Michael Javen Fortner

Government Department

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**Education**

2010 Ph.D., Government and Social Policy, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA.

2010M.A. Government, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA.

2001 B.A. Political Science & African-American Studies, *Cum Laude*, Emory University. Atlanta, GA.

**Academic and Teaching Appointments**

Fall 2023- Present Pamela B. Gann Associate Professor of Government and George R. Roberts Fellow

Fall 2021-Fall 2023 Associate Professor, Government Department, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA.

Summer 2021 – Fall 2021 Assistant Professor, Government Department, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA.

Spring 2020 - July 2021 Assistant Professor, Doctoral Program, Political Science, Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York, NY.

Fall 2014 - Fall 2019 Assistant Professor of Urban Studies, Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, School for Professional Studies, City University of New York, New York, NY.

Fall 2014-Fall 2018 Academic Director, Urban Studies, Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, School for Professional Studies, City University of New York, New York, NY.

Fall 2011-Spring 2013 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Department of Public Policy and Administration, Rutgers University-Camden, Camden, NJ.

Fall 2010-Spring 2011 Visiting Fellow, Department of History and Political Science, Drexel University, Philadelphia PA.

**other Appointments**

Summer 2022-Present Director, Dreier Roundtable, Claremont McKenna College

Fall 2022-Spring 2023 Program Coordinator, Legal Studies Sequence, Claremont McKenna College

Fall 2021-Present Faculty Affiliate, The Rose Institute of State and Local Government, Claremont McKenna College

Fall 2021-Present Affiliated Faculty, Henry Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom in the Modern World, Claremont McKenna College

Fall 2020-Present Senior Fellow, Niskanen Center, Washington, DC.

**Publications**

#### Books, Edited Books, Anthologies, Collections, Bibliographies

*Urban Citizenship and American Democracy*, co-edited with Amy Bridges (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016)

*Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015)

2016 Herbert H. Lehman Prize for Distinguished Scholarship in New York History, New York Academy of History

A Choice Outstanding Academic Title of 2016

*New York Times Book Review* Editors’ Choice, 2015

Nominated for Pulitzer Prize by Harvard University Press, 2015

Excerpted in “How the Black Middle Class Pushed for Harsher Drug Laws,” *Daily Beast*, January 14, 2016

Reviewed in the following: *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly, Jotwell*, *Reviews in American History*, *Journal of African American History*, *Black Scholar*, *Journal of American History*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *American Historical Review*, *Criminal Justice Ethics*, *American Studies*, *Journal of Social History*, *The Federalist*, *City Journal*, *Salon*¸ *Boston Review*, *Time*, *Reason*¸ *New York Magazine*, *New York Times*, *New* *Yorker.*

#### Chapters in Books or Monographs

with Cameron Stevens, “Race, Crime, and the Prison Buildup,” Oxford Handbook on Sentencing (New York: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming)

with Cameron Stevens, “Crime, Punishment, and Urban Criminal Justice Systems in the United States,” *Handbook of Urban Politics*, ed. Ronald K. Vogel (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, Forthcoming).

with Liann Bielicki, “Race, Class, and Urban Politics in the United States,” *Handbook of Urban Politics*, ed. Ronald K. Vogel (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, Forthcoming).

“Urban Autonomy and Effective Citizenship” in *Urban Citizenship and American Democracy*, eds. Amy Bridges and Michael Javen Fortner (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016).

#### Articles in Refereed Journals

“Race, Class, Bitter Fruit, and the Big Apple: A Short Story,” *Polity*, forthcoming.

“Racial Capitalism and Urban Politics: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis” *Urban Affairs Review*, 59, no. (2023): 630–653.

“Critical Race Theory and the Problem of ‘Interest Convergence’,” *Public Integrity*, 25, no. 3 (2023): 262-272.

“Straight, No Chaser: Theory, History and the Muting of the Urban State,” *Urban Affairs Review*, 52, no. 3 (2016) 591-621.

 “‘Must Jesus Bear the Cross Alone?:’ Rev. Oberia Dempsey and His Citizens War on Drugs,” *Journal of Policy History*, 27, no. 1 (2015): 118-156.

“Silent Majority’ in Black and White: Invisibility and Imprecision in the Historiography of Mass Incarceration,” *Journal of Urban History*, 40, no. 2 (2014): 252-282

“The Carceral State and the Crucible of Black Politics: An Urban History of the Rockefeller Drug Laws,” *Studies in American Political Development*, 27, no. 1(2013): 14-35.

**Publications in non-refereed journals**

“What Charlie Rangel’s rise tells us about Black New York and substance abuse,” *Vital City*, December 13, 2023

With Colin Scanlon, “Crime, the Dangers of Racial Tropes, and the Limits of Racial Metaphors,’” *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*, 22, no. 1 (2023).

“From Nelson Rockefeller to Eric Adams: The Evolving Politics of Crime and Punishment in New York,” Rockefeller Archive Research Report, Rockefeller Archive Center, February 16, 2023.

““The Message”: Order Maintenance and Its Discontents,” *Vital City*, 1, no. 2 (2022),

“Street Fighting Girl,” *Literary Review*, June 2022.

“The U.S. Has a Violence Problem, and It’s Up to Democrats to Solve It,” *New York Times*,

February 28, 2022.

With Sarah Simionas, “The Bipartisanship of Police Reform and Public Safety,” Divided We Fall, December 2, 2021.

“A Riot or A Revolution,” *Literary Review*, July 2021.

“Don’t let the moment for police reform slip away,” *Boston Globe*, May 16, 2021.

“From Protest to Problems: The Minneapolis Story,” Violence Prevention Project, December 2020. (Reprinted in *Policing Insight*, May 14, 2021).

“Black Bodies and the Problem of ‘Linked-Fate,’” *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*, Fall 2020.

“Hearing What Black Voices Really Say About Police,” *City Journal*, July 5, 2020.

“‘Down with White Leadership:’ Racial Capitalism, ‘Race Men,’ and the Wages of Political Blackness, *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society & Culture*, Spring 2019.

“Lifting as We Climb,” *The Chronicle Review*, April 26, 2019.

“The Last Hurrah of the Silent Majority?,” *Democracy*, July 29, 2016.

“Bill Clinton was Right: Blacks Supported the Crime Bill (and That Should Surprise No One),” *History News Network*, May 24, 2016.

“Historical Method and the Noble Lie: A Reply to Donna Murch,” *Boston Review*, October 23, 2015.

“Are the Clintons to Blame for Turning the U.S. Into a Prison State?,” *Newsweek*, October 10, 2015. (Originally published as “The Clintons Aren’t the Only Ones to Blame for the Crime Bill,” The Marshall Project: *Commentary*, October 7, 2015).

“Beyond Criminal Justice Reform,” *Dissent* Fall 2015, 44-46.

“Real Roots of 70’s Drug Laws,” *New York Times*, September 28, 2015.

(Reprinted as “Michael Javen Fortner: Blacks can’t ignore their role in today’s over policing,” *Dallas Morning News*,” September 29, 2015)

#### Reviews

David Farber, *The War on Drugs: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2021), *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 119, no. 4 (2022): 446-449.

Lisa L Miller, The Myth of Mob Rule: Violent Crime and Democratic Politics, Oxford

University Press, *Punishment & Society*, 26, no. 1 (2022): 290-292.

Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, *Getting Tough: Welfare and Imprisonment in 1970s America* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017), *American Historical Review*, 124, no. 1 (2019): 298-299.

Melanye T. Price, *The Race Whisperer: Barack Obama and the Political Uses of Race* (New York, New York University Press, 2016), *Political Science Quarterly*, 132, no. 3(2017): 558–559.

Daniel Kato, *Liberalizing Lynching: Building a New Racial State* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2015), *Perspectives on Politics*, 14, no. 3(2016): 831-832.

Andra Gillespie, *The New Black Politician: Cory Booker, Newark, and Post-Racial America* (New York, New York University Press, 2012), *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37, no. 10 (2014) 1933-1936.

Shayla C. Nunnally, *Trust in Black America: Race, Discrimination, and Politics* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), *Political Science Quarterly*, 127, no. 4 (2013): 715-716.

**Reports and other work**

# “Black Attitudes on Crime and Policing,” *City Talk*, Manhattan Institute, September 20, 2021

# “Reconstructing Justice: Race, Generational Divides, and the Fight Over ‘Defund the Police’” (Washington, DC: Niskanen Center, 2020).

“Whites, Blacks, and the Morality of the Privileged,” Scholars Strategy Network Forum on White-Collar Government, January 2014, <http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/content/ssn-forum-white-collar-government>.

“Black Politics and the Origins of America’s Prison Boom,” Scholars Strategy Network, April 2013, <http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_key_findings_fortner_on_punitive_criminal_justice.pdf>.

**Works in Progress**

“The Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes:” Racial Capitalism, Transnationalism, and the Rise of Political Blackness in Early Twentieth Century New York,” paper being prepared for journal submission.

*United We Fall: Race, Place, and Identity Politics in New York City* (book manuscript in progress)

*Crack: A Tragedy in Three Acts* (book manuscript in progress)

**Academic Presentations and Invited Talks**

**Invited Talks or Presentations**

“Testimony on the EQUAL Act and Federal Sentencing for Crack and Powder Cocaine before the Senate Judiciary Committee,” 117th Cong. 2021.

Moderator, “The Future of Policing,” Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, CMC, October 20, 2021.

Moderator, “Webinar: Homicide Impunity, Human Rights, and State Failure,” Niskanen Center, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2021.

Panelist, “"The Reality and Rhetoric of Police Racism,” Manhattan Institute, New York City, N.Y., July 29, 2021.

Panelist, “Ethnicity, Race, and Gender in American Politics,” Multinational Institute of American Studies (MIAS), NYU’s Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development, New York, N.Y., July 6, 2021.

Invited Lecture, “After the Black Silent Majority: The Punitive Turn in Contemporary African American Politics,” Heinz College of Information Systems and Public Policy and Center for African American Urban Studies and the Economy, Carnegie MellonUniversity, April 9, 2021.

Panelist, University of Miami Law Review Symposium, February 21, 2021.

Panelist, “Roundtable on Identity Politics and Campaign 2020,” Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Committee of the Baruch College Political Science Department, in partnership with Baruch's Department of Black and Latinx Studies, October 29, 2020.

Panelist, “Policing While Black,” Manhattan Institute, New York City, N.Y., October 15, 2020.

Panelist, “How Ideas Shape Urban Political Development,” author meets critics panel, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 12, 2020.

Panelist, “Police, Policing, and Police Reform: Implications for the Future of our Cities,” Center for Urban Research and Education, Rutgers University-Camden, September 10, 2020.

Invited Lecture, “‘A Theory of Harlem’: Civil Rights, Social Citizenship, and African American Class Conflict,” Political Science Department, Rutgers University, April 20, 2020 (canceled).

Invited Lecture, “Black Silent Majority,” Economics 1070, Brown University, February 20, 2020.

Invited Lecture, “Race, Crime, and the Morality of Punishment,” Rose Institute of State and Local Government, Claremont McKenna College, May 14, 2019.

Panelist, “Barriers to Black Progress: Structural, Cultural, Or Both?” Manhattan Institute, New York, NY, February 8, 2019.

Invited Lecture, “Black Silent Majority: Race, Class, and the Politics of Punishment,” Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, January 30, 2019.

Panelist, “2018 Midterm Election—What Happened and What’s Next?,” Baruch College, November 7, 2018.

Invited Lecture, “The Fox and the Lion: Race, Ethnicity, and the Evolution of Identity Politics in NYC,” Seminar on the City, Columbia University, New York, NY, April 10, 2018.

Panelist, “‘Long Hot Summer’ of 1967 and Beyond: Racial Disturbances in Recent US History,” NEH Summer Programs in the Humanities for School and College Educators, University of Kansas, June 26, 2017.

Panelist, “Locking Up Our Own (James Forman, Jr.),” The Penn Law School, The Center for Africana Studies, Penn Political Science, Penn DCC, Penn Social Policy and Practice, The Quattrone Center, and Penn Urban Studies, Philadelphia, PA, April 24, 2017

Invited Lecture, “Black Silent Majority,” The Herbert H. Lehman Center for American History, Columbia University, New York City, NY, November 29, 2016.

Presentation, “The People vs Crack,” NYU Workshop on American Punishment, New York University Law School, New York City, NY, October 27-28, 2016.

Moderator, “What we don't talk about when we talk about the election,” Department of Political Science, Graduate Center, CUNY, New York City, NY, September 29, 2016.

Panelist, Michael Flamm Manuscript Review: “In the Heat of the Summer,” Miller Center, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, May 12, 2016.

## Book event, “Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment,” moderated by Jane Siegel, Center for Urban Education and Research, Rutgers University, Camden, Camden, NJ, May 6, 2016.

Book event, “Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment,” 92Y, New York City, NY, February 16, 2016

Book event, “Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment,” moderated by Jason Riley, Manhattan Institute, New York, NY, January 12, 2016.

“Michael Javen Fortner and Marie Gottschalk on Criminal Justice Reform,” moderated by Jeffrey Fagan, sponsored by *Dissent Magazine*, Murphy Institute, New York, December 10, 2015.

# Book event, “Criminal Justice Reform: From the Black Silent Majority to Black Lives Matter,” moderated by Joshua Freeman, sponsored by the CUNY School for Professional Studies, New York, NY, December 02, 2015.

“Author’s Roundtable with Michael Javen Fortner,” Unit for Criticism and Interpretive Theory, University Illinois, Urbana- Champagne, October 19, 2015.

“Black Silent Majority,” Lectures in Planning Series, Columbia University, New York, NY, October 13, 2015.

(with Prentiss Dantzler) “Black Power, Policy, and Pessimism: Federal Involvement in Law Enforcement in 1970s New York City,” *SPIRE, Symposium on the Politics of* *Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity,* May 10, 2013, New Brunswick, NJ.

“Race, Politics and the Obama Presidency,” Willingboro Public Library, Willingboro, NJ, October 27, 2012.

“From Social Stratification to Social Services: Patterns of Non-white Civic Engagement and Political Activism in London and New York,” *Organizing for Political Voice conference held at the Russell Sage Foundation,* January 2007, New York City, NY.

“Race and the Dilemmas of the America Left: Towards a Progressive Multiracial Movement,” a weeklong workshop on race politics for the Century Institute Summer Program at Williams College, Summer 2002, 2003.

**ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL HONORS**

#### Professional Awards and Honors

2023 Romero Success Coaches Campus Impact Award, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA.

2023 Community Excellence Award, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA.

2021 Faculty Citizenship Award, Ph.D/M.A. Program in Political Science, CUNY Graduate Center, New York, NY.

2016 [Herbert H. Lehman Prize for Distinguished Scholarship in New York History, New York Academy of History](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/nyacademyhistory/).

2015 Editors’ Choice, *New York Times Book Review*

2012 The Jay A. Siglar Award for an Excellent Contribution to Graduate Student Education, Department of Public Policy and Administration, Rutgers University-Camden, Camden, NJ.

2004 Certificate of Distinction for Excellence in Teaching, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

2004 Joseph R. Levenson, Memorial Teaching Prize, nominee.

2001 Senior Leadership Award, Office of Multicultural Programs and Services, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

2001 Hall of Fame, Student Affairs, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 2001

#### Scholarships and Fellowships

2023 Robert and Elizabeth Dole Archive and Special Collections Research Fellow, Dole Institute of Politics, Lawrence, KS.

2023 Larry J. Hackman Research Residency Program, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

2008-2009 Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

2007-2009 Graduate Student Affiliate, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

2006 Pre-doctoral Research Grant, The Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

2005 ENI Fellowship, Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics, London.

2002 Inequality Fellow, Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality & Social Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA.

2002 National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship.

20 02 Ford Foundation Minority Pre-doctoral Fellowships

2002 Mortar Board Honor Society Graduate Fellowship

2001 Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Prize Fellowship, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

2001 William Randolph Hearst Endowed Scholarship, Aspen Institute, Washington, DC.

2001 Minority Fellow, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

2001 Ralph Bunche Summer Institute (*Declined),* American Political Science Association

1999 Sagner Fellow, Century Institute Summer Program and *American Prospect Magazine*

#### Externally-Funded Research and/or Training Grants

2022 (Grant Amount: $4,963.00) Dirsken Center Congressional Research Grant, “The Congressional War on Drugs.”

2013 (Grant Amount: $1,107.00) New York State Archives, Larry J. Hackman Research Residency

2013 (Grant Amount: $1,000.00) Rockefeller Archive Center, “Black Silent Majority: Urban Politics and the Development of the Rockefeller Drug Laws.”

#### Internally-Funded Research and/or Training Grants

2021 (Grant Amount: $6000.00) Presidential Initiative on Anti-Racism and the Black Experience in America Course Innovation Grant

2017 (Grant Amount: $11,154.50) PSC-CUNY Research Award

“The Fox and the Lion: Race, Ethnicity, and the Evolution of Identity Politics in New York City”

2013 (Grant Amount: $1,500.00) Rutgers University Research Council Grant, “Principles, Prejudice, and Policies.”

2012 (Grant Amount: $21,219.00) Rutgers University Faculty Research Grant, “The Carceral State and the Crucible of Black Politics.”

Other Relevant Professional Activities and Accomplishments

**Contributions to the Advancement of the Academic Profession**

Reviewer for the following journals: American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Quarterly, Feminist Criminology, Journal of Policy History, Journal of Urban History, Modern American History, Perspectives on Politics, Sage One, Social History of Alcohol and Drugs, Studies in American Political Development, Urban Affairs Review

Member of the editorial boards of the following academic journals: Polity, Studies in American Political Development, Urban Affairs Review, Journal of Urban History, SAGE Open.

Reviewer for the following academic presses: Columbia University Press, Cambridge University Press, SUNY Press, Cornell University Press, University of Kansas Press, University of Massachusetts Press, Palgrave Macmillan, University of California Press, Temple University Press, Oxford University Press, and Routledge.

**Other Contributions**

Fall 2020 Proposal Reviewer, “Race, Migration and Diversity” panel, Advanced Research Collaborative, Graduate Center

Fall 2020 Chair, President’s Book Award Committee, Social Science History Association

Spring 2020 Special Projects Fund, American Political Science Association, proposal reviewer

2019-Summer 2021 NEH advisor to Museum of the City of New York’s *The Rise and Fall of Tammany Hall: Power, Corruption, and Reform in the Big City*

2018-Present Contributing Editor, *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*

2018-2020 Member, President’s Book Award Committee, Social Science History Association

2016-2018 Member, Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms, American Political Science Association

2016-2017 Managing Editor, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*

2016-2017 Member, Walter Dean Burnham Award Committee, Politics & History section, American Political Science Association

2016 Proposal Reviewer, MacArthur Foundation

2015-2016 Nominations Committee, Social Science History Association

2014-2016 Associate Editor, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*

2014-2017 Consulting Editor, *New Labor Forum*

2014-2015 Convener, Violence & the City Conference, Murphy Institute, City University of New York

2012-2014 Network Representative, Criminal Justice/ Legal History network, Social Science History Association

**University Service**

Fall 2022 Member, Faculty Steering Committee for the Presidential Initiative on Anti-Racism and the Black Experience in America

Fall 2022 Member, Coordinating Committee, President’s Open Academy Initiative, CMC

Fall 2022 Member, Appointment, Promotion, and Tenure Committee, CMC

Fall 2021 Member, Faculty Reappointment Committee, Government Department, CMC

2019-Fall 2021 MA Adviser, Political Science, Graduate Center

2018-2019 Member, American Politics Faculty Search Committee, Political Science, Graduate Center

2016-2017 Chair, Search Committee, Urban Studies Program Manager, Murphy Institute

2016-2018 Chair, Urban Studies Spring Conference Planning Committee, Murphy Institute

2016-2018 Co-Chair, BA/Workforce Development Working Group, Murphy Institute

2016-2018 Member, Transition Committee, Murphy Institute

2015-2018 Chair, Urban Studies Curriculum Review Committee, Murphy Institute

2014-2017 Governing Council, School of Professional Studies

2014-2015 Strategic Planning Committee, Murphy Institute

2014-2015 Strategic Planning Committee, School of Professional Studies

2012-2014 Political Science Representative, Faculty Senate, Rutgers University

2012-2014 Advisory Faculty, African American Studies, Rutgers University

2013-2014 Member, Committee on Institutional Equity and Diversity (CIED), Rutgers University, Rutgers University

2011-2014 Advisor, BA/MPA Program, Rutgers University

2011-2014 Affiliated Scholar, Center for Urban Research and Education (CURE)

2011-2014 Advisory Faculty, American Studies

2012-2012 Member, Diversity and Equity committee, Office of the Dean, Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University

**Service to Other Bodies**

2013-ongoing Scholars Strategy Network

2011-2014 Facilitator, Aspects of Leadership Curriculum, Prep for Prep