

A PUBLICATION OF:

**CARE
NOT
COPS**

BUILDING

CARE:

**Portland Communities Respond
to the Violence of Policing**

**Community
Report, Vol. 1**

Winter 2019

INTRO

Care Not Cops Portland (CNC) is rooted in the belief that policing endangers the health and well-being of communities. CNC understands the role of policing as enforcing forms of social control which fuel gentrification, displacement, repression, and disempowerment of Black, Indigenous, migrant, queer and trans, and other communities of color. Thus, CNC works to reduce the Portland Police Bureau budget and advocate for redirecting public resources to community alternatives and programs that address harm and build strong and healthy communities.

We believe that communities most impacted by policing, lack of access to public resources, and systemic violence should be at the forefront of efforts and conversations about the most appropriate solutions. CNC surveyed a diverse range of Portland organizations made up of and working with impacted communities: from houseless folks, immigrants, and people of color, to those who have lost loved ones to police violence, workers and day laborers, environmental advocates, students, youth, and tenant organizers.

This report compiles the organizations' responses, highlighting both their communities' experiences with policing in Portland, and their resilience in the face of policing's violence. We found that virtually all of the community organizations described policing as negatively impacting their constituents, and contributing to increased

violence and criminalization of community members. Further, every organization offered visions for what brings safety and stability to their communities: visions overwhelmingly characterized by investments in real resources such as affordable, stable housing; access to physical and mental health care; replacing police in schools with counselors and transformative justice models, youth programming, and education investments; decriminalization measures; and building community-led initiatives to care for and protect communities from violence.

ABOUT CARE NOT COPS

In 2017, after two years of listening and public conversation between Critical Resistance Portland (CRPDX) and Portland community members and organizations, the CNC Campaign launched as a partnership of organizations and individuals working on issues related to policing. Facing a lack of city investment in public resources coupled with a continually increasing Portland Police Bureau (PPB) budget, CNC's efforts were aimed at redirecting PPB funding back into much needed community resources. CNC first focused on prioritizing an investment in community-based mental health programs, because of the violence by police officers against community members perceived to be experiencing mental health or behavioral crises. However, after much research and discussion throughout 2018, the CNC campaign has shifted to specifically target the anti-Black and anti-indigenous violence of policing by eliminating the Gang Enforcement Team, while centering a broader, more inclusive definition of community care.



WHAT IS CARE?

Care Not Cops centers care work that is already being done by people and organizations in their own communities. We want to build up resources and skills that help us rely on each other for safety instead of policing. Care means finding and creating solutions to meet people's needs. Capitalism, policing, surveillance, and other arms of the prison industrial complex (PIC) control and restrict people's access to life-affirming resources. Housing, food, transportation, transformative justice, health care, and programs for education are all examples of these types of care that we must invest in for the well-being of our communities. We want to shrink the power of the PIC from both sides by re-allocating resources away from policing and towards support systems that will help people avoid being targeted by the state, developing non-punitive responses to harm, leading decriminalization initiatives, and supporting processes that build accountability without law enforcement and courts.

Investing in these kinds of community and user-led resources is one way to end the control the PIC has over the self-determination of oppressed communities. In this sense, our

work necessitates that alternatives are not seen as mere replacements to the PIC but rather mechanisms for its abolition.

"Care" cannot be singularly defined, and its definitions must rely on and center those receiving it. Real care requires that people are allowed to self-determine what it looks like for them.

These are just some examples of the care work done through the organizations we surveyed in this report:

- ▶ Youth Environmental Justice Alliance advocating for and providing youth transportation access
- ▶ Portland Parent Union fighting against police presence in schools
- ▶ Right 2 Survive advocating for hygiene services for houseless folks
- ▶ Sisters of the Road providing nourishing, hot meals for poor and houseless people in a comfortable cafe setting
- ▶ Movement Of Mothers and others Standing Up Together (M.O.M.S.) advocating for respite houses, where anyone can voluntarily go for 2 to 3 weeks to work through an experience of crisis
- ▶ Don't Shoot PDX hosting Social Justice Saturdays and events that gather the community for healing and support
- ▶ VOZ organizing and advocating for livable wages and better working conditions for day laborers
- ▶ Community Alliance of Tenants working to keep people housed

Far from all-encompassing, this list shows just a few of the many ways that our communities can be — and already are — investing in and providing care, outside of the PIC and the TIC (Treatment Industrial Complex).

DEFINING THE "TREATMENT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX" (TIC)

The TIC and PIC have overlapping interests. Under the guise of "care" and "treatment", the TIC cages and controls people through correctional medical care, court-ordered or forced mental health treatment, and community corrections—including halfway houses, day reporting centers, drug and alcohol treatment programs, home confinement, electronic monitoring, state-mandated classes, and education programs. Stigmatizing and medicalizing people's varying experiences and behaviors enforces the violent authority and logic of the TIC.



VIOLENCE OF POLICING

Violence lies in the power held by police and other armed or unarmed officers of the state, power that is used to control people and their bodies, particularly Black and Indigenous people and other people of color.

Because of the fundamental function of policing, abolitionist reforms of policing must strip away their power (such as by reducing numbers of officers) or institute mechanisms that control their ability to enact violence (such as restricting the use of military grade weapons).

DEFINING POLICING

Policing is a social relationship made up of a set of practices that are empowered by the state to enforce law and social control through the use of force. Reinforcing the oppressive social and economic relationships that have been central to the US throughout its history, the roots of policing in the United States are closely linked to the capture of people escaping slavery, and the enforcement of Black Codes. Similarly, police forces have been used to keep new immigrants “in line” and to prevent the poor and working classes from making demands. As social conditions change, how policing is used to target poor people, people of color, immigrants, and others who do not conform on the street or in their homes also shifts. Policing targets specific communities and functions such that officers, community members calling 911, and other individuals in web of actions initiated by a framework/system of policing, make choices about which people to target, what to target them for, and when to arrest or book them play a major role in who ultimately gets imprisoned.

In Portland, as everywhere, the violence of policing is enacted through both extreme instances of violence

as well as more everyday insidious occurrences. Most recently, Andre Gladen Sr. was killed by the Portland Police while having a schizophrenic episode. Portland State University (PSU) campus security shot and killed Jason Washington with 9 bullets in June 2018 after he was trying to break up a fight. In the last two years, the Portland Police killed Patrick Kimmons, Quanice Hayes, Samuel Rice, John Andrew Elifritz, and Terrell Johnson. The police have tried to legitimize all of these murders, with tactics like claiming that the person was carrying a weapon, or vilifying their past. As we oppose the violence of policing, community organizations must reassert that no police killing is justified, regardless of the circumstances. Our coalition does its work, in honor, in respect, and in grief of those in the Portland community whose lives have been taken by police.

The violence of the Prison Industrial Complex also manifests in ways that are not always as visible in the news or in public discourse, or seen as extreme or brutal as police murders, but are similarly sources of deep trauma for our communities. These routine and everyday forms of violence, which like the PIC at large, are always rooted in anti-Blackness, cisheteropatriarchy, classism, perceptions of neurodivergence, and other oppressive systems of thought, including targeting due to racial profiling, gang affiliation, and behavior that is perceived as deviant or threatening. In Portland, some of these violences include stopping people of color around MAX lines and bus stops, which infringes on people’s day to day movement and freedom; criminalizing folks in need of support or basic needs, which only further traumatizes that person; and stationing armed officers in Portland Public Schools, at the cost of more counselors and teachers to support students’ needs and education. These present-day instances, and countless other examples, stem from the long history

IMPACTS OF POLICING

How does policing impact Portland residents and the organizations serving their basic needs? Organizations who responded to CNC's survey questions included groups working within diverse and overlapping communities of Portland residents, such as youth, houseless people, students, tenants, migrants, and communities of color. The organizations use a variety of methods to engage and support their constituents, from direct service, to advocacy and organizing, to education. Within this range of organizational constituents, methods, and issue areas, respondents overwhelmingly supported the belief that policing in Portland hinders their programmatic or service work, causes fear and repression among their communities, and (creates and/or) escalates both direct and indirect violence.

Surveyed organizations include: Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon, Community Alliance of Tenants, Critical Resistance Portland, Don't Shoot Portland, Movement Of Mothers/and/others Standing/up/together (M.O.M.S), Portland Parent Union, Portland State University Student Union, Right 2 Survive, Sisters of the Road, Street Roots, and VOZ Workers' Rights Education Project. Please see pages 12 for more information about each of these organizations.

POLICING IMPEDES PEOPLE'S DAILY SURVIVAL

Houseless people in Portland are very directly targeted by policing—a recent analysis by the Oregonian

showed 52% of police arrests in Portland in 2017 were of people who were houseless. A number of the organizations we surveyed included specific responses related to the impact on houseless community members, with some noting how policing directly impeded their organizational ability to provide services. Community Alliance of Tenants shared “the mere presence of police officers can escalate situations and increase anxiety in folks, especially if tenants or houseless folks are mentally ill. Engagement with police carries disproportionate risks for the mentally ill, people of color and houseless people.” The presence of police also makes it more difficult for service providers, advocates, and others to help their communities meet their needs, as in the case of Right 2 Survive (R2S)—they noted “increased policing greatly hinders our ability to keep contact with vulnerable individuals. The SWEEPS, trauma, instability of constant shuffling of campsites makes our outreach difficult.” Similarly, policing impedes the ability of houseless people to earn money for survival through the Street Roots program where people sell newspapers, as “the constant threat of sweeps and harassment by

police and/or private security has affected many people's ability to go to work and sell papers. Not being able to sell the paper means losing money, further exacerbating poverty.” Right 2 Survive, Sisters of the Road, and

Care Not Cops recognizes both the everyday insidious violence of policing as well as the extreme instances of police brutality and murder. Respondents additionally decried the lack of structural response or consequence for the violence policing inflicts.

Street Roots are all members of Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP). WRAP and local member organizations have highlighted how private security, often created and promoted by business improvement districts (such as Clean & Safe) are an additional form of policing that exist to exclude houseless people from public spaces.²

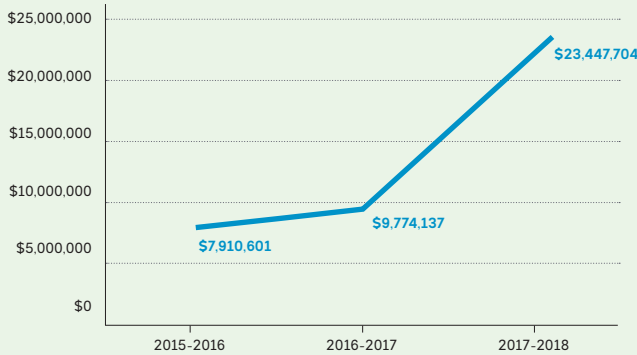
Policing first intervenes in the ability to meet basic needs, then serves to further criminalize those communities for their survival. An example of this was described by Youth Environmental Justice Alliance (YEJA), who organizes for transit access for youth of color: “for Black and Brown youth especially, not having a bus pass can

increase negative interactions with police. Youth of color are viewed negatively on the public transportation system - especially when traveling in groups. You're automatically criminalized for not having the funds to ride the bus, even though the ability to move around should be considered a right.” For Portland Parent Union

¹ https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/index.ssf/2018/06/portland_homeless_accounted_fo.html
² <https://wraphome.org/homeless-exclusion-districts/>

IMPACTS OF POLICING

PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU SPENDING INCREASES OVER PRIOR YEAR



(PPU), a group comprised of families with students in public schools who organize against school pushout, the school to prison pipeline begins from the time Black students are profiled in kindergarten when they and their families are scrutinized, leading to disproportionate discipline rates for Black students and students of color. The presence of police officers (School Resource Officers or SROs) in schools targets Black students in particular, criminalizing and pushing them out of schools, excluding them from their right to education and other resources.

Unfortunately, when it comes to City funding priorities, policing continues to replace service provision and meeting community needs. VOZ Workers' Rights Education Project (VOZ) briefly mentioned this dilemma, describing how "members have a complex relationship with law enforcement as they see it as a tool for oppression and protection—trust is tenuous and dependent on their individual circumstances." Here VOZ indicates what other organizations and community members have noted over the course of the Care Not Cops campaign work: as we work towards divestment from and reduction of policing in Portland we must

also build up the structures of response to and accountability for harm that can be implemented in place of a law enforcement based model. Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO) shared that "[o]ver policing, increasing rents, limited access to healthcare and education, as well as discrimination, racism, bigotry make our communities unsafe." Based on APANO's concerns, funding should go to resources and services to support community derived programs for housing, health care, education and dismantling white supremacy--investments to actually meet communities' needs for safety--instead of making further investments in policing.

THE VIOLENCE OF POLICING TARGETS LOW INCOME COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

Nearly all of the organizations surveyed by Care Not Cops spoke about the direct and disparate targeting of communities of color and houseless communities, with some specifically speaking to the intersection of this targeting. For example, VOZ explained their "communities are not only policed because they lack housing, they are at risk of racial profiling." Sisters of the Road also emphasized the intersection of being Black and houseless. Sisters of the Road works to address this through their Racial Justice and Anti-Oppression committee. APANO has organized support and advocacy for South Asian immigrants who have left their home countries to seek asy-

lum in the US due to political or religious persecution--policing, in other words--and were detained by ICE at Sheridan Federal Correctional Institution in Oregon for over five months. APANO noted that, "ICE regularly targets members of our community based on religious or political activities and perceived immigration status." Additionally, Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT) spoke of the impact on their members, specifically those from migrant communities, saying they "want nothing to do with the police. They fear police contact. Some folks have issues with [immigration] status, so that brings a whole other level of fear into the conversation."

The relationship between the police and the community was described as distrustful, uneasy, oppressive, intimidating, or causing fear, with many community members seeking avoidance of police. Additionally, police are seen as enforcing the exclusion of houseless people or those stereotyped as houseless from certain areas. Street Roots vendors described this pattern: "There are a lot of instances where businesses call the police on people in order to "protect" shoppers and tourists. Other people have experienced police touching them without their consent. Police are oftentimes very threatening and promote an us v. them mentality." The Portland State University Student Union (PSUSU) identified similar experiences on campus, with policing "often used as a tool to control public space (i.e. our public campus). Police on campus harass houseless people, oftentimes issuing exclusions effectively banning people from campus who are considered 'unwanted' or 'causing a disturbance.'" Don't Shoot Portland (DSP), which organizes to dismantle oppression through civic engagement, identified the "impact of policing in Portland on [their] members who are also victim

IMPACTS OF POLICING

survivors of police violence and state neglect is harsh and systemic.” DSP continued, “we have shown up to advocate in schools and have found that riot cops are being called. [We are] organizing with parents who are retaliated against and referred [to police] for actually advocating for their children or communities.”

Care Not Cops recognizes both the everyday insidious violence of policing as well as the extreme instances of police brutality and murder. Respondents additionally decried the lack of structural response or consequence for the violence policing inflicts.

Police officers murdered Jason Washington on June 29th 2018, Patrick Kimmons on September 30th 2018 and Andre Gladen on January 6th, 2019. While individual officers pulled these triggers, they were implementing the command of the police bureau which does not receive any meaningful consequences—such as mechanisms of control or disarmament—that would shift their capacity to inflict violence. YEJA and CAT both responded the lack of accountability over the police is one of the biggest problems with policing.

The violence of policing is particularly targeted towards Portland’s Black and Brown communities, houseless people, and people with mental health needs. Care Not Cops continues to advocate for the city of Portland to implement genuine strategies for dignified temporary and permanent housing, to halt sweeps of houseless encampments and other villages, and to move away

from police responders to health or mental health calls.

Over the last two years, public sentiment around policing in Portland has shifted away from reforms that seek to improve the police and towards efforts that work to defund, disarm, and dismantle the police.

COMMUNITIES ARE ORGANIZING TO INTERRUPT THE VIOLENCE OF POLICING

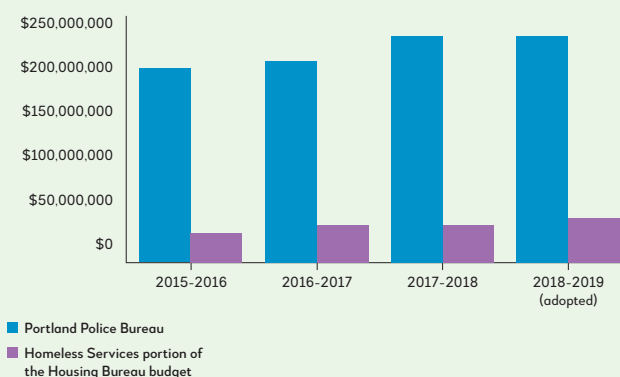
Although not all organizations included in this survey directly work on issues of policing, each of the organizations have noted their work intersects with policing in a way that moves them to respond to and advocate for alternatives to policing. Due to the above mentioned violence of policing, organizations are also engaging in advocacy that works to reduce this violence while simultaneously building up community investments that address the systemic

needs of their communities. One cafe attendee at Sisters of Road said “I trust a stranger more than I trust the police”, emphasizing how our community around us, even if we don’t know people individually, are generally safer than the police. Critical Resistance Portland pointed to the fundamental violence of policing which cannot be reformed in order to work better, saying “it’s imperative to look at the establishment and the recent local growth of policing as an effort to control and displace communities of color. When we see it that way, police cannot be improved

but they must be abolished to allow space for communities to create their own safety.” The perspective of organizational respondents was informed by their communities’ daily interactions with police as well as a broader understanding of the political, economic, and social connections between policing and the provision or control of access to life-sustaining resources.

Organizational responses to policing also included working to ensure direct community safety from the threat of policing in their own organizations. According to VOZ, “For the safety of our members, we do not allow police presence on our premises. Calling the police is a last resort, a decision we make when there is a risk of harm beyond our control. We are working on a community emergency response plan as an alternative or secondary option to support our members when calling the police can be avoided.” Sisters of the Road had a similar response. People in the cafe

CITY SPENDING ON POLICE COMPARED TO HOMELESS SERVICES



expressed gratitude towards Sisters’ policy on not calling police in an attempt to create a safer space for cafe attendees. This was reiterated by PSUSU from a student perspec-

IMPACTS OF POLICING

tive; “While attempting to dismantle policing, we also do a lot of work to produce alternatives. We have collaborated with groups working on de-escalation, bystander intervention, and transformative justice.”

Over the last two years, public sentiment around policing in Portland has shifted away from reforms that seek to improve the police and towards efforts that work to defund, disarm, and dismantle the police. This shift can be attributed in part to national and local Black Lives Matter attention, outrage and organizing in response to horrific Portland police murders of community members, and abolitionist organizing. Groups like Street Roots seek to amplify these discussions through “writing about policing in Portland, especially as it relates to homelessness. This journalism helps create conversation around criminalization of homelessness in Portland and helps pave the path to finding solutions.” Additionally, organizations are increasingly stepping up to engage in advocacy to reduce the violence of policing, such as R2S which shared “much of our work is after the implementation of another [criminalization] policy or ordinance. However, we are placing ourselves in public meetings where we voice our concerns about proposed policing on the unhoused communities we serve.”

Among the responses to the question of the problems with policing in Portland, only one organization noted that stronger ties between police and community may help to further trust while another noted that “it seems police are taking on roles they are not equipped for, especially in regards to responding to homelessness.” Care Not Cops has both researched and witnessed first hand the results of reforms to Portland policing that have sought to engage police more closely with community in an effort to build trust. Critical Resistance

Portland, which has organized with Care Not Cops, spoke to the need to push for abolitionist goals, noting “we’ve achieved some great success in chipping away at the police budget and must continue this work. Even with reforms that are advertised as making the community more safe from policing, we’ve seen time and again how these reforms are counter to the very definition of policing and cannot undo its main function, which is to suppress and control.” After the Department of Justice mandate to reform the Portland Police Bureau, steps were taken to increase training and awareness among policing for mental health response as well as implicit bias, however we continue to see police harassment and killing of people of color and people with mental health needs. According to the Portland Mercury, “Three out of the four people fatally shot by a Portland police officer in the last year were in the middle of a behavioral health crisis when they were killed”.³

Additionally, past Portland budgets have called for police to focus on community policing, the dangerous strategy that emphasizes so-called relationship-building with neighborhoods using street patrols, broken windows policing, and surveillance. Community policing targets working class neighborhoods and communities of color, prioritizes areas of active gentrification, prioritizes protecting property over preventing individual harm, and brings cops closer into our communities, increasing targeting. Don’t Shoot Portland addressed the dangers of community policing, noting “Community policing in Portland over the last 25-30 years is bound significantly to relationships within our schools, health systems and government agencies who partner with stakeholders to provide and distribute direct service resources... The use of crime related funding opportunities

for stakeholders and other agencies has led to over representation of people in jails and a trend of children being taken from families who are deemed to present a ‘risk of harm’. These community policing measures have created a social element for the criminalization of minorities who live here and especially Black and Brown communities in Multnomah County.” For these reasons, Care Not Cops advocated in the 2018-2019 budget cycle for the City Commissioners to reject any proposed increases to the PPB budget and ensure that there weren’t any additional community policing programs or officers created.

CONCLUSION

The organizational responses note a desperate need for Portland police to immediately scale back their interactions with community which are causing both direct and acute instances of violence as well as daily ongoing fear and trauma. Care Not Cops understands these responses to directly critique the very nature of policing and lead towards the need for first reducing the scale and scope of policing while creating alternative models rather than trying to reform policing. In order to address the violence of policing in Portland we must target both the most explicitly violent instances of policing (such as the Gang Enforcement Team and police shootings) as well as the more insidious daily harassment that comes through so-called community policing. Despite community policing being implemented by liberal politicians as a beneficial reform in Portland and nationally, this form of policing serves to increase community interactions of harassment, surveillance, and fear noted by community organizations above.

CARE AND INVESTMENTS

Care Not Cops and other coalitions nationally are advocating for a simultaneous divestment from policing and investment or support of community based alternatives. We must work to invest in life-sustaining resources and build up structures of community care and accountability. This survey asked organizations to respond to questions about their organizational budget needs to provide for and organize their communities, the resources and investments needed in Portland, and ways they define community care. Respondents were also asked to provide feedback on the priorities of the City under Mayor Ted Wheeler.

IMPACTED COMMUNITIES MUST DEFINE THEIR OWN SAFETY

When it comes to defining care and safety for our communities, organizational respondents named three main areas of safety: 1) community relationship-building and communication, developing trust; 2) access to housing, food, transportation, health and other resources; and 3) reduction of the violence of policing. People calling the police, the police responding to mental health calls, sweeps of houseless encampments, and police presence in schools and on transit do not make respondents feel safe.

The groups we surveyed say policing, which includes private security, deputized “militia type groups”, and School Resource Officers (SROs), do not make people safe. Policing maintains and perpetuates inequality, is a source of violence, and drives

gentrification by displacing people from their communities. These community organizations and groups who are most impacted by the violence of policing know what their communities need to create true safety. The city needs to invest in these resources and in people that are already engaged in this work with their communities who are most able to build meaningful connections with their neighbors and fellow community members.

It was evident community members had practical ideas for creating safety that both reduced reliance on policing but also worked towards disarming, dismantling, and disabling police as a health and mental health responders in Portland. When asked what safety looks like, YEJA responded with the need for decreased policing, that safety “looks like school environments that don’t discipline and suspend Black and Brown students at high rates.”

Many of the groups who responded said safety is built through engaged communities where people care about each other and keep each other free from policing:

“Knowing what’s going on in community is helpful. Having strong communication networks among the community helps keep us safe. Having autonomy and trust in our community helps keep us safe. Many don’t think cops have ever helped or contributed

to actually keeping the community safe.” — Street Roots vendors

“Our community is safe when our neighbors get to know each other and work together to create these safety nets instead of calling the cops on homeless people.” — VOZ

“Safe and brave cultural spaces as well as access to culturally specific resources and care makes our community safe.” — APANO

“Student and peer led deescalation, bystander intervention, and self defense makes our community safe. Student and peer led sexual violence prevention that is not reliant on police makes us safe.” — PSUSU

“Having access to legal support and working to dismantle systems through direct community education is the tool we use to empower our community to fight back. We seek accountability order to build safe community for us.” — Don’t Shoot

By redirecting funds from the Portland Police Bureau budget, such community-derived proposals would be able to receive significant investment from the city.

Portland

Most of the respondents have said they need funding for resources such as facilities for hygiene access, shelter, housing, and transportation. In addition to funding, there is also a need for community members to show up, advocate for their demands, be a part of building relationships with neighbors, and help to create solutions.

CARE AND INVESTMENTS

WRAP members, Street Roots, R2S, and Sisters of the Road would like to see more legalized peer-run encampments, bathrooms, and needle disposal sites. VOZ is currently seeking a contract from the city to build a building that can provide facilities to better serve their constituents. APANO would be able to build organizing capacity with youth to eliminate the school-to-prison pipeline, work on transformative justice, and political advocacy with long term funding. YEJA would like to see financial support for expanded YouthPass programs and longer term solutions for free transit. PPU has been advocating for “counselors not cops” in public schools. CAT wants to see investments in housing access, better living wages, and mental health programs. By redirecting funds from the Portland Police Bureau budget, such community-derived proposals would be able to receive significant investment from the city.

PORTLAND'S LEADERSHIP MUST SHIFT COURSE TO MEET COMMUNITY NEEDS

While Mayor Ted Wheeler claims that the PPB needs more funds and sworn officer positions to ensure community safety, the groups we've surveyed share examples of what safety means to their communities: access to life-sustaining resources, building relationships and trust with neighbors, transformative justice, and ending white supremacy. Having campaigned on a liberal platform, Mayor Ted Wheeler has made it a top public priority to implement changes in Portland police operations. Within the City Charter, the Mayor is authorized to either assume the role of Police Commissioner or relinquish this role to someone else. Mayor Wheeler has chosen to maintain this authority,

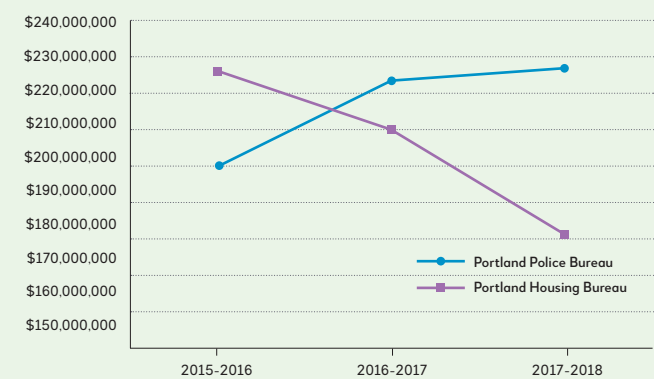
using his position to advance both procedural and policy changes in policing on a city level. Wheeler's pro-policing stances have included budget increases, continuing to support armed police officers in Portland public schools, and a proposed anti-protest ordinance for increased policing of social justice demonstrators. Put simply, YEJA responded to a question on Wheeler's notion of developing community safety through policing saying “the ideas of what make our community safe are very different that those that Ted Wheeler proposes. These ideas are not informed and guided by the community.”

Each of the organizational respondents noted discord between Mayor Wheeler's notion of safety and their own. R2S spoke out specifically against the ongoing use of police to respond to the health and safety needs of community members, “using the police as ‘First Responders’ is not in compliance with our ideas or values when it comes to addressing people experiencing medical or mental issues. Sending out police first with uniforms, guns and attitudes that are not informed by professional medical backgrounds in identifying or accessing crisis situations exacerbated the problems.” This was echoed by Street Roots vendors who explained “One of the main differences with Ted Wheeler's idea on what makes a community safe is using police as a means to pro-

mote community care. Oftentimes, police are dealing with ‘livability’ issues which they are not trained to respond to and shouldn't respond.”

Critical Resistance Portland (CRPD) emphasized the role of decision makers, saying “Mayor Wheeler and

PORTLAND HOUSING VS. POLICE BUREAU SPENDING



the City Council must take responsibility for shifting the City's priorities from punitive control to support and self-determination. No matter who the elected official, we will always work to hold them accountable to community interests.”

INVEST IN LIFE-SUSTAINING NEEDS

The survey asked two questions prompting organizations to share what investments should be made by the City of Portland generally through the budget process, and more specifically where the approximately \$6 million increase to Portland Police Bureau's 2018-2019 budget could be applied instead. Responses spoke to the need for education, housing and shelter, health care, mental health care, public transit, accessible infrastructure investments, basic needs such as food or laundry, and “safe spaces” or respite houses. Don't

CARE AND INVESTMENTS

Shoot Portland highlighted the “need [for] the city to use policing resources for development of a Public Health and Safety infrastructure into the cities design. Maintenance of public systems in areas and spaces for rest, NOT Sweeps. More focus on livability for people at risk to houselessness including youth leaving the state foster care system and victims of violence.” Sisters of the Road emphasizes how access to nourishing food is a human right and the act of sharing food should not be criminalized. CAT supported housing “programs that focus on keeping families in their homes, and maintain community ties in their neighborhoods. Tenants need not be pushed out of their communities based on rent increases or wide reaching police sweeps to dismantle houseless camps without a plan in place for people.” Similarly Street Roots vendors shared that “six million dollars would help house a lot of people currently living on the streets. By far, this would be one of the best uses of this money. House keys not handcuffs!”

While there was a broad range of responses in terms of the types of investments, organizations provided answers that were all fundamentally oriented towards increasing Portland’s capacities to meet the basic life-sustaining needs of its residents. Only one organization out of all the respondents included any funding or programs related to policing, community control, or traditional notions of security, noting the need for police training in restorative practices. Where it came to crisis first responders, the same organization cited the need for “training for community members that gives tools and resources to act as volunteer responders,” while other organizations also suggested “community based

alternatives to policing”. APANO envisioned increasing their capacity to prevent and respond to hate incidents and “conduct more culturally specific trainings to interrupt hate and bias incidents” if funding that was provided to policing had been made available to their organization.

Cindi Fisher, a member of M.O.M.S. (Movement Of Mothers/and/others Standing/up/together) who has years of direct experience advocating for loved ones within the treatment industrial complex spoke to the need for investments that support people with mental health needs. She shared “among so many things [needs], these are some of the most important... Alternative to suicide and psychosis approach that is well developed that does not rely on fear, medication, and forced hospitalization. A respite house developed and run by peers, where people go voluntarily for 2 to 3 weeks when in crisis to work through the crisis; and a sanctuary home on acreage to support people withdrawal from psychiatric drugs if they choose!”

CONCLUSION

In order to increase safety in Portland communities, particularly for those community members who are most targeted or vulnerable to harm and violence, the City must invest in life sustaining resources and services. Responses to this survey support Care Not Cops’ recommendation that direct funds to people and organizations that have existing relationships with houseless populations, such as those who work with houseless people to find support, resources, and housing would help to decrease violent interactions with police. Additionally, police must cease to be employed as responders to health and mental health needs and interpersonal disputes where mental health advo-

cates with experience in providing trauma-informed support or transformative justice practitioners would, respectively, be better positioned to address the situation. Care Not Cops is grounded in the belief that policing endangers the health and wellbeing of communities. Policing escalates everyday mental health needs and instances of crisis. This type of punitive, violent, or control-based response specifically targets and impacts Black people, other people of color, houseless people, and people with mental health needs. The City of Portland must work to scale back police presence in communities which organizations have shared leads to fear, violence, or oppressive conditions.

Beyond reducing police contact with community, the City of Portland must support direct alternative first responses and means to address harm and accountability. YEJA gave an example of this, saying “we could have a budget to increase restorative practices in schools to help encourage administrators to change practices across the City. Instead of School Resource Officers, we could have a way to combat other problems that youth experiences in the City and invest in finding out what those are and how to address them.” With the City of Portland and Mayor Wheeler prioritizing policing rather than trained community-based mental health first responders, people are met with violence, harassment, or criminalization rather than effective and lasting support. Policing and imprisonment forcefully removes people from our communities and creates more severe long term problems, rather than providing the care we need.

In addition to direct alternatives

CARE AND INVESTMENTS

to law enforcement, organizational responses showed that the City must invest in life-sustaining and dignified resources that would ultimately reduce people's vulnerability or targeting by policing. An example given by PSUSU speaks about the need for higher education which "is not funded by the city; however, we would love to see the city invest more in the things that help students succeed. These things include after school programs, community centers, housing (especially downtown for students), free public transportation, food security, and making downtown more accessible for all."

As described in particular by organizations working with houseless community members, life-sustaining programs are a crucial investment across the board, with Care Not Cops continuing to advocate that implementation of these types of programs must be immediately prioritized for those most threatened by police targeting, institutional and interpersonal racism, displacement or gentrification. Care Not Cops advocates for funding community-derived solutions to meeting people's needs. Portland's expansion of the Portland Police Bureau budget in 2018 by over \$6 million and creating over 40 new sworn officer positions means more violence for communities that have already experienced disinvestment. Impacted and targeted communities should be at the forefront of determining City investments in life-sustaining resources and related policy objectives.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to stop the violence of policing in Portland, action must be taken on both community and City levels. As we work towards divestment from, and reduction of, policing in Portland, we must also build up the structures of response to and accountability for harm that can be implemented in place of a law enforcement based model. Community work is already happening on an ongoing basis and using creative ways to address safety and basic needs without policing, which we have seen multiple examples of throughout this report. Care Not Cops supports these ongoing community-led and self-determined projects.

THE CITY OF PORTLAND MUST:

- ▶ immediately scale back police presence in historically Black neighborhoods, communities of color, areas with high houseless populations in order to reduce the fear, ongoing trauma, violence, and oppressive conditions which impede on people's daily survival;
- ▶ develop and implement a plan to dismantle the gang policing unit of the PPB;
- ▶ move away from police responders to health or mental health calls and implement alternative first responses, as means to meet needs or address harm and accountability, that are not led by the police;
- ▶ invest in life-sustaining and dignified resources that ultimately reduce people's vulnerability to or targeting by policing;
- ▶ implement genuine strategies for dignified temporary and permanent housing, and halt sweeps of houseless encampments and other villages;
- ▶ and include impacted and targeted communities at the forefront of determining City investments in life-sustaining resources and related policy objectives.





ORGANIZATION PROFILES



COMMUNITY ALLIANCE OF TENANTS

The Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT) is a tenant membership organization. Low-income tenants—predominantly low-wage workers, families with children, people living with disabilities, seniors, and people of color—are CAT's primary membership base. CAT is building a strong housing justice movement that is led and directed by those who are most impacted by Oregon's affordable housing crisis—low-income renters.

(503) 460-9702
katrina@oregoncat.org
 2710 NE 14th Ave.,
 Portland, OR 97212



VOZ WORKERS' RIGHTS EDUCATION PROJECT

Voz is a worker-led organization that empowers diverse day laborers and immigrants to improve their working conditions and protect civil rights through leadership development, organizing,

education and economic opportunity. Voz fights for justice for day laborers through three major programs: the MLK Jr. Worker Center, Internal Organizing, and External Organizing.

(503) 233-6787
sandra@portlandvoz.org
 1131 SE Oak St.,
 Portland, OR 97214



RIGHT 2 SURVIVE

Right 2 Survive is a group of houseless and formerly houseless individuals and supporters dedicated to teaching about and defending the human, civil and constitutional rights of people experiencing homelessness. Since 2009, they have led the charge in educating both houseless and housed people on their civil, human and constitutional rights. They work to bridge the gap between housed and un-housed people by clearing up misconceptions and stigmas associated with homelessness and empower houseless people to stand up for themselves when their

rights are violated.

(503) 839-9992
Right2SurviveSMG@gmail.com



STREET ROOTS

Street Roots creates income opportunities for people experiencing homelessness and poverty by producing a newspaper and other media that are catalysts for individual and social change. The Street Roots newspaper—published weekly in Portland, OR—has been Portland's flagship publication addressing homelessness and poverty since 1998.

(503) 228-5657
kaia@streetroots.org
 211 NW Davis St.
 Portland, OR 97209-3922



SISTERS OF THE ROAD

Sisters of the Road is a nonprofit Cafe in Portland's Old Town/Chinatown neighborhood working to create systemic change that will end poverty and homelessness by providing nourishing

meals in a safe, dignified space. They work to build community one relationship at a time, with nonviolence and gentle personalism, believing everyone has a piece of the truth and that we are all more than the sum of our current situation or past experiences.

(503) 222-5694
info@sistersoftheroad.org
 133 NW Sixth Avenue,
 Portland, OR 97209



PORTLAND PARENT UNION

The Portland Parent Union's mission is to organize Parents for better outcomes by enriching them through support, information and education. PPU is dedicated to parents: to involve their families, to anticipate their challenges and help them to take advantage of opportunities to guarantee a successful student. They are dedicated to the Parent's development of leadership skills, knowledge and responsibility.

(971) 255-1347
ppuportlandparentunion@gmail.com



ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN NETWORK OF OREGON

The Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO) is a statewide, grassroots organization, uniting Asians and Pacific Islanders to achieve social justice. They use their collective strengths to advance equity through empowering, organizing and advocating with API communities. They envision a just and equitable world where Asians and Pacific Islanders are fully engaged in the social, economic and political issues that affect their communities

(971) 340-4861
info@apano.org
2788 SE 82nd Ave. Ste 203
Portland, OR 97266

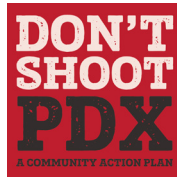


YOUTH ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ALLIANCE

The Youth Environmental Justice Alliance (YEJA) develops low-income youth and youth of color leaders through political education,

campaign organizing, and skill-building to address issues of Environmental Justice. The leadership program creates a space for marginalized youth to take action on the issues that directly impact them and their communities. YEJA is part of OPAL Environmental Justice Oregon.

(503) 774-4503
info@opalpdx.org
3202 SE 82nd Ave., Suite B,
Portland, OR 97266



DON'T SHOOT PORTLAND

Don't Shoot Portland's (DSP) organizational work and activism, including direct community education workshops, support the outreach of their advocacy as first respondents and have helped community members through direct engagement and legislative advocacy. DSP's regional and demographic relativity to the experiences in their community have compelled them to unite as activists and social advocates for youth, families, and vulnerable community members.

contact@dontshootpdx.org
1425 NE Dekum St,
Portland, OR 97211



M.O.M.S.

Movement Of Mothers/and/others Standing/Up/Together (M.O.M.S.) are concerned parents and allies of loved ones who have been severely harmed and traumatized in our mental health systems. Their faith in the mental health systems have been destroyed. Their focus is to build resilient neighborhoods that reclaim their capacity to care, share, heal, and empower each other.

(360) 254-8703
cindipacha@gmail.com



PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENT UNION

Your friendly, neighborhood, radical student action team. The Portland State University Student Union (PSUSU, pronounced sue-sue) is a grassroots, radical organization of passionate students dedicated to creat-

ing a university that serves our collective interests. By engaging in direct action together, we are growing a culture of student empowerment and realizing our capacity to affect change. Since 2013, we have been working to foster political engagement and awareness from fellow students.

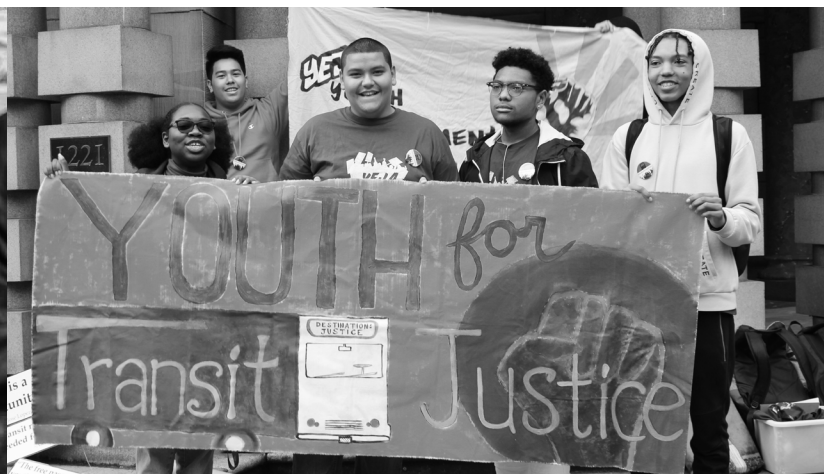
secretary.pxsusu@gmail.com



CRITICAL RESISTANCE PORTLAND

Critical Resistance Portland (CRPDX) is a chapter of Critical Resistance, a national grassroots organization that works to abolish the prison industrial complex by challenging the belief that policing, imprisonment, and surveillance keeps communities safe. CRPDX is an anchor organization and founder of the Care Not Cops Campaign, which has been working to shift public funding away from policing and into life-affirming community resources in Portland.

(510) 444-0484
crpdx@criticalresistance.org
14 NE Killingsworth St,
Portland, OR 97211



LOOKING AHEAD

Moving forward, Care Not Cops work will focus on several key areas: dismantling the Portland Gang Enforcement Team, advocating for police budget reductions with simultaneous community investments, and working with those who are creating the kinds of care and community that we want. We realize that all of this rests on building relationships, both coalitional and interpersonal.

DISMANTLING THE PPB/GET: The Gang Enforcement Team (GET) is symbolic of the inherent violence and racism of policing and represents one of the most egregious assaults on Portland's communities of color. We refuse to let the GET or other gang policing be used to repress, control, isolate, gentrify, and displace our communities. Through building up public opposition to the GET among the Portland community and members of City Council over the next few years, we hope to continually reduce the budget and number of positions for the GET and PPB. Our eventual goal is to eliminate the GET entirely, and obtain a measurable decrease in how police target primarily Black and Brown neighborhoods in north, northeast, and east Portland.

UPCOMING COMMUNITY BUDGET FORUMS: One of the ways we advocate for abolition and defunding the GET will be through attending, speaking, and mobilizing people for the budget hearings. The budget hearings are significant because there's an opportunity for public testimony where individuals can speak to the violent nature of white supremacist policing in Portland as well as the GET. The City Council is responsible for voting on the budget itself. Additionally, it is an opportunity to build with other organizations to create mutual support for different components of the budget we are either opposing or in support of. The budget was released on Tuesday, February 5th. Stay tuned for the upcoming budget meetings and mobilizations. We encourage all who have capacity to show up, encourage those in your communities to do so as well, and spread information about the budget on social media you have access to.

In the proposed 2019-2020 budget, Portland Police Bureau is requesting nearly 9 million dollars more than last year. Their rhetoric is about the need for increased

community policing and "community safety" as well as the for the Cycle of Violence Department reduction which profiles, surveils, and targets Black and Brown youth. We know police will never create safety. These funds should go to community organizations which can provide care and safety as expressed by those individuals. There will be more information released via Care Not Cops social media pages in response to the requested budget, and a plan for mobilization to the Community Budget Forums, which will be held at 6pm on April 2 and April 9, 2019, location TBA.

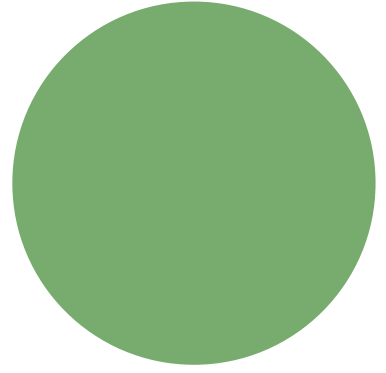
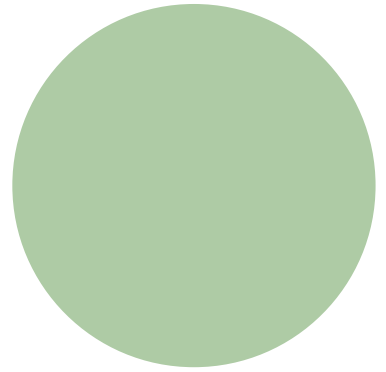
BUILDING CARE AND COMMUNITY: We want to support communities and community organizations as they work towards enhancing people's skills and understanding, and creating networks within neighborhoods. People will stop turning to the police as they develop the tools to respond to violence or "emergencies" without calling 911, and think in terms of care, community safety, and transformative justice. We also want to change how the budget functions, so that the community has a bigger role in the budgeting process and can ensure that Portland is investing more in abolitionist community resources and programs.

RELATIONSHIPS: Abolition depends on building relationships, both in the sense of allied organizations working towards a common goal, and in the sense of networks of people who know, are invested in, and care for each other. This is the source of the base and power necessary for opposing the GET effectively, and it is the very foundation for an alternative kind of society without policing.

Our specific goals within these areas, and who constitutes "we," are by no means set in stone. The Care Not Cops coalition is constantly learning and growing, and we would love to have your organization's presence, direction, insights—whatever you have the capacity to offer. Join us as we work to build up a coalition of organizations, led by the Black and Brown communities most affected by police violence, that support each other in abolitionist work.

RESOURCES

AND SOURCES FOR FURTHER LEARNING



CITY OF PORTLAND ADOPTED BUDGET FY 2018-19 VOLUME 1.

<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/cbo/article/694030>

CITY OF PORTLAND FY 2019-2020 POLICE BUREAU BUDGET REQUEST.

<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/cbo/article/711605>

CITY OF PORTLAND GANG ENFORCEMENT TEAM AUDITS:

Gang Enforcement Patrol

<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/auditservices/article/677598>

Gang Crime Investigations

<https://www.portlandoregon.gov/auditservices/article/677594>

FREEDOM TO THRIVE: REIMAGINING SAFETY & SECURITY IN OUR COMMUNITIES

<https://populardemocracy.org/news/publications/freedom-thrive-reimagining-safety-security-our-communities>

POLICING TIMELINE FROM CRITICAL RESISTANCE

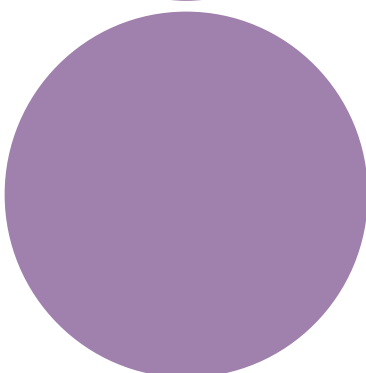
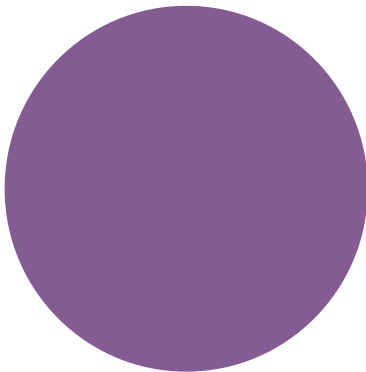
<http://criticalresistance.org/policing-timeline/>

TRANSFORMHARM.ORG

A resource hub about ending violence. It offers an introduction to transformative justice.

<https://transformharm.org/>

**CARE
NOT
COPS**



THANK YOU!

We thank the following groups for their organizing work, for the time and thought they put into responding to our questions, and for making this report possible:

Community Alliance of Tenants

VOZ Workers' Rights Education Project

Right 2 Survive

Street Roots

Sisters of the Road

Portland Parent Union

Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon

Youth Environmental Justice Alliance

Don't Shoot Portland

Movement Of Mothers/and/others Standing/up/together

Portland State University Student Union

Critical Resistance Portland

Special thanks to Sarah Crumb for the design of this report.