## Notes

There is a violence and racism impact scenario in the top shell, and there are no repeated cards from the impacts, so if you want, you can take some of the impact cards from the top shell out and only read the health inequality scenario, for example.

## NC Shell

### NC Shell

#### CP Text: A just government should abolish police unions and recognize the unconditional right of all other workers to strike.

#### The aff makes police collective bargaining worse and gives more power to police unions.

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- ("What is The Blue Flue and How Has It Increased Police Power," Washington Post, 7-1-2020, 11-2-2021https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/07/01/what-is-blue-flu-how-has-it-increased-police-power/)//AW

This weekend, officers from the New York City Police Department are rumored to be planning a walkout to protest calls to defund the police. This builds on a similar tactic used by police in Atlanta less than a month ago. On June 16, Fulton County District Attorney, Paul L. Howard Jr. announced that Garrett Rolfe, the Atlanta police officer who fatally shot Rayshard Brooks, would face charges of felony murder and aggravated assault. That night, scores of Atlanta Police Department officers caught the “blue flu,” calling out sick en masse to protest the charges against Rolfe. Such walkouts constitute, in effect, illegal strikes — laws in all 50 states prohibit police strikes. Yet, there is nothing new about the blue flu. It is a strategy long employed by police unions and rank-and-file officers during contract negotiations, disputes over reforms and, like in Atlanta, in response to disciplinary action against individual officers. The intent is to dramatize police disputes with municipal government and rally the citizenry to their side. But the result of such protests matter deeply as we consider police reform today. Historically, blue flu strikes have helped expand police power, ultimately limiting the ability of city governments to reform, constrain or conduct oversight over the police. They allow the police to leverage public fear of crime to extract concessions from municipalities.

#### Police unions use collective bargaining to reinforce systems of racism and violence. Clark ‘19

Paul F. Clark [School Director and Professor of Labor and Employment Relations, Penn State], 10-10-2019, "Why police unions are not part of the American labor movement," Conversation, [https://theconversation.com/why-police-unions-are-not-part-of-the-american-labor-movement-142538 //accessed 10/20/2021](https://theconversation.com/why-police-unions-are-not-part-of-the-american-labor-movement-142538%20//accessed%2010/20/2021) //marlborough jh

In the wake of George Floyd’s death at the hands of a Minneapolis police officer, news reports have suggested that [police unions bear some of the responsibility](https://www.salon.com/2020/06/27/police-unions-blamed-for-rise-in-fatal-shootings-even-as-crime-plummeted/) for the [violence perpetrated against African Americans](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/us/derek-chauvin-george-floyd.html). ¶Critics have assailed these unions for [protecting officers who have abused their authority](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/09/limits-when-police-can-use-force-is-better-solution-than-banning-police-unions/). Derek Chauvin, the former police officer facing [second-degree murder charges for Floyd’s death](https://www.npr.org/2020/06/03/868910542/chauvin-and-3-former-officers-face-new-charges-over-george-floyds-death), had nearly [20 complaints filed against him during his career](https://www.mercurynews.com/2020/05/30/minneapolis-officers-work-personal-background-detailed-2/) but only received two letters of reprimand. ¶Many people who support labor unions in principle, who view them as a countervailing force against the power of employers, have only recently [come to view police unions as problematic](https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2020-06-15/police-unions-george-floyd-reform) – as entities that [perpetuate a culture of racism and violence](https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-police-union-power-helped-increase-abuses). ¶But this sentiment reverberates through the history of the U.S. labor movement. As a [labor scholar](https://ler.la.psu.edu/people/pfc2) who has [written about unions](https://theconversation.com/essential-us-workers-often-lack-sick-leave-and-health-care-benefits-taken-for-granted-in-most-other-countries-136802) for [decades](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/bjir.12526), I think this viewpoint can be explained by the fact that police unions differ fundamentally from almost all trade unions in America. **¶**Foot soldiers for the status quo **¶**For many veterans of the labor movement, [police have been on the wrong side](https://plsonline.eku.edu/insidelook/history-policing-united-states-part-3) of the centuries-old struggle between workers and employers. [Rather than side with other members of the working class](https://www.businessinsider.com/mayhem-in-madison-police-remove-protesters-lockdown-capitol-2011-3), police have used their legal authority to protect businesses and private property, enforcing laws viewed by many as anti-union. **¶**The strain between law enforcement and labor goes back to the origins of [American unions in the mid 19th century](https://plsonline.eku.edu/insidelook/history-policing-united-states-part-3). Workers formed unions to fight for wage increases, reduced working hours and humane working conditions. **¶**For employers, this was an attack on the existing societal power structure. They enlisted the government as the defender of capital and property rights, and [police officers were the foot soldiers](http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/12/22/police-unions-havealwaysbeenalabormovementapart.html) who defended the status quo. **¶**When workers managed to form unions, companies called on local police to disperse union gatherings, marches and picket lines, using [violence and mass arrests to break the will of strikers](https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-1897-massacre-pennsylvania-coal-miners-morphed-galvanizing-crisis-forgotten-history-180971695/). **¶**A narrow focus **¶**Police work is a fundamentally conservative act. And police officers tend to be politically conservative and Republican. **¶**A poll of police [conducted in September 2016 by POLICE Magazine](https://www.policemag.com/342098/the-2016-police-presidential-poll) found that 84% of officers intended to vote for Donald Trump that November. And law enforcement unions like the Fraternal Order of Police, the International Union of Police Associations and the National Border Patrol Council [all endorsed Trump’s candidacy in 2016](https://theintercept.com/2016/10/09/police-unions-reject-charges-of-bias-find-a-hero-in-donald-trump/). **¶**This contrasts sharply with the 39% share of all [union voters who voted for Trump](https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-labor-to-stem-flow-of-union-voters-to-trump-11567422002) and the fact that every other union which made an [endorsement supported Hillary Clinton](https://justfacts.votesmart.org/candidate/evaluations/55463/hillary-clinton). **¶**Exclusively protecting the interests of their members, without consideration for other workers, also sets police unions apart from other labor groups. Yes, the first priority of any union is to fight for their members, but most other unions see that fight in the context of a [larger movement that fights for all workers](https://aflcio.org/what-unions-do/social-economic-justice). ¶Police unions do not see themselves as [part of this movement](https://www.teenvogue.com/story/what-to-know-police-unions-labor-movement). With one exception – the [International Union of Police Associations](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/11/police-unions-american-labor-movement-protest), which represents just [2.7% of American police](https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ftelea9716.pdf) – law enforcement unions are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor body that unites all unions. ¶Alternative justice system ¶A central concern with police unions is that they use collective bargaining to negotiate contracts that reduce police transparency and accountability. This allows officers who engage in excessive violence to [avoid the consequences of their actions](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/06/10/police-unions-violence-research-george-floyd/) and remain on the job. ¶In a way, some police unions have created an [alternative justice system](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/06/restorative-justice-police-violence/489221/) that prevents police departments and municipalities from disciplining or discharging officers who have committed crimes against the people they are sworn to serve. ¶In Minneapolis, residents filed more than [2,600 misconduct complaints](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-problem-with-police-unions-11591830984) against police officers between 2012 and 2020. But only 12 of those grievances resulted in discipline. The most significant [punishment any officer received was a 40-hour suspension](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/us/derek-chauvin-george-floyd.html). **¶**Besides collective bargaining, police have used the political process – including [candidate endorsements and lobbying](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/23/police-unions-spending-policy-reform-chicago-new-york-la) – to secure local and state legislation that protects their members and quells efforts to provide greater police accountability. ¶Police officers are a formidable political force because they represent [the principle of law and order](https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-gop-and-police-unions-a-love-story). Candidates endorsed by the police unions can claim they are the law and order candidate. Once these candidates win office, police unions have [significant leverage to lobby for policies](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/06/george-floyd-protests-police-abuse-reform-qualified-immunity-polls.html) they support or block those they oppose. ¶Because of this power, critics claim that police unions don’t feel accountable to the citizens they serve. An attorney who sued the Minneapolis Police Department on behalf of a Black resident who was [severely beaten by police officers](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/us/derek-chauvin-george-floyd.html) said that he is convinced that Minneapolis “officers think they don’t have to abide by their own training and rules when dealing with the public.” ¶George Floyd’s death has raised serious concerns about the current role of police and police unions in our society. Several unions have demanded that the International Union of Police Associations be expelled from the U.S. labor federation. Other [unions oppose expulsion](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/national-labor-groups-mostly-close-ranks-defend-police-unions-n1231573). They argue that the labor movement can have a greater impact on a police union that is inside the “House of Labor.” ¶In any case, there is a growing recognition that police unions differ significantly from other unions. And there is a growing acceptance that they are not part of the larger American labor movement but rather a narrowly focused group pursuing their own self-interests, often to the detriment of the nation at large.

#### Police backed by unions are more violent than non-unionized police. Ingraham ’20.

Christopher Ingraham [Reporter] 20. ("Police Unions and Police Misconduct: What the Research Says About the Connection," Washington Post, 6-10-2020, 10-27-2021 https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/06/10/police-unions-violence-research-george-floyd/)//AW

Some of the most shocking images to emerge from the demonstrations that have dominated recent headlines stem from violent interactions between law enforcement officers and peaceful protesters. They’ve also escalated calls for police reform. But police unions tend to be resistant to such efforts, as their mandate is to protect the interests of their members — even in cases when those interests may be counter to democratic norms and values. Though an understudied topic of criminology, what research that does exist is unequivocal: “Virtually **all** of the **published items** that express an opinion **on the impact of police unions regard them as having a negative effect**, particularly **on innovation, accountability, and police — community relations**,” as a review in the journal Police Practice and Research put it. Researchers say unionized officers draw more excessive-force complaints and are more likely to kill civilians, particularly nonwhite ones. Here are some key findings: Unionization emboldens violent officers A recent University of Chicago working paper found violent misconduct among sheriff’s officers increased about 40 percent after a state supreme court ruling allowing the officers to unionize. The incidents examined in this paper are among the most serious types of violent misconduct, including sexual assault and excessive force. It’s worth noting the baseline numbers of these types of incidents are very low, such that the 40 percent increase translates into roughly one additional violent incident per sheriff’s office every five years. Certain union-negotiated contract provisions — including time limits on misconduct investigations, expungement of misconduct records, and mechanisms allowing officers to challenge disciplinary findings — make it more difficult to detect and punish officers who abuse their position, the researchers say. Additionally, the authors write, unionization “may increase solidarity among officers and thereby strengthen a code of silence that impedes the detection of misconduct.” Use-of-force complaints more likely among unionized officers A 2006 report from the federal Bureau of Justice Statistics found unionized police agencies garnered 9.9 use-of-force complaints for every 100 officers, compared with 7.3 for non-unionized agencies. During the disciplinary process, about 7 percent of those complaints were sustained, or found to have merit, in unionized agencies. In nonunion agencies, the sustain rate was more than double, at 15 percent. In effect, officers in unionized police forces are more likely to be the subjects of an excessive-force complaint, but more likely to beat the allegations in disciplinary hearings. Lengthy appeals processes make it more difficult to fire ‘bad apples’ Writing in the University of Pennsylvania Law Review, Stephen Rushin analyzed 656 police union contracts to examine the role of the disciplinary appeals process in misconduct cases. “The median police department in the data set offers police officers as many as four layers of appellate review in disciplinary cases,” he found. Some provided six or seven layers of review. After those levels are exhausted, most departments then allow officers accused of misconduct to appeal to a third-party arbitrator. More than half gave the offending officers some control over the selection of the arbitrator. The result, as detailed in a 2017 Washington Post investigation, is that a stunningly high percentage of officers fired for misconduct are eventually rehired after a lengthy appeals process. In Washington, D.C., for instance, 45 percent of the officers fired for misconduct from 2006 to 2017 were rehired on appeal. In Philadelphia, the share is 62 percent. In San Antonio, it’s 70 percent. Other contract provisions also shield police from accountability In a separate paper in the Duke Law Journal, Rushin analyzed 178 police union contracts and found a number of provisions that played a role in shielding police from the consequences of misconduct, including provisions that “limit officer interrogations after alleged misconduct, mandate the destruction of disciplinary records, ban civilian oversight, prevent anonymous civilian complaints, indemnify officers in the event of civil suits, and limit the length of internal investigations.” He found that “overall, 156 of the 178 police union contracts examined in this study — around 88 percent — contained at least one provision that could thwart legitimate disciplinary actions against officers engaged in misconduct.” Police unions advocate shielding disciplinary records from public view Writing in the Stanford Law & Policy Review, Katherine Bies notes that “police disciplinary records are public in only 12 states,” due in no small part to lobbying efforts by police unions. The article deals specifically with the efforts of police unions to pass laws in two states — New York’s notorious Section 50-a and a similar law in California — that shield disciplinary records from public scrutiny. “Police unions often strategically frame any opposition to their agenda of secrecy as endangering public safety and harming the public interest,” Bies writes. “However, police unions often conflate ‘the public interest’ with the private interests of police officers.” Unionized police may be more likely to kill civilians, particularly nonwhite ones Economist Rob Gillezeau recently previewed his research examining the relationship between unionization and police killings of U.S. citizens. While provisional, his initial results suggest the police unionization happening in the 1950s through the 1980s led to “about 60 to 70″ additional civilians killed by police each year. The “overwhelming majority” of those civilians were nonwhite. “With the caveat that this is very early work, it looks like collective bargaining rights are being used to protect the ability of officers to discriminate in the disproportionate use of force against the nonwhite population,” he recently said on Twitter.

## Impacts

### Turn Unions

#### Police unions are anti-labor- means the aff can never solve without getting rid of them AND turns case. Modak 20.

Ria Modak [Student Coordinator, Muslim American Studies Working Group, Harvard Student Labor Action Movement and the Harvard Graduate Students Union] 20 - ("Police Unions Are Anti-Labor," Ria Modak, Harvard Political Review, 9-9-2020, 10-27-2021 https://harvardpolitics.com/police-unions-are-anti-labor/)//AW

My own experiences with HUPD are reflective of a long history fraught with violence. For two centuries, **the police have been used to suppress labor action** and promote corporate interests. **The police**, the National Guard and the U.S. Army **played an integral role in suppressing the Great Strike of 1877**, the Homestead Strike of 1892 **and** the **Lawrence Strike** of 1912, to name a few examples. **In** each of **these incidents,** the **police resorted to extreme violence**, acquiring new legal powers and protections as they terrorized working class communities. By the middle of the 20th century, **the police had become** **a**n autocratic, **militarized force whose** primary **role was to challenge organized labor through union-busting and strike-breaking.** They continue to occupy this role. For evidence, we have to look no further than the ongoing protests for racial justice in which the police have been called to attend to instances of rioting. Their brutal treatment of protesters, including the use of teargas and rubber bullets, is further proof of their commitment to property over people. It is no coincidence that cops interfere with labor action; the fundamental objective of the police is to protect property. Modern day police forces in urban cities like Boston were founded to safeguard trade and protect commercial property, and in the South, policing evolved from slave patrols tasked with chasing down runaway slaves. **Policing** was, and **continues to** be, a way to protect and **serve capitalism, not people**. By attending to private property, which itself depends on the extraction of labor from the working class, the police align themselves with capitalists, rather than with workers**. The** material **interests of** the **police are antithetical to the very ethos of organized labor, which seeks to protect workers from capitalist exploitation.** It is impossible to build a working class movement while supporting an institution that was founded to oppress working class and Black communities. Police unions are also complicit in anti-labor action in the federal political arena. The Fraternal Order of Police and **the International Union of Police Associations**, the two largest police unions in the country, endorsed President Trump in 2016 and recently endorsed his reelection campaign. By funneling money into President Trump’s campaign, **the IUPA is** directly **responsible for** hisblatantly **anti-labor policies, which have restricted the freedom to join unions, silenced workers, and gutted health and safety protections.** Furthermore, much of the power **of** policing lies in **police unions,** which **enable racist, anti-labor action by making it** nearly **impossible for** police **officers to be held accountable** for their actions. Collective bargaining agreements allow officers to evade the consequences of innumerable wrongs — including the violent killing of Black people, sexual assault, lying to investigators and falsifying documents — by limiting independent oversight and expunging misconduct records. In addition, unions spend millions of dollars lobbying against police reform on the local, state and federal levels. By shielding officers from consequences and blocking reform, **police unions embolden violence against the Black and Brown communities** that are the most vulnerable to police brutality. One way to put an end to racialized police violence is to put an end to police unions. **Dismantling police unions is a** crucial **step in taking power away from the police and giving it back to** working class communities and **communities of color.** Although not all police departments are unionized or affiliated with a larger labor federation like the AFL-CIO, those that are must be expelled. However, disaffiliation must be only the first step in a broader struggle to dismantle the police in its entirety. Police abolition means building a world that does not rely on capitalism and racism to structure society. Although some critics of abolition argue that disaffiliating police unions would threaten other public sector unions, many trade unionists disagree with this position, indicating support from public sector workers themselves. Union members represented by the Service Employees International Union and United Auto Workers have demanded the disaffiliation of police unions from the larger labor movement. In addition, a coalition of labor organizers called “No Cop Unions” have called on the AFL-CIO to expel IUPA and urged AFL-CIO affiliates with partial law enforcement membership to terminate their relationships with unionized police and correctional officers. Ultimately, the call to separate **police unions** from the labor movement is a recognition that they **have no role in a society that truly values workers**. The **goals of the police**, which are maintained and facilitated by police unions, **are incompatible with pro-labor ideology**. The labor movement must take a firm stance against police unions and work to develop an anti-racist praxis. There can be no labor justice while police unions continue to protect anti-worker interests.

### Health Inequality

#### Police violence has sweeping health consequences, especially for BIPOC communities. Ehrenfeld and Harris ‘20

[Jesse M. Ehrenfeld](https://www.ama-assn.org/about/board-trustees/jesse-m-ehrenfeld-md-mph) [American Medical Association Board of Trustees] and [Patrice A. Harris](https://www.ama-assn.org/news-leadership-viewpoints/authors-news-leadership-viewpoints/patrice-harris-md-ma) [Former President, American Medical Association] 20 - ("Police brutality must stop," American Medical Association, 5-29-2020, 11-2-2021 https://www.ama-assn.org/about/leadership/police-brutality-must-stop?&amp;utm\_source=BulletinHealthCare&amp;utm\_medium=email&amp;utm\_term=060220&amp;utm\_content=NON-MEMBER&amp;utm\_campaign=article\_alert-morning\_rounds\_daily&amp;utm\_uid=&amp;utm\_effort=)//Marlborough jh

AMA policy recognizes that physical or verbal violence between law enforcement officers and the public, particularly among Black and Brown communities where these incidents are more prevalent and pervasive, is a critical determinant of health and supports research into the public health consequences of these violent interactions. Recognizing that many who serve in law enforcement are committed to justice, the violence inflicted by police in news headlines today must be understood in relation to larger social and economic arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way leading to premature illness and death. Police violence is a striking reflection of our American legacy of racism—a system that assigns value and structures opportunity while unfairly advantaging some and disadvantaging others based on their skin color and “saps the strength of the whole society through the waste of human resources,” as described by leading health equity expert Camara Jones, MD, MPH, PhD. Importantly, racism is detrimental to health in all its forms. In any season, police violence is an injustice, but its harm is elevated amidst the remarkable stress people are facing amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. Even now, there is evidence of increased police violence in the form of excessive police-initiated force and unwarranted shootings of civilians, some of which have been fatal. This violence not only contributes to the distrust of law enforcement by marginalized communities but distrust in the larger structure of government including for our critically important public health infrastructure. The disparate racial impact of police violence against Black and Brown people and their communities is insidiously viral-like in its frequency, and also deeply demoralizing, irrespective of race/ethnicity, age, LGBTQ or gender. Just as the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on communities of color has put into stark relief health inequity in the U.S., the recent deaths of Breonna Taylor, a Black woman and EMT in Louisville who was shot and killed in her own home due to mistaken identity by law enforcement, and George Floyd, a Black man in Minneapolis killed at the hands of law enforcement, spotlight yet again where the deck is stacked against Black people. Floyd’s final words, “I can’t breathe,” echoed those of Eric Garner, killed by police in New York City in 2014—and many others before him. This tenor of atrocious injustice is haunting. We recognize that adherence to COVID-19 public health guidelines, including wearing face masks and physical distancing, is critical to preventing illness and death. Yet signs are already emerging to indicate that police forces are practicing disproportionate enforcement in predominantly Black and Brown communities. What’s often not highlighted are the harmful health impacts that result, such as the connection between excessive police activity and health. Research demonstrates that racially marginalized communities are disproportionally subject to police force, and there is a correlation between policing and adverse health outcomes. For example, an independent analysis found that Black males are three times more likely to be killed during a police encounter than their White male counterparts.1 Similarly, national data from 2012 shows that while Latinx made up roughly 18 percent of the population, they accounted for 30 percent of arrests and 23 percent of all searches.2 An increased prevalence of police encounters is linked to elevated stress and anxiety levels, along with increased rates of high blood pressure, diabetes and asthma—and fatal complications of those comorbid conditions.3 Racism as a driver of health inequity is also particularly evident in findings from a 2018 study showing that law enforcement-involved deaths of unarmed black individuals were associated with adverse mental health among Black American adults—a spillover effect on the population, regardless of whether the individual affected had a personal relationship with the victim or the incident was experienced vicariously.4 The trauma of violence in a person’s life course is associated with chronic stress, higher rates of comorbidities and lower life expectancy, all of which bear extensive care and economic burden on our healthcare system while sapping the strength of affected families and communities. The United States has a track record of historically and systemically disadvantaging certain racial groups—in addition to ethnic, religious and other minoritized groups—across the country. These structural and political forces have created deep-seated problems that persist today, more than 150 years after slavery ended and 50 years after the Civil Rights Movement. It’s widely understood in medicine and public health that structural racism manifests in differential access by race to opportunities, resources, conditions, and power within their respective systems. Corporeal and psychological violence at the hands of police is a derogatory device of enforcement, which is a philosophy our AMA cannot abide. Police brutality in the midst of public health crises is not crime-preventive—it creates demoralized conditions in an already strained time. It exacerbates psychological harms and has a clear impact on bystanders. Over time, this violence manifests as an erosion of communal trust in police and a “weathering" of people who bodies are historically “over-policed”. The history of over-policing marginalized and minoritized communities in America is well-ingrained within our culture, but not inextricably so. The ultimate defense against police violence in times of public health crisis, and beyond, is centering equity and ensuring accountability as a public health measure. To help confront this systemic issue in our society, the AMA urges other leading health organizations to also take up the mantle of intolerance for police brutality and racism. We urge states to require the reporting of legal intervention deaths and law enforcement officer homicides to public health agencies. We urge health institutions and physician organizations to explicitly denounce police violence, particularly in times of COVID-19 and during other public health crises. We urge clinics, hospital and healthcare providers to review and reconsider their policies and relationships with law enforcement that may increase harm to patients and patient communities. We call for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine and other such parties to study the public health effects of physical and verbal violence between law enforcement officers and public citizens, particularly within racially marginalized communities. We call for uniform training, transparency in reporting and accountability by law enforcement. Excessive police force is a communal violence that significantly drives unnecessary and costly injury, and premature morbidity and death. Our country—our society—demands more.

#### Mental health issues have been proven as a direct result of police brutality and disproportionally affect African Americans.

Reginald Young-Drake, Temitope Aladetimi, Alexis Chambers, and Brooke Radford, 21 - ("A Growing Dilemma: How Police Brutality Affects Mental Health n Black Communities," Howard University School of Law, 2021, 10-28-2021 https://thurgoodmarshallcenter.howard.edu/sites/tmcrc.howard.edu/files/2021-05/A%20Growing%20Dilemma%20-%20How%20Police%20Brutality%20Affects%20Mental%20Health%20in%20the%20Black%20Communities.pdf)//AW

As in many areas, when it comes to Black people and mental health in the United States, they experience disproportionately negative impacts. Black people are more likely to experience chronic and persistent mental health conditions for a number of reasons. These include affordability and lack of access to services, a scarcity of Black mental health professionals, racism, and mistrust of the medical system.[22] Additionally, the historical adversity that Black people have experienced—from slavery to segregation to police violence —has also created socioeconomic disparities that are directly linked to mental health outcomes.[23] Mental health experts have previously established a causal link between racism and an increase in depression, anxiety, substance abuse, and suicide amongst Black youth and adults.[24] Additionally, Black people living below the poverty line are twice as likely to report serious psychological stress than those living two times above the poverty line.[25] Black people are more likely to experience chronic and persistent, rather than episodic, mental health conditions for a number of reasons.[21] 76% 76% 58% 33% Black Asian Hispanic (any race) Non-Hispanic White 0 25 50 75 IMPACTS ON MENTAL HEALTH IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY Racism People Who Say They Have Experienced Discrimination by Race, 2019 presence of two or more illnesses in the same person.[27] Furthermore, Black men and women are likely to experience different forms of discrimination based on their gender. For example, Black men are more likely to experience institutional racism due to the disparate impact of the criminal justice system. Alternatively, Black women are more likely to experience intersectional racism due to their gender.[28] Longitudinal evidence suggests that discrimination incrementally contributes to depression, rather than depression increasing attention to discriminatory experiences.[29] Racism is the grouping and ranking of societal groups by race in which the dominant group or groups disempower and discriminate against racial groups categorized as inferior both as individuals and systemically.[26] Despite progress made over the years, being victimized by racism and discrimination has been associated with increased measures of depression, anxiety symptoms, psychological distress, and comorbidity—which is the Historical Treatment of Black People The historical treatment and continued negative treatment of Black people—i.e. disproportionate use of excessive force by police officers—“ha[s] led to a mistrust of authorities, many of whom are not seen as having the best interests of Black and African Americans in mind.”[30] Not only does direct racism and discrimination have a negative impact on Black mental health, but the threat of racism and discrimination negatively impacts mental health as well. This has caused Black people to live a life of “heightened vigilance.”[31] 9 Heightened Vigilance Heightened vigilance, or hyper-vigilance, increases depressive symptoms and furthers the mental health disparity between Black and white people. It leads to vigilant coping, which is the protection against anticipated discrimination by monitoring and modifying behavior.[32] Studies find that the anticipation may increase stress, cardiovascular reactivity associated with stress, and blood pressure.[33] Over time, this can have long-term consequences on both mental and physical health. As vigilance is more common among those who experience greater discrimination, and those who experience discrimination are least likely to seek health care, individuals who adopt vigilant coping strategies may also be at heightened risk for untreated physical and mental health-related problems. Mary S. Himmelstein et al., Psychology & Health Because Black people are more likely to be victims of racism and discrimination in the U.S., it leads to disparate negative outcomes in their mental health compared to people of other races. Unfortunately, the mental health disparity does not translate into more affordable or accessible mental health care in the Black community. Mental Healthcare Access and Treatment in the Black Community Despite the clear need, less than one in three Black adults who need mental healthcare receive it.[38] This is almost 1.5 times less than the general population that received necessary mental illness treatment in 2019.[39] In 2018, 11.5 percent of Black people had no form of health insurance,[40] greatly reducing the opportunity to seek mental health treatment. Additionally, Black people are less likely to (1) receive guideline-consistent care; (2) be included in medical research studies; and (3) use mental health specialists.[41] Since mental health professionals play an essential role in treatment, it is vital for patients to work and communicate well with them.[42] It is more beneficial for Black people to receive care from Black mental healthcare professionals because Black professionals are less likely to show prejudice or demonstrate provider bias.[43] Provider bias can result in misdiagnosis and inadequate treatment.[44] For example, Black men are more likely to receive a misdiagnosis of schizophrenia when expressing symptoms related to mood disorders or PTSD.[45] Provider bias increases the mistrust of the medical profession and furthers the stigma that Black people currently have against mental health.[46] Although mental health issues are prevalent within the Black community, there is a stigma in the Black community due to an association between poor mental health and personal weakness.[47] This causes Black people to feel shame and concern about how others may perceive them. This shame prevents many Black individuals from seeking the proper mental health care that they need.[48] Additionally, the strong cultural ties to faith and spirituality that generally exist within the Black community can deter them from seeking professional psychological care.[49] While faith, religion, and spirituality can aid in any recovery process and serve as an important part of a treatment plan, they should not be the only option for people whose daily functioning is impaired by symptoms of poor mental health.[50] Helping people understand that mental health is just as essential as physical health can help de-stigmatize mental illness in the Black community.[51] Black people living below the poverty line are twice as likely to report serious psychological stress than those living two times above the poverty line.[34] Although poverty impacts all races, poverty disparately impacts the Black community. While the poverty rates universally declined in 2019, Black people still experienced the highest rate (18.8 percent).[35] This is 1.8 times greater than their share of the general population (13.2 percent).[36] On the other hand, the poverty rate of non-Hispanic white people was 7.3 percent.[37] Poverty 1.8 1.5 0.7 0.7 Black Hispanic (any race) Asian Non-Hispanic White 0 0.5 1 1.5 Ratio of Proportion in Poverty Relative to Total Population, 2019 10 STATISTICS ON MENTAL HEALTH IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY Generally, adult Black people are “more likely to have feelings of sadness, hopelessness, and worthlessness than” adult white people.[52] While Black people are less likely to die from suicide than white people, Black teenagers “are more likely to attempt suicide than White teenagers (9.8 percent v. 6.1 percent).”[53] In 2019, 20.6 percent (51.5 million) of people experienced mental illness.[54] Of those, 5.2 percent (13.1 million) experienced serious mental illness.[55] Serious mental illnesses are “mental, behavioral, or emotional disorder[s] resulting in serious functional impairment, which substantially interferes with or limits one or more major life activities.”[56] As with poverty, Black people experienced disproportionately higher rates of mental illness in 2019 compared to their makeup of the general population.[57] While Black people comprised only 13.2 percent of the population in 2019, 17.3 percent (8.1 million) of Black people reported having a mental illness, and 23 percent (nearly 2 million) of those people reported having a serious mental illness.[58] In the past few years, depressive episodes and suicidal thoughts, plans, and attempts have grown significantly in the Black community.[59]

### BLM

#### Abolishing police unions signals support for BLM. Kelly 20.

Kim Kelly, 20 - ("No More Cop Unions ," New Republic, 5-29-2020, 10-28-2021https://newrepublic.com/article/157918/no-cop-unions)//AW

And most of these union members are independent from any other labor organizations—which means, in turn, that they’re at best marginally involved with the most pressing mission of today’s labor movement, which concentrates on organizing many of the same low-wage, service-sector communities of color who are disproportionately abused and harassed by police. It wouldn’t make any sort of strategic sense for police-affiliated unions to try and make nice with the rest of the movement. So that leaves one obvious, if tricky, option: abolishing police unions as part of the broader fight to defund, demilitarize, and ultimately dismantle the U.S. police force as it currently exists. Labor leaders should seize upon this crucial moment to fully embrace this aim—and some already have. However, it’s not exactly a simple or straightforward proposition. The International Union of Police Associations, which represents over 100,000 law enforcement employees as well as emergency medical personnel, is officially affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the largest federation of unions in the United States. Its membership comprises 55 national and international unions, and it counts 12 million active and retired members. But if the federation wants to prove that it’s seriously committed to racial justice and true worker solidarity, the AFL-CIO must permanently disaffiliate from the IUPA and sever its ties with any and all other police associations. There is already precedent for such a move. The AFL-CIO has disaffiliated from other unions in the recent past, most notably the Teamsters, the Service Employees International Union, and most recently, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, whose leaders criticized the federation for failing to throw its considerable weight behind progressive health care and immigration policy. Given the ongoing epidemic of racist police violence against the Black community and other communities of color in the U.S., there is no better reason—and no better time—to take a stand. It’s already been a long time coming. After all, the partnership between the police unions and the federation is hardly shatterproof. The IUPA only chartered with the AFL-CIO in 1979; since then, the cops’ union has expanded into affiliations with law enforcement and corrections officers in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. And much like the AFL-CIO-affiliated National Border Patrol Council, which has overseen its own brand of racist terror, police unions seem to realize they’re not exactly welcome among the unions that have been forced to accept them as peers. “Legally, unions are responsible for representing their members,” Booker Hodges, a former Minnestota police officer who now works as an assistant commissioner for the state’s Department of Public Safety, wrote in a 2018 blog post on Police One. “The public seems to support this premise when it concerns other labor unions, but not those who represent police officers. Even members of other labor unions, particularly those who belong to educator unions, don’t seem to support this premise when it comes to police unions. Many of them have taken to the streets to protest against police officers, criticized police unions for defending their members and called for an end of binding arbitration for police officers.” It’s also not as though the police unions’ leaders are taking any pains to show solidarity, or even sympathy, with their fellow workers. Rather, police unions have a long, wretched history of doing exactly the opposite: playing on public fears and misconceptions to push damaging “no angel” narratives about the victims of police violence, while also howling about the “bravery” and “sacrifice” their employees make to “protect” fellow citizens. For example, on its official website, the IUPA linked to a May 27 Police magazine article that characterized George Floyd’s killing as “the death of a suspect during an arrest in which a Minneapolis officer put his knee on the back of the man’s neck to pin him to the ground.” This was a naked attempt to mislead readers and convince them that Chauvin has to be categorically innocent. It’s also in keeping with the “thin blue line” model of deference to the life-and-death authority granted by reflex to most municipal cops: The law enforcement community—and especially its unions’—first response, when one of its officers is caught red-handed, is to circle the wagons, vilify the victim or survivor, and bat away any criticism or dissent as virtual sedition. If and when reforms are introduced in the wake of an abuse of police powers, police and their unions remain in wagon-circling mode, determined to shoot them down. The bottom line here is all too plain: The police do not want reform; they want the freedom to operate with impunity. The article IUPA boosted also took care to note that, in Minneapolis, kneeling on a suspect’s neck is apparently considered a “non-deadly force option” (albeit one that is banned elsewhere in Minnesota). And in a gruesome twist, Lieutenant Bob Kroll, the president of the Police Officers Federation of Minneapolis, has not only allowed his membership to continue utilizing these violent, fear-based training tactics but also has actively encouraged their use. After Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey banned such tactics in 2019, Kroll pushed back and went so far as to offer free “warrior-style” classes to the union’s 800 members over the remaining three years of Frey’s term. Now Kroll and the union have George Floyd’s blood on their hands and are finally facing some much-needed and long-overdue scrutiny. (Mohamed Noor, a former Minneapolis police officer, was the first Minnesota police officer in decades to be convicted of a fatal on-duty shooting after he killed Justine Ruszczyk, a white woman.\* At the time, Kroll drew criticism for throwing said officer, who is Black, under the bus.) One of the only public statements that Kroll has made following Floyd’s murder has been to correct the rumor that Chauvin took part in a recent Trump rally. The photos actually depicted Mike Gallagher, the president of the police union in Bloomington, Minnesota. For his part, Chauvin had 18 prior complaints filed with Minneapolis Police Department’s Internal Affairs, while his accomplice Tou Thao was the subject of six complaints (including one that was still open as of the time of his firing). This is, among other things, a stiff rebuke to the effort to dismiss systemic violence as the work of “a few bad apples.” These two apples were, in fact, already known to be rotten—yet there they were, armed, dangerous, and interacting daily with the public. Unfortunately, union protection plays no small role in keeping cops like Chauvin and Thao out on the streets. Collective bargaining agreements for police generally include normal language around wages and benefits but can also act as an unbreachable firewall between the cops and those they have injured. Typically, such contracts are chock full of special protections that are negotiated behind closed doors. Employment contract provisions also insulate police from any meaningful accountability for their actions and rig any processes hearings in their favor; fired cops are able to appeal and win their jobs back, even after the most egregious offenses. When Daniel Pantaleo, an NYPD officer who was involved in the 2014 murder of Eric Garner, was finally fired, the police union immediately appealed for his reinstatement and threatened a work slowdown. Now the Sergeants Benevolent Association’s official Twitter account spends most of its time needling New York City Mayor De Blasio and spouting profanity and pro-Trump propaganda. Ultimately, police unions protect their own, and the contracts they bargain keep killers, domestic abusers, and white supremacists in positions of deadly power—or provide them with generous pensions should they leave. The only solidarity they show is for their fellow police officers; other workers are mere targets. Their interests, as well as those of other right-wing oppressors’ unions like those that represent ICE, border patrol, and prison guards, are diametrically opposed to those of the workers whom the labor movement was launched to protect. As retired NYPD commander Corey Pegues wrote in his memoir, Once a Cop, police unions are “a blanket system of covering up police officers.” Despite their union membership, police have also been no friend to workers, especially during strikes or protests. Their purpose is to protect property, not people, and labor history is littered with accounts of police moonlighting as strikebreakers or charging in to harass or injure striking workers. The first recorded strike fatalities in U.S. history came at the hands of police, who shot two New York tailors dead as they tried to disperse. During the Battle of Blair Mountain, the police fought striking coal miners on the bosses’ behalf. In 1937, during the Little Steel Strike, Chicago police gunned down 10 striking steelworkers in what became known as the Memorial Day Massacre. In 1968, days after Dr. Martin Luther King addressed a group of sanitation workers, Memphis cops maced and assaulted the striking workers and their supporters, killing a 16-year-old boy. As the Industrial Worker noted on Twitter, current AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka was president of the United Mineworkers of America during the 1989 Pittston Coal Strike, and he “harshly criticized” the police for engaging in violence against the striking miners. Trumka’s long career as a union official has furnished him with decades of object lessons in the lengths to which the state will go to protect financial power and the interests of elites; he has also seen firsthand how readily striking or protesting workers are thrown into the line of fire by the police and military. During his tenure at the AFL-CIO, Trumka has supported progressive causes and spoken out against the legacies of racism, within and without the labor movement. This week, Trumka astutely tweeted that “racism plays an insidious role in the daily lives of all working people of color. This is a labor issue because it is a workplace issue. It is a community issue, and unions are the community.” In a 2008 speech at a United Steelworkers convention in support of then-candidate Barack Obama, Trumka quoted conservative philosopher Edmund Burke, saying “all that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good people to do nothing.” More than a decade later, it’s all too clear that evil continues to triumph. Doing nothing in this context means allowing police unions to continue holding a comfortable berth within the labor movement, even as they keep shielding and supporting racists, abusers, and killers. As Trumka has also said, we can no longer sit still and avoid confronting issues of racial and economic inequality. It’s imperative to take action now. The AFL-CIO has a chance to atone for its past racial transgressions by moving toward a more just, equitable, and intersectional labor movement. Disaffiliating with the IUPA is only a start, but it would be an important step in the right direction. The decision would draw a line in the sand and show the federation’s broader membership that union leaders truly believe that Black lives matter—and that the working class deserves to feel safe and protected in our own communities. The Industrial Workers of the World has long barred law enforcement (and prison guards) from its membership rolls; it’s high time for the AFL-CIO to follow its lead. The age-old query “Which side are you on?” has rung out at rallies and picket lines and vigils since Florence Reece put the slogan to paper in 1931. It hung in the air while police were maiming striking coal miners then, and it remains on the lips of the millions of modern workers fighting for a fair shake. As we once more raise our voices and ask ourselves that question, the only acceptable response is crystal-clear: that we’re on the side of the workers, not their abusers and oppressors. As Reece once sang, there can be no neutrals here.

## NR Materials

### Overview

#### Extend the CP. Police unions in the status quo use collective bargaining as political and economic leverage, weaponizing fear of crime to exploit punitive systems and get away with violent racial crime. The aff makes police unions WAY more successful at protecting members because collective bargaining through strikes, which is currently illegal, is key to access to further assurances and void of accountability.

#### There are (x) impacts:

#### Turns the aff because police unions are TERRIBLE for the labor movement, historically being used to suppress unions and enforce broader systems of capitalism

#### Exacerbates health inequality by contributing to mental health epidemic amongst African American communities and causing disproportionate deaths at the hands of law enforcement officials.

#### Unions are inherently anti-BLM as they are obligated to protect their members.

### A2 nonunique

#### Police strikes are illegal in the status quo because police are government workers. Collective bargaining rights cause mass injustice in a world where they are prohibited because police just do their job poorly, but in a world where the government affirms their right to strike and police can stop working, their power is massively increased because the public is so scared of crime that groups cave in really quickly to police demands.

### A2 collective bargaining good/ police need protections

#### Our impacts massively o/w. Police unions are completely unchecked and wield ultimate power; they push protections WAY too far.

#### Police still have current protections like qualified immunity and can still individually bargain, they just don’t have the power of the union to change protective *legislature*.

#### Collective bargaining results in shielding officers from discipline, regulate expunging of records, and skew arbitration hearings.

Daniel Disalvo, 21 - ("The Trouble with Police Unions," National Affairs, Fall 2021, 11-1-2021 https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-trouble-with-police-unions)//AW

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND POLICE CONTRACT Like other public-sector unions, **police unions influence the** structure and **operations of police departments** in two ways: from the bottom up, **through collective bargaining**, and from the top down, through political activity. Collective bargaining concerns the power and interests of workers and management. It gives police unions a hand in shaping the departments in which their members work. By circumscribing the rights of management, police unions partially determine the structure and operation of police bureaucracies. Labor unions are largely in the business of protecting members' job security and winning members better salaries and benefits. Collective-bargaining statutes applying to state- and local-government employees thus stipulate that agency managers (and elected officials behind them) must negotiate with unions representing those employees over pay, benefits, and conditions of employment. These statutes, along with union organizational incentives like leadership elections, force union leaders to prioritize such issues at both the bargaining table and in political advocacy. And in fact, research finds that **collective bargaining tends to increase the pay, benefits, and job protections of public employees** who enjoy such rights. Pay and benefits are not the subject of today's controversies, however. Rather, current concerns focus on the rules inscribed in collective-bargaining contracts negotiated under the rubric of **"conditions of employment**." In many jurisdictions, these conditions **establish disciplinary, grievance, and arbitration procedures for officers accused of misconduct.** Such job protections are said **to shield incompetent or abusive officers,** as union leaders have a legal duty to defend all members equally. To be sure, many of the protections police unions demand reflect the unique challenges of policing. Given the nature of law enforcement, police necessarily develop a somewhat adversarial relationship with the communities they serve. Officers are sometimes faced with unpleasant, high-tension, and even dangerous situations on the job, and are granted considerable discretion in determining when the use of force is necessary to address them. False or exaggerated citizen complaints are unavoidable. Therefore, labor representatives often prioritize protecting their members against these threats. These safeguards are especially important to officers insofar as the skills they develop on the job are not easily transferrable to other employment, which makes dismissal especially costly. A recent study of police misconduct by Ben Grunwald of the Duke University School of Law and John Rappaport of the University of Chicago Law School found that in Florida, officers fired from their preceding job find new law-enforcement work at about half the rate of officers who voluntarily leave their preceding job. Moreover, fired officers take longer to find new jobs than those who leave voluntarily, and they tend to go to smaller departments with fewer resources. Both contractual provisions and state statutes govern officer discipline and misconduct. They generally come in three forms. The first details the steps required to investigate an officer accused of misconduct — sometimes even specifying the way a complaint must be formally lodged. Such provisions stipulate when and where an officer can be interviewed, by whom, and with whom present. Many contracts contain rights to notice of charges, legal representation, a hearing, and appeal, among others. The Chicago police contract states that an interview of an officer "shall be postponed for a reasonable time, but in no case more than forty-eight...hours from the time the Officer is informed of the request for an interview and the general subject matter thereof and his or her counsel or representative can be present." These rules were adopted because requiring officers to make statements on the record forces them, as a condition of their employment, to surrender their constitutional right to remain silent. Second, **labor contracts allow — or even require — the expungement of officers' records of past disciplinary actions** or accusations of misconduct. Until this spring, New York state shielded officers' records from the public through a provision in state law. In Cleveland, the collective-bargaining agreement required that disciplinary records be deleted every two years. Baltimore's most recent collective-bargaining agreement states that an accused officer "may request expungement of such matter from any file containing the record of the formal complaint" three years after a complaint is "not sustained" or the officer is exonerated. In Seattle, the contract allows the city to retain files of investigations that result in a "sustained" finding of misconduct for the duration of the officer's employment. Files of investigations that are "not sustained" can only be retained for three years. Third, **grievance and arbitration rules spell out how an officer** (and his union representative) **can challenge an** adverse **personnel action by a superior** — including re-assignment, suspension, transfer, or firing. **If a sergeant disciplines an officer, the officer or his union representative can appeal to a lieutenant,** and so on up the chain of command. If the matter remains unsettled, **it can be appealed to binding arbitration**. The Chicago FOP's website offers members instructions for filing grievances, recommending that officers file as soon as possible. It also provides a template for filing, reminds officers to maintain supporting documents that strengthen their case, and outlines the supervisor-response process. **Any non-binding mediation that follows can be forwarded to an arbitration hearing.** Arbitrators are empowered to order re-instatement and back pay for officers found guilty of misconduct. The use of arbitration can limit officer accountability. Unlike court proceedings, arbitration is typically conducted behind closed doors. Additionally, unions have significant influence over the selection of arbitrators. Some agencies list acceptable arbitrators in the appendix to the union contract; others allow the National Academy of Arbitrators or similar organizations to submit a list of prospective arbitrators. The union and city then, in a process akin to jury selection, alternatively reject arbitrators until one remains. **Arbitrators** also **have an incentive to be police-friendly — if they discipline too many officers, they risk not being chosen in future cases**. Furthermore, in arbitration cases, legal technicalities related to procedure often overshadow the substance of the complaints against officers. Other contractual provisions also constrain management. For instance, contracts typically promulgate seniority rules, whereby **officers are assigned duties based on time on the job.** This means that police chiefs cannot assign particular officers to patrol particular areas at particular times of day. Consequently, **the least experienced officers are** often **assigned to patrol the toughest neighborhoods during times of peak criminal activity.**

#### Collective bargaining rights are dangerous even in a world where they are prohibited; the aff gives them waaay more power.

Daniel Disalvo, 21 - ("The Trouble with Police Unions," National Affairs, Fall 2021, 11-1-2021 https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-trouble-with-police-unions)//AW

POLICE UNIONS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT Today**, police enjoy collective-bargaining rights** in 41 states and the District of Columbia, and union locals are dispersed across the roughly 18,000 police departments nationwide. Only Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia prohibit bargaining for public employees, while Alabama, Colorado, Mississippi, and Wyoming lack statutes to either advance or oppose police unions. **Even where collective bargaining is prohibited,** police **associations provide** members **with legal services, political advocacy, and insurance policies**. In terms of raw numbers, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Current Population Survey found that in 2019, **57.5% of** the nation's 712,336 **police officers were covered by collective-bargaining contracts, and 55%** of officers **were union members**. In addition, there were 80,802 police supervisors and detectives, 40.6% of whom were union members and 43.3% of whom were covered by union contracts. Police unions are present throughout the labor movement, but their relationship with it remains tense. Ronald DeLord, a Texas attorney and leading expert on police unions, describes the police labor movement as "a maze of different affiliations." Indeed, police unions are notorious for switching affiliations and shifting back and forth from independent status to affiliation with a larger labor federation. The largest police organization, **the Fraternal Order of Police** (FOP**), boasts some 354,000 members,** though it does not affiliate with any of the major labor federations. The second largest is the National Association of Police Organizations, with some 236,000 members. Though independent, it maintains ties to the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, which is chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), to work on federal legislation. When it comes to organized labor as traditionally understood, only 15% to 20% of law-enforcement employee organizations affiliate with the AFL-CIO. One estimate is that between 100,000 and 150,000 law-enforcement officers belong to locals that affiliate with the AFL-CIO. This helps explain why many police officers don't think of themselves as members of a labor union but instead as part of a lodge or association. Other major union federations also count police locals among their affiliates. These include the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which has between 10,000 and 15,000 police members; the Service Employees International Union (over 10,000 police members); the Communications Workers of America (26,000 police members); and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (15,000 police members). Bizarrely, if one counts the total number of police-union members reported by the major labor federations, one finds that **there are more members than** there are **police officers** in the country. Moreover, not all officers are members of a union. The reason for the discrepancy is that many officers and local unions affiliate with multiple union federations, which is illegal in the private-sector union context**. Police unions are also known for inflating** their **membership figures**. A complete picture of police-union membership and their affiliations, therefore, remains elusive. Today, tensions between police unions and the labor movement are at an all-time high. A threat of expulsion hangs over police unions, as **the labor movement has previously excommunicated unions deemed reprobate.** (Excluded unions have included those with links to the Communist Party and organized crime, as well as locals that were racially segregated.)

### A2 Perm do the second plank

#### The CP is mutually exclusive with the aff because the aff allows police to strike, and the cp doesn’t. Abolishing police unions disallows collective bargaining through the right to strike, which means that affirming right to strike is a version of strengthening police unions. You can’t abolish police unions in a world where anyone is allowed to strike.

## Extra Ev

### Ex: Accountability

#### Police are not held accountable and are able to get away with bad actions. Disalvo 21.

Daniel Disalvo, 21 - ("The Trouble with Police Unions," National Affairs, Fall 2021, 11-1-2021 https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-trouble-with-police-unions)//AW

This past spring, the killing of George Floyd sparked protests and riots in cities nationwide. State and local governments responded by banning choke holds and other police tactics. Some are now seeking to reduce police funding. ¶Floyd's death also put police unions under a microscope. A consensus quickly emerged, asserting that unions protect officers who behave poorly and impede reform that would improve policing and police-community relations. The central idea animating the new consensus is that police-union power has translated into too many officer job protections, enabling a few bad officers to act with impunity**.** The inability to hold officers accountable poisons public relations and puts American lives at risk. Rolling back protections enshrined in union contracts and state statutes, many now argue, will reduce the use of force by police and increase community trust in law enforcement. ¶This increasingly widespread view cuts across some of the usual lines of our polarized politics. The left may champion labor unions in general, but even before the spring's unrest, Democrats' relationship with police unions was fraught with distrust. Part of the issue is a lack of cultural affinity, as police unions and many officers tend to be temperamentally conservative. Indeed, law enforcement is often seen as the lumpenproletariat — the slice of the working class that lacks class consciousness and aligns with the reactionary forces of order. Police unions are also politically unreliable. Unlike teachers' unions, which are closely allied with the Democratic Party, police unions, while still favoring the Democrats, come closer to splitting their contributions between the two major parties. In short, for many on the left, police unions are the redheaded stepchildren in an otherwise beneficent labor movement. Conservatives, on the other hand, disapprove of labor unions generally but have given police unions a pass as part of their support of law enforcement. In short, they worry that criticism of police unions will be mistaken for criticism of the police. Republican officeholders have also enjoyed ties with police unions. For instance, in 2011, when Republican Governor Scott Walker of Wisconsin and a Republican state legislature passed Act 10 to limit public-employee collective bargaining, they exempted police from the legislation. Iowa Republicans similarly carved out exemptions for public-safety workers in their 2017 reform of public-sector labor law.

### Ex: Political Power

#### **Police unions have enormous political power.**

Daniel Disalvo, 21 - ("The Trouble with Police Unions," National Affairs, Fall 2021, 11-1-2021 https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-trouble-with-police-unions)//AW

POLITICAL ACTIVITY Given the stakes, **police unions** have also sought to a**dvance** their members' **occupational interests** from the top **down through political activity**. Like other public-sector unions, **they spend tens of millions of dollars** annually **on lobbying and electioneering**. According to an investigation by the Guardian, police unions in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago alone spent a combined $87 million over the last decade on state and local politics. Police unions are politically unique in two respects. First, their political activity differentiates them from police unions or federations in other countries — such as Canada, Australia, and England — where police unions are limited or barred from involvement in election campaigns. Second, police-union political spending tends to be more bipartisan than that of other public-sector unions. Their behavior is more akin to that of craft unions than teachers' unions — the latter of which, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, typically give over 90% of their campaign contributions to Democratic candidates for federal office. By contrast, the National Institute on Money in State Politics found that **police unions** and associations **gave $10.2 million to candidates** and parties at all levels of government in 2018, of **which 61% went to Democrats and 39% went to Republicans.** Democrats enjoy a slight edge in police-union campaign contributions because they are generally friendlier to organized labor than are Republicans. **Democrats are** also **the dominant party in** most of America's largest **cities with the largest police forces.** Baltimore, Chicago, Minneapolis, Oakland, San Francisco, and many other cities have not elected a Republican mayor in decades. Bearing in mind that political appointees negotiate, and mayors sign off on, every collective-bargaining agreement, it is one of the great political Houdini acts that Democrats have largely escaped blame for being unable or unwilling to bring their police departments to heel. Bestowing or withholding endorsement of political candidates is another way police unions wield political influence. Few candidates want to be labeled "soft on crime," and a **police-local endorsement is often helpful in shoring up a candidate's law-and-order bona fides.** Not only does the endorsement carry signaling value to voters, it can also serve as a seal of approval in the eyes of other potential endorsers or donors. As with campaign contributions, police endorsements tend to be more bipartisan than, say, the endorsements of the teachers' unions. **The FOP**, for instance, **refused to endorse Mitt Romney** for president in 2012 **but endorsed Donald Trump** in 2016. Michael Zoorob of Harvard University found that **FOP support "contributed to a** significant **swing in vote share from Romney to Trump**" in key states. Playing political hardball at election time is fairly standard for police unions. The Houston police union bought ads warning about rising crime and pressing for more officers to be hired. To pressure city councils and state legislators, other unions have stretched the limits of propriety and legality. The Costa Mesa Police Association hired a law firm and private investigator to conduct opposition research and pressure city-council members in the run up to the 2012 elections. Extensive harassment of city counselors ensued, such that the union and the law firm later settled out of court charges of assault, intimidation, and defamation for some $600,000. When it comes to disciplinary procedures, **some police unions have used** their **political muscle to place** some of these **job protections on firmer legal footing** than collectively bargained contracts. **Sixteen states have enacted law-enforcement officers' bills of rights** **(LEOBRs),** which lay down internal investigatory and disciplinary procedural protections for officers greater than those afforded to other government employees through civil-service laws. Many existing and proposed LEOBR provisions are reasonable, such as the prohibition against threats, harassment, or promised rewards to induce answering of questions, as well as the right to a hearing with the assistance of counsel. But other provisions are less so. University of Nebraska law-enforcement expert Samuel Walker and Kevin Keenan of the Vera Institute found that **some LEOBRs delay interrogation of** those involved **in alleged misconduct**. In Delaware, **officers have access to evidence** related to the investigation, giving them the opportunity to get their story straight. **Rhode Island's LEOBR entitles officers to a hearing by a three-member panel of active officers**, one of whom is selected by the charged officer. Police unions have also shaped policies regarding citizen oversight of the police. Until George Floyd's murder, **police unions in New York** successfully **blocked efforts to repeal the state law that shielded police-misconduct records from the public.** Police unions have also challenged the legitimacy of transparency measures such as civilian review boards and police auditors, all while advising officers not to cooperate with them and seeking legislative repeals. **In** Newark, **New Jersey, the local FOP** lodge challenged the legitimacy of a newly-established citizen review board in court, **arguing that any officer oversight should** **be conducted within the police department.** In 2019, FOP Lodge No. 7 sued the city of Chicago, alleging that a civilian review board violated Illinois's Police and Community Relations Improvement Act by failing to use state-certified homicide investigators to investigate police shootings.

#### Policy consequences.

Daniel Disalvo, 21 - ("The Trouble with Police Unions," National Affairs, Fall 2021, 11-1-2021 https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-trouble-with-police-unions)//AW

What have been the policy consequences of police-union power at the bargaining table and in the political arena? The truth is that we don't know as much as we should. Scholarship on police unions is in short supply and varies in quality. A 2004 National Academy of Sciences report on American policing contains nary a mention of them. By one count, there were only 33 scholarly publications on police unions between 1975 and 2008. By my own tally, since 2014, there have been 25 scholarly articles, mostly in law reviews, on the topic. More research is needed on the effects of police unions on many outcomes, including police use of force, police-community relations, and more.

That said, the small body of literature on the impact of police unions is unequivocal in finding that they negatively affect a host of outcomes, including organizational modernization, accountability, officer use of force, and police-community relations. Yet strong police unions don't always correlate with bad outcomes. The New York City Police Department is represented by a strong union, but it is among the least violent police departments in the country's hundred largest cities.

Broadly speaking, the deleterious effects of police unions are said to be threefold. The first is that they facilitate a culture that harms police work and community relations while frustrating reform efforts. Union culture, it is said, encourages good officers to defend bad officers by maintaining the "blue wall of silence." In Chicago, a task force appointed by then-Mayor Rahm Emmanuel concluded that "the police unions and the City have essentially turned the code of silence into official policy." In addition, the vigorous public defense of officers accused of misconduct by police-union leaders — a task central to their job — can foster the perception that leaders are uninterested in better policing and indifferent to victims of police abuse.

Second, state laws and union contracts themselves are believed to make it very difficult to fire officers accused of misconduct. Loyola University of Chicago law professor Stephen Rushin found that most police departments afford multiple levels of disciplinary appeal — some departments have six or more appeals levels in addition to external arbitration.

Such policies explain why so many officers dismissed for misconduct are re-instated. A 2017 Washington Post investigation found that in Washington, D.C., "[forty-five] percent of the officers fired for misconduct from 2006 to 2017 were rehired on appeal. In Philadelphia, the share is 62 percent. In San Antonio, it's 70 percent." Mind-bending stories of cops abusing citizens and retaining their jobs through arbitration are legion. Among the most notorious is the case of Hector Jimenez, an officer in Oakland, California, who killed two unarmed men in a seven-month period — shooting one of them in the back three times. The city of Oakland fired Jimenez and paid a $650,000 settlement to one victim's family. However, Jimenez appealed to an arbitrator through his union and was re-instated with back pay.

Such contractual rules hamstring police chiefs' ability to supervise and manage their forces effectively, as it is difficult to discipline officers who are the subject of many complaints. According to the Post, a 2006 Bureau of Justice Statistics report found that "officers in unionized police forces are more likely to be the subjects of an excessive-force complaint, but more likely to beat the allegations in disciplinary hearings." A few bad officers can wreak havoc on police-community relations. Even if police chiefs know who the bad apples are, they find themselves powerless to do anything about them until something horrible happens. Firing an officer after a tragic incident is cold comfort.

Furthermore, police chiefs cannot effectively manage their workforce if disciplinary records are regularly destroyed. Without records, new police chiefs have little idea who they are dealing with. This is especially true for job seekers who come from other police departments.

Third, union protections are believed to allow officers to act with greater impunity. In a 2018 article, Dhammika Dharmapala, Richard McAdams, and John Rappaport of the University of Chicago Law School found that, in Florida, "violent misconduct among sheriff's officers increased about 40 percent after a state supreme court ruling allowed the offices to unionize." A working paper by economists Rob Gillezeau, Jamein Cunningham, and Donna Feir, which attracted much press attention but is not publicly available, reportedly found that "after officers gained access to collective bargaining rights...there was a substantial increase in killings of civilians." When abusive officers remain on the job, the likelihood that citizens will have negative interactions with them increases — at times leading to disastrous consequences.