has the obligation to ensure that Assistant United States Attorneys and task force members understand the negative effects of racial bias and stereotyping in law enforcement operations—including ineffective crime prevention. Each initial legal briefing to task force members should include a reminder and affirmation of the requirement of equal treatment of similarly situated individuals, regardless of race or ethnicity.

C. Training

- All training of federal prosecutors should incorporate education about the role of racism in our history and criminal justice system.
- The U.S. Attorney should provide training to all supervisors, attorneys, and other staff that is specifically directed toward eliminating racial bias and racial stereotyping in recruitment, hiring, retention, promotion, supervision, and prosecutorial decision-making.
- The U.S. Attorney should provide or advocate for racial disparity/profiling training for law enforcement agencies and advocate conditioning the receipt of federal funding for law enforcement efforts on agents' participation in such training.

Comment: Eliminating racial bias, racial stereotyping, and disparate racial effects from prosecution requires raising consciousness and awareness about the role and history of race in discretionary decision-making.

The U.S. Attorney should identify and advocate for racial disparity/profiling training resources, including training at the National Advocacy Center, in order to provide orientation and education to new and experienced staff about the negative effects of racial profiling and stereotyping in prosecutorial and law enforcement decisions. There is successful precedent in at least one jurisdiction conditioning the receipt of federal funds by state and local law enforcement agencies upon the completion of racial profiling training for state and local law enforcement officers. The U.S. Attorney can and should help identify opportunities for law enforcement education and training (e.g., through Byrne grant funding, Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Assistance funding, or funding for High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA)).

D. Management & Accountability

- The U.S. Attorney should support office policies that ensure diversity among his/her professional and support staff, including the active recruitment, hiring, retention, and promotion of African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and other racial and ethnic minorities.
- Every prosecutor should review his/her own personal beliefs and biases, including use of racial and ethnic stereotypes or use of proxies for race and ethnicity (such as class/socio-economic status or geography).
- The U.S. Attorney should take affirmative steps to eliminate racial/ethnic bias or stereotyping that is within his/her control and supervision.
- As an internal office management tool, the U.S. Attorney should collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data on the race and ethnicity of the defendant and victim at each stage of prosecution, including but not limited to: case intake, bail requests, declinations, selection of charges, diversion from prosecution or incarceration, plea offers, sentencing recommendations, fast-track sentencing, and use of alternative sanctions. Such data need not be public, but may provide the U.S. Attorney with data on individual prosecutions and in the aggregate to identify any systemic racial disparities, ensure unbiased prosecutorial decision-making, and reduce unwarranted racially or ethnically disparate effects in the future.
- As an external office management tool, the Executive Office for United States Attorneys should, during routine evaluations and reviews of U.S. Attorney's Offices, analyze the race and ethnicity of the defendant and victim at each stage of prosecution, including but not limited to: case intake, bail requests, declinations, selection of charges, diversion from prosecution or incarceration, plea offers, sentencing recommendations, fast-track sentencing, and use of alternative sanctions in order to ensure consistency in applying the law and prosecutorial policies.

Comment: Office recordkeeping, data analysis, and oversight can ensure diversity in hiring, recruitment, retention, and promotion; careful consideration of the racial effects of strategic planning and prosecution priorities; and a culture of understanding of the benefits of addressing racial disparities in prosecution.

Our society has long struggled to ensure racial equality, yet African Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians are disproportionately represented in our jails and prisons. They have also

been disproportionately represented in prosecutors' offices. The 94 Federal Judicial Districts are unique in many ways, but they all encompass diverse populations. U.S. Attorneys have a responsibility to hire qualified staff that reflect the diverse communities they serve. Public confidence in our justice system is vital to our ability to ensure that justice is done.

U.S. Attorneys have an independent obligation to ensure that all those employed by the office, regardless of race, do not make decisions based on race or stereotypes. Introspection is a difficult task, as no one intends to bring prosecutions based solely upon race. Prosecutors need to consciously ask themselves the question, "If the defendant was of a different race or ethnicity, would I seek the same penalty?"

Given existing correlations between race and class, decisions to target only poor neighborhoods for street drug sales and ignoring drug sales and drug use in affluent neighborhoods ensures that most drug arrests will be of racial or ethnic minorities. Assistant U.S. Attorneys ("AUSAs") should be able to explain their charging decisions to their supervisors when there are racial or ethnic disparities in charging and dispositions.

Management must regularly inspect the work of the U.S. Attorney's Office to ensure that the U.S. Attorney's expectations are being met. The goal of good management is to ensure that the mission of the organization is being accomplished within the rules and regulations. If the U.S. Attorney expects AUSAs and law enforcement to bring prosecutions that are free from racial bias, then the U.S. Attorney must have some mechanism in place to determine that the policies against race-based use of discretion are effective. The Department of Justice has instituted strategic planning and continuing education for all managers, including the U.S. Attorney and all senior managers. The Department of Justice Evaluation and Review Teams are but one tool that could be used to measure the effective management of U.S. Attorney's Offices.

E. Community

- The U.S. Attorney should meet with community members, including members of the bar and criminal justice professionals, to obtain their input on crime problems and effective solutions.
- The U.S. Attorney should adopt measures that allow lay community members to voice their concerns about real or perceived disparate treatment in prosecutorial policies and disparities in their final results.

Comment: The perception of fairness is as important as the exercise of fairness. U.S. Attorneys should recognize the roles of community members and stakeholders in apprising the U.S. Attorney of the community impact of office policies and discretionary decisions.

U.S. Attorneys are selected both for their legal acumen and their standing in the community. The U.S. Attorney is often required to bring tough and unpopular prosecutions, and having the trust and confidence of community members is an important goal of the Department of Justice. It is in the U.S. Attorney's interest that crime prevention and intervention programs involve the community in making neighborhoods safe.

F. Influencing Legislation & Policy

- Each U.S. Attorney has the affirmative obligation to raise the racially disparate effects of legislation and policy with the Executive Office for United States Attorneys, the Attorney General's Advisory Committee of United States Attorneys, and the Department of Justice Office of Legislative Affairs.
- The U.S. Attorney should advocate sentencing alternatives and reforms that lessen the impact on those adversely affected by racial disparities in the federal criminal justice system.

Comment: The U.S. Attorney is the practitioner on the ground level who sees first-hand the effect of legislation that creates racial/ethnic disparities in sentencing. While federal prosecutors face limits on their ability to play an active role in legislative affairs, they should keep abreast of pending legislative and policy developments that will affect their role as enforcers of the law and should take advantage of opportunities within the Department of Justice to address these issues.

IV. SIGNATORIES

Buck Buchanan

U.S. Attorney, 1997-2001
Northern District of Mississippi

Wayne A. Budd

Associate Attorney General of the United States,
1992-1993
U.S. Attorney, 1989-1992,
District of Massachusetts

Janice McKenzie Cole

U.S. Attorney, 1994-2001
Eastern District of North Carolina

Veronica F. Coleman-Davis

U.S. Attorney, 1993-2001
Western District of Tennessee

Saul A. Green

U.S. Attorney, 1994-2001
Eastern District of Michigan

Brian A. Jackson

Associate Deputy Attorney General, 1998-1999
U.S. Attorney, 2001
Middle District of Louisiana

B. Todd Jones

U.S. Attorney, 1998-2001
District of Minnesota

Gaynelle Griffin Jones

U.S. Attorney, 1993-1997
Southern District of Texas

Sherry S. Matteucci

U.S. Attorney, 1993-2001
District of Montana

Wayne S. McKenzie

Director, Prosecution and Racial Justice Program,
Vera Institute of Justice
Past President,
National Black Prosecutors Association
Brooklyn District Attorney's Office, 1990-2005

Jose de Jesus Rivera

U.S. Attorney, 1998-2001
District of Arizona

Frederick W. Thieman

U.S. Attorney, 1993-1997
Western District of Pennsylvania

Quenton White

U.S. Attorney, 2000-2001
Middle District of Tennessee

Sharon J. Zealey

U.S. Attorney, 1997-2001
Southern District of Ohio

FORMER U.S. ATTORNEYS REFLECT ON RACIAL DISPARITIES IN THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

By Lynn Lu

I. PREFACE

The federal criminal sentencing system is notorious both for its overall severity and for its disproportionate impact on people of color. Whether federal sentences are appropriately or excessively severe and whether their attendant racial disparities reflect the influence of legitimate or illegitimate factors are both subjects of intense ongoing debate among civil rights and sentencing reform advocates. Yet no actor tasked with enforcing and ensuring respect for the nation's laws can ignore concerns about the integrity of a criminal justice system increasingly perceived as reserving its harshest punishments for people of color.

Federal prosecutors today wield unprecedented influence in the sentencing of criminal defendants through discretionary decisions made at multiple stages of a criminal prosecution, including charging decisions, plea agreements, and sentencing recommendations. With prosecutorial power comes an obligation to address racial disparities in the criminal justice system wherever and however possible without jeopardizing effective crime prevention. Despite the importance of prosecutorial decision making to fair and equitable sentencing outcomes, the U.S. Sentencing Commission ("USSC") has concluded that, in comparison with legislative and judicial sentencing choices, prosecutorial decisions that affect federal sentencing "have been relatively neglected, in part because of the paucity of data that can be used to investigate them."¹

What little data do exist provide some evidence of unexplained racial disparities in the outcomes of federal prosecutorial decision-making. For example, based on a sample of cases for which detailed factual data were collected and coded for analysis, the USSC detected notable differences in prosecutorial decisions to seek sentence enhancements for certain federal offenses involving a firearm depending on the race of the defendant.² Similarly, an exploratory multivariate study of prosecutors' motions for sentence reductions in exchange for cooperating defendants' substantial assistance using a small sample size of data from 1994 concluded that "the currently available data . . . raise questions of racial, ethnic, nationality, and gender disparities in the awarding of [substantial assistance] motions" and in the extent of any reduction in sentence granted.³ These findings demonstrate the need for greater scrutiny and oversight, whether external or internal, of prosecutorial decision-making in order to identify sources of and solutions to racial disparities in the federal criminal justice system.

In November 2005, the Brennan Center for Justice and the National Institute for Law and Equity convened a focus group of twelve former U.S. Attorneys, the majority of whom served during the Clinton administration, to explore ways in which individual U.S. Attorney's Offices ("USAOs"), overseen centrally by the Department of Justice ("DOJ") and accountable locally to the communities in which they operate, might mitigate the corrosive effects of racial disparities in sentencing on communities devastated by mass, long-term incarceration and on public confidence in federal law enforcement.⁴ This report summarizes the themes that emerged during that discussion.⁵ Some members of the group, joined by other former state and federal prosecutors, then produced a set of prosecutorial guidelines for addressing racial disparities as a starting point for enlisting and engaging prosecutors in the hard work of eliminating unwarranted racial disparities from the federal criminal justice system. These Guidelines, to which fourteen former U.S. Attorneys have signed on, have been reproduced above.

II. CONFRONTING RACIAL DISPARITIES IN PROSECUTORIAL DECISION-MAKING

Unwarranted racial disparities in decision-making may result from outright conscious animus, including the use of race-neutral criteria (such as class or geography) as a pretext for impermissible consideration of race, or from unconscious racial stereotyping. The perspectives related by former U.S. Attorneys during the November 2005 focus group reveal the constant need for federal prosecutors and their supervisors to remain attentive to racial disparities in the criminal justice system and, in particular, the difficulties of addressing unconscious racial bias. One former U.S. Attorney recounts,

I had an [Assistant U.S. Attorney ("AUSA") who] wanted to drop the gun charge against the defendant [in a case in which] there were no extenuating circumstances. I asked, "Why do you want to drop the gun offense?" and he said, "He is a rural guy who grew up on a farm. The gun he had with him was a rifle. He is a good ol' boy, and all the good ol' boys have rifles, and it's not like he was a gun-toting drug dealer." But he [was] a gun-toting drug dealer, exactly.

In that case, the question of whether to dismiss a gun charge carrying a statutory mandatory minimum sentence turned on the prosecutor's perception of the defendant's culpability, which was in turn informed in part by race.

Because unconscious racial bias is so difficult to detect, attempts to reduce its effects must include education and cultural sensitivity training, as well as diversity in hiring and supervision. One former U.S. Attorney stated,

I was the very first Hispanic [Assistant U.S. Attorney] to be hired [in a border district]. At the first meeting I went to, one guy started talking about immigration, and he said, “wets,” and he looked at me, and the word was never used in that office again. That little bit makes a difference The person you hire will be a supervisor in somebody else’s administration down the line, and it’s important they bring in that cultural difference.

Another former U.S. Attorney added,

We [took] all the senior management and talked very openly about race and talked very openly about racial disparities in the system For the most part, race is never discussed, it never gets talked about, it never gets objectively dealt with in any meaningful way, in most of the offices we came from. That was a real difference maker. And then on top of that, bringing in people who are more diverse and look more like the people you have to prosecute . . . doesn’t mean the case doesn’t get handled, [but] it means that the case may be handled in a different way I think those things are significant and meaningful.

Another former U.S. Attorney noted, however, “If you are going to say to supervisors, ‘The issue of racial disparity needs to be considered,’ that’s a teaching process, because they’re just words to many people. So how you translate that is a meaningful part of the process.” Similarly, one former U.S. Attorney offered,

I think public education is the most important thing. Craft a way to communicate with the people in general in the country about what the problem is, why it is a problem, what the constitutional ramifications are, what equal justice means to us, and why we need it. I just think there is very little attention being paid [to racial disparity] generally out in the world unless it affects people individually. So you need to tell them why it matters to them individually. So public education would be my first [priority].

Disparate racial effects in decision-making outcomes may also result not from conscious or unconscious racial targeting but from the application of race-neutral rules or policies adopted to further legitimate law enforcement purposes in spite of, albeit not because of, their disparate racial impact. Such effects may be unnecessarily exacerbated where race-neutral rules are insufficiently narrowly tailored to achieve legitimate law enforcement goals. For example, the 1-to-100 crack-to-cocaine federal sentencing ratio results in much higher sentences for defendants convicted of drug trafficking offenses involving crack, of whom approximately 85 percent are black, than those whose offenses involve the same quantity of cocaine powder, of whom only 30.5 percent are black⁶ – even though “recent research indicates that the current penalty structure. . . greatly overstates the relative harmfulness of crack cocaine.”⁷ Similarly, research has shown

that the use of criminal history, including convictions for nonviolent drug offenses, to impose sentence enhancements also disproportionately affects black and minority defendants, who are more likely to have come into contact with state criminal justice systems – while conferring little additional benefit in the way of reduced recidivism rates.⁸

To be sure, achieving the right balance between effective law enforcement and equitable sentencing outcomes in order to reduce crime and increase public safety – particularly where facially neutral policies or rules may exacerbate existing social imbalances – is a delicate task. One former U.S. Attorney described experiencing local pressure from communities of color who felt insufficiently protected by local law enforcement:

What I came to conclude over the course of my tenure was that all disparities in our society show up most pronounced in our criminal justice system. And yet ... our job, our goal, our personal integrity [required us] to make better some very bad circumstances,... and those aren't easy decisions or black-and-white decisions. The victims that came to us ... said, "Can't you help us with this?" So while we talk about ... a disproportionate impact falling on minority defendants, the brunt of the crime, violence, and all the fallout, for lack of a better word, that we were seeing was also falling on black victims and minority victims. So my point is that you can't just look and say that this is all bad because it is affecting and falling upon poor and minority people. If you look at the other side, it's the poor and minority people that have the same goals and aspirations all of us have. The difference is it is more likely that we are driving [home] into a community that is a lot safer than those people were left to contend with. So those aren't easy decisions, and I think we do a disservice to approach them in a way that is good or bad or black and-white because they are a lot more involved than that.

At the same time, one former U.S. Attorney described feeling significant pressure to explain prosecutorial decisions that contributed to racial disparity in federal sentences in order to retain the respect and trust of the communities that experience the effects of both crime and law enforcement:

We had a situation where the local sheriff's department said, "We are going to come in and do a drug roundup ... , and we want the federal government to maybe take four or five of the worst [cases]. Well, it ends up that ... 100 people [are arrested], and all of them are young black men who have been marched into these paddy wagons, and they are all being filmed. [Word gets out] that the U.S. Attorney is prosecuting the cases. The distinction wasn't made that we only had four [of the cases]. Well, on Monday morning I had pastors lined up, rightfully so, because they were seeing only ... that the U.S. Attorney had gone out and put his or her mark on these young men, and they're clamoring to say, "Yes, we want our communities clean, safe, and so forth, but there is much

more [to it], ... and these kids are not the ones bringing these drugs in.” So you deal with that hopefully in a way that’s positive, and you also pursue the larger case... We were able to... say, “Well, I understand what you are saying, and the issues you’re raising, and we are handling these [cases], and [the state is] handling those...” [And] a month or two months later we were able to arrest the guys who were bringing [the drugs] in, ... some good ol’ boys..., and we were hopefully able to maintain some credibility with that community....

Ultimately, the former U.S. Attorneys who participated in the November 2005 focus group agreed that conscious attention to the role of race in prosecutorial decision-making, as well as concerted efforts to monitor and improve the decision-making process, is essential for mitigating unwarranted racial disparities in the outcomes of federal criminal prosecutions.

III. GUIDING FEDERAL PROSECUTORIAL DISCRETION

A. Limitations of Central Oversight for Federal Prosecutors

Guidance for federal prosecutors confronting the complex challenge of addressing racial disparity requires flexibility and thus is difficult to impose by fiat. The publicly available U.S. Attorney’s Manual, which includes the Principles of Prosecution, provides guidelines on how federal prosecutors should exercise discretion in making decisions such as whether to prosecute a case federally, which charges to bring, and how to negotiate plea agreements. Principle 9-27.260 explicitly prohibits the use of race and other invidious considerations in prosecutorial decision-making but states only that a “person’s race, religion, sex, national origin, or political association, activities or beliefs” may not influence a federal prosecutor’s decision “whether to commence or recommend prosecution or take other action against a person.”⁹

Supplementing the Principles of Prosecution are occasional national DOJ policy directives issued by the U.S. Attorney General. In 1998, Attorney General Janet Reno emphasized the need for effective local implementation of national DOJ policy to reduce racial disparities in prosecutorial decision-making. Attorney General Reno reported that an internal working group assessing federal prosecutions could not explain away all racial inequities in the incidence of crack cocaine prosecutions, substantial assistance motions, and charging of gun-related offenses or sentence enhancements. She therefore asked each U.S. Attorney to “examine his or her office’s practices and procedures” to “ensur[e] that similarly situated defendants are treated the same” and

to ensure the use of race-neutral policies in the exercise of prosecutorial discretion within a district. Absent compelling, specific law enforcement imperatives there is ordinarily no justification for differing policies and practices within a district with respect to similarly situated defendants. Moreover, any race-neutral policy that has a disparate racial impact

should be carefully reviewed to determine whether the disparity is justified by law enforcement necessity and not the product of conscious or unconscious racial bias.¹⁰

Despite the implementation of a strong national policy designed to reduce racial disparities in the federal criminal justice system, the question remains: What impact may such a sweeping policy actually have in individual USAOs, which must be sensitive to both local community concerns and priorities as well as national directives? The potential for conflict among local, state, district, and federal policy preferences and law enforcement priorities renders implementation of uniform national policy in each of the ninety-three USAOs a complex task. Indeed, two former U.S. Attorneys who participated in the November 2005 focus group recalled, “We ended up being the only two U.S. Attorneys who had written policies in our districts prohibiting racial discrimination in prosecution and law enforcement generally and saying we would not prosecute cases . . . resulting from racial profiling.”

B. Possibilities for Local Oversight of Federal Prosecutorial Discretion

The former U.S. Attorneys in the November 2005 focus group emphasized that local implementation and enforcement of national policies prohibiting race discrimination in prosecutorial decision-making require recognition of and responsiveness to local community concerns and local law enforcement needs. For example, the needs to coordinate and secure the cooperation of local, state, and federal law enforcement agents; to optimize resource allocation in light of local crime patterns; and to appreciate the state’s ability effectively to prosecute cases all affect how national directives addressing racial disparity may be implemented through individual USAO policies and priorities.

One former U.S. Attorney explained the complicated relationship between federal prosecutors and local law enforcement, in which federal prosecutorial decisions may be influenced by the decisions of local agents: “Where [law enforcement] . . . wants to get a quick statistic is often where . . . the racial disparity occurs. It’s a lot easier to go out to the ’hood, so to speak, and pick somebody than to put your resources in an undercover [operation in a] community where there are potentially politically powerful people.”

Another former U.S. Attorney added that local law enforcement “mak[es] those decisions to put all their cars in the black community and not the suburbs. . . . At the end of the day, if you are getting a disproportionate number of [people of color] brought to you, then what can you do?” One former U.S. Attorney recalled

doing . . . something . . . in-your-face One of the first things that happened when I came into office was that a complaint [arose] in the Hispanic community about racial profiling as Hispanics drove through certain affluent neighborhoods That was all over the news, and when I came in, I said, “We will look at this.” . . . I called up the Civil

Rights Department of the DOJ We were not trying to make a case, [but we] said, we have to look at this, and I think that stopped that problem It wasn't aimed at trying to make a case; it was aimed at saying, this can't happen, and a way of educating [local law enforcement] It was a way to get the word out that ... we were not going to arrest anybody; we just wanted to see what was going on, because the perception was that this was racial profiling, and [local law enforcement] didn't want that, and we didn't want that. That was a little thing that helped, I think.

The degree to which individual U.S. Attorneys are able to control the allocation of federal funds within their districts also affects their ability to shape national policy to address local concerns. One former U.S. Attorney described frustration with the mandate to implement national policies with potentially disparate racial effects, such as that prioritizing federal prosecution of career offenders:

We were working with state and locals to try to identify ... prior offenses, so we could give [defendants] federal time so that they would be in custody longer... . Clearly, these guys could have been prosecuted at the state level and would have been handled effectively there, and we didn't need our resources locked in the DOJ policy... . I could not do some of the things that I thought we really should be doing, such as environmental crime, white-collar crime, and financial crime, so on and so forth.

Another former U.S. Attorney described ambivalence about the need to oversee state-federal task forces funded with federal dollars earmarked for particular national law enforcement priorities: "the [state-federal] task forces ... are the best and worst thing that could happen [to you]. There is so much money given to these task forces They generate so many cases, it's like a self-perpetuating thing. For [state law enforcement] to get money, they have to bring cases to [federal prosecutors]. The more cases you bring, the more money they have."

One former U.S. Attorney described a creative use of federal task force funds administered by the state to address local concerns and alleviate tensions by educating local and state law enforcement about racial disparities resulting from over enforcement of federal drug laws, which was fueled, in turn, by the practice of permitting any seized assets to supplement local law enforcement budgets: "It was our belief that local [law] enforcement was focused on making a lot of very small drug-related arrests with the hope of [seizing some forfeited assets] and ... funneling the money back into their coffers. Forfeiture [of assets is] a great tool, but it can be abused, and we were of the opinion that it was very much prone to abuse... ."

In response to this concern, the U.S. Attorney's office approached the state grant administrators who allocated federal grant funds to federal-state law enforcement task forces and requested that the state grant administrators require all recipients, as a condition of funding, to attend trainings held by the U.S. Attorney's office to address concerns about racial disparities in law enforcement:

We ... said to [the grant administrators], ... "we think the forfeiture laws [permitting state law enforcement to retain assets during state-federal task force investigations] are being used in a manner that leads to disproportionate impacts and are not being used in a manner consistent with what was intended. What we want to do is ... take on the responsibility of doing training for everybody, but ... we want you to require ... that anybody who gets money has to be subject to the training," and they did So you couldn't get [grant] money without the training.

Once the training condition was put into effect, it required meaningful content:

We focused on value-based training, that is, teaching law enforcement to recognize ... that to pursue arrests in a racially based manner was inconsistent with all ... the things they had been taught and, for most of them, with why they got into law enforcement in the first place. That it was unconstitutional, unethical, and all sorts of other things

Overall, the effort had largely positive results:

We recognized that there were some who weren't going to care one way or another, but for those who cared about values, ... we were able to communicate to them that to pursue law enforcement in this manner was totally inconsistent with what they wanted to accomplish in the long term, and I think it was somewhat effective [P]eople started ... calling us even [when grant money was not at issue] and said, "We want to be subject to the training, we want the training brought to us." ... We did it for a period of three years; for that period, no law enforcement entity in the state would get federal grant money without going through this training, and it worked

Another potential complicating factor affecting the implementation of internal office practices, such as those regarding hiring, training, and supervision, arises from the fact that Attorneys General and U.S. Attorneys are political appointees, but the line prosecutors they supervise are increasingly career attorneys. The former U.S. Attorneys in the focus group urged close oversight within local USAOs as the only way of establishing office norms and procedures with staying power. For example, implementing a system for close review of charging decisions may help to create enforceable internal standards and help to eliminate the influence of illegitimate factors such as race in decisions affecting charging and, ultimately, sentencing:

I think the supervisor's ability to exercise genuine judgment and supervision depends upon ... getting all the facts, and I think that can only be done through a face-to-face meeting. Basically, the AUSAs should present the case to the supervisor for sign-off. Unfortunately, ... as an AUSA, I had a face-to-face [meeting] with my supervisor on 20 [percent of] my cases ... ; most of it was paperwork I filled out and sent up, and they signed it and it came back.

Relatedly, another former U.S. Attorney recommended the use of internal indictment review committees:

We did that not only with supervisors, but with AUSAs not even affiliated with the section A lot of routine cases go fast, but they went through a screening process, and the AUSA would come in and was subject to cross-examination about the case, and not every case made it through that first indictment [review]. We did that in every case. A lot of it was like a grand jury; it gets pretty routine, but on a bigger case and most complex cases, it was a serious process, and I think the office is still doing that today.

Centralized oversight of local USAOs remains a valuable mechanism for monitoring compliance with national directives that address racial disparities in the federal criminal justice system. One former U.S. Attorney suggested that oversight of the racial effects of prosecutorial decision-making be undertaken within DOJ by the Executive Office for United States Attorneys ("EOUSA"), which is responsible for reviewing the performance of each USAO: "One thing might actually be doable . . . when the U.S. Attorneys offices are evaluated [by the EOUSA]. If you have statistics that give the appearance of disproportionality of any type, it would be looked into [to explain] why it exists. There will be times where it's very justified and warranted, and maybe there are going to be times when it is not, but requiring that it be looked at and analyzed by the U.S. Attorney during the evaluation process would be a good step, and probably something that is practically doable."

Finally, the former U.S. Attorneys emphasized, addressing racial disparities at the district level requires local leadership and community support. One former U.S. Attorney highlighted

the very important role the U.S. Attorney as the chief law enforcement officer has in not only [setting] policy in their own offices but identifying and communicating that policy to the community and the community of law enforcement. It is a tremendously powerful tool that is very fundamental to setting the framework as to whether there is going to be disparity or not If your administration is not both allowing you as U.S. Attorney and encouraging you as U.S. Attorney to make this kind of statement and provide this kind of leadership in your community, then something is seriously wrong with that administration, in my view.

Several former U.S. Attorneys expressed the value of simply engaging in conscious self-analysis and being expected to produce explanations of their reasons for particular prosecutorial decisions:

Just trying to make [prosecutors] justify [racial disparities] will have some kind of effect one way or another If somebody comes into my district from the outside . . . and they see a huge disparity, somebody is going to call us on the carpet It's just a fact of life We are going to be very defensive about it, and are going to look at it a little closer. It never happened when I was U.S. Attorney, and I know we had [disparities] out there, but I never got that . . . one call or anything else that [asked], "What's going on down there?"

IV. CONCLUSION

As the focus group of former U.S. Attorneys recognized, federal prosecutors hold the power to evaluate and constrain their own exercise of authority, as well as an obligation to do so in the interest of justice. As advocates and policy makers seek racial justice in an imperfect criminal justice system, federal prosecutors must remain attentive to the racial effects of their own practices and discretionary decisions, in order both to reduce racially disparate treatment and to limit the racially disparate effects of race-neutral law enforcement policies. The sample Guidelines reproduced above represent one attempt by former U.S. Attorneys to shape the exercise of prosecutorial discretion by increasing transparency and accountability in individual USAOs as a means of mitigating racial disparities in the federal criminal justice system. Perhaps over time, greater experience with the fair exercise of federal prosecutorial discretion will bolster public confidence in a federal law enforcement system that is both effective and just.

ENDNOTES

FOREWORD

- ¹ Eric Holder, U.S. Att’y Gen., Remarks at the Department of Justice African American History Month Program (Feb. 18, 2009).

INTRODUCTION

- ¹ African Americans make up 13% of the general US population and constitute 28% of all arrests, 40% of all inmates held in prisons and jails and 42% of the population on death row. CHRISTOPHER BARTNEY & LINH VUONG, NAT’L COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, *CREATED EQUAL: RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISPARITIES IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM 2* (Mar. 2009) (citing U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, POPULATION DIVISION (2008); PAIGE M. HARRISON & ALLEN J. BECK, U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS, *PRISON AND JAIL INMATES AT MIDYEAR 2005* (2006); TRACY L. SNELL, U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS, *CAPITAL PUNISHMENT 2006-STATISTICAL TABLES* (2007)).
- ² See U.S. Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Federal Justice Statistics Resource Center, *available at* http://fjsrc.urban.org/var.cfm?tttype=one_variable&agency=USSC&db_type=SntcEvt&saf=OUT; see also, DAVID B. MUSTARD, *RACIAL AND GENDER DISPARITIES IN SENTENCING: EVIDENCE FROM THE U.S. FEDERAL COURTS* (2001) (finding that after controlling for criminal history and offense level, large sentencing disparities exist in the federal criminal justice system on the basis of race, gender, education, income level and citizenship); LAUREN O’NEILL SHERMER & BRIAN D. JOHNSON, *CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS: EXAMINING PROSECUTORIAL DISCRETION AND CHARGE REDUCTIONS IN THE US FEDERAL DISTRICT COURTS* (2009) (finding that prosecutorial charging discretion plays an important role in the determination of final punishment outcomes in U.S. Federal District Courts, and that for certain offenses, e.g. weapons offenses, African-American defendants were less likely to receive charge reductions than white defendants); CASSIA SPOHN & ROBERT FORNAGO, U.S. ATTORNEYS AND SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE DEPARTURES: TESTING FOR INTERPROSECUTOR DISPARITY (2007) (finding that the odds of receiving a substantial assistance downward sentencing departure was higher for whites as compared to African Americans).
- ³ *Farrakhan v. Gregoire*, 590 F.3d 989, 1012-13 (9th Cir. 2010).
- ⁴ See Shankar Vedantam, *See No Bias*, WASH. POST, Jan. 23, 2005, at W12.
- ⁵ Justice Integrity Act, H.R. 1412, S. 495, 111th Cong. (2009), *available at* <http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-Justice/Justice.Integrity.2.26.09.xml.pdf>.
- ⁶ Eric Holder, U.S. Att’y Gen., Remarks at the Department of Justice African American History Month Program (Feb. 18, 2009).

RECOMMENDATIONS OF FORMER U.S. ATTORNEYS

- ¹ *Berger v. United States*, 295 U.S. 78, 88 (1935).
- ² Existing guidelines state only that a “person’s race, religion, sex, national origin, or political association, activities or beliefs” may not influence a federal prosecutor’s decision “whether to commence or recommend prosecution or take other action against a person.” U.S. Dep’t of Justice, United States Attorneys’ Manual, Title 9, Criminal Resource Manual, Chapter 27, Principles of Federal Prosecution, 9-27.260, “Initiating and Declining Charges—Impermissible Considerations,” *available at* http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/eousa/foia_reading_room/usam/title9/27mcrm.htm#9-27.260 (last visited Nov. 17, 2006). Further commentary clarifies that, “[o]f course,” in a case in which race or ethnicity “is pertinent to the offense (for example, in an immigration case the fact that the offender is not a United States national, or in a civil rights case the fact that the victim and the offender are of different races), the provision would not prohibit the prosecutor from considering it for the purpose intended by the Congress.” *Id.*

FORMER U.S. ATTORNEYS REFLECT ON RACIAL DISPARITIES IN THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

- ¹ U.S. SENTENCING COMM’N, *FIFTEEN YEARS OF GUIDELINES SENTENCING: AN ASSESSMENT OF HOW WELL THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IS ACHIEVING THE GOALS OF SENTENCING REFORM* 135 (2004). According to the USSC, “[q]uantifying the effects of presentencing decisions is hampered by a lack of systematic data on police and prosecutorial practices. Only a few numerical estimates have been attempted.” *Id.*, at 88.
- ² *Id.*, at 90.
- ³ LINDA DRAZGA MAXFIELD & JOHN H. KRAMER, U.S. SENTENCING COMM’N, *SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE: AN EMPIRICAL YARDSTICK GAUGING EQUITY IN CURRENT FEDERAL POLICY AND PRACTICE* 14 & exh. 9, 12 (1998).

- ⁴ The focus group, hosted by the National Institute for Law and Equity and generously made possible by the Open Society Institute, was held on November 30, 2005, in Memphis, Tennessee. The author sincerely thanks the following individuals for their time, energy, and invaluable contributions during the yearlong process of convening the November 2005 focus group and subsequent discussions and guidelines drafting sessions: Buck Buchanan, Janice McKenzie Cole, Veronica F. Coleman-Davis, Richard H. Deane, Jr., Donnie Dixon, Saul A. Green, Terry Harris, B. Todd Jones, Doug Jones, Gaynelle Griffin Jones, Raquiba LaBrie, Karla Lopez, Sherry S. Matteucci, Wayne S. McKenzie, Luther Mercer II, Jose de Jesus Rivera, Dan Verhine, and Sharon J. Zealey.
- ⁵ All quotations from focus group participants have been edited to eliminate minor grammatical inconsistencies and to improve readability. Brackets are supplied to identify substantive clarifications. Recordings and unedited transcripts are on file with the National Institute for Law and Equity. Thanks to Luther Mercer II for making transcription of the focus group discussion possible.
- ⁶ U.S. SENTENCING COMM'N, REPORT TO THE CONGRESS: COCAINE AND FEDERAL SENTENCING POLICY 63 tbl. 3 (2002).
- ⁷ *Id.*, at 93.
- ⁸ *See id.*, at 134 (noting overrepresentation of black defendants subject to increased penalties based on criminal history, primarily based on drug-related offenses despite evidence that recidivism rates for defendants with prior drug convictions “are much lower than other offenders who are assigned to [the highest available] criminal history category”).
- ⁹ U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS' MANUAL, TITLE 9, CRIMINAL RESOURCE MANUAL, CHAPTER 27, PRINCIPLES OF FEDERAL PROSECUTION, 9-27.260, “Initiating and Declining Charges—Impermissible Considerations,” *available at* http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/eousa/foia_reading_room/usam/title9/27mcrm.htm#9-27.260 (last visited Nov. 17, 2006).
- ¹⁰ Memorandum from U.S. Att’y Gen. Janet Reno to all U.S. Attorneys Re: Ensuring Racial Neutrality in Prosecution Practices (Jan. 9, 1998), *available at* <http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/readingroom/racenu.htm> (last visited Nov. 15, 2006).

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