

# THE DEMAND IS STILL



## #DEFUNDTHEPOLICE

*#FundThePeople #DefendBlackLives*

**Lessons From 2020**

IC INTERRUPTING  
CRIMINALIZATION



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THE DEMAND IS STILL...

**#DEFUNDPOLICE #FUNDTHEPEOPLE #DEFENDBLACKLIVES**

## INTRODUCTION

Over the past eight months since George Floyd was choked to death by the Minneapolis Police Department, demands to defund the police emanating from Minneapolis spread like wildfire, echoing in the streets, in petitions to policymakers, and in the testimonies of thousands of people calling and writing in to virtual council chambers. Calls to defund police and invest in communities were not only a response to the ongoing murders of Black people like Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, and the hundreds of others killed by police every year. They were also a manifestation of outrage at the ongoing abandonment of Black, Indigenous, migrant, unhoused, disabled, and low-income communities to the ravages of a deadly pandemic, an unprecedented economic crisis, and catastrophic climate change, while billions of dollars continue to be poured into the coffers of police who criminalize, control, and cage, instead of into community care, support, and safety.

***In the wake of the rightwing white supremacist storming of the Capitol and attempted coup on January 6, 2021, the demand to defund police is more urgent than ever.***

There is growing evidence that many federal, state and local law enforcement officers, including Capitol Police, participated in, facilitated and condoned the events of January 6th - including video footage of Capitol Police removing barricades to allow white supremacists onto Capitol grounds, standing aside as they entered the building while denying entry to journalists, taking selfies with insurrectionists and directing people who intended legislators harm to their offices.

***The events of January 6th were not a justification for increased policing, they were a perfect encapsulation of the reality that policing does not keep us safe - including from white supremacists.***

Our response to white supremacist violence cannot be to pour still more resources into police who have repeatedly been shown to participate in and condone it, especially as the pandemic claims record numbers of lives each day and the unprecedented economic crisis deepens, leaving more and more people at risk of eviction, hunger, and violence. Nor can it be to give police more power to fight “domestic terrorism,” which will predictably be used against the very same communities currently targeted by police - for instance, a number of states have already used the attempted coup and threats of more white supremacist violence to resurrect laws first introduced to suppress #BlackLivesMatter protests. It is more imperative than ever to reduce the power, weaponry, and reach of law enforcement agencies that have made it abundantly clear through their actions leading up to and on January 6th that what they are committed to protecting is a white supremacist status quo, not the safety of Black and Brown communities.

The demand to defund police did not arise in a vacuum. It is rooted in a long legacy of challenges to white supremacist violence; and demands to end institutions created to control, regulate, disempower, and suppress Black communities; and for collective investment in meeting community needs through collective

care. It echoes the demands of the Black Panther Party’s 10 point platform for Black Liberation:

***“We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people....We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.”***

It is rooted in a central demand of the Movement for Black Lives’ Vision for Black Lives ([m4bl.org/policy-platforms](https://m4bl.org/policy-platforms)), first launched in 2016 in the wake of the Ferguson Uprising:

***“Invest/Divest - We demand investments in the education, health and safety of Black people, instead of investments in the criminalizing, caging, and harming of Black people. We want investments in Black communities, determined by Black communities, and divestment from exploitative forces including prisons, fossil fuels, police, surveillance and exploitative corporations.”***

The BREATHE Act ([breatheact.org](https://breatheact.org)), birthed by the Movement for Black Lives in 2020 in response to legislation and policy proposals advancing superficial reforms that do nothing to address the root causes and systemic nature of police violence, represents a federal legislative articulation of the Invest/Divest framework.

Over the past six months, organizers across the country have won significant victories in campaigns to reallocate funds from bloated police department budgets



to meet community needs. They extracted over \$840 million dollars from police departments, and secured investments of at least \$160 million dollars in communities. They removed cops from schools in over 25 cities, saving an additional \$34 million for investment in meeting student and community needs. They have engaged more people than ever in conversation around defunding police departments as a pathway to achieving genuine and lasting public safety by meeting material needs and resourcing and building community-based safety strategies, and to eventually abolishing policing altogether. They have faced and overcome significant resistance from police fraternal associations, pro-police lawmakers, and reformists whose proposals to tinker with the mechanisms of policing while leaving its foundations untouched have been wielded as a wedge to discredit their demands. They have wisely tuned out willful misrepresentations and dilutions of defund demands by political pundits and mainstream media outlets and stayed true to their vision. And they have learned valuable lessons to guide next steps in continuing campaigns to #DefundPolice.

Even as demands to defund police are being dismissed and attacked by Democratic party leadership - and others invested in maintaining existing systems of power and policing as shallow, nonsensical, ill-advised, contrary to the interests of Black communities, out of touch with popular opinion, "off message," and unpopular among focus groups - communities are continuing, undeterred, to fight for—and win—divestment of funds, power, and legitimacy from police and other institutions that kill, maim, and violate Black, Indigenous, disabled, queer, and migrant people while looting resources our communities need to survive, and investment in strategies that will achieve genuine and lasting safety.

This update to our June 2020 #DefundPolice toolkit reflects victories won across the country, key strategies deployed, some lessons learned - including, tricks, tensions, and roadblocks along the way - and key questions communities are contending with in campaigns to defund police as we look forward to 2021. It contains some excerpts from the original toolkit, but is not intended as a substitute. Our hope is that this report will be read in conjunction with the original #DefundPolice #FundthePeople #DefendBlack Lives toolkit, along with our What's Next: Safer and More Just Communities Without Policing report and Domestic Violence Awareness Month & Defund Fact Sheet.

One thing is clear as we move through each more devastating phase of the coronavirus pandemic, a looming eviction and foreclosure crisis, record unemployment, and food and housing insecurity as winter sets in across most of the U.S. The demand is still:

**#DEFUNDTHEPOLICE #FUNDTHEPEOPLE #DEFENDBLACKLIVES**

**“There’s a shift happening right now. The call to defund police is louder than we’ve ever heard it. We can all answer the call and reshape what our communities look like.”**

**DREAM DEFENDERS, DEFUND POLICE,  
REBUILD OUR COMMUNITIES**

**“Communities across the world are fighting for change with embodied knowledge that radical, life-affirming infrastructure and support along with a flowing stream of resources are what creates safe, secure, healthy, sustainable and equitable communities—conditions that allow us to not only survive but thrive. Policing drains our communities’ capacity for self determination. **THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE EPIDEMIC OF POLICING AND ITS INHERENT VIOLENCE IS ABOLITION.**”**

**CRITICAL RESISTANCE,  
ABOLISH POLICING TOOLKIT**





# WHAT IS DEFUND?

#DefundPolice is a demand that has gained popularity in response to recent police killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Tony McDade. It is rooted in the failure of decades of commissions, investigations, police reforms, and oversight to prevent their deaths.

It is also a response to the fact that, in the face of a pandemic and the most devastating economic crisis of a generation, in which cities, counties and states are experiencing drastic losses in revenues, many life-saving programs are on the chopping block while officials increase or maintain police budgets.

It is a demand to #DefendBlackLives by shutting off resources to institutions that harm Black people and redirecting them to meeting Black communities' needs and increasing our collective safety.

#DefundPolice is a demand to cut funding and resources from police departments and other law enforcement and invest in things that actually make our communities safer: quality, affordable, and accessible housing, universal quality health care, including community-based mental health services, income support to stay safe during the pandemic and safe, living wage employment, and education, youth programming and employment. It is rooted in a larger Invest/Divest framework articulated in the Movement for Black Lives' Vision for Black Lives.

**#DefundPolice is a strategy that goes beyond dollars and cents** - it is not just about decreasing police budgets, it is about reducing the power, scope, and size of police departments. It is about delegitimizing institutions of surveillance, policing and punishment, and of these strategies, no matter who is deploying them, to produce safety. **It is a strategy (part of the HOW) to advance a long-term vision of abolition of police through divestment from policing as a practice, dismantling policing institutions, and building community-based responses to harm, need, and conflict that do not rely on surveillance, policing, and punishment.**

And while #DefundPolice focuses on law enforcement agencies, we are also calling for defunding of jails, prisons, detention centers, immigration enforcement, sites of involuntary commitment and incarceration of disabled people.

We also recognize the need to resist the expansion of policing - both in terms of the presence of officers, and of policing, ideologies, and technologies - into many institutions, including social services, health care provision, and educational settings, and professions, including social workers, medical providers, and teachers. We need to be careful not to just transfer policing functions, practices, and technologies to different people and places.

Defunding is not just about cutting city budgets across the board as an austerity measure in the midst of an economic crisis - it is about reinvesting money cut from police departments into community-based services that meet basic needs and advance safety without using methods of policing, surveillance, punishment and coercion. It is also about investing in cultural life, arts, recreation, and the things that make and strengthen community and our dreams for our future.

**When we say #DefundPolice, we mean reducing the size, budgets, and power of all institutions that surveil, police, punish, incarcerate and kill Black people to zero, and investing in and building entirely new community infrastructures that will produce genuine safety and sustainability for our communities.**



# COMMON DEMANDS TO DEFUND POLICE

## BUDGET CUTS

Cuts police department budget without any reductions to:

- × Police powers
- × Scope of operation
- × Size of force
- × Number of police contacts
- × Legitimacy of practices of surveillance, policing, police violence, and punishment

No commitment to investing savings into meeting needs of criminalized and under resourced communities

## #DEFUNDPOLICE

Cuts police department budget with the intention of reducing:

- × Scope of operation
- × Size of force
- × Police powers
- × Police weaponry and equipment
- × Police contacts, stops, arrests, tickets
- × Collaboration with ICE
- × Reliance on policing to address conflict, harm and need in any institution

Commitment to investing funds into meeting needs of criminalized and under-resourced communities

## DISMANTLE

Cuts police department budget with the intention of reducing the size of force and scope of operation to zero and not replacing it with a different law enforcement agency, or moving policing practices to new agencies and actors

Commitment to imagining, identifying, building, and resourcing the skills, relationships, institutions, and practices necessary to meet community needs, ensure accountability, repair, and transformation of conditions that contribute to harm, and create conditions that enable everyone to thrive

## ABOLITION

Cuts the police department budget with the intention of eliminating police departments, surveillance, policing, and punishment in all institutions and aspects of society, and of values and practices that produce police, prisons, detention centers, and places of incarceration of disabled people

Investments are focused on universal public goods and ensuring every individual has the resources and conditions to reach their highest human potential, and on creating a society based on mutual accountability, passionate reciprocity, and collective liberation

# CAUTION



Sometimes budget advocacy focuses on the amount of money cities pay out in settlements to people who have been harmed by police. **Highlighting the amount of police “misconduct” settlements, or insisting that they be paid out of police budgets, will not stop police from harming people - but it may harm people who deserve compensation and repair for harms resulting from police violence.** Departments are deeply invested in continuing the practices that produce police violence, so instead of ending them, they will just fight harder against compensation for survivors and families of people killed by police, leaving the people we want to protect with even less recourse. Also, remember that when you see an amount in a city budget for settlements, it’s usually for compensation for harm that has occurred in the past - to survivors and family members who are entitled to justice. **There are many other places to cut police budgets - let’s ensure that until police violence no longer exists, we continue to make compensation and reparations to people and communities harmed.**



**Calls for individual officers to be mandated to carry private liability insurance are also likely to result in harm to survivors of police violence and family members.** Private insurance companies have one primary motivation - profit. Their practice is often to deny as many claims as possible, and to make every effort to assign blame to individuals seeking care and compensation for harm by the institutions they insure so they can block or reduce awards. We have seen how police departments try to defame people seeking redress for police violence - imagine how much more private insurance companies will do so to protect their bottom lines. Unlike public entities, there are fewer mechanisms to put pressure on them to do right by police violence survivors. **Let’s focus on reducing the size, scope, and powers of police to harm us, and ensure that survivors and families don’t have to fight private corporations to get the compensation and care they deserve.**

**OR MORE INFORMATION, PLEASE READ “IN CALLING TO DEFUND POLICE, DON’T FIXATE ON COSTS OF POLICE SETTLEMENTS”**





# EVOLUTION OF DEMANDS AND STRATEGIES TO #DEFUNDPOLICE OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS

In the days and weeks following George Floyd's murder, demands articulated by Minneapolis's Black Visions Collective and Reclaim the Block appeared on petitions in dozens of cities, endorsed by thousands of community members:

- × No more increases to police budgets
- × Defund the police department
- × Invest in community-based safety strategies
- × Stop police violence



As police repression of widespread protests across the country intensified, the list grew to include demands to:

- × Drop charges against protesters
- × Eliminate curfews
- × Ban the use of tear gas, pepper spray, facial recognition technology, and other militarized police weapons.

These demands joined calls to stop enforcement of “broken windows,” drug, poverty, and public health order-related offenses that preceded the uprising and were articulated as the pandemic took hold. They are accompanied by ongoing calls to free people incarcerated in jails, prisons, and detention centers where they remain at high risk of infection, suffering, and death as coronavirus rips through facilities where precautionary measures are impossible, prison personnel and procedures compound risk, and medical care is frequently denied.

In cities like Minneapolis, Austin, Dallas, Durham, and Oakland, where organizers had previously waged campaigns to reduce police budgets, and in cities like New York, Seattle, Atlanta, Chicago, Portland, and Los Angeles, where groups had previously fought to close jails, stop construction of new police facilities, and develop non-police responses to unmet mental health needs, the rapidly evolving conditions of the uprising created fertile ground for advancing new and existing significant and specific demands to cut substantial funding from police departments and reduce their scope of operations.

#### **INITIAL DEMANDS TO #DEFUNDPOLICE DEEPENED TO INCLUDE CALLS TO:**

- × Cut police budgets by specific percentages (up to 50-75%) or amounts (up to *at least* \$1 billion) this year
- × Make specific commitments to maintain cuts
- × Make substantial future cuts

In some cities, organizers used comparisons of current police budgets with those of other cities, or against their own city’s past police budgets, to arrive at specific numeric demands.<sup>1</sup>

#### **ADDITIONALLY, COMMUNITIES CALLED FOR:**

- × No new police department hires
- × No new cadet classes
- × Cuts to police recruitment budgets and bonuses
- × Cuts to police public relations budgets
- × Cuts to police legal defense budgets (please see CAUTION around not calling

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<sup>1</sup> Information about demands across the country and tools will be available at [defundpolice.org](https://defundpolice.org) beginning in February 2021.

for cuts to settlements to people harmed by police, taking settlements out of the police budget, or requiring individual officers to carry liability insurance on [page 10](#). For more information, please check out this article: [bit.ly/dontfixate](http://bit.ly/dontfixate))

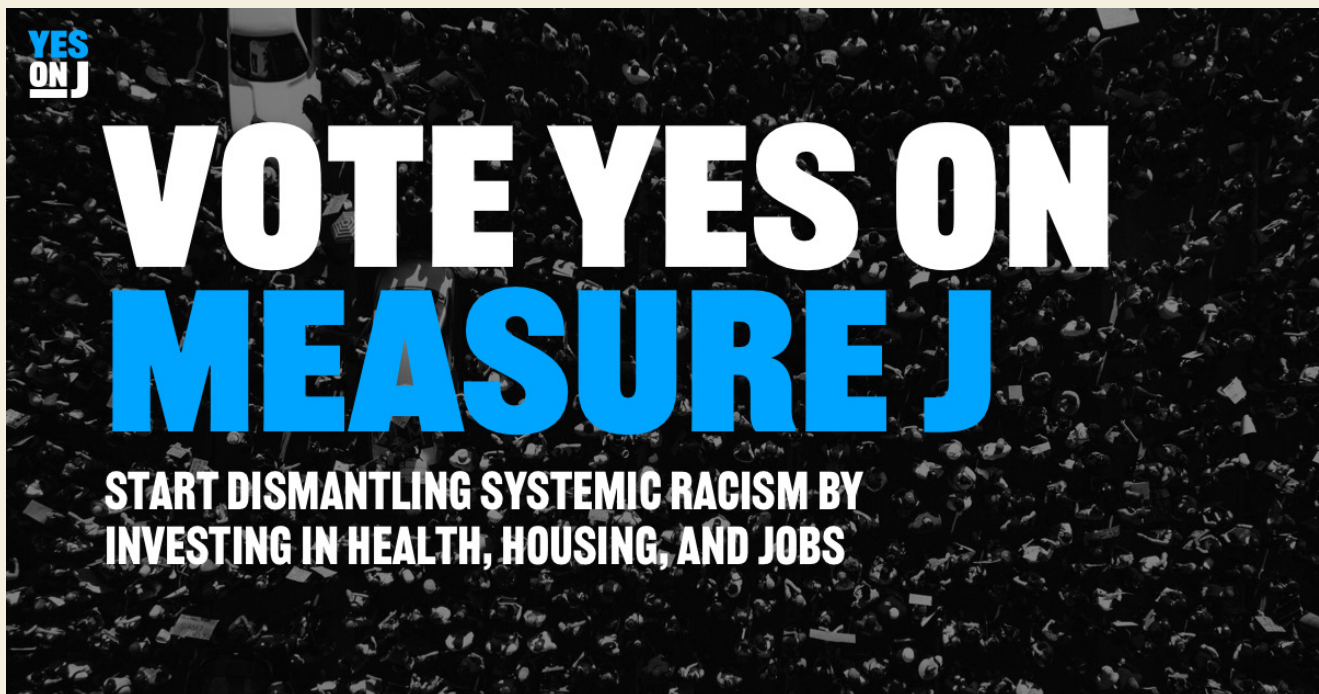
- × Abolition of or cuts to specific units, including:
  - *Homeless "outreach" units*
  - *Mounted and canine units*
  - *Gang/Gun violence units*
  - *Vice units*
  - *Youth outreach programs*
- × Removal of 911 dispatch, traffic enforcement, and responses to calls related to unhoused people and people with unmet mental health needs from the police department's jurisdiction
- × Permanent cuts or freezes to unfilled positions in order to limit police departments' future ability to reverse budget cuts by filling vacant positions
- × Priority layoffs of officers with serious records of harm
- × Rejection of federal funds for police personnel or equipment through Department of Justice programs such as Operation Legend and Community Oriented Policing Services grants
- × #PoliceFreeSchools
- × #PoliceFreeTransit
- × #PoliceFreeParks
- × #PoliceFreeHealthCare
- × Legislative bans on the purchase or use of chemical or military grade weapons by local police departments
- × Legislative bans on facial recognition technology

## **DEMANDS TO INVEST IN BLACK COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY SAFETY EVOLVED TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC CALLS FOR INVESTMENTS IN:**

- » Offices of Violence Prevention
- » Youth employment and after-school programs
- » Departments of Recreation and Youth Programs
- » Wellness and Safety Task Forces
- » Participatory budgeting processes
- » Increases in wages for non-police city employees
- » Filling vacancies for city social worker and social service positions
- » Housing

**RECOGNIZING THAT, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE GENUINE AND LASTING SAFETY, COMMUNITIES NEED GREATER INVESTMENTS THAN CAN BE ACHIEVED SOLELY THROUGH REDUCING AND ELIMINATING POLICE BUDGETS, ORGANIZERS CALLED FOR REVENUE-GENERATING INITIATIVES SUCH AS:**

- » Requiring that a certain percentage of overall tax revenues be allocated to non-police alternatives to incarceration and investment in Black communities (see Measure J, passed in November 2020 in Los Angeles County, in [Appendix D](#))
- » Imposing new taxes dedicated to specific purposes, such as a 2015 initiative in San Bernalillo county, NM which imposed a 1/8% gross receipts tax to improve mental health services
- » Progressive taxation (higher taxes for people with higher incomes)



Graphic from Reimagine LA





# VICTORIES

Over the past six months, organizers in over 20 cities have generated hundreds of thousands of emails, testimonies, and petition signatures calling on policymakers to defund police and investment in communities. **They secured divestment of over \$840 million dollars from police departments, investments of at least \$160 million dollars in communities, and increased transparency and community control over budgets in many areas.**

Additionally, **over 25 cities canceled contracts with local police departments operating in schools, saving an additional \$35 million.**

Organizers also won **bans on chemical/military-grade weapons in six cities, and on use of facial recognition in 4 cities.** For more information on city-by-city budget wins, please see [Appendix A](#).

While these cuts represent a relatively small percentage of the \$100 billion spent annually on law enforcement in the U.S.<sup>2</sup> - the 50 largest U.S. cities reduced their 2021 police budgets by 5.2% in aggregate, many in the context of broader cuts prompted by the economic crisis<sup>3</sup> - they reflect a reversal of the long-standing trend of annual increases to police budgets accompanied by cuts to social programs and violence prevention initiatives. They also represent a critical intervention and turning point in public perceptions of police budgets. Some of these victories were targets of subsequent attacks and efforts to undermine or chip away at them. And, our experience teaches us that systems of policing often adjust to absorb and adapt to movement demands in ways that re-entrench, or even expand police power. Yet each of these victories generated valuable lessons, and illuminated key strategies, tricks, tensions, and roadblocks that can serve to inform ongoing and future campaigns.

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2 BYP100, Center for Popular Democracy, Law for Black Lives, Freedom To Thrive: Reimagining Safety and Security in Our Communities, available at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5500a55ae4b05a69b3350e23/t/595cf69b1b631b031e0542a5/1499264677929/Freedom+to+Thrive+Web.pdf>

3 Fola Akinnibi, Sarah Holder and Christopher Cannon, "Cities Say They Want to Defund the Police. Their Budgets Say Otherwise," Bloomberg City Lab, January 12, 2021.

# LESSONS FROM THE GROUND

## RELATIONSHIPS ARE CRITICAL

Most successful campaigns to defund police and secure substantial investments in community-based safety strategies were moved by coalitions with solid and long-standing relationships, founded on shared politics, demands, and strategies. Organizers highlighted the importance of making use of “low” times in fights to reduce police budgets - when things aren’t moving as quickly - to prepare by building relationships, strengthening skills, and deepening political education, so that when conditions change and opportunities arise to move a collective agenda forward, groups can move together quickly and nimbly. Where relationships did not yet exist that were strong enough to move forward together, organizers took the time to build them. Policymakers consistently attempt to play groups against each other - making uniting and consolidating around specific demands and strategies, as well as interpretations of what is framed as a “win,” essential.

**“If you are not moving with community,  
you are not moving community.”**

- *Oluchi Omeoga, Black Visions Collective, Minneapolis, MN*

## THIS IS A YEAR-ROUND FIGHT – START EARLY AND KEEP GOING!

Organizers described the importance of developing and consolidating around specific demands early in the game - when city budgets are still being developed by individual departments and city managers. They also highlighted the importance of sticking with the process: several campaigns weren’t able to move their demands forward during the regular budget cycle, but got traction and secured victories during routine mid-year budget reviews and emergency budget adjustment periods prompted by COVID19-related revenue shortfalls.

Many leveraged the constantly changing conditions of the pandemic, uprising, and relations of power among policymakers to advance demands and secure cuts and investments. Most importantly, communities continue to monitor expenditures and implementation of wins closely, long after the budget has been passed to ensure that police departments - or the executive branches that oversee them - don’t block, reduce, or undermine implementation of budget victories into real change for communities.

## WATCH OUT FOR “FAKE WINS” AND “FUNNY MATH”

Many policymakers declared that they were responding to community demands while simply moving money around without taking it out of police control, or reallocating it to policing in new forms (i.e. the “shell game” - see [page 25](#)).

In some cases, cuts were spread out over years, diminishing their impacts and offering opponents multiple opportunities to chip away at them in the future.

*Other common “funny math” tricks include:*

- » Counting amounts or percentages cut from proposed budgets (which often contained proposed increases to police budgets) rather than cuts to previous years’ actual budgets. In other words, counting cuts from money that has not yet been allocated to police instead of cuts from actual police budgets.
- » Moving expenditures out of the police department budget and into another city department without changing the chain of command, personnel, or practices - like moving the cost of school police out of the police budget and into the department of education budget, but keeping the same employees under police department command, policies, and procedures.
- » Cutting the budget for positions that are currently vacant, but not eliminating the authority to fill them again in the future.<sup>4</sup>
- » Cutting overtime budgets but later approving requests to increase them again once overtime costs have accumulated over the budgeted amount. In other words, when the cops overdraw their overtime budget, the city covers the difference, essentially wiping out any savings originally budgeted.

## DON’T TRUST POLITICIANS

Many organizers described being disappointed, double-crossed, and seeing their demands diluted by politicians who wanted to appear supportive of movements for Black lives at the height of the uprising, only to backpedal when they felt the political winds shift. While many groups became more skilled at their “inside game” through defund campaigns over the summer, the most successful campaigns maintained a strong “outside game,” keeping up constant pressure, and focused on building community power alongside political power. While local elected officials are key players in efforts to defund police, our entire strategy cannot rely on them.

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<sup>4</sup> There are two types of authority for police positions: budget authority (the funding necessary to pay salaries, benefits, etc.) and position authority (the authority to fill a city employee position). In order to achieve lasting cuts to police budgets, both budget and positional authority to hire and employ cops need to be cut. For more information, see The Community Resource Hub toolkit *How to Take Back Your Budget: A Guide to Reviewing and Changing the Police Budget in Your City*, available at [https://communityresourcehub.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CRH\\_HowToTakeBackTheBudget.pdf](https://communityresourcehub.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CRH_HowToTakeBackTheBudget.pdf).

## SECURE LONG-TERM COMMITMENTS

To counter the effects of changes in conditions, opinions, commitments, or in policymakers themselves over time, organizers worked to secure commitments to future cuts to police department budgets while the pressure was high, and, where possible, build them into the current budgets. For instance, Seattle organizers secured a commitment from council members to not meet future demands by the police department to cover overtime cost overruns that exceed the approved overtime budget. When the cops came back with a demand to pay out overtime costs that exceeded the budgeted amount, policymakers introduced legislation to cut an equivalent amount from the next year's budget. In order to create demands for long-term commitments by policymakers, organizers themselves are developing long-term plans toward defunding police and creating safer communities that can shape immediate demands with long-term impacts.

## LEAN INTO EXISTING POLITICAL DIVISIONS

There are often political or power differences between mayors and city councils, cities and counties, states and municipalities. Find ways to exploit them, and play politicians and their power interests against each other in the interests of long-term community safety.

## DON'T ALLOW POLICYMAKERS TO PIT MOVEMENTS AGAINST EACH OTHER

Policymakers will often try to stall or block demands by claiming they don't enjoy support across communities and movements. Organizers are responding by creating People's Agendas and People's Budgets, and deepening cross-movement connections and solidarity. For instance, in Seattle, organizers are developing a solidarity budget which brings together defund demands and revenue generation strategies from across movements working as a united front (see Seattle solidarity budget principles and demands in [Appendix C](#)). In Dallas, organizers are making connections with housing advocates and communities fighting for environmental justice and against dumping of hazardous waste in Black communities, and uplifting the urgent need to ensure wellness and safety for Black trans women as they wage their defund campaign.



**“It was exciting to see the level of consciousness raised in our city about who benefits and who doesn’t benefit from the city budget. In our city, it has always been certain organizations who have responded when there was a police killing, offering the same reforms. In this case, we gave people a liberatory, affirmative vision of what our future can look like, not only in the city budget, but in terms of how we care for each other.”**

*-Mercedes Fulbright, In Defense of Black Lives Dallas, Dallas, TX*

### **DON'T WRITE ANYONE OFF**

While policymakers and community members may have a record of being pro-police, some can be moved through effective organizing. Most people want safe and sustainable communities for themselves and the people they care about - and most of us have been trained to believe that the only option to produce public safety is policing, in spite of its consistent failure to do so after hundreds of billions of dollars of investment over decades. If we offer a compelling and effective vision of safety for everyone, we can win many people over to our side.

### **BE PREPARED TO EXPAND YOUR REACH AND ENTER INTO UNUSUAL PARTNERSHIPS**

In some places, organizers made strategic alliances with unlikely partners, including local business improvement districts, sports teams, and city employees to advance defund demands. For instance, in many cities, police are hired by local sports teams or businesses to provide security or direct traffic. Organizers worked to break or leverage these relationships in order to reduce the budget, power, and scope of police departments by calling on sports teams to stop funding police departments, and on business associations to create mutual support systems that do not rely on policing to build safety.

## PRE-EMPT RESISTANCE

Organizers shared information, strategies, and successes through national networks to anticipate and foreclose potential resistance and sabotage of defund efforts by police. For instance, after hearing from organizers in Minneapolis that police had previously responded to budget cuts by delaying or declining to respond to 911 calls and telling frustrated callers to blame council members who had voted to cut police funding, organizers in Seattle ensured that legislation defunding the police included priorities for 911 response so that if police failed to respond to priority calls, it would be clearer to the public that they were intentionally doing so in order to undermine defund efforts. In other cities, police have actively destabilized and vilified violence prevention efforts, dubbing them “hug a thug” initiatives and unearthing past criminal history of program participants being paid to serve as credible messengers.<sup>5</sup> Organizers are using this knowledge to anticipate and inoculate against these moves.

## CREATE SPACIOUSNESS WITHIN BUREAUCRATIC TIMELINES

We don't need to have all of the answers right away, nor do we need to operate with manufactured urgency under bureaucratic budget timelines. Over the past year, defund campaigns were able to intervene at multiple stages in the budget process, not just in the few frenzied weeks leading up to passage of a final annual budget. Organizations made use of pre-budget hearings and post-budget oversight hearings, budget amendments, and program implementation milestones throughout the year to advance their agendas. Additionally, organizations were able to generate urgency and additional openings for action through protests, direct actions, and organizing communities to call on policymakers to defund police.

While policymakers often create urgency around an immediate need for alternative programs to replace police functions, it is essential to take the time needed to focus on what needs to be imagined, grown, and built to achieve genuine and lasting community safety. In the meantime, there are plenty of places policymakers can reinvest funds cut from police budgets, including areas where they have made cuts in the past - to health care, housing, income support, child and elder care, access needs for disabled people, employment programs, libraries, arts, and culture, all of which are proven to improve and increase community safety. Our needs for those things are urgent, and are a good place to start making sizeable investments while we

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<sup>5</sup> See, e.g. CREDIBLE MESSENGERS: Baltimore's Violence Interrupters Confront Shootings, the Coronavirus, and Corrupt Cops, The Intercept, July 26, 2020, available at: <https://theintercept.com/2020/07/26/baltimore-safe-streets-public-health-gun-violence-police/>

take the time we need to assess what community-based safety strategies exist now, but are under-resourced, what we need to build, and how we can move at the speed of trust and relationship to create safety in a way that is accountable to all members of our communities. We need time to experiment and fail and try again. After all, the current system has been failing and continues to fail to produce genuine safety for all of us, in spite of generations of investment of billions of dollars and infinite power and legitimacy. It's worth taking the time and resources we need to get it right.

**“We cannot move at the pace of white supremacy and capitalism to gain liberation.”**

- Oluchi Omeoga, *Black Visions Collective, Minneapolis, MN*

**“We need to move at the pace of our own excitement and creativity. We are a decentralized movement of decentralized movements - we need to make space for keeping it dynamic...to decenter and recenter.”**

- Damon Williams, *Let Us Breathe Collective, Chicago, IL*

## **START WITH INVESTMENTS**

Many communities are shifting their focus to building out a robust vision of what is needed to achieve genuine and sustainable safety for everyone, particularly in the context of the pandemic, economic, and climate crises. Some are using People's Movement Assemblies to do so, while others are engaged in participatory budgeting processes.<sup>6</sup> Once we have a clear set of demands based on what is required to keep our communities healthy, safe, and strong, when policymakers claim there is no money for the things we need, we can point to the police budget - and budgets for sheriffs, jails, prosecutors, prisons, and other harmful institutions - as a place to start cutting.

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<sup>6</sup> For more information about People's Movement Assemblies, please visit [peoplesmovementassembly.org](https://peoplesmovementassembly.org). For more information about participatory budgeting, please visit [participatorybudgeting.org](https://participatorybudgeting.org).

**“We learned, and the city learned, that the focus on police is not advantageous to us. How do we focus on what we want, the things we are advocating for? The budget is more than just police; we know there is a misallocation of resources in general. How do we invest in the things we need to survive?”**

*- Oluchi Omeoga, Black Visions Collective, Minneapolis, MN*

**“We need to make sure we are building as we are dismantling - that’s why Critical Resistance’s motto is ‘dismantle, change, build.’ Dismantling can be hard because it recenters violent institutions, which can be draining. Building is generative, so it is important to do alongside dismantling.”**

*- Critical Resistance Portland, Portland, OR*

**“In response to roadblocks, we rebranded our work to investing in safety - but not moving away from defund, our demands are still the same.”**

*- Invest/Divest Learning Community participant*

## **PRACTICE PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING**

In a number of communities, organizers were successful in advocating to turn over a specific portion of the city budget to a community-driven process for allocating funds, engaging more people in the process of governance and exercising power over how money is spent in their communities.<sup>7</sup>

**“Abolition is the destruction of all harmful systems, not just police. What does it look like to say ‘This is the agenda that we want’? How do we give folks space to dream about the way we want our communities to look and present that as a People’s Budget?”**

*- Oluchi Omeoga, Black Visions Collective, Minneapolis, MN*

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<sup>7</sup> For more information about participatory budgeting, please visit [participatorybudgeting.org](https://participatorybudgeting.org).



## FOCUS ON POLICE FUNCTIONS

Ask community members what functions do the police serve now. Are all of them necessary? Who else might serve those that are? What else might we imagine in place of those that are not? A focus on what police actually do rather than on abstract notions of who and what police are can be helpful in moving conversations about shrinking the size, scope, power, and budget of police departments going forward and building consensus around what constitutes community safety.

## FOCUS ON REVENUE

Much of our attention has been focused on reallocating existing funds within city, county, state, and federal budgets. As governments face dramatic budget shortfalls as a result of the pandemic and economic crises, they are primed to cut not only police budgets, but also funding for the things we need to survive. Several groups are working on creative revenue generation measures such as progressive and targeted taxation, as well as creation of public banks that can increase resources available to communities beyond what is currently in police budgets.<sup>8</sup>

## MAKE THINGS AND CONTINUE POLITICAL EDUCATION

Many groups have created curriculum resources, videos, and other tools to educate their members and community at the same time. This is critically important to fostering learning and reflection throughout campaigns. For instance, check out Project Nia's Defund the Police video at <https://bit.ly/DefundPoliceVideo>.

## REST

Many folks involved in defund campaigns have been going nonstop since May or June of 2020. Many feel like they are running on empty, leading to burnout, internal conflict, and diminishing imaginations. Organizers are leaning into creating more ways for people to get involved and take on tasks to lighten the collective load, more ways for people to tap in and tap out of the work as needed, and more ways to rest, replenish, and rejuvenate individually and collectively. Defunding the police and building lasting and genuine community safety is a marathon, not a sprint!

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<sup>8</sup> For more information, please visit Action Center on Race and the Economy, [acrecampaigns.org](http://acrecampaigns.org).

## ORGANIZERS DESCRIBED THE FOLLOWING KEY STRATEGIES TO SECURING AND SUSTAINING VICTORIES

Developing city, county, and statewide demands in collaboration with allied organizations informed by shared values.

Political education about what defunding police means for increased safety in communities through canvassing, Facebook and Instagram live events, teach-ins, study groups, book clubs, etc.

Create political education tools for membership and constituents, including curriculum tools for all ages and use in multiple settings (for example, schools, community groups, parents, etc.), videos, infographics, etc.

Using creative, COVID-safe actions, including projections onto buildings, car protests, public physical representations of budget allocations to policing and community services.

Recording community members' voices, visions, and stories to play for councilmembers and public hearings to ensure that people who were unable to attend could still participate.

Engaging partners - including mainline civil rights and "reform-based" organizations - more deeply around the political and practical vision of defund campaigns, and neutralizing organizations operating as a wedge to undermine defund demands.

Conducting community surveys and fighting for inclusion of questions regarding community safety and funding priorities on city surveys to show broad support for defund demands.

Engaging in participatory action research in heavily policed communities focused on questions like "what creates safety now?" and "where do you want to see investment?"

Tightening messaging to focus on specific cuts & investments.

Holding open "office hours" and open Zoom meetings to develop demands for investments and People's Budgets.

Reimagining safety through storytelling.

Building community capacity - unhooking responses to unmet needs and conflict from policing or calling a third party, and building capacity to stop delegating public safety to the state rather than building the skills and capacity to de-escalate, mediate, and care for each other.

Addressing fears and concerns based on real risks of violence - migrants, trans and gender nonconforming people, and other survivors of violence have deeply held concerns about what a world without police might look like. Don't discount them - engage them. Ask, "are you currently afraid for your safety?" and find out more about what they need to feel safer.

Engaging domestic violence and sexual assault service providers working with Black communities.

Building consensus around the principles of a health equity/Black liberation/ People's Budget.

# TRICKS AND TENSIONS

Over the summer and fall, organizers faced a number of tricks and tensions, some of which were consistent with the pitfalls on the road to safety outlined in our June 2020 toolkit, which are reproduced below at [pages 31-33](#).

## **THE SHELL GAME: *Moving money without moving people or changing practices***

Moving portions of the police budget to other departments while maintaining the same power structures, personnel, and practices doesn't achieve the goals of divesting from policing and investing in community safety.

For instance, in New York City, the Mayor claimed to have cut over \$300 million from the NYPD budget by simply moving the budget for school resource officers out of the police budget and into the Department of Education budget, without removing police officers stationed in schools from the police department's command. First, the monies were never taken out of the NYPD's budget; instead, the NYPD budget for police in schools actually increased. And, in the end, *the NYC Department of Education was defunded by over \$780 million*, while school police remained, even in the face of school nurse shortages, and cuts to summer youth employment programs. Additionally, placing the costs of school police into the Department of Education budget without removing police officers stationed in schools from the police department's command creates the illusion of defunding police without any actual impact on their power, scope, or practices.

Conversely, several cities - including Seattle and Minneapolis - were successful in removing 911 dispatch operations from the police department, or rerouting non-emergency calls through city 311 systems, effectively not just cutting the costs of these programs from police department budgets, but also cutting their ties to the police department altogether. Organizers will be monitoring implementation to ensure that relocated operations are free from police oversight and do not replicate problematic patterns.

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## **COPS IN NEW CLOTHING: *Ending police contracts doesn't always mean ending police presence***

In many cities, organizers were successful in terminating school board contracts with police departments and ending the presence of municipal police officers in schools, parks, public transit, and other public spaces. Unfortunately, this doesn't always

mean the end of police presence altogether. For instance, Portland organizers noted that sheriffs and private security officers continue to patrol the public transit system. Organizers in Minneapolis expressed outrage at their school district's plan to replace cops with new "public safety support specialists" - described as a "bridge between in-school intervention and law enforcement" - and at the fact that retired cops, prison guards, and private security officers were considered, and in some cases, hired, to fill this new role. Where traffic enforcement is shifted outside police departments to civilian personnel, as it was in Berkeley, Seattle, and other cities, organizers remain concerned about disproportionate enforcement of traffic and parking offenses against Black and Brown communities.

Implementation of police-free schools, parks, transit, and traffic enforcement is being carefully monitored to ensure that other police departments, or cops in new uniforms, or common policing practices by non-police personnel, don't seep back into these spaces.

**"I'm afraid that...all these districts that have been ending contracts are going to ... just create [their] own internal security force that will continue to perpetuate policing and criminalization."**

- Maria Fernandez, Advancement Project, #PoliceFreeSchools campaign

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***DISCRETION AND DISCRIMINATION: Directives to ensure "unarmed" response to "non-criminal" complaints will be interpreted differently for Black, disabled, trans and gender nonconforming, and unhoused people***

Some cities have pledged to ensure an unarmed response - either by a civilian or an unarmed member of the police department - to "non-criminal" complaints. Organizers are concerned that the same conduct - hanging around, sleeping outside, or other "quality of life" offenses, or even getting angry or getting into a fight - can be interpreted as "criminal" or "non-criminal" depending on who's involved, leading to differential responses based on perceptions rooted in ableism, anti-Blackness, homophobia, transphobia, and systemic discrimination against low-income or unhoused people, for example. In many cases these concerns are informed by collective experiences with the operation of discretionary diversion programs, which are often offered to individuals deemed "deserving" of a second chance and denied to people deemed "undeserving." Organizers are carefully monitoring implementation of unarmed responses to "non-criminal" calls for discriminatory and deadly patterns.



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## **INSUFFICIENT INVESTMENT: *Denying funding to programs essential to establishing community safety***

Cuts to police department budgets over the past year far exceeded funds invested into meeting basic community needs and community-based safety strategies, thus failing to address an essential and integral component of defund demands: invest in genuine and lasting safety for communities struggling under the weight of a pandemic and economic and ecological crises.

***Defund demands are not a call for austerity budgets, where cops carry their fair share of cuts across the board. They are calls for dramatic increases in investments in the things communities need to stay healthy and safe, and not only survive, but thrive, which will require all of the funds in current police budgets and much, much more.***

By failing to make necessary investments in the things communities need to survive, policymakers are laying the groundwork for claims that efforts to defund police are jeopardizing, or insufficient to create, genuine community safety - when in fact, it's an ongoing and increasing lack of resources available to communities under mounting economic pressure that is undermining community safety.

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## **THE RUSH TO FIND AND IMPLEMENT “ALTERNATIVES”**

Policymakers confronted with demands to defund police departments often respond with demands for “evidence-based” alternatives that are ready to pull off the shelf and immediately put into practice.

***Not every police function requires an alternative.*** For instance, in Minneapolis, organizers invited residents to list all of the places they see police in their communities, and then to talk about whether they needed to be there in the first place, and if not, whether anyone needed to fill that role. In some cases, what will produce greater safety and greater resources for people in need of assistance is decriminalization - of involvement in the sex trades, of drugs, of “broken windows” offenses like “loitering” and “disorderly conduct.” In other cases, what will produce greater safety and more options for community members is violence prevention programs, mediation centers, experienced de-escalators, mediators and facilitators, and increased skills, capacity, and relationships among community members to support friends, family, and community experiencing unmet mental health needs, domestic, and sexual violence.

***There is no cookie-cutter, one-size-fits-all solution that can be replicated in communities across the country or scaled up to a national level.*** The most effective violence intervention, prevention, and transformation programs are often unique to the communities they were formed in because they arose out of unique conditions, relationships, and bonds of trust. There are many programs that have elements and experience we can learn from, and perhaps draw upon, but each needs to be adapted to local conditions, and scaled up at the speed of relationships and trust, as well as a substantial injection of resources over the long term.

The reality is that police have benefited from centuries of investments, in money - to the tune of \$100 billion a year - faith, and legitimacy, while community-based prevention, intervention, and responses to harm have operated with little to no resources. They will require time, space, and room to learn as they grow, in addition to financial resources.

**“We need to be redirecting resources to investments, but we also need to be clear that we need to build some of the alternatives. We can’t rely on the state that has habitually built harmful institutions to build those alternatives.”**

- Karissa Lewis, Movement for Black Lives

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### **“VIOLENCE IS INCREASING IN OUR COMMUNITIES”**

In many communities, lawmakers and police unions pointed to increasing violence over the summer and fall of 2020 as evidence that defunding police departments reduces community safety.

***The reality is that none of the funding cuts outlined in Appendix A took effect by the time any increases in violence took place. In other words, any increases in violence are the product of policing as usual, not cuts to police budgets.***

In fact, violence increased in some cities where police spending increased.<sup>9</sup> In many communities, levels of violence over the summer and fall were comparable to previous years, or could easily be explained by cuts to life-saving violence prevention programs and increasing levels of poverty and need generated by the pandemic and economic crisis.

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<sup>9</sup> Fola Akinnibi, Sarah Holder and Christopher Cannon, [“Cities Say They Want to Defund the Police. Their Budgets Say Otherwise,”](#) Bloomberg City Lab, January 12, 2021.

Ultimately, policing does nothing to prevent violence from occurring - cops respond to shootings and assaults after the fact - and produces police violence not counted in statistics on gun violence or assaults. When policymakers say “now is not the time to experiment,” the reality is that now is not the time to continue to rely on systems proven to fail us. Now is the time to deepen our investments in things proven to reduce violence - including economic, housing, and employment security; health care, including universally available, culturally appropriate, voluntary and harm reduction-based mental health care; and community-based violence prevention and interruption programs - and invest in exploration and experimentation around what will produce genuine and lasting safety from all forms of violence.

The necessary response to increased violence in our communities is increased investment in proven violence prevention programs, including economic, health, and housing support to meet the devastating conditions of the pandemic, record unemployment, a looming eviction crisis, and increasing stress of living under these conditions, not increased funding to institutions that perpetrate violence while doing nothing to prevent it.

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### **MORE “OVERSIGHT”**

Increased attention to police violence often leads policymakers and reformists to call for increased oversight of law enforcement agencies. However, putting more funding into oversight bodies and mechanisms rarely generates any increased accountability, or meaningful change in policing practices. It does continue to give policing the illusion of fairness, accountability, and legitimacy while continuing to take resources from the things that would actually produce greater safety. In cities like Phoenix, organizers fought to stop funds from going to a civilian oversight agency, and instead ensure that they are directed to community-based safety strategies and resources necessary for survival.

Additionally, in some cities, defund campaigns faced opposition from advocates of community control of police departments - which would involve investing more funds and legitimacy into police departments, not less. For more information about why these strategies are incompatible with and directly undermine defund demands, please see <https://bit.ly/CRBProblems> and <http://bit.ly/commcontrol>.

## TASK FORCE TACTICS

In several cities, including Austin, Durham, Oakland, and San Francisco, policymakers responded to calls to defund police by creating task forces to explore further budget cuts and examine which police functions could be relocated or eliminated altogether.

In each of these cities, organizers fought to exclude current and former law enforcement officers from participating in or facilitating the work of these task forces, with varying degrees of success. In many of them, organizers are deeply engaged in struggles around foundational frameworks, the scope of the task force's work (subject matter or geographic, i.e., city or county, inclusive of school police or not, etc.), the processes that will govern their work, compensation for participation by members of communities most directly impacted by policing and violence, and the degree to which their deliberations should be public.

In addition to delaying divestment from policing and increased investment in community-based safety strategies, organizers are concerned that task forces will be used to water down, co-opt, and defuse demands for investment in community-based safety strategies, or recommend programs that continue to be enmeshed with policing.



Photo by Paul Kuroda

# TEN TIPS

## FOR NAVIGATING THE PUSHBACKS, THREATS, AND CHALLENGES TO DEFUNDING POLICE

There are many pitfalls on the path to a new world, each of which could take our pursuit of real safety wildly off course, or end the journey altogether for the time being. The following list names ten of these pitfalls and offers initial guidance for how to stay on course. Advancing a #DefundPolice strategy requires us to watch out for:

- 1 WATERED-DOWN TRANSLATIONS:** “Defunding” is a broad term that can be and is being watered down. When the definition is weakened, it is likely to result in the state offering only gradual cuts over many years, an outcome that makes the road ahead much steeper. If watered-down translations prevail, communities will be fighting to preserve these gradual and potentially too small cuts for months and years to come.
- 2 THE SHELL GAME:** Defunding is not just a numbers game of shifting money from the police budget to “community-police partnerships” or to programs that perpetuate policing like the foster system or coercive mental health or drug treatment programs. Our goal is to delegitimize policing institutions and policing practices, not simply move money from one to another. The Shell Game has the potential to confuse our goals and throw us off course.
- 3 FEDERAL ENTRENCHMENT:** Often funding for police departments comes from the federal government through grants for law enforcement that can’t be moved to other purposes. However, sometimes these dollars are flexible, and we should strongly advocate that they be made available to be used for community programs that actually promote public safety. We can’t let the “federal dollars” narrative keep us from advancing our vision and fighting for reinvestment, from every available source. There are more resources for the journey to real safety than many realize.



**4 CONTRACT TRAPS:** Often law enforcement association contracts create obstacles to cutting police budgets - so we need to develop strategies that directly target contract negotiations and provisions. We also need strategies that target parts of the police budget that are not hamstrung by contract provisions. Without these deeper layers of work, lawyers and conservative budget managers can use technicalities to block our way forward.

**5 LACK OF IMAGINATION:** This pitfall is solely on us. We must be crystal clear: What kinds of investments do we want in our communities? How are we identifying the programs we want officials to invest in instead of policing? The easiest thing to do is to move money from one city, county, or state program to another - but do these programs meet our community needs? When the road gets foggy and we need to sharpen our vision of the steps ahead, we must ask:

- » Do we want money to move from police to public housing (which is often heavily policed - by law enforcement AND by public housing authorities) or to community-based quality, affordable, and long-term housing without long waiting lists?
- » Do we want money to move from police to hospitals and mental health providers who incarcerate disabled people or to community-based, voluntary harm reduction-focused community mental health providers?
- » Are community-based violence interruption programs, drug treatment, or youth engagement programs tied to police or prosecutors who serve as a "stick" to gain compliance, or are they rooted in deepening relationships and resources in our communities?
- » Do our community-based organizations have the capacity to meet community needs? To apply for and receive city or county funding? What can we be doing to increase our capacity and get rid of red tape and burdensome requirements for government funding? How can we ensure that it is not used as a tool to infuse surveillance and policing into our community organizing work?

**6 ABSENCE OF FIREWALLS:** Keeping our sights clear is paramount. But we also have to strengthen the road itself. It is vital to EXPLICITLY decouple social programs from policing. We need firewalls. For example, youth programming should not be tied to policing. Ever. Wherever we can build these boundaries, we must. Or else the road to real safety will become more worn down and harder to follow, rather than easier to travel over time.

**7 FAILURE TO BUILD CAPACITY:** How are we building our communities' capacity for community-based, transformative approaches to harm, need, and conflict? Are we actually creating the muscles needed for real safety to take root and grow? If we focus only on critique, we will miss the work of sustainable capacity building that real safety requires. This is like stopping on the journey when we are really just getting started.

**8 LEAVING SURVIVORS BEHIND:** How are victim-rights/survivor-focused groups going to react to the proposals to defund law enforcement? Many of these groups rely on those funding streams to exist. We must build bridges that help them join our movement, so they too can be on the road to real safety, which is what so many of them desire most.

**9 BUDGET JARGON:** Community members are not \*budget experts\* and might find themselves feeling uninformed when leaders start discussing line items and revenue sources. But if we delegate these fights to policy folks, then the power and vision of organizing leaves the discussion. We must work with community members to understand the brass tacks, so that even when the road to real safety narrows, everyone has the confidence they need to stay on the journey.

**10 STRAIGHT UP SABOTAGE:** The road to real safety is not itself safe. Undermining from the police, from the right wing, and from liberal politicians is a real threat. We must anticipate it. The more we strengthen our relationships, spell out our shared values and guidelines for how we treat each other, and protect our common vision, then the less likely it is that we will get knocked off the road or, worse yet, provoked into pushing one another off course.

# ROADBLOCKS

Beyond navigating the tricks and tensions listed above, defund campaigns faced several roadblocks along the way, including:

## ***Mayoral blocks and vetoes***

While municipal and state legislative bodies have the power to pass budgets, mayors and governors often have the power to veto them or block their implementation. In some areas, hard fought wins at the city, county, and state levels were undermined by mayors who refused to follow or undermined legislative directives, forcing organizers to secure veto-proof legislative majorities and to carefully watch and keep pressure up on mayors and governors throughout the year as the budget is implemented and adjusted.

## ***State action and pre-emption***

Several state governments, including Texas, Florida, Indiana, Illinois, and Louisiana, are considering legislation that would penalize cities that cut police budgets and reinvest the funds in community safety strategies. Others claim that their right to regulate policing overrides the power of cities and counties to defund police.

## ***Federal grants***

In many cities, organizers fought to cut municipal funding to police departments only to find that cities and counties had secured federal grants through the Department of Justice Community Oriented Policing Service (COPS) grants and Operation Legend to hire more police officers or purchase more equipment. Several cities, including Milwaukee, successfully fought to secure refusal or return of federal grants.

## ***Politics of representation, diversity and “inclusion”***

In a number of cities, efforts to defund police faced challenges related to investment in Black representation in law enforcement, and support among politicians and community for Black police chiefs who are perceived as “progressive.” In some places, like New York City, politicians pointed to the fact that the majority of officers in units targeted for cuts - like school safety officers - are Black women. Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot argued that defunding police would get rid of “one of the few tools that the city has to create middle-class incomes for Black and Brown folks” - as if policing our own communities is the only well-paying job that is - or should be - available to

people of color. Opponents also claimed that defund demands didn't come from Black communities, who are calling for more police, but from white gentrifiers who don't face the same levels of violence.

Across the country, Black organizers, many from the communities most directly targeted for policing and organized abandonment and neglect, contributing to high levels of both police and community violence, continue to lead fights for greater investments in genuine and lasting safety for their communities, and to advocate against integration or illusory control within deadly institutions.

### ***Law Enforcement Association Contracts***

Many policymakers claimed that existing contracts with law enforcement fraternal associations (also known as police "unions") prevented implementation of efforts to defund police by requiring minimum staffing levels, locking in raises while other city employees face cuts, or mandating specific conditions that precluded cuts to personnel, equipment, and benefits. In others, they expressed concern that due to "last hired, first fired" clauses, layoffs would cause departments to lose their youngest, "best trained, most diverse" officers.

Organizers countered by pointing out that public sector contracts don't preclude layoffs due to funding shortages, and that cities regularly cut staffing, wages, and benefits and create more hazardous working conditions for city employees like teachers, child care workers, health care providers, park and library employees who enjoy far lower wages and fewer benefits than police officers, despite the fact that they are far more essential to creating safe and healthy communities. They also pointed to evidence that rookie cops are often responsible for the highest levels of physical, sexual, and fatal violence. Where contracts do restrict efforts to defund police, organizers are working to open up the contract negotiation process to greater public scrutiny and engagement.

### ***Consent Decree Conundrum***

In cities like Seattle, Portland, and Chicago, policymakers opposed to defund efforts pointed to requirements enshrined in federal consent decrees intended to reform police departments that call for increased training, oversight, public engagement, body cameras & equipment, as reasons to give police departments more, not less, money. The reality is that cities have the power to renegotiate consent decrees, and have frequently done so to evade their responsibilities under them. Additionally, there is no reason that cities governed by consent decrees could not seek to meet requirements to reduce use of force, discriminatory policing practices, and eliminate other constitutional violations by defunding and reducing the number of police contacts by reducing their scope of operations and power.

### ***Pension liabilities***

Many cities are facing a fiscal crisis connected to unfunded pension liabilities - as the public sector workforce, including police, is aging, cities' responsibility to cover the cost of negotiated pensions and benefits is exceeding funds put aside to meet these obligations. This funding gap is being exacerbated by steep pandemic-related revenue shortfalls. As a result, many cities are seeking to make cuts to police department budgets to meet their unfunded pension liability rather than to reinvest funds into community safety strategies.

### ***"It's the wrong message"***

The reality is that people who claim that "defund the police" sends the wrong message generally don't agree with the underlying premise that in order to achieve genuine and lasting safety we need less, not more policing. The critique of a slogan that represents a broader political agenda to divest from institutions that perpetrate and fail to protect people from violence and invest in genuine and lasting community safety masks a fundamental disagreement with the overall goals of the movement to defund police. Claims that support for defunding police led to electoral losses have been disproven by the fact that none of the candidates who lost their seats supported the position, while many who did won re-election. A recent analysis also shows that many more cities that cut police budgets are seeing increased support for Democratic candidates than the other way around.<sup>10</sup>

### ***Sabotage***

Police fraternal associations are responding to challenges to the resources and power of police with full-on counter attacks. For instance, in Austin, the local police fraternal association mounted a fear-mongering billboard campaign, while in New York City police held press conferences claiming cuts would result in skyrocketing crime rates. In Oklahoma, a suit filed by the local police fraternal association led a state court judge to block cuts by ruling that a council meeting at which policymakers voted to defund police didn't provide sufficient notice of the action they planned to take. Organizers are working to divest police fraternal associations from political power by pressuring politicians to stop seeking their endorsements or funding, and by exposing those who do.<sup>11</sup> They are also working to pre-empt sabotage, expose lies and corruption, and reclaim the public safety narrative.

**ORGANIZERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY CONTINUE TO COLLECTIVELY STRATEGIZE AND BUILD POWER TO OVERCOME THESE ROADBLOCKS.**

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<sup>10</sup> Fola Akinnibi, Sarah Holder and Christopher Cannon, "[Cities Say They Want to Defund the Police. Their Budgets Say Otherwise](#)," Bloomberg City Lab, January 12, 2021.

<sup>11</sup> For more information, visit [nomorecopmoney.com](http://nomorecopmoney.com).



# KEY QUESTIONS GOING FORWARD

## 1 HOW CAN WE BEST INTEGRATE NEW PEOPLE/PROTESTERS/IMPACTED COMMUNITIES INTO ORGANIZATIONS/MOVEMENT?

Over the past six months, many smaller organizations and formations have been called to absorb significant numbers of new members, many of whom may also be new to the communities they are organizing in, mobilized by the uprising. What does orientation, on-boarding, political education, and political alignment of large numbers of new members into existing organizations look like?

*“How do we meet the moment, create a container that can fuel some of the organizing, leverage our power, and keep people?”*

- Asha Ransby-Sporn, Defund CPD, Chicago, IL

## 2 HOW CAN WE ABSORB THE ENERGY OF THE STREETS INTO STRUGGLES TO BUILD BUDGETS AND INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WILL CREATE GENUINE AND LASTING SAFETY?

In a number of cities, organizers face challenges bringing large numbers of people who took to the streets over the summer into deeper engagement with budgets, governance, mutual aid, and long-term visions of safety. Creating large scale opportunities for political education, engagement, and leadership development are key - and can be hard to build while engaging in a protracted budget fight.

## 3 HOW DO WE AVOID THE POTENTIAL PITFALLS OF “TREATMENT NOT PUNISHMENT” FRAMEWORKS?

Following the lead of long-time disability justice organizers, campaigns to shift responses to drug use, involvement in the sex trades, houselessness, and unmet mental health needs away from policing are being called to re-examine and resist investments in a medical model that simply shifts mechanisms of policing, containment, and control from cops to social workers, mandated treatment, health care providers and public health institutions, and to insist on investments in voluntary, non-coercive, low-threshold, and harm reduction-based medical care and drug treatment that prioritizes autonomy and self-determination, and to ensure that health care and treatment are completely uncoupled from police departments and court mandates.

## **4 INVEST IN MEETING MATERIAL NEEDS OR TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE STRATEGIES?**

Funders and policymakers are creating false dichotomies between community-based strategies focused on meeting material needs and strategies focused on creating and building transformative justice processes to address conflict, harm, and need beyond policing. The reality is that both are needed: investments in meeting people's material needs through direct income support and service provision, and investments in untested experiments to address current gaps in community-based safety strategies, which are often perceived as risky, but are in fact essential to building the skills, relationships, and infrastructure necessary to achieve genuine and lasting community safety.

## **5 WHERE DO THE COPS GO?**

The reality is that we collectively need to develop a plan for how to reabsorb thousands of cops into new functions that don't simply enable them to replicate the same behaviors, exercise the same powers, and produce the same harms in other positions - whether as private security, probation, or "safety specialists." Former police will need support to adjust to their new reality. Supports may include job training programs, counseling, support for accountability for harm done, orientation to new safety practices, and/or community support groups to help internalize new paradigms of safety. These programs will need to be specialized projects localized within broader publicly accessible worker support programs so as to prioritize transition to a just economy for all workers in a holistic fashion, including support for transition into other kinds of work for former police. Such a plan is vital to the emergence of a new public safety paradigm.

We cannot assume that all police officers, especially those who have grown accustomed to police power, will not resist transition into non-enforcement labor. Former police who move into militias can be documented and their access to public funds and worker transition programs must be contingent upon them ending that association. There may be opportunities to create or establish groups like anti-war veterans' groups beginning with people who left policing with/because of an analysis of its inherent violence to do some of this organizing work.

## 6 DEFUNDING THE POLICE DOES NOT MEAN PRIVATIZING THE FUNCTIONS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

We are calling into question not only the legitimacy of public law enforcement agencies, but also the broader system of order maintenance to which civil society has deputized them. Simply redistributing the tasks of public police to private entities does little more than change the shape of the structure. Private security forces, including those hired by “business improvement districts” and homeowners associations, vigilante groups, and even neighborhood watches and citizens’ patrols can be equally deeply invested in maintaining existing relations of power and white supremacy, even as some masquerade as transformative community interventions. We must proactively block the privatization of police - and adoption of policing practices within communities - on all of these fronts as we defund law enforcement and reinvest in community-based safety.

## 7 HOW DO WE HOLD FEAR IN OUR COMMUNITIES?

For many communities, police are the only government resource available to meet any and all needs, conflicts, and harms. The notion of removing police raises fear of further abandonment to violence and absence of any government structures or institutions whatsoever to ensure safety or meet community needs. This is particularly true for people who have experienced failed states, or who are at risk of white supremacist and intra-communal violence. Groups are wrestling with how to hold these fears with care while simultaneously building a shared understanding of violence and harm that includes the violence of police and fellow community members, of what genuine safety looks like and requires, and how we might go about creating it together in ways that recognize the interconnectedness of our existence without leaving anyone behind.

***“When we put out abolitionist political education, people are actually on our side, they see this as the pathway to liberation. We just need to do that work, to give folks an opportunity to organize and dream...”***

- Oluchi Omeoga, Black Visions Collective, Minneapolis, MN

## **8** WHAT IS OUR RELATIONSHIP TO THE STATE?

Organizers are contending with the fact that defund campaigns require significant engagement with local, county, and state policymakers - and the internal workings of municipal and state governments, budgets, and programs - representing more involvement in local government administrative, bureaucratic, and legislative processes than many groups have historically undertaken. For many, this is raising questions about how much they want to be involved in the day-to-day operations of governments they oppose on principle based on the interests they serve and the policies they adopt and implement.

Shifting resources allocated through city processes to community-based organizations also involves engaging with a great deal more bureaucratic red tape, and in some cases much greater oversight, bordering on surveillance, of their operations. Many groups engaged in work to promote community-based safety currently don't accept government funds for these reasons, prompting questions about how and to who funds will be distributed.

Defund campaigns are also generating deeper strategic questions about what it means to fund the commons, and the role of a state in managing the commons and distributing resources - and whether it is possible to do so without using mechanisms rooted in policing.

***“How much do we depend on the state to liberate us? That’s a question we’ve been pondering and are still pondering as most of our actions have targeted city officials.”***

- Jasmin, Communities of Color United, Austin, TX

# CONCLUSION

All of the victories in campaigns to #DefundPolice and refund our communities over the past six months have come from building power - in the streets and in our communities. Direct action got the goods - and so did sustained pressure from thousands of people who called their local council-members, Zoomed into budget hearings, and participated in digital actions and social media campaigns in the midst of a pandemic.

Emboldened by these victories and far from being dissuaded or discouraged by setbacks, roadblocks, or the challenges ahead, organizers in dozens of cities are building power and preparing to come back for more cuts to police department budgets, investments in communities, and more robust and expansive visions and mechanisms of public safety in 2021. They intend to do so with more power and political alignment, and by advancing creative online and mutual aid actions and base building strategies, political education, community engagement, and participatory budgeting. They are coming together in community coalitions across the country, in nationally networked formations through Critical Resistance's Abolition Now network, the Movement for Black Lives, the Community Resource Hub, and Borealis Communities Transforming Policing Fund Learning Communities, funder cohorts, and in informal networks to learn together, pool resources, strategize, collaborate, connect - and win genuine and lasting safety for their communities.

**A new collaborative website, [defundpolice.org](https://defundpolice.org), available in February 2021, will offer organizers a one-stop-shop to find demands, information, and resources from defund campaigns across the country, and access budgeting tools, legislation and policies, trainings, and messaging guidance.**

**THE DEMAND IS STILL, MORE THAN EVER:**

**#DEFUNDPOLICE #FUNDTHEPEOPLE #DEFENDBLACKLIVES**



**“If we want to defund the police, we must build strong local movements that engage thousands of people to build real political power to force decision-makers to create budgets that move money towards the things we need and away from police and prisons.”**

**DREAM DEFENDERS, DEFUND POLICE,  
REBUILD OUR COMMUNITIES**

**“I always knew abolition was necessary for Black liberation. I didn’t know that it was **A POSSIBILITY I COULD CREATE.**”**

**OLUCHI OMEOGA, BLACK VISIONS  
COLLECTIVE, MINNEAPOLIS, MN**

## RESOURCES

[#DefundPolice Toolkit](#)

[What's Next](#)

[Take Back Your Budget](#)

[Defund Sheriffs](#)

[CR Toolkit](#)

[Dream Defenders' Toolkit](#)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was written, with deep gratitude to all of the organizers across the country whose work, vision, insights, and sharp analysis informed it, by Andrea J. Ritchie, with contributions from Mariame Kaba, Woods Ervin, Angelica Chazaro, and members of the Community Resource Hub and Borealis Communities Transforming Policing Fund Learning Communities. Where information is not cited it was sourced directly from local organizers.

Copyediting: Eva Nagao. Design: Danbee Kim. Cover Art: Matice Moore.

# CITY-BY-CITY VICTORIES

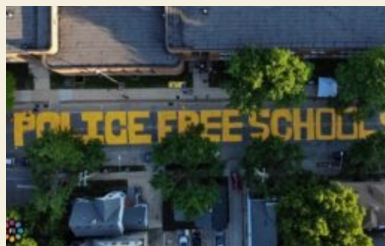
## #POLICEFREESCHOOLS

Decades-long campaigns for [#PoliceFreeSchools](#) saw significant victories in over 25 cities canceling police department contracts with school boards and removing police and “school resource officers” from public schools, including:

- » Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Winona, Minnesota
- » Milwaukee and Madison, WI
- » Hopkins, East Lansing, and Ypsilanti, MI
- » San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, San Rafael, Santa Rosa, Fremont, Mountainview/Los Altos, West Contra Costa, and Sacramento CA
- » Rochester, NY
- » Portland, OR
- » Oak Park, IL
- » Denver, CO
- » Seattle, WA
- » Charlottesville, VA
- » Plattsburgh, VT
- » Portland, ME
- » Washington, D.C.

By eliminating positions like single school resource officers, on one end, all the way to cutting entire school police departments, on the other, communities saved over \$17 million dollars. In many cases, resolutions disbanding school police forces, canceling contracts with city police departments, or removing armed police officers from schools specifically called for reinvestment of funds in mental health services and social supports for students and families. Organizers are monitoring addition of social workers and “behavioral mental health” and “restorative justice” specialists to ensure that they do not continue police practices of controlling and criminalizing children, and instead make a genuine and lasting contribution to creating positive learning environments and meaningful student supports.

For more information on victories in the fight for [#PoliceFreeSchools](#), please visit the Advancement Project’s [policefreeschools.org/victories](https://www.policefreeschools.org/victories) site and Girls for Gender Equity’s map of [#PoliceFreeSchools](#) campaigns at [bit.ly/GGEPFSMap](https://bit.ly/GGEPFSMap).



*Disclaimer: This is not an exhaustive account of every single victory in campaigns to #DefundPolice in the U.S., and no doubt leaves out important wins, particularly in smaller towns, rural areas, and at the county level. Any exclusions are inadvertent and unintentional. However, it does represent a snapshot of what campaigns to defund police that Interrupting Criminalization is familiar with have accomplished over the past six months, and is intended to inspire and inform ongoing campaigns.*

## MINNEAPOLIS, MN

In collaboration with dozens of community partners, Black Visions Collective and Reclaim The Block, who were leaders in the uprising to demand justice in the wake of the killing of George Floyd, demanded and won:

- » \$8 Million cut from the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) budget - first cuts in 20 years!
- » Cut 22 positions from MPD, eliminated the mounted patrol unit, and moved community navigator, crime prevention specialist, and parking out of MPD.
- » Incident reports and property damage calls rerouted to 311 instead of 911.
- » \$2 million invested in effective community-based violence prevention programs and a new mobile mental health team.
- » Collaboratively developed a People's Budget with dozens of community partners - check it out at: [bit.ly/MPLSPeoplesBudget](https://bit.ly/MPLSPeoplesBudget)



## PORTLAND, OR

Using a new email system, organizers generated 60,000 emails supporting demand to defund Portland Police Bureau (PPB) to council members.

Cut \$15 million from proposed PPB budget (original demand: \$50 million), cut \$8.6 million compared to prior year budget.

Elimination of Street Emergency Reaction Team (SERT)/Gun Violence Reduction Team (GVRT), based on audits of their expenditures secured through community organizing. However, members of these teams were redeployed throughout the department, and the Mayor is currently walking back the commitment to cut the SERT team due to what he is describing as an uptick in violence.

Elimination of transit police. However, other law enforcement agencies, such as the sheriff's office, still have jurisdiction over the transit system.

## **DISMANTLE PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU DEMANDS: CARE NOT COPS, JUNE 2020**

Within the 20-21 FY budget cycle, reduce the Portland Police Bureau (PPB) budget by at least \$50 million.

Each year going forward, continue decreasing the PPB budget by at least \$50 million. Immediately eliminate vacant positions, and fold this funding back into the general and special appropriations funds.

Implement an immediate hiring freeze, and commit to ending any new hires of Portland Police Bureau sworn officers.

In addition - immediately eliminate the funds for the following specialty units:

- » School Resource Officers, Special Emergency Reaction Team, Transit Police, Neighborhood Response, Service Coordination Team, Behavioral Health Unit, and the Gun Violence Reduction Team (formerly the Gang Enforcement Team)
- » Redirect funds allocated for gang policing towards anti-violence programs unaffiliated with law enforcement, reparations for Black Portlanders targeted by gang policing, and other investment in Black people to be determined by impacted communities and grassroots groups such as Don't Shoot Portland & Freedom to Thrive.
- » Eliminate these positions entirely by reducing the total number of officers, not just by folding them back into general sworn officer positions.

Immediately stop policing protests.

End PPB relationship to the Federal 1033 program (which supplies militarized weapons, gear, and vehicles to local police departments across the country).

Divest City of Portland Cannabix Tax funds from the PPB budget and invest them into reparations for those harmed by the War on Drugs, which disproportionately targeted Black communities for activities that are now legal.

Immediately stop expansion of the Portland Police Bureau budget by ending all budget increases. City Council must commit to never vote for PPB Budget increases again.

Immediately end the use of police responders to health or mental health calls and wellness checks, and implement alternative responses that are not led by or contingent on interaction with the police.

Immediately terminate contract between the Portland Police Bureau and Portland Business Alliance for the Clean & Safe Enhanced Services District.

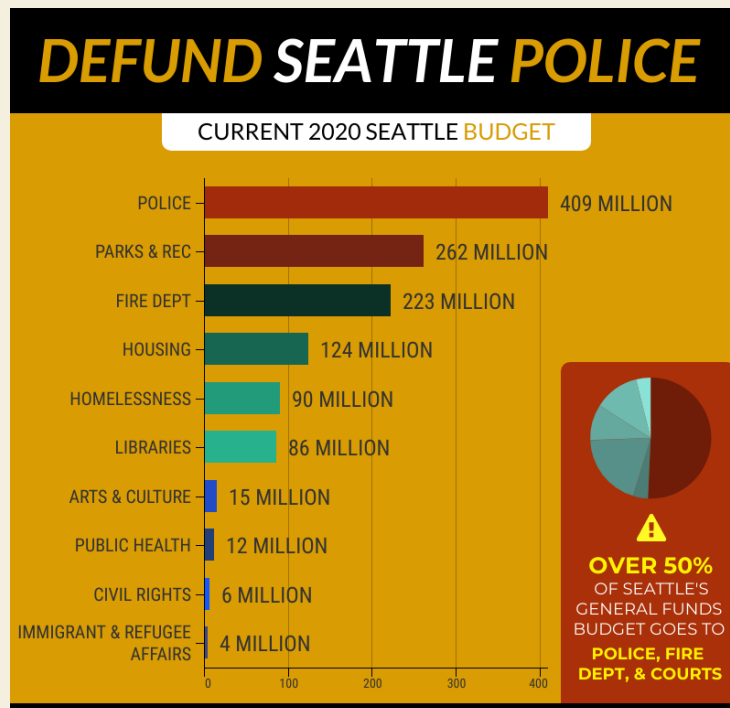
Immediately eliminate police presence in historically Black neighborhoods, communities of color, and areas with high houseless populations in order to reduce the fear, ongoing trauma, violence, and oppressive conditions which impede people's daily survival.



# SEATTLE, WA

*Excerpts from Defund SPD Final Report, December 2020  
by Angelica Chazaro, Decriminalize Seattle*

As a result of tremendous movement pressure, including daily marches, relentless pressure on elected officials, and cross-sector organizing, SPD will begin 2021 with a budget nearly 20% smaller than last year's. When tallying this 20% decrease in SPD's budget, we include elimination of funding and positions, as well as transfers from SPD funding and positions to other city departments.



## BY THE NUMBERS:

### *Outright Eliminations (no conditions)*

- » \$15.7 million: Mayor Durkan's budget proposal eliminating funding from 1497 to 1400 cops
- » \$6.1 million: Council's amendment eliminating funding from 1400 to 1357 cops.
- » \$2.1 million: Council's amendment eliminating funding from 1357 to 1343 cops
- » \$3.7 million: cuts in overtime pay
- » \$175,000: cuts in travel/training budget
- » \$300,000: cuts in discretionary funding
- » \$4.1 million: cuts to civilian vacancies
- » \$5.4 million: cuts to 2021 budget as a penalty for over-spending overtime in 2020 [proposed, yet to be voted on]

**TOTAL ELIMINATIONS FROM SPD's BUDGET: \$37,575,000**

- × Transfers out of SPD's Budget to Other City Departments (and removal of employees from SPD control)
- × \$14.1 million: Parking Enforcement Officers out of SPD
- × \$2.4 million: Office of Emergency Management out of SPD
- × \$18.2 million: 911 dispatchers out of SPD
- × \$1.2 million: Victim Advocates out of SPD
- × \$1.4 million: Admin support for transfers out of SPD
- × \$803K: Parking Enforcement Overtime out of SPD
- × \$450K: Mental Health Providers Contract out of SPD

**TOTAL TRANSFERS: \$38,553,000 MILLION**

**TOTAL ELIMINATIONS + TOTAL TRANSFERS: \$76,128,000 - An 18.6% defund from 2020 budget!**

**SUMMER 2020 WINS**

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The 2020 rebalanced budget fight - which overlapped with the summer protests - accomplished some initial wins which set the stage for the fall budget fight for the 2021 budget. Because of COVID-19 generated financial shortfalls, the city was forced to alter the budget for the remaining months of 2020 during the summer of 2020. This budget "rebalancing" process served as the opening to bring the question of whether SPD should be defunded by 50% immediately into play at the height of the uprising.

It was in the context of the summer rebalancing budget fight that 7 out of 9 Council Members (a veto-proof majority) pledged to defund SPD by 50% (echoing one central movement demand). The actual 2020 rebalanced defund proved a lot smaller than 50%. However, it still set the tone and built crucial momentum for the fall budget fight (for the 2021 budget). The Mayor vetoed the 2020 rebalanced budget, which led to an extended fight to override the veto, testing Council Members' resolve. Following extensive movement pressure in late summer 2020 (including a Labor Day "overRIDE" where activists caravanned to every council district), the veto was overridden. The summer 2020 budget included the following wins:

- » A resolution, which, among other things, requested SPD prioritize certain 911 calls during the period of transition, knowing that left to their own devices, SPD would probably engage in cutting services in the manner most offensive to public opinions.
- » The resolution also indicated that Council “will not support any budget amendments to increase the SPD’s budget to offset overtime expenditures above the funds budgeted in 2020 or 2021.” This came into play in December 2020, when SPD came back and requested \$5.4 million to pay end of year expenses (including parental leave costs and “separation costs” for cops who had quit). They faced this shortfall because of their overtime spending. While Council ultimately voted to give SPD the \$5.4 million, they voted simultaneously to penalize their 2021 budget, taking \$5.4 million from SPD’s 2021 budget and assigning the money to participatory budgeting.
- » Direction to eliminate 100 positions through a combination of attrition and layoffs. The eliminations of positions through attrition did occur, but the Mayor refused to begin bargaining to initiate layoffs. Thus, the 2021 budget included a request for 35 out-of-order layoffs.
- » Cuts to retention and training budgets, travel and training budgets, and public relations staffing budget.
- » New financial transparency requirements intended to allow Council to monitor SPD’s expenditures on a monthly basis.
- » A large pay cut for SPD’s non-union leadership staff, including the Chief of Police. This pay cut for leadership staff was added by a Council member, on her own initiative. Given that the Chief of Police at the time was a Black woman, the pro-police political elites spun this cut as a racist, disrespectful move against the Chief of Police. The backlash this generated weakened Council Members’ resolve, particularly following the Chief accepting early retirement in response to her salary being cut.
- » \$10 million for immediate investment into scaling up non-police forms of responding to harm and crisis. This money was never released by the Mayor in 2020 (despite a #FreeTheFunds push). We won its inclusion in the 2021 budget, and as of this writing, the city’s Human Services Department was developing guidelines for distributing these funds.
- » \$4 million for immediate investment into gun-violence prevention partnerships directed by Black-led community organizations. This money was distributed in 2020, in part because the organizations who were poised to receive the money already had existing contracts with the city, which facilitated distribution of the funds.
- » \$3 million for Black-led, participatory action research on what creates true community health and safety, meant to inform a 2021 participatory budget process. The first installment of this money was released in November 2020 to fund the Black Brilliance Research, and participatory budgeting was funded in the 2021 budget.

## 2021 BUDGET WINS

### *Funding and Positions Eliminated from SPD's Budget*

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**The Change:** SPD went from being funded for 1497 officers in 2020, to being funded for 1343 officers in the 2021 budget. This means that SPD is forced to budget for 154 fewer officers in 2021. SPD was also directed to reduce 35 positions on top of this (for an additional savings of \$2.5 million), the money is conditioned pending 35 “out-of-order” layoffs (firing officers not in order hired, but on the basis of past misconduct).

**Why is this important:** SPD's budget for full time officers has grown every year. This year's reversal marks a historic departure from the presumption, shared by Council and Mayors past, that SPD must continue to grow. The Mayor and SPD predicted that they could hire 114 new cops in 2021, Council predicted that 114 cops would be leaving the force next year, and ended up budgeting accordingly. This means that SPD's budget does not allow for growth of the force (beyond replacing officers who leave).

**What's next:** We must continue to make the case that as cops leave, the Council needs to capture those savings and put them into community priorities.

**The Change:** City Council passed a “request” for 35 out-of-order layoffs by July 1, 2021. This means Council put a condition on \$2.5 million of SPD spending, and asked SPD to complete 35 officer layoffs by July 1, 2021, in line with the principles in Resolution 31962 (prioritizing firing officers with sustained complaints) passed this past summer. If and when these layoffs happen, Council states they intend to pass an ordinance to pass any cost-savings on to Participatory Budgeting.

**Why is this important:** This is a test of whether the City will actually lay off officers, including those with the most egregious disciplinary records.

**What's next:** Monitoring initiation of layoffs. Advocating for funds saved to go Participatory Budgeting, rather than back to SPD to hire new officers to replace those that leave.

**The Change:** SPD went from having a position authority for 1497 officers in 2020, to having the position authority for 1357 officers in 2021. This marks a 140 position-authority reduction.

**Why is this important:** Position authority is the number of cops SPD could hire if they had the money to do so. The reduction in position authority means that SPD won't be able to hire beyond 1357 officers, without having Council actively take a vote to add positions back. Like funding authority, position authority has grown from year to year, and this reversal in position authority growth marks a historic departure from the practice of growing SPD.

**What's next:** We need to monitor SPD's requests to Council for increases in position authority, and make sure the number continues to go down.

**The Change:** \$5 million of SPD's budget had a condition put on it, requiring SPD to report monthly to Council on their attrition (officers leaving/retiring) and hiring. If more officers are leaving than are being hired, Council reserved the authority to capture the savings and put them into Participatory Budgeting.

**Why is this important:** Until this year, whenever cops left, SPD automatically captured those savings in salary and used them on overtime, to hire new cops, etc. This \$5 million proviso sets up a monthly fight, for us to make the case that as cops leave, the money should be going to fund community, not back to SPD.

**What's next:** A push to #DefendTheDefund and ensure there are #NoNewCops hired in 2021. This will require monthly actions, as SPD and the Executive seek to make the case to Council that SPD should be able to keep the money saved when cops leave, in order to pay other cops overtime and/or hire new cops.

**The Change:** Civilian vacancy savings of 4.1 million (to account for 40 civilian positions within SPD that won't be refilled).

### ***Cuts to Overtime***

**The Change:** Overtime budget reduced for 2021 by \$3.7 million from \$24.9 million to \$21.2 million. This \$3.7 million was explicitly given to the participatory budgeting fund. Additionally, on December 14th (after the budget cycle ended), legislation was introduced to reduce SPD's 2021 budget by a further \$5.4 million, because of overtime over-spending in 2020. SPD had come back to Council and asked for 5.4 million to be added to the 2020 budget, to meet obligations to pay for family leave, and separation pay (paying severance for cops who left). SPD had already paid out the overtime, and Council was advised that by law they could not withhold the \$5.4 million, so instead they introduced legislation to amend the 2021 budget by taking \$5.4 million from SPD and putting it towards participatory budgeting, as a penalty for SPD's 2020 overspend. The legislation will be voted on in January 2021.

**Why is this important:** While Council passed a summer resolution stating they would not be refilling SPD's over-time budget, SPD called their bluff and overspent on overtime anyway (including \$10 million during 60 days of summer protest). By planning to take money from the 2021 budget equivalent to what SPD overspent in 2020, Council for the first time will impose a penalty for SPD's overspending. However, it remains to be seen whether in 2021 Council will actually stop paying SPD's overtime if SPD overspends again.

**What's next:** Ensure \$5.4 million amendment passes, monitor SPD's overtime spending, and pressure Council to withhold funds altogether when SPD comes back and asks for more.

### ***Cuts to Training***

**The Change:** SPD's training budget was cut by \$175K from \$1.1 million to \$925K. The \$175K was explicitly given to participatory budgeting.

**Why this important:** Any budget cuts in training help push back on the notion that the problem with policing is that cops aren't sufficiently well-trained.

**What's next:** Track training expenditures, make the case that police training will not resolve problems with policing, and track new trainings offered as "solutions" to the problems that plague SPD, particularly as a result of community-pushback on racist, violent policing.

### ***Cuts to Equipment***

**The Change:** SPD's discretionary purchase budget cut by \$300K from \$4.4 million to \$4.1 million. The \$300K was explicitly given to participatory budgeting.

**Why this is important:** SPD is already armed to the teeth. Discretionary spending, particularly on equipment used to brutalize and surveil our communities, should be cut dramatically. This year's cut was a tiny start to that.

**What's next:** We should continue to track SPD spending on equipment, including surveillance equipment.



## ***Transfers of SPD Functions out of SPD***

**The Change:** The 2021 budget transfers all 911 dispatchers (the 140 people who answer and assign 911 calls) out of SPD, and into the newly established Community Safety and Communications Center (CSCC) by January 1, 2021. Total \$18.2 million transfer.

**Why is this important:** As we develop and implement more civilian-based 911 responses, we need to ensure that the people doing the dispatching when crisis calls are made are not trained, supervised, or in any way influenced by SPD's racist, violent culture. Moving dispatchers out of SPD will hopefully contribute to the development of non-police responses to community problems.

**What's next:** Community members most impacted by racist policing should inform the creation of the new 911 dispatch, as well as informing the channels established between 911 dispatch and community-based responses to harm and crisis.

**The Change:** The 2021 budget directs the transfer of 120 parking enforcement officers (non-SPD sworn officers) to the Community Safety and Communications Center by mid-2021. Total \$14 million transfer.

**Why is this important:** As we move away from armed police responses to everyday matters, we need as many of our city's employees as possible to move out of being under the SPD chain of command. The parking enforcement officers have also expressed interest in taking on other tasks previously assigned to armed officers, like taking reports following minor car accidents. Any decrease in contact between armed officers and the general public is a move in the right direction.

**What's next:** Monitor the transfer and new responsibilities assigned to PEOs, and ensure that new protocols set up don't result in cops regularly being called by PEOs, as well as disproportionate impacts of parking enforcement on poor and BIPOC communities.

**The Change:** 11 Victims Advocates Transferred from SPD to Human Services Department.

**Why is this important:** As we move towards a world where police are not the first or only response to harm, including interpersonal harm, we want to see victim advocates who are not under the police chain of command.

**What's next:** It is unclear how closely the newly transferred advocates will work with SPD, or if this change in department (from SPD to HSD) will have any practical impact on how they do their work.

**The Change:** \$450K to pay SPD for contracted mental health providers moved to the Human Services Department.

**Why this is important:** The contracted mental health providers will no longer be under the SPD chain of command/under SPD's budget. However, this may be only a change in name (not a change in function).

**What's next:** Continued monitoring of contracts which risk pulling resources away from community-based responses and unnecessarily tying them to police partnerships.

**The Change:** Office of Emergency Management (OEM) moved out of SPD (14 employees). Total \$2.4 million transfer. Additionally, Council put a condition on \$500K of SPD funding until they get a report on whether Harbor Patrol functions could move out of the police department to the fire department.

**Why Is this Important:** As our city faces on-going crises, including potential climate-change induced emergencies, it will be important to keep emergency management out of exclusive SPD control, particularly given the history of police departments violently policing Black communities during crises.

**What's next:** Monitor transfer and track SPD's role in OEM, as well as movement of Harbor Patrol out of SPD.

### ***New Investments In Creating Safety***

The demand to defund SPD incorporated a demand for the city to invest in creating the conditions for people to thrive and have their basic needs met, with the goal of rendering policing obsolete. The summer 2020 budget rebalancing included a win of \$3 million towards Black-led research to answer the question of what creates true public safety, particularly for Black communities most impacted by racist, violent policing. This research was designed to feed into a 2021 participatory budgeting process, a central demand of the 2021 budget cycle.

**The Change:** In the 2021 budget, \$35.4 million is put aside for a participatory budgeting process (including \$1 million for administrative costs, the rest to be distributed). This was funded with \$18 million from the General Fund and \$17.4 million from cuts to SPD's budget.

**Why this matters:** It is not enough to defund SPD without challenging the unaccountable budgeting processes that led to them receiving nearly a quarter of the general fund in the 2020 budget. The implementation of PB, particularly with funds that come specifically from money that would have otherwise gone to the police budget, represents a radical break from unquestioned, bloated police budgets, to a community-run process guided by priorities determined by a Black-led research process.

**What's next:** Implement PB!

**The Change:** The 2021 budget includes \$12 million dollars to be distributed by the Human Services Department (HSD) for non-police crisis response, violence prevention, violence interruption, etc. Of this amount, \$10 million had already been secured during the summer rebalancing and never distributed. The other \$2 million comes from Council's recognition of fall 2020 attrition from SPD, which council captured and added to the \$10 million summer pot (instead of leaving the funds in SPD's budget to grow the force). Finally, the 2021 budget included \$1 million to HSD for community-based mental health providers.

**The Change:** The 2021 budget includes 550K for a restorative justice pilot program in schools.

## NEW YORK, NY

Organizers roundly criticized the Mayor and some City Council members' claim that it had cut \$1 billion dollars from the police department budget when the reality was closer to a \$400 million cut from the FY21 budget. Organizers are monitoring whether these cuts actualize into \$400 million in true savings as the Mayor claims, particularly given that a portion of the cuts were to overtime, or whether the NYPD is simply able to overspend. Policy changes that were won as part of the FY21 cuts that need to be monitored include:

- » Removing police from homeless outreach
- » Reducing police response to mental health (Instead of what had been planned as pilot of police-health worker co-response teams, a non-police pilot for mental health response is scheduled to launch.)
- » Additional monies were cut from NYPD projects in FY21 from the capital budget
- » New recruits and cadet classes were canceled for FY21

Communities United for Police Reform (CPR) created/organized a coalition of over 200 groups demanding that the NYPD's expense budget be cut by at least \$1 billion for FY22 (which would have yielded at least \$2 billion in savings) - making #DefundNYPD the dominant issue in the NYC budget cycle for the first time ever.

The campaign generated tens of thousands of calls, emails, texts, and contacts with Councilmembers, with many Councilmembers saying they had never received so many calls on any issue in the past.

CPR released a report and roadmap to cut a minimum of \$1 billion from the NYPD's almost \$6 billion expense budget.

New Yorkers from across the city ran teach-ins, created videos, led an occupation at City Hall, and more (including a defund video by activists & Broadway actors).

In spite of resistance from five police unions and the NYPD, the previously 3rd-rail issue of cutting NYPD/police spending and creating non-police solutions to safety was seen as a viable, reasonable, and fiscally prudent strategy and moral imperative to a wide range of New Yorkers.

The campaign forced the Mayor & Council Speaker to pledge to cut \$1 billion. Unfortunately, to meet their pledge, they relied on budget tricks and lies. However, CPR waged a public education campaign to make sure they couldn't claim a false victory of meeting the movements' demands if the numbers and cuts weren't real.

On the day of the vote, the Council Speaker was forced to admit that they had not reached \$1 billion in cuts; and the City's Comptroller released a statement affirming that the coalition was right and that the Mayor was using "manipulated math" and attempting a "bait and switch" with his false \$1 billion claim. This was the most contested budget fight in NYC's history and organizers secured votes against the budget because the cuts didn't reach \$1 billion.

Organizers created a pathway for making defunding the NYPD, redirecting NYPD funds to our communities - and redefining community safety - a central issue in the lead up to the 2021 citywide elections and FY22 budget fight.

## AUSTIN, TX

Using an online budgeting tool available at [austinjustice.abalancingact.com/wefund\\_community\\_budgeting](https://austinjustice.abalancingact.com/wefund_community_budgeting), engaged residents around the city budget:

- » 95.8% of participating community members were in favor of cutting the Austin Police Department budget, by over 50% on average
- » 91% of participating community members were in favor of cutting the number of police officers on the force
- » Community members identified key areas of investment

\$22 million in cuts to the Austin Police Department budget

\$80 million moved from the police budget to a "decoupling fund" for police functions that could potentially be performed by civilians and \$50 million moved from the police department budget to a "reimagining fund" with a view to ending or "reimagining" current police functions including overtime, park, traffic, and mounted units

Eliminated 2021 cadet classes

Investment of \$20 million over two years in programs for unhoused people, mental health and family violence prevention

Creation of a City-Community Reimagining Public Safety Task Force

## DENVER, CO

\$25 million cut to police department budget, with investments in a mental health crisis team secured through a ballot initiative

## DALLAS, TX

Over 1000 people spoke at city council meetings and 730 surveyed in favor of defunding the police

Activated public to pressure 10 council members out of 14 to sign a memo committing to reimagining public safety through the city budget

Launched first-ever Dallas People's Assembly to build a People's Budget in favor of a \$200 million demand to reduce Dallas Police Department's budget and reallocate those funds to citywide community care initiatives

\$7 million cut to the police overtime budget (although the budget was later increased by \$8 million to purchase "non-lethal weapons")

Creation of a \$3 million fund at the county level for cities within the county to pilot non-police community-based safety strategies created based on the recommendations of a county working group made up of seven city managers, 10 community members, and the county administrator

Investments of:

- » \$1 million to create a "deflection center" as an alternative to jail for "quality of life" offenses
- » \$500,000 for eviction protection
- » \$500,000 for research and evaluation of policing and non-police community-based safety strategies

## LOS ANGELES, CA

Close to 30,000 people participated in the development of the Los Angeles People's Budget through surveys and online participatory budgeting sessions. Check out the LA People's Budget at <https://peoplesbudgetla.com/peoplesbudget>



\$150 million in cuts from police budget through cuts to overtime, scaling back on new hires, and trimming the force from 10,009 officers to 9,757 by July 2021

Approximately 2/3 of cuts to be used to provide services and programs for communities of color, including a youth summer jobs program

## **SAN FRANCISCO, CA**

\$120 million divestment from the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) over 2 years, with investments in the Department of Public Health

Passed Proposition E, a ballot measure eliminating a minimum staffing level for the SFPD

## **BALTIMORE, MD**

\$22 million cut to Baltimore Police Department budget and \$444,000 cut to prosecutor's budget

## **OAKLAND, CA**

\$14.6 million cut to Oakland Police Department budget

Creation of Reimagining Public Safety Task Force

## **BOSTON, MA**

\$10 million cut to Boston Police Department budget and investment in youth jobs

\$850,000 in grants moved away from Boston Regional Intelligence Center (fusion center)

## **BERKELEY, CA**

\$9.2 million cut to the Berkeley Police Department

## **SALT LAKE CITY, UT**

\$5.3 million cut to the Salt Lake City Police Department

\$2.8 million toward a task force to contemplate further changes; \$1.67 million to be invested in communities of color

Social workers moved outside of police department, for a total of \$2.5 million

Hiring freeze

## **MILWAUKEE, WI**

*Over \$2.1 million reduction in police operational budget over the previous year, with investments in funding public health and cooperative housing. Here are some highlights:*

Reduction of 120 police officer positions (The Mayor's proposed budget included a reduction of 60 police officers through retirement, there were several amendments to restore a portion of those officers. All of those amendments failed.)

\$2.9 million for a housing program that will increase affordable housing by funding alternative homeownership programs such as down payment assistance and shared equity models, including cooperative models

## **DURHAM, NC**

Rolled back projected increases in number of officers on the force

Secured reinvestment of funds for:

- » raising minimum wage for part-time city workers to \$15/hour
- » eviction diversion
- » \$1 million for Wellness and Safety Task Force

## **PHILADELPHIA, PA**

Generated over 30,000 unique emails to individual council members

Stopped a \$19 million increase to the Philadelphia Police Department

Moved crossing guards and public safety officers out of the police department, shifting \$14 million from the Philadelphia police department budget

## **CHICAGO, IL**

Moved 21 alderpeople to vote “no” on a budget that gave a proportional increase to CPD budget

Trained over 2,000 people - in COVID safe outdoor public spaces and virtually - around defund strategies

38,000 residents participated in the city’s budget survey; 87% called for reallocation of funds from police toward community services and public health

## APPENDIX B

# HOW IS DEFUND ROOTED IN THE BLACK RADICAL TRADITION, TO THE VISION FOR BLACK LIVES, AND THE BREATHE ACT?

DEMANDS TO DEFUND POLICE	VISION FOR BLACK LIVES	BREATHE ACT
<p><i>Cut funds from police department budgets</i></p>	<p><b>Preamble:</b> We demand defunding and dismantling of the systems and institutions that criminalize, control, and cage us. We demand divestment from ideologies, laws, policies, and practices that harm us, and investment in our communities and movements.</p> <p><b>Invest/Divest:</b> We demand investments in the education, health and safety of Black people, instead of investments in the criminalizing, caging, and harming of Black people. We want investments in Black communities, determined by Black communities, and divestment from exploitative forces including prisons, fossil fuels, police, surveillance and exploitative corporations.</p> <p><b>End the War on Black Communities:</b> We demand reallocation of funding currently allocated to policing and incarceration to long-term safety strategies such as quality, affordable housing, education, healthcare, and community-based violence prevention and response, and social safety net and employment programs that have been shown to improve community safety.</p>	<p><b>Defund and end funding to local and federal law enforcement, including:</b></p> <p>DOJ Office of Justice Programs State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance, including the Edward Byrne-Justice Assistance Grant Program</p> <p>DOJ Community Oriented Policing Services, including such programs as Operation Relentless Pursuit</p> <p>DOJ Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DOJ Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA);</li> <li>• DOJ National Gang Center;</li> <li>• Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance programs, Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTF); and Transnational Anti-Gang Task Forces</li> </ul> <p>DOJ Denaturalization Section</p> <p>DHS Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)</p>

**DEMANDS TO  
DEFUND POLICE**

**VISION FOR BLACK LIVES**

**BREATHE ACT**

*Demilitarize police departments and end use of chemical weapons against protesters*

**Demilitarization of Law Enforcement:**

We demand an immediate ban on the use of military equipment by law enforcement and Border Patrol in all circumstances.

We demand an immediate end to the transfer of military equipment to federal, state, and local police, and campus law enforcement agencies, and an immediate end to the use of military equipment by any law enforcement agency, including Customs and Border Patrol.

We demand immediate disclosure of all military equipment transferred and acquired and its intended use by federal, state, and local governments.

**Defund and end:**

Department of Defense 1033 and 1122 programs which enable transfer of military equipment to local law enforcement agencies.

*End police collaboration with immigration enforcement*

**End the War on Black Migrants:**

End the criminalization, surveillance, structural exclusion, demonization and deportation of Black migrants, particularly migrants who are undocumented, Muslim, trans, nonbinary, LGBTQ+, disabled, people in the sex trade, people living with HIV, people who have criminal convictions, asylum seekers, refugees, low and no-income people, youth, DACAmented and under-documented people.

End all cooperation and coordination between State and local law enforcement and immigration authorities and revoke all agreements that serve to facilitate detention and deportation.

**DEMANDS TO  
DEFUND POLICE**

**VISION FOR BLACK LIVES**

**BREATHE ACT**

*Reduce size,  
scope, and  
power of police  
departments*

**End the War on Drugs & Prostitution:**

We demand full decriminalization of drug and prostitution-related offenses, including an end to arrest, detention or conviction, and to mandated social services or medical treatment.

**End Surveillance of Black Communities:**

We demand:

- Elimination of gang databases and related information sharing.
- Elimination of surveillance of targeted communities, including people accessing public benefits, hospitals, and services, disabled people, people in the sex trades, people seeking and providing information about self-managed abortion, political activists, Arab, Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian people and communities, and people on probation or parole.

Any policy solution should create the most room for abolition possible.

**End the War on Black Disabled People:**

We demand that all medical care be fully uncoupled from systems of surveillance, policing, punishment, and immigration enforcement, including mandated reporting. Elimination of mandated medical treatment, including “alternatives” to incarceration, which involve mandated drug treatment programs and mental health treatment through mental health, domestic violence, prostitution, and other specialized courts.

**End the War on Drugs**

**Decriminalize:**

FOSTA/SESTA & Mann Act

Failure to pay child support obligations;

Several conspiracy and gang-related offenses;

Several laws criminalizing youth (including the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act)

**End use of predictive policing**



**DEMANDS TO  
DEFUND POLICE**

**VISION FOR BLACK LIVES**

**BREATHE ACT**

*Invest in  
community-  
based safety  
strategies*

**End the War on Black Communities:**

Invest in publicly funded public safety programs that are accessible, non-discriminatory, non-coercive, non-punitive, people-centered, trauma-informed, harm reduction-based, preventative, and transformative. Treatment options should be easily accessible to any member of a community, purely voluntary, and not mediated through or delivered in or through the criminal legal system, or through a social service program that is mandated to report to the criminal punishment system.

A mandate that federally funded mental health programs and responses to people whose mental health needs are not currently being met are:

- Non-coercive, non-punitive, patient-centered, and peer-driven. They should prioritize freedom of choice and dignity of risk for individuals, and be rooted in trauma-informed care, harm reduction, and prevention
- Completely disconnected from law enforcement and surveillance
- Based on an understanding that social conditions are primary drivers of mental health, and prioritize access to quality and accessible housing, food, transportation, living wage employment, Medicaid, Medicare, minimum basic income, care, and programs meeting basic needs
- Inclusive of research into illness leading to chronic pain and reducing the harms of drug use
- Focus on interdependence rather than independence
- Include training and support for families and community members

Establish a new federal agency that is completely dedicated to community safety, but is grounded in public health rather than criminal punishment, and offers grants and incentives to defund police and invest in community-based safety strategies.

DEMANDS TO DEFUND POLICE	VISION FOR BLACK LIVES	BREATHE ACT
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<p><i>Invest in community-based safety strategies</i></p>	<p><b>End the War on Black Health and Disabled People:</b></p> <p>We demand</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to full, free, competent, accessible, quality patient-centered and comprehensive preventative and curative health care, rooted in thorough informed consent and recognition of the bodily autonomy of the patient, including neighborhood based health centers and home-based care.</li> <li>• Full, flexible, unrestricted, and liberatory long-term and temporary supports and services for disabled people, including living wages and stability for care workers.</li> </ul>	
<p><i>Invest in housing, employment, childcare, elder care, and guaranteed income</i></p>	<p><b>We demand:</b></p> <p>A right to free, quality, accessible, non-discriminatory and culturally relevant and engaging education</p> <p>A right to restored land, clean air, clean water and housing and an end to the exploitative privatization of natural resources</p> <p>Financial support of Black alternative institutions including policy that subsidizes and offers low-interest, interest-free or federally guaranteed low-interest loans to promote the development of cooperatives (food, residential, etc.), land trusts and culturally responsive health infrastructures that serve the collective needs of our communities.</p>	<p>Calls for and establishes mechanisms for investments in housing, health care, sustainable energy, and Black communities.</p>

**DEMANDS TO  
DEFUND POLICE**

**VISION FOR BLACK LIVES**

***Police Free  
Schools***

**End the War on Black Youth:**

We demand that policymakers address deprivation of resources to public schools and the state-sanctioned violence that stems from law enforcement presence, including ICE, and criminalization in schools by:

- Removing police, armed security, ICE, probation, and metal detectors and other surveillance equipment and practices from schools.
- Divesting funding from exclusionary discipline and school policing and investing in preventive and transformative programs that are proven to establish positive school climates and foster healthy relationships among school staff, administration, and students. Funding that is spent on school policing (payroll for school police officers, metal detectors, surveillance, and data sharing between schools and law enforcement) must be instead spent on creating schools that nurture and support students and their communities.

## APPENDIX C

# SEATTLE SOLIDARITY BUDGET PRINCIPLES AND DEMANDS

### TOWARDS A SOLIDARITY BUDGET A STATEMENT OF JOINT PRINCIPLES FOR THE 2021 SEATTLE CITY BUDGET PROCESS

*We are a broad group of racial justice coalitions, environmental justice/ climate organizations, labor unions, service providers, art and cultural organizations, and other community groups, committed to the following 'principles for the 2021 Seattle budget process.*

1. Our struggles to build a more equitable Seattle are interconnected. Divesting from police systems and investing in Black communities goes hand in hand with climate justice work and housing justice work. The places in our city where inequality cuts most deeply are also the places most heavily policed. We demand a just transition from all the systems that continue to oppress Black communities and our planet, including a just transition of jobs, democratic governance and budget-making.
2. We must transform our City budget away from one that invests heavily in policing, prosecuting, and jailing BIPOC communities, toward one that invests in building self-determined, dignified, productive and ecologically sustainable livelihoods, democratic governance, and ecological resilience. Building a city where policing is no longer possible requires collective work. This includes a commitment to exploring a transition of civilian workers into other departments where services are not linked to policing or the threat of criminalization.
3. Those closest to the problems are closest to the solutions. Black, brown, Indigenous, and immigrant communities are most harmed by COVID-19, climate injustice, racism, and criminalization, and should be central to the process of transforming Seattle's budget into one that serves all people.
4. We will work in unity to further our collective, connected aims towards a more equitable Seattle that ensures a healthy future for all. Our taxpayer dollars must be better invested. We refuse to be pitted against each other, to battle between ourselves over millions of dollars in the city budget, while billions of dollars have been

guaranteed decade after decade to policing and imprisonment of our community members.

5. To ensure a healthy and just climate future for all, Seattle's Green New Deal must be anti-racist, pro-worker and led by Black, Indigenous and communities of color. Divesting police funding into community solutions like healthcare, affordable housing and good jobs is an essential step towards realizing the City's Green New Deal commitments.

***Putting these principles into practice for the  
2021 budget cycle will mean we will advocate to:***

1. Fundamentally democratize the city budget process by advocating together for the \$100 million promised by the mayor to BIPOC communities to be distributed through a participatory budgeting process carried out in the first half of 2021. The participatory budgeting process will be an opportunity for us to come together to determine investment priorities that can generate true public health and safety for all Seattle residents. We oppose a Mayor-driven taskforce with hand-picked, appointed members, as it does not reflect a community-designed and driven democratic process.

2. Refuse to compete with each other for funding, when we know all our efforts are mutually reinforcing. The \$100 million investment should not come from Jumpstart Seattle corporate tax revenue that is already allocated for other vital needs, including affordable housing, equitable development, Green New Deal investments, rental assistance, small business assistance, immigrant and refugee communities, and preserving city services and jobs from recession-driven cuts.

3. Reject an austerity approach to the budget and instead seek new progressive revenue to sustain and expand city services during this difficult time. Jumpstart Seattle legislation passed earlier this year is an important first step toward supporting Seattle communities and bolstering our local economy. However, more must be done to protect and expand the city's investments in transportation, housing and human services, families, neighborhoods and small businesses. Cuts in any of these areas will make the pandemic-recession and its impacts even worse, especially for Black, Indigenous, and communities of color, as well as low-income communities. Damage done now will be harder and more expensive to reverse in the future.

*Given the interconnected challenges we face, we know our solidarity on the city budgeting process is the best path forward for all of our communities. We pledge to work together towards a budget that gives us the best chance of surviving the current pandemic and climate crisis. Together, we will make the structural changes necessary to transform this city into one that works for all of us.*

350 Seattle  
Access to Our Community  
Africatown Community Land Trust  
Ballard Community Taskforce on Homelessness and Hunger  
Be:Seattle  
Black Collective Voices  
Bridging Cultural Gaps  
Cats Pajamas Seattle  
Central Area Collaborative  
CHOOSE 180  
CID Coalition  
Climate Justice for Black Lives  
CoLiberation Collective  
Colorful Communities  
Columbia Legal Services  
Decriminalize Seattle  
East African Communities Services Organization  
Economic Opportunity Institute  
End Police Violence Collective  
Food and Water Action  
Got Green  
Inclusive Data  
Kadima Reconstructionist Community  
King County Department of Public Defense  
King County Equity Now  
Labor for Black Lives Collective  
Lake City Taskforce on Homelessness  
Last Real Indians  
Latino Community Fund of Washington State  
The League of Extraordinary People  
Low Income Housing Institute  
Mazaska Talks  
Morning March  
National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum (NAPAWF) Seattle Chapter  
Northwest Immigrant Rights Project  
OneAmerica  
Party for Socialism and Liberation Seattle  
Plumb Research Services  
PROTEC17  
Puget Sound Sage  
Rainier Valley Corps  
Rainier Valley Greenways Safe Streets  
Real Change  
Resource Generation Seattle Chapter  
Seattle ACED  
Seattle Caregivers United for BLM  
Seattle Democratic Socialists of America and Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Caucus  
Seattle Raging Grannies  
Seattle Womxn Marching Forward  
SEIU 925  
Share the Cities  
Sierra Club Seattle Group  
Socialist Alternative Seattle  
Solid Ground  
South Asians Building Accountability and Healing  
South King County & Eastside Mutual Aid  
Stand.earth  
Standing Against Foreclosure and Evictions  
Sunrise Movement Seattle  
Surge Reproductive Justice  
TeamChild  
Tenants Union of Washington  
Think Big Wedgwood in Solidarity with Black Lives  
Trans Women of Color Solidarity Network  
Transit Riders Union  
The Tubman Center for Health and Freedom  
The Urbanist  
UAW 4121  
Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility  
Washington Youth for Climate Justice  
West African Community Council  
WHEEL (Women's Housing, Equality and Enhancement League)  
White Center/Burien Migra Watch  
Working Washington/Fair Work Center  
YouthCare



## SOLIDARITY BUDGET: A CALL TO ACTION FOR 2021 BUDGET AND BEYOND

Everyone - no matter what they look like, what's in their wallet, or what neighborhood they live in - deserves a healthy future. The 2021 City budget is an opportunity to move forward this vision of an equitable and inclusive Seattle; decisions made this fall will set our city's trajectory for years to come. We call on City leaders to pass a 2021 budget that values Black lives and moves us towards a just recovery from the overlapping crises of COVID-19, economic injustice and climate change.

*Dear Mayor Durkan and City Councilmembers:*

We begin this letter with an acknowledgement that we are on the traditional land of the first people of Seattle, the Duwamish People past and present, and honor with gratitude the land itself and the Duwamish Tribe.

Seattle can become a city where everyone has the support, opportunity, and community to thrive, a city that addresses anti-Blackness, where housing is recognized as a human right and no one has to struggle to fill basic needs, where everyone has full access to high-quality healthcare, childcare, internet and education. We are creating a future that is ecologically sustainable and resilient, that eliminates carbon emissions and achieves a just transition with good jobs for workers and communities most impacted by the climate crisis. We believe in mobility for all, a transportation system where people can safely walk, roll, bike and ride affordable or free world-class public transit wherever they need to go. We are building a future where public goods — e.g. libraries and parks — are fully-funded, through a tax system that requires corporations and the wealthy to contribute equitably to the common good.

We envision an anti-racist Seattle that supports and invests in Black, Indigenous and people of color (BIPOC) communities and community-led health and safety systems, instead of perpetuating systems of policing, prosecution, and jail. We see a future where all youth are supported and nurtured, where one's life expectancy is not determined by race and zip code, and where people in every neighborhood and every community can breathe clean air and enjoy affordable, nourishing food. We envision a city where all people can participate actively in democratic governance and community self-determination.

The 2021 budget is an opportunity to pause and plan for our city's future together. We will move toward this vision of an equitable and inclusive Seattle — not further away from it. Decisions made this fall will set the trajectory with profound and lasting

consequences. This budget process will test our city's character and the moral courage of our elected leaders. Together, we measure success by answering the following three questions:

Do we center challenging systemic, anti-Black racism? Are we divesting from police systems, investing in Black communities, and making this shift through participatory budgeting, i.e., with the full participation of the communities most impacted by policing and racial oppression? Are we divesting from a failed culture of retribution, and into a culture of mutual care? Or are we backtracking on commitments, taking superficial actions that don't meaningfully move resources, and making top-down decisions?

Do we rise to the challenge of the climate crisis? Are we taking rapid strides toward a carbon-free city by building ample affordable housing, transforming our transportation system, and investing in a just transition that protects workers and prioritizes communities on the front lines of the crisis? Or are we delaying vital transportation projects and renegeing on Seattle's commitment to a Green New Deal?

Do we rise to the challenge of the COVID-19 economic crisis? Are we raising new progressive revenue and expanding city services, public investments, and support for struggling households and small businesses to help pull our city out of recession? Or are we making the downturn even worse by cutting vital services and public sector jobs?

Together, we are changing course and creating a more equitable Seattle. We know our elected officials need the backing of constituents and communities to do the right thing. That's why the undersigned organizations, rooted in Seattle communities and collectively representing tens of thousands of Seattle residents and workers, have joined together around common priorities for the 2021 budget.

We first ask that the council protect community-identified priorities that are funded in the mayor's proposed budget. The current funding allocation of \$5.4 million to the Equitable Development Initiative and \$9.6 million for strategic land acquisition represent critical investments in BIPOC land stewardship and community-led development, and must be maintained. Funding for the Duwamish Longhouse crosswalk and sidewalk project, to ensure safety and access to cultural sites along the river, has long been a priority for the Duwamish Tribe and must be protected.

We call on the Seattle City Council to amend Mayor Durkan's proposed budget as follows:

Divest from SPD: Reallocate at least 50% of funds from the Seattle Police Department and reinvest that money into Black communities and toward community-led health and safety systems. The \$100 million promised to Black communities by the mayor is only a first step, and must be part of a larger strategy to divest from systems of policing and incarceration.

Participatory budgeting: New funds for Black communities towards community-led health and safety systems, including but not limited to the \$100 million promised by the mayor for Black communities, must be allocated through a true participatory budgeting process, not a hand-picked task force.

Preserve vital public services: The \$100 million promised by the mayor for Black communities should come from the city's policing budgets (Seattle Police Department, Municipal Court, City Attorney's Office), not from Jumpstart Seattle revenue and other priorities. This will free up funds to reverse proposed cuts to transportation projects, parks, emergency COVID-19 relief, and other vital city services. Funding for community-identified priorities like the Georgetown to South Park Trail and sidewalk repair in the Rainier Ave corridor should not be pitted against community health and safety.

Increase Community access to Dignified Emergency Shelter and Affordable Housing, and Decriminalize Homeless Services: Reallocate the funds that had been dedicated to the Navigation Team to fund trusted and skilled community organizations and nonprofits to work with people who are homeless without the presence of police and without coercion.

Community-based outreach workers should be able to offer people they work with direct referrals into all city-funded resources (indoor shelter, tiny houses, hotels, other) that are available and fit their needs. The city should ensure all people have access to adequate basic sanitation (trash pick up/removal, cleaning) and hygiene (access to toilets, sinks, showers, laundry), and increase dignified, accessible housing and shelter, in the form of single-room COVID-appropriate accommodations. The available supply of both interim emergency forms of housing, such as hotels, motels, dormitories, or decommissioned nursing homes, as well as permanent housing, must be increased.

Green New Deal: Fund staff position within Office of Sustainability and Environment to support the GND Oversight Board in work planning and funding allocation. Provide stipends for Board members to remove barriers to participation for impacted, low income, or young community members.

Curb the Criminalization of Poverty and Mental Health Struggles: Council should support the amendments to the Seattle Municipal Code making it an excuse to prosecution (expanding definition of “duress”) that the person charged with a misdemeanor was meeting a basic need or experiencing mental health struggles at the time of their arrest, and making it possible for a judge to dismiss a case for the same reasons (“de minimis infraction”).

While the Jumpstart Seattle legislation passed earlier this year is an important first step toward supporting Seattle communities and bolstering our local economy, the City must do much more to reform our upside-down tax system, ensure a strong recovery, and invest in Black, Indigenous, and other marginalized communities. We call on you, our mayor and city councilmembers, to explore and implement new progressive revenue options, including a city income tax and a capital gains tax, as soon as possible. These must not be conceived as substitutes for the Jumpstart corporate payroll tax, but rather additions that will boost Seattle’s economic recovery and help to realize the vision of an equitable and inclusive city.

Finally, we ask Mayor Durkan to respect the council’s mandate in the budget process. When the legislative branch amends the executive’s budget proposal in line with input from a wide range of community organizations and constituents, the executive should sign the budget and follow through with it. Failing to do so undermines the public’s faith in the budget process and accountability in governance.

We call on you, our elected officials, to act now to lead and put Seattle on the path to addressing anti-Black racism. We ask that you prioritize facilitating an equitable recovery that tackles our multiple intersecting crises. We can’t fix new problems with old tools and solutions that failed in the past. It’s time to move towards community land stewardship. It’s time for housing for all. It’s time to dismantle anti-Black, racist policing. It’s time to transform all these systems towards ones that value Black lives and give us the best chance of surviving the current pandemic and climate crisis.

Together, we can make the structural changes necessary to transform this city into one that works for all of us.

Chairwoman Cecile Hansen signs on behalf of the Duwamish Tribe, the first people to experience homelessness in Seattle, a direct result of the Native American ban passed by City Council in 1865. This City has a long history of authorizing policy that perpetuates inequities and displaces communities of color. It is time to choose a new path, one that leads to justice and housing for all of our neighbors.

## APPENDIX D

# MEASURE J LOS ANGELES COUNTY

### ANALYSIS

This ordinance would call a special election to be held on November 3, 2020, for the purpose of voting upon an amendment to the Charter of the County of Los Angeles that would annually allocate in the County's budget no less than ten percent of the County's locally generated unrestricted revenues in the general fund to address the disproportionate impact of racial injustice through community investment and alternatives to incarceration and prohibit using those funds for carceral systems and law enforcement agencies as detailed in the ordinance adopting the proposed charter amendment, to be phased in by June 30, 2024.

The ordinance also directs the consolidation of this election with the statewide general election to be held on the same day.

MARY C. WICKHAM  
County Counsel

By:

  
NICOLE DAVIS TINKHAM  
Senior Assistant County Counsel  
Executive Office

NDT:vn

Requested: 7/20/20  
Revised: 7/24/20

**ORDINANCE NO. \_\_\_\_\_**

An ordinance calling a special election to be held on November 3, 2020, throughout the County of Los Angeles for the purpose of voting upon an amendment to the Los Angeles County Charter and directing the consolidation of the election with the statewide general election to be held on the same day.

The Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles ordains as follows:

**SECTION 1. Call of Election and Purpose.** A special election is hereby called, proclaimed and ordered to be held on November 3, 2020, for the purpose of voting upon a proposed amendment to the Charter of the County of Los Angeles.

**SECTION 2. Resolution Establishing Form of Proposition.** The exact form of the Proposition as it is to appear on the ballot and the complete text of the proposed amendment is as follows:

<b><u>PROPOSED COUNTY CHARTER AMENDMENT.</u></b> COMMUNITY INVESTMENT AND ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION MINIMUM COUNTY BUDGET ALLOCATION. Shall the measure, annually allocating in the County's budget no less than ten percent (10%) of the County's locally generated unrestricted revenues in the general fund to address the disproportionate impact of racial injustice through community investment and alternatives to incarceration and prohibiting using those funds for carceral systems and law enforcement agencies as detailed in the ordinance adopting the proposed charter amendment, be adopted?	YES
	NO

PROPOSITION \_\_\_\_\_

This Proposition (XXXXX) shall become effective only if it is submitted to the voters at the election held on November 3, 2020 and is approved. The Charter amendment shall become operative on July 1, 2021.

First: Section 11 of Article III of the Charter of the County of Los Angeles is amended to read:

Section 11. It shall be the duty of the Board of Supervisors:

(1) To appoint all County officers other than elective officers, and all officers, assistants, deputies, clerks, attaches [14] and employees whose appointment is not provided for by this Charter. [15]

...

(8) To allocate, in compliance with all laws and regulations, the County's locally generated unrestricted revenues in the general fund as follows:

A. Set aside a baseline minimum threshold of at least ten percent (10%) of the County's locally generated unrestricted revenues in the general fund (Net County Cost), as determined annually in the budget process or as otherwise set forth in the County Code or regulations, to be allocated on an annual basis, after input from, among others, the public and County departments at a public hearing, for the following primary purposes:

i. Direct Community Investment.

1. Community-based youth development programs.



2. Job training and jobs to low-income residents focusing on jobs that support the implementation of the "Alternatives to Incarceration" workgroup recommendations as presented to the County Board of Supervisors on March 10, 2020, especially construction jobs for the expansion of affordable and supportive housing, restorative care villages, and a decentralized system of care.

3. Access to capital for small minority-owned businesses, with a focus on Black-owned businesses.

4. Rent assistance, housing vouchers and accompanying supportive services to those at-risk of losing their housing, or without stable housing.

5. Capital funding for transitional housing, affordable housing, supportive housing, and restorative care villages with priority for shovel-ready projects.

ii. Alternatives to Incarceration.

1. Community-based restorative justice programs.

2. Pre-trial non-custody services and treatment.

3. Community-based health services, health promotion, counseling, wellness and prevention programs, and mental health and substance use disorder services.

4. Non-custodial diversion and reentry programs, including housing and services.

B. The set aside shall not be used for any carceral system or law enforcement agencies, including the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office, Los Angeles County Superior Courts, or

Los Angeles County Probation Department, including any redistribution of funds through those entities. This restriction does not extend to State law requiring the County to fund court facilities and expenditures, including, but not limited to, the Trial Court Facilities Act of 2002 (2002 Senate Bill No. 1732) and Lockyer-Isenberg Trial Court Funding Act of 1997 (1997 Assembly Bill No. 233), other mandatory fines and fees, or any other County commitments to the extent required by law.

C. The unrestricted revenues that are set aside shall phase in over a three-year period, beginning July 1, 2021, and incrementally grow to the full set-aside by June 30, 2024, pursuant to the procedures codified in the County Budget Act in the Government Code.

D. The set aside cannot supplant monies otherwise allocated for the same categories listed in Subsection (8)(A), as defined and set forth in the County Code or regulations.

E. The Board of Supervisors shall establish an inclusive and transparent process on the allocation of funds set aside by this Subsection (8).

F. Notwithstanding this Subsection (8), the Board of Supervisors may, by a four-fifths vote, reduce the set-aside in the event of a fiscal emergency, as declared by the Board of Supervisors, that threatens the County's ability to fund mandated programs.

Second: In the event that the amendment to the Charter of Los Angeles County contained in this Proposition is rendered inoperative because of the actions of any

court, legislative or other body, or for any other reason, the provisions of the County Charter in effect on November 3, 2020, shall remain in full force and effect.

Third: If any section, subsection, subdivision, paragraph, sentence, clause, phrase, or word of this Proposition is for any reason held to be invalid or unenforceable, such invalidity or unenforceability shall not affect the validity or enforceability of the remaining sections, subsections, subdivisions, paragraphs, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this amendment to Section 11 of Article III of the Charter. The voters of the County of Los Angeles declare that they would have independently adopted each section, subsection, subdivision, paragraph, sentence, clause, phrase, or word of this Proposition irrespective of the fact that any one or more other sections, subsections, subdivisions, paragraphs, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this amendment to Section 11 of Article III is declared invalid or unenforceable.

**SECTION 3. Consolidation.** The special election shall be consolidated with the statewide general election to be held on Tuesday, November 3, 2020. The Proposition shall be placed upon the same ballot as that provided for the general election. The precincts, polling places, or vote centers, and precinct board members shall be the same as provided for the statewide general election.

**SECTION 4. Proclamation.** Pursuant to section 12001 of the Elections Code, the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles hereby PROCLAIMS that a special countywide election shall be held on Tuesday, November 3, 2020, to vote upon the Charter Amendment described in Section 2 of this Ordinance.

**SECTION 5. Effective Date.** Pursuant to Section 9141 of the Elections Code and Section 25123 of the Government Code, this Ordinance shall take effect upon the adoption thereof.

**SECTION 6. Authority.** This Ordinance is adopted pursuant to sections 23720, 23730, and 23731 of the Government Code, and sections 9141, 10402, 10403, and 12001 of the Elections Code.

**SECTION 7. Publication.** This Ordinance shall be published once before the expiration of 15 days after its passage in a daily newspaper of general circulation, printed, published and circulated in the County of Los Angeles pursuant to Government Code section 25124.

The Executive Officer-Clerk of the Board of Supervisors is ordered to file a copy of this Ordinance with the Registrar-Recorder at least 88 days prior to the day of the election.

[ARTICLEIIIIGEOCC]

## APPENDIX E

# MOMENT OF TRUTH: STATEMENT OF COMMITMENT TO BLACK LIVES FROM DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SERVICE PROVIDERS

*Published June 30, 2020*

In the wake of George Floyd's murder, 46 sexual assault and domestic violence coalitions signed on to the following statement.

This is a moment of reckoning. The murder of George Floyd broke the collective heart of this country, and now, finally, millions of people are saying their names: George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, Ahmaud Arbery – an endless list of Black Lives stolen at the hands and knees of police. The legacies of slavery and unfulfilled civil rights, colonialism and erasure, hatred and violence, have always been in full view. Turning away is no longer an option. Superficial reform is not enough.

We, the undersigned sexual assault and domestic violence state coalitions call ourselves to account for the ways in which this movement, and particularly the white leadership within this movement, has repeatedly failed Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) survivors, leaders, organizations, and movements:

We have failed to listen to Black feminist liberationists and other colleagues of color in the movement who cautioned us against the consequences of choosing increased policing, prosecution, and imprisonment as the primary solution to gender-based violence.

We have promoted false solutions of reforming systems that are designed to control people, rather than real community-based solutions that support healing and liberation.

We have invested significantly in the criminal legal system, despite knowing that the vast majority of survivors choose not to engage with it and that those who do are often re-traumatized by it.

We have held up calls for “victim safety” to justify imprisonment and ignored the fact that prisons hold some of the densest per-capita populations of trauma survivors in the world.

We have ignored and dismissed transformative justice approaches to healing, accountability, and repair, approaches created by BIPOC leaders and used successfully in BIPOC communities.

We acknowledge BIPOC's historical trauma and lived experiences of violence and center those traumas and experiences in our commitments to move forward. We affirm that BIPOC communities are not homogeneous and that opinions on what is necessary now vary in both substance and degree. We stand with the Black Women leaders in our movement, for whom isolation, risk, and hardship are now particularly acute. And we are grateful to the Black Women, Indigenous Women, and Women of Color – past and present – who have contributed mightily to our collective body of work, even as it has compromised their own health and well-being.

This moment has long been coming. We must be responsible for the ways in which our movement work directly contradicts our values. We espouse nonviolence, self-determination, freedom for all people and the right to bodily autonomy as we simultaneously contribute to a pro-arrest and oppressive system that is designed to isolate, control, and punish. We promote the ideas of equity and freedom as we ignore and minimize the real risks faced by BIPOC survivors who interact with a policing system that threatens the safety of their families and their very existence. We seek to uproot the core drivers of gender-based violence yet treat colonialism, white supremacy, racism, and transphobia as disconnected or separate from our core work.

A better world is within reach. It is being remembered and imagined in BIPOC communities around the world, and it is calling us to be a part of it. In this world:

- » all human beings have inherent value, even when they cause harm;
- » people have what they need – adequate and nutritious food, housing, quality education and healthcare, meaningful work, and time with family and friends;  
and
- » all sentient beings are connected, including Mother Earth.

It is time to transform not only oppressive institutions, but also ourselves. Divestment and reallocation must be accompanied by rigorous commitment to and participation in the community solutions and supports that are being recommended by multiple organizations and platforms.

We are listening to and centering BIPOC-led groups, organizations, and communities.

We join their vision of liberation and support the following:

- » Reframe the idea of “public safety” – to promote and utilize emerging community-based practices that resist abuse and oppression and encourage safety, support, and accountability
- » Remove police from schools – and support educational environments that are safe, equitable, and productive for all students
- » Decriminalize survival – and address mandatory arrest, failure to protect, bail (fines and fees), and the criminalization of homelessness and street economies (sex work, drug trades, etc.)
- » Provide safe housing for everyone – to increase affordable, quality housing, particularly for adult and youth survivors of violence, and in disenfranchised communities
- » Invest in care, not cops – to shift the work, resourcing, and responsibility of care into local communities

The undersigned coalitions agree that the above actions are both aspirational and essential. While timing and strategy may differ across communities, states, and sovereign nations, we commit to supporting and partnering with BIPOC leaders and organizations. We commit to standing in solidarity with sovereignty, land and water protection, and human rights. And we say resoundingly and unequivocally: **BLACK LIVES MATTER!**

The Coronavirus pandemic, unchecked and increased police violence, political and economic upheaval, and stay-at-home isolation have produced the “perfect storm.” We have a choice to make: run from the storm or into it. We choose to run into it and through it. We choose to come out the other side better, whole, loving, just, and more human.

We have spent decades building our movement’s voice and power. How we use them now will define us in the years ahead. Let our actions show that we did not stand idly by. Let them show that we learned, changed, and will continue to demonstrate that Black Lives Matter is a centering practice for our work.



**Affirmed by:**

Alabama Coalition Against Rape	Nebraska Coalition to End Sexual and Domestic Violence
Alaska Network on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault	Nevada Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence
Arkansas Coalition Against Sexual Assault	New Jersey Coalition Against Sexual Assault
California Coalition Against Sexual Assault	New Jersey Coalition to End Domestic Violence
California Partnership to End Domestic Violence	New Mexico Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc.
CAWS North Dakota	New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Colorado Coalition Against Sexual Assault	New York State Coalition Against Sexual Assault
End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin	North Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Florida Council Against Sexual Violence	North Carolina Coalition Against Sexual Assault
Georgia Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Ohio Alliance to End Sexual Violence
Georgia Network to End Sexual Assault	Ohio Domestic Violence Network
Idaho Coalition Against Sexual & Domestic Violence	Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape
Indiana Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence
Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Utah Coalition Against Sexual Assault
Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault	Vermont Network Against Domestic and Sexual Violence
Jane Doe Inc. (Massachusetts Coalition Against Sexual and Domestic Violence)	Violence Free Colorado
Kentucky Association of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc.	Virginia Sexual & Domestic Violence Action Alliance
Kentucky Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs
Maine Coalition Against Sexual Assault	Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Maine Coalition to End Domestic Violence	West Virginia Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence	Wisconsin Coalition Against Sexual Assault
Mississippi Coalition Against Sexual Assault	
Montana Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence	

## APPENDIX F

# DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AWARENESS MONTH FACT SHEET

As we close out Domestic Violence Awareness Month and continue to work to #DefundPolice here are a few key facts about police response to domestic violence:

*Less than half of survivors call police in the first place:*

- According to official statistics, less than half of domestic violence survivors ever call or report to the police.<sup>i</sup>
- The number is even lower for survivors of sexual assault – only a quarter ever call or report to police.<sup>ii</sup>
- The number of people reporting violence to police is going down, not up.<sup>iii</sup>
- More than half (67%) of respondents to the 2015 US National Transgender Survey said they would feel uncomfortable asking the police for help if they needed it. Middle Eastern, Black, and multiracial respondents, as well as disabled people and low-income people were most likely to feel uncomfortable seeking assistance from police.

**In cities where 911 call data is publicly available, domestic violence calls make up 1-7% of 911 calls.<sup>iv</sup>**

*Police responses to domestic violence calls are sites of physical and sexual violence, and neglect:*

- One study found that an overwhelming majority (88%) of survivors and service providers said police sometimes or often don't believe survivors or take their complaints seriously.<sup>v</sup>
- Two thirds of survivors and service providers said police use force against survivors sometimes or often during DV calls, particularly against Black survivors. More than half reported anti- Black, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, and anti-LGBTQ attitudes among responding officers.<sup>vi</sup>
- Research has shown that police target survivors for sexual harassment, extortion and assault.<sup>vii</sup>
- Among survivors of homophobic and transphobic violence who reported it to the police, 39% said police were hostile, 33% experienced verbal abuse and 16% experienced physical abuse by police.

***Police contact contributes to criminalization of survivors, particularly survivors of color and LGBTQ survivors:***

- Mandatory arrest policies have increased criminalization and arrests of survivors, particularly survivors of color and LGBTQ survivors.<sup>viii</sup>
- The vast majority (89%) of survivors and service providers surveyed in one study indicated that police contact results in contact with the family regulation system (“child welfare”); 61% stated it can cause survivors to face criminal charges that could lead to deportation, and 70% reported that contact with the police “sometimes” or “often” results in the loss of housing, employment, or welfare benefits.<sup>ix</sup>
- Nationally, girls of color are disproportionately arrested for assaults of family members in their homes. In Washington State, Black and Native youth are arrested for assault at a rate between 2 and 4 times greater than white youth.<sup>x</sup>

***Survivors want safety & support:***

- A study of survivors and service providers found that: (1) survivors were looking for options other than punishment for the abuser, options that were not necessarily focused on separation from the abuser; (2) survivors feared that once they were involved in the criminal justice system, they would lose control of the process; and (3) survivors were reluctant to engage the system because they believed that it was complicated, lengthy, and would cause them to suffer more trauma.<sup>xi</sup>
- A majority of survivors describe housing, health care, income and immigration status as things that would enable them to prevent, avoid, escape and mitigate violence.

**A letter signed by 45 state domestic violence and sexual assault coalitions acknowledged:**

***This is a moment of reckoning.***

The murder of George Floyd broke the collective heart of this country, and now, finally, millions of people are saying their names: George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Tony McDade, Ahmuad Arbery – an endless list of Black Lives stolen at the hands and knees of the police. The legacies of slavery and unfulfilled civil rights, colonialism and erasure, hatred and violence, have always been in full view. Turning away is no longer an option. Superficial reform is not enough.

**We, the undersigned sexual assault and domestic violence state coalitions, call ourselves to account for the ways in which this movement, and particularly the white leadership within this movement, has repeatedly failed Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) survivors, leaders, organizations, and movements:**

- We have **failed to listen to Black feminist liberationists and other colleagues of color in the movement** who cautioned us against the consequences of choosing increased policing, prosecution, and imprisonment as the primary solution to gender-based violence.
- We have **promoted false solutions** of reforming systems that are designed to control people, rather than real community-based solutions that support healing and liberation.
- We have **invested significantly in the criminal legal system**, despite knowing that the vast majority of survivors choose not to engage with it and that those who do are often re-traumatized by it.
- We have **held up calls for “victim safety” to justify imprisonment** and ignored the fact that prisons hold some of the densest per-capita populations of trauma survivors in the world.
- We have **ignored and dismissed transformative justice approaches to healing, accountability, and repair**, approaches created by BIPOC leaders and used successfully in BIPOC communities.

**Anti-violence organizations are inviting all of us to invest in community-based safety strategies and divest from policing, criminalization and punishment in favor of accountability and transformation.**

**It is time to transform not only “the state,” but ourselves.**

Divestment and reallocation must be accompanied by rigorous commitment to and participation in the community solutions and support that are being recommended by multiple organizations and platforms.

We are listening to and centering BIPOC-led groups, organizations, and communities. We join their vision of liberation and support the following:

- **Reform the idea of “public safety”** – to promote and utilize emerging community-based practices that resist abuse and oppression and encourage safety, support, and accountability.
- **Remove police from schools** – and support educational environments that are safe, equitable, and productive for all students.
- **Decriminalize survival** – and address mandatory arrest, failure to protect, bail (fines and fees), and the criminalization of homelessness and street economies (sex work, drug trades, etc.).
- **Provide safe housing for everyone** – to increase affordable, quality housing, particularly for adult and youth survivors of violence, and in disenfranchised communities.
- **Invest in care, not cops** – to shift the word, resourcing, and responsibility of care into local communities.

The undersigned coalitions address that the above actions are both aspirational and essential. While timing and strategy may differ across communities, states, and sovereign nations, we commit to supporting and partnering with BIPOC leaders and organizations. **We commit to standing in solidarity with sovereignty, land and water protection, and human rights. And we say resoundingly and unequivocally: BLACK LIVES MATTER!**

**Defunding police is a survivor led anti-violence strategy that stops police from looting resources survivors need to prevent, avoid, escape and heal from violence – and puts more money into violence prevention and interruption, and meeting survivors’ needs.**

- 
- <sup>i</sup> Rachel E. Morgan, Ph.D., and Barbara A. Oudekerk, Ph.D, *Criminal Victimization, 2018*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, September 2019, NCJ 253043, available at: <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf>
- <sup>ii</sup> Rachel E. Morgan, Ph.D., and Barbara A. Oudekerk, Ph.D, *Criminal Victimization, 2018*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, September 2019, NCJ 253043, available at: <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf>
- <sup>iii</sup> Rachel E. Morgan, Ph.D., and Barbara A. Oudekerk, Ph.D, *Criminal Victimization, 2018*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, September 2019, NCJ 253043, available at: <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf>
- <sup>iv</sup> Jeff Asher and Ben Horwitz, "How Do the Police Actually Spend Their Time?," *New York Times*, June 19, 2020; Los Angeles Calls for Service Dashboard, <https://data.lacity.org/A-Safe-City/LAPD-Calls-for-Service-2020/84iq-i2r6> (1.5% of calls for service in 2020); Seattle Calls for Service Dashboard, <https://www.seattle.gov/police/information-and-data/calls-for-service-dashboard> (4% of 911 calls for assaults, 4% for domestic incidents in 2019).
- <sup>v</sup> Responses from the Field: Sexual Assault, Domestic Violence, and Policing, October 2015, available at: [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/2015.10.20\\_report\\_-\\_responses\\_from\\_the\\_field.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/2015.10.20_report_-_responses_from_the_field.pdf)
- <sup>vi</sup> Responses from the Field: Sexual Assault, Domestic Violence, and Policing, October 2015, available at: [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/2015.10.20\\_report\\_-\\_responses\\_from\\_the\\_field.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/2015.10.20_report_-_responses_from_the_field.pdf)
- <sup>vii</sup> Andrea J. Ritchie, *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*, Beacon Press 2017.
- <sup>viii</sup> Amy Leisenring, "Whoa! They Could've Arrested Me!": Unsuccessful Identity Claims of Women During Police Response to Intimate Partner Violence," *Qual. Sociol.* (2011) 34:353–370; Kris Henning, Brian Renauer, Robert Holdford, "Victim or Offender? Heterogeneity Among Women Arrested for Intimate Partner Violence," *Journal of Family Violence*; New York Vol. 21, Iss. 6, (Aug 2006): 351-368.
- <sup>ix</sup> Responses from the Field: Sexual Assault, Domestic Violence, and Policing, October 2015, available at: [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/2015.10.20\\_report\\_-\\_responses\\_from\\_the\\_field.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/2015.10.20_report_-_responses_from_the_field.pdf)
- <sup>x</sup> Sherman, Francine T., and Annie Balck. Gender Injustice: System-level Juvenile Justice Reforms for Girls. Report. Law School, Boston College. September 2015, available at: <https://incorrigibles.org/gender-injustice-report/>
- <sup>xi</sup> Responses from the Field: Sexual Assault, Domestic Violence, and Policing, October 2015, available at: [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/2015.10.20\\_report\\_-\\_responses\\_from\\_the\\_field.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/2015.10.20_report_-_responses_from_the_field.pdf)

## APPENDIX G

# MINNEAPOLIS SURVEY (CITY)

### TRANSFORMING COMMUNITY SAFETY IN MINNEAPOLIS

*With this survey we want to better learn how people in Minneapolis feel about transforming community safety. We also want to gather specific feedback on how to transform community safety. In these first two questions, we want to know generally about your hopes and concerns about transforming community safety.*

2. When you think about transforming community safety, what are your hopes?

3. When you think about transforming community safety, what are your concerns?

4. Do you have any specific programs, strategies, or suggestions for how the City can improve safety services and programming? Please select any of the following that you have suggestions on. You will be asked for more information about your ideas on the next page.

- » Alternatives to policing
- » Public health based violence prevention solutions
- » Police reform/policy change
- » Other

The following are categories of calls that the Minneapolis Police Department responds to. Please select any that you believe should be responded to by someone other than the Minneapolis Police Department, if any.

Please note: another recent survey from the City focused on alternative responses to mental health crises and other calls. Information provided through that survey is still being used as planned—the process of using it to create recommendations and ideas is underway.

- » Mental health crisis
- » Person experiencing homelessness
- » Disturbance/noise/alarms

- » Suspicious person
- » Traffic accident/crash
- » Traffic enforcement
- » Drug use/overdose
- » Drug selling
- » Trespassing
- » Property damage/vandalism
- » Accident/injury
- » Theft/burglary
- » Shooting/shots fired
- » Child abuse/neglect
- » Domestic violence
- » Sexual violence
- » Other violence or assault
- » Other/miscellaneous
- » None

**7. Please describe who you think should respond to each category you checked. You can describe it however you want: a different existing City department/responder, a new City department/responder, the type of qualifications or professional (for example, social worker), or another way.**

Rate satisfaction with MPD, Fire Department

***Demographics: We ask questions about demographics in order to make sure that we are getting a diverse group of survey participants.***

**9. What neighborhood do you live in?**

**10. What is your age?**

- » Under 18
- » 18-24
- » 25-34
- » 35-44



- » 45-54
- » 55-64
- » 65+
- » I prefer not to answer

**11. How do you identify your race/ethnicity? Select all that apply.**

- » African American; African; Black; and/or of African Descent
- » American Indian; Native American; and/or Indigenous to the Americas
- » Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian
- » Asian/Pacific American; Asian/Pacific Islander; and/or of Asian Descent
- » Latino/a/x
- » Middle Eastern/North African (MENA); and/or of MENA Descent
- » European American; European; White; and/or of European Descent
- » I prefer not to answer
- » I identify with a race/ethnicity not listed here (please specify)

**12. How do you identify your gender? Select all that apply.**

- » Cis woman (Cis means that you still identify with the sex that was written on your birth certificate)
- » Cis man (Cis means that you still identify with the sex that was written on your birth certificate)
- » Trans woman
- » Trans man
- » Non-binary and/or gender non-conforming
- » I prefer not to answer
- » I identify with a gender not listed here (please specify)

**13. How do you identify your sexuality? Select all that apply.**

- » Straight/heterosexual
- » Gay
- » Lesbian

- » Bisexual
- » Asexual
- » Queer
- » I prefer not to answer
- » I identify with a sexuality not listed here (please specify)

**14. Do you identify as having a disability?**

- » Yes
- » No
- » I prefer not to answer

**15. Do you identify as Deaf, DeafBlind, or Hard of Hearing?**

- » Yes
- » No
- » I prefer not to answer

## APPENDIX H

# MINNEAPOLIS SURVEY (COMMUNITY)

### PEOPLE'S PATH FORWARD SURVEY

The People's Path Forward is a campaign to radically shift the ways we envision safety and create the road to our liberation by developing a new model of community safety. What is your vision of safety? Please complete this survey and make your voice heard!

#### *Contact Information*

First Name

Last Name

Date of Birth (Optional)

MM/DD/YYYY

Street Address (or neighborhood) (Optional)

Address Line 2 (Optional)

Postal Code (Optional)

City

Email

Mobile Phone (Optional)

#### *Survey Questions:*

Age (Optional)

Gender (ex:// woman, man, non-binary) (Optional)

Pronouns (ex:// she/her, he/him, they/them) (Optional)

Race (ex:// Black, Native, Latina, Asian, White) (Optional)

Ethnicity (ex:// African Diaspora, Somali, Ojibwe, Mexican, Hmong, Italian) (Optional)

Who is in your community? Your friends, family, co-workers and neighbors? (ex:// Renters, working class people, college students, LGBTQ folks, people of color, children & parents, activists) (Optional)

What do you see as the biggest NEEDS in your community right now? (Optional)

What do you see as the biggest BARRIERS to being safe? (Optional)

When you envision a safe and healthy community, what are four words you would use

to describe that community? (ex:// A safe & healthy community has equality, justice, purpose and happiness) (Optional)

Do you believe we can have a city/world without police? Please tell us more about your answer (ex.// Yes! We need the resources to make it happen though.) (Optional)

Would you vote to remove the Minneapolis Police Department as a required department and replace it with the Department of Community Safety and Violence Prevention? (Optional)

Yes

No

Other

Do you have a story to tell about community safety you'd be willing to share? (Optional)

Yes

No

Other

If yes, what is the best way & time to reach you? (Optional)

Comments/Questions (Optional)

## APPENDIX I

# CHICAGO SURVEY



### Office of Budget and Management

#### 2021 Budget Public Engagement

On August 24, 2020, the Office of Budget and Management announced the framework for the public engagement phase of the 2021 budget process which included “Budget Week”, a weeklong series of virtual budget townhall meetings, livestreamed on Facebook, and the launch of a new interactive website where residents can submit questions for the townhall series and find multiple ways to provide feedback for the upcoming budget. To expand community input, this year the City introduced the Budget 2021 Community Round Table series, a grassroots effort to gather community feedback from residents on their budgetary spending priorities. To build on the framework for the public engagement phase of the 2021 budget, the City also launched an online survey which asked participants about City services they most value. The survey was also made available in paper format at Chicago Public Library locations.

#### ***Budget Survey***

For the second year, the Office of Budget and Management (OBM) launched a public survey, made available at <http://chi.gov/budgetsurvey> in six languages. The purpose of the survey was to give residents a way to provide feedback to the City regarding budget priorities and values, as well as communicate the difficult choices to be made through the budget process, particularly as the City faces an historic deficit.

The survey opened on August 31, 2020 receiving 38,336 responses before closing on September 21, 2020. The survey was distributed on Survey Monkey across multiple channels, including social media and news outlets. The number of responses received in 2020 represented an increase of more than five times those received in 2019. In 2019, the survey received 7,347 responses.

Presented below is a discussion and static graphics of the survey outcomes. OBM also published an interactive dashboard of the survey results, available at [Chicago.gov/2021budget](http://Chicago.gov/2021budget).

Every residential ZIP code in the City was represented in the responses received. However, 45 percent of responses were from northside ZIP codes, an area that represents approximately 24 percent of the City’s total population. The chart below compares survey responses received with percent of population for each area.

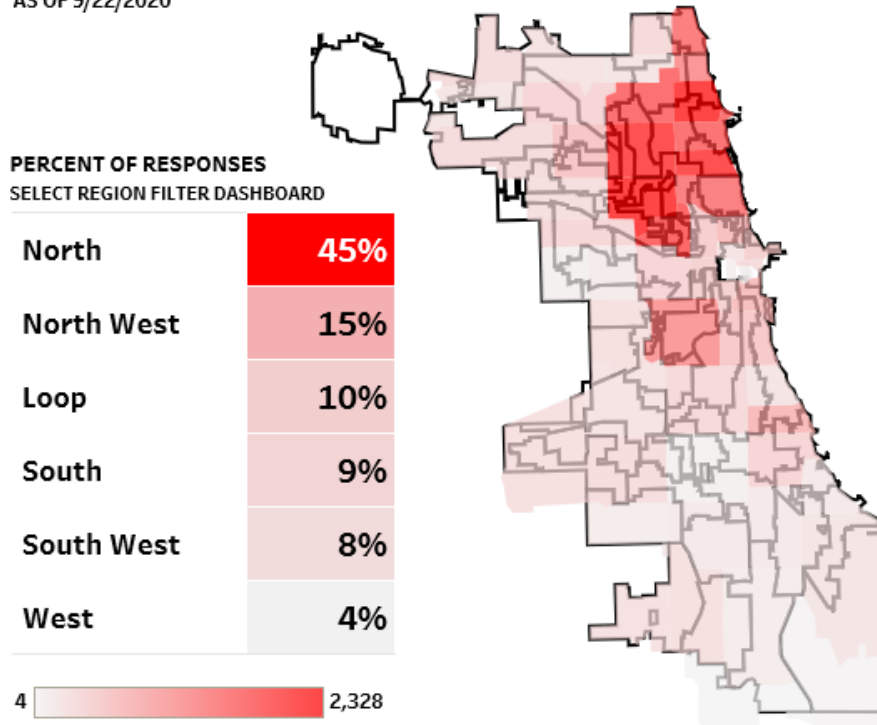
Survey Responses Compared to Population

City Area	Percent of Survey Responses	Percent of Population <sup>1</sup>
North	45%	24.6%
North West	15%	17.2%
Loop	10%	6.9%
South	9%	24.0%
South West	8%	17.5%
West	4%	9.8%

Location of Survey Responses by Community Area:

**34,481** Total Responses within the City

**38,336** SURVEY RESPONSES **90%** ARE WITHIN THE CITY  
AS OF 9/22/2020




<sup>1</sup> 2017 ACS 5-year estimates: Population by Zip Code

## **ALL CITY RESPONSES**

### **Question 1: Rank these City services in order of most importance to you.**

Respondents were asked to rank services, with one being of highest priority and ten being lowest priority. Public health and community services both received the highest average rankings at 2.6 and 2.7. Infrastructure services, streets and sanitation and other public safety services received the next highest rankings, all receiving an average ranking of 5.0-5.4. Regulatory services received the second lowest average ranking at 7.5, with police services receiving the lowest ranking at 8.5.

 <b>AVERAGE RANK</b>	
<b>Community Services</b>	<b>2.6</b>
<b>Public Health</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>5.0</b>
<b>Other Public Safety</b>	<b>5.2</b>
<b>Streets and Sanitation</b>	<b>5.4</b>
<b>Library</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>City Development</b>	<b>6.0</b>
<b>Cultural Affairs</b>	<b>6.3</b>
<b>Regulatory Services</b>	<b>7.5</b>
<b>Police Services</b>	<b>8.5</b>

### **Question 2: You are given \$1,000 to spend across ten general categories in the City of Chicago budget. Assign how many dollars you would budget to each category. You can leave some categories unfunded and you do not need to spend the entire amount.**

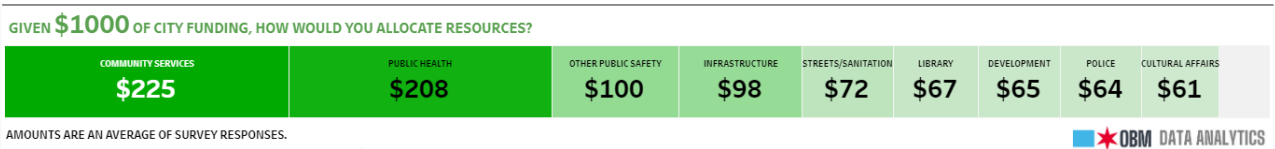
The survey provided residents an opportunity to participate in a budgeting exercise by allocating \$1,000 to ten general categories in the City's budget. The \$1,000 budget did not have to be allocated to all ten categories and the entire amount did not have to be spent. For responses that totaled more than \$1,000, the City normalized those results to align with the requirements of the question by applying a percent to submissions totaling more than \$1,000. For responses that entered a negative number, the City normalized these to zero. Below is a summary of the total percent allocated from survey responses compared to the category's 2020 budget allocation. The largest difference in the percent allocated by respondents in the survey compared to the budget allocation is for police services, followed by other public safety services and community services.



*Total Survey Budget Allocation vs 2020 City Budget Allocation*

Category	Survey Allocation	2020 Budget Allocation <sup>2</sup>
Police Services	6%	34%
Other Public Safety Services (fire response, ambulances, 911 and 311)	10%	18%
Infrastructure Services (lighting, street resurfacing, bridges, water projects)	10%	16%
Public Health (services to persons living with or at risk for HIV/AIDS, food protection, communicable diseases surveillance, mental health, lead poisoning prevention)	21%	4%
Community Services (youth services, homelessness support services, services for People with Disabilities, violence prevention)	22%	14%
Streets and Sanitation (rodent control, tree trimming, garbage and recycling)	7%	6%
City Development (planning and development, housing)	7%	5%
Libraries	7%	2%
Regulatory Services (building permits and inspections, business licensing, animal care and control)	4%	1%
Cultural Affairs and Special Events (public art, city markets, Chicago Film Office, city festivals)	6%	<1%

*Average Allocated<sup>3</sup>*



**Question 3: Which of the following general categories of City services do you believe require additional resources, if any? Such resources could include additional staff, more funding for contracts with community-based organizations, or other non-personnel expenses. (Select all that apply)**

Community services and public health both received approximately 86 percent of the votes for City services that respondents believe require additional resources. 47 percent of votes for additional resources went to libraries. The fewest number of votes for requiring

<sup>2</sup> The budgeted amounts included in the survey and presented here represent approximate 2020 budget levels across all funds for the presented program areas, and do not reflect the entirety of the City’s budget. The percent displayed is a percent of the approximate budgets for the categories included here and are not a percent of the City overall budget.

<sup>3</sup> The final category in grey is Regulatory services \$41

additional resources was for regulatory services at 12 percent, and police services at 9 percent.

Citywide Additional Resources<sup>4</sup>

**WHAT CITY SERVICES ARE IN NEED OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES?**

<b>COMMUNITY SERVICES</b> 32,804 VOTES	<b>LIBRARIES</b> 17,949 VOTES	<b>INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES</b> 13,027 VOTES	<b>OTHER PUBLIC SAFETY</b> 8,354 VOTES
<b>PUBLIC HEALTH</b> 32,557 VOTES	<b>CULTURAL AFFAIRS</b> 15,497 VOTES	<b>CITY DEVELOPMENT</b> 11,758 VOTES	
		<b>STREETS AND SANITATION</b> 11,153 VOTES	

The question also asked respondents to indicate what types of additional resources they believe are needed. 17,418 comments were received. Of these, more than 4,500 comments mentioned communities. These comments varied in content, ranging from community health workers, resources for seniors, services for disadvantaged communities, wider access to community services, training for police in community relations, funding for community based organizations, more police in underfunded communities, more businesses in communities, and additional community outreach and engagement programs, to name a few. Generally, these comments all reflected the need for more community-based services and engagement across all City services.

Nearly 5,000 comments were received that mentioned funding. These comments most often addressed the need for additional funding and staff for direct services provided to residents, ranging from mental health, community outreach, infrastructure improvements, community-based organizations, and affordable housing.

Health was mentioned more than 4,500 times in the comments received, most of which referred to mental health. Fewer comments were received related to public health more generally.

**Question 4: If you selected City services above that you believe need additional resources, in order to provide those additional resources, revenue sources must be increased or added, and/or resources must be reallocated from other existing programs or services. To provide those additional resources, which of the following would you choose? (Can select more than one)**

<sup>4</sup> The two grey boxes represent Regulatory Services 4,544 votes, Police Services 3,351 votes

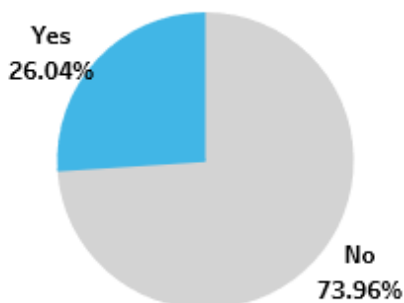
Of total selections, more than 90 percent of responses indicated that they prefer the City to reallocate existing funds, while 26 percent selected increase existing or introduce new revenue sources, and 22 percent selected “Other”. Respondents were able to select more than one option.

For the “Other” option, respondents were able to provide additional information. More than 8,200 comments were received, of which 7,282 mentioned the police. Nearly all of these comments referenced defunding the police, reallocating funding from the police budget, or reducing the police budget. Defund was mentioned in comments 3,102 times, almost entirely in reference to the police.

### HOW SHOULD THE CITY MEET THIS NEED?

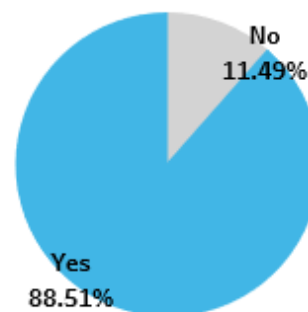
#### INCREASE REVENUE SOURCES?

(HOVER FOR VOTE OPTIONS)



#### REALLOCATE EXISTING FUNDS?

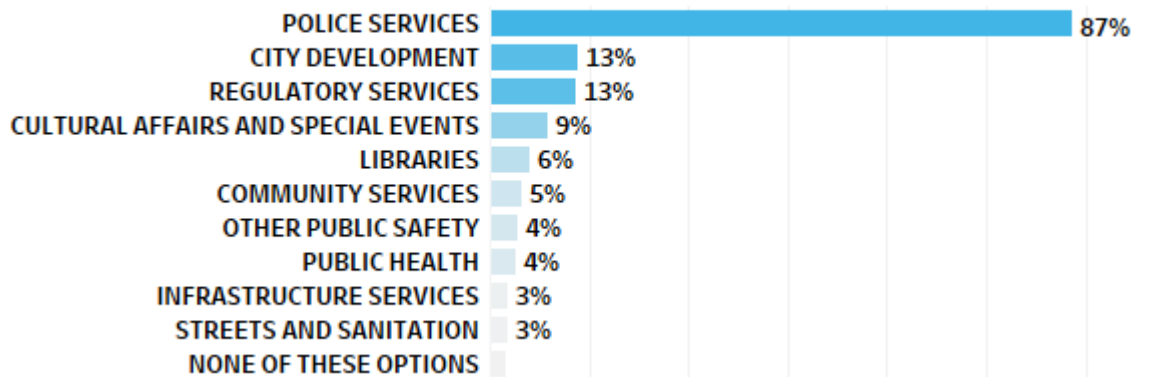
(HOVER FOR VOTE OPTIONS)



**Question 5: If you selected reallocate funding above in order to provide funding for other priority programs or services, which of these areas would you reallocate funding from? (Select all that apply)**

Of the 37,679 responses received for this question, 87 percent selected police as the area they want the City to reallocate funding from, while 13 percent chose city development and regulatory services. Approximately 3 percent each selected infrastructure services, streets and sanitation, or none of the above.

## REALLOCATE RESOURCES FROM

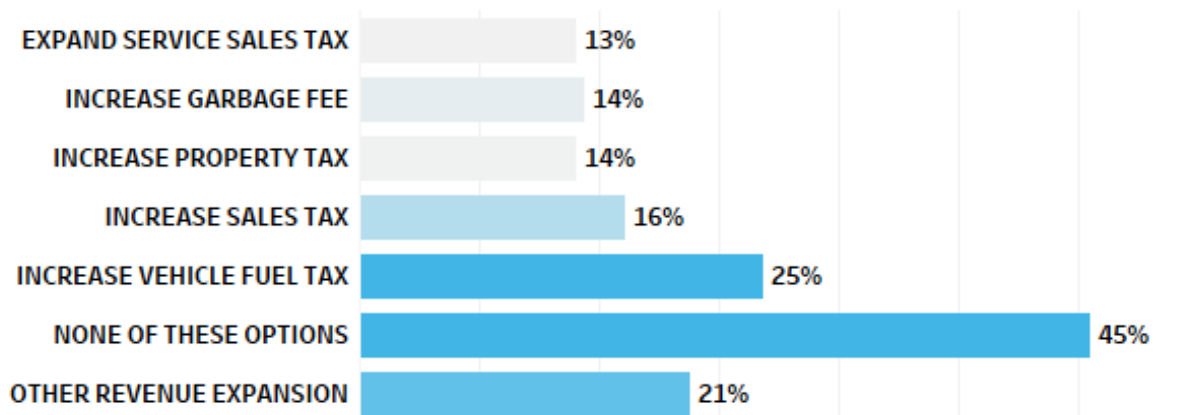


**Question 6: If you selected increase existing revenue or introduce new revenue sources, which of the following examples of revenue options would you choose in order to provide additional resources? (Select all that apply)**

This question presented a variety of different revenue options, as well as described the estimated impact of each option. This list was in no way intended to be a comprehensive list of all available options, nor representative of the revenue changes being considered by the City for the 2021 budget. 45 percent selected that they would select none of these options. Of the revenue ideas presented, 25 percent chose increase vehicle fuel tax in order to provide additional resources. Expansion of the service sales tax, increasing garbage fee, and increasing property tax each received approximately 13-14 percent of the selections made by respondents.

An “other” option was also made available for respondents to provide other ideas. Of the 6,741 comments received for “other”, there were 4,489 mentions of tax. These comments were primarily to indicate no new taxes should be considered, but also included comments indicating an interest in taxing the wealthy and increasing sin taxes (including marijuana and gambling).

## OPTIONS FOR INCREASING REVENUE



**Question 7: Optional: Keeping in mind that the City budget DOES NOT include the budgets for Sister Agencies including Chicago Public Schools, City Colleges of Chicago, Chicago Park District, Chicago Housing Authority, and the Chicago Transit Agency, what other concerns or revenue ideas related to the 2021 City budget would you like to add?**

19,650 comments we received for this question, of which 18,608 mentioned the police. The comments ranged from defunding the police, to indicating the need for more police accountability and reform, to reallocating police funding to community services that reduce crime. It is worth noting that comments were received that expressed an interest in increasing the police budget or supporting the police, however these are in the minority. 8,168 comments mentioned defund, in reference to defunding the police.

***Responses by City Area***

The North Side was disproportionately represented in the responses received, at 45 percent of total responses. When results are filtered by city area, there are slight changes in the overall responses, however, generally the responses are similar across areas. All city areas ranked community services as the highest priority, with police services as the lowest priority. All areas also indicated community services has the highest need for additional resources, while four city areas indicated police services had the lowest need for additional resources, and two areas (loop and southwest) indicated regulatory services had the lowest need for additional resources. For respondents who indicated a reallocation of resources should be leveraged to provide additional resources, all city areas selected police services as where those resources should be reallocated from. For the city services selected the least for reallocation of resources, streets and sanitation was the lowest in three city areas (north west, south, south west), infrastructure was the lowest in two city areas (north and loop), and one city area selected none of these options the least (west). While the highest priority of all city areas was no revenue increase or new revenue introduced, this preference was strongest from the south and west areas of the city. Revenue options selected the least include property taxes (lowest in four areas), increase garbage fee (lowest in three areas), and expansion of service sales tax (one area).

For the \$1,000 budget allocation question, the average amount allocated for all areas was highest in community services, with the second highest average allocation for public health. The lowest average allocations for all areas were for regulatory services. However, while police frequently ranked last in many other questions, for the budget allocation question, police ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> highest allocation in the south west, 5<sup>th</sup> highest/lowest in the north west and loop, 4<sup>th</sup> lowest in the south, 3<sup>rd</sup> lowest in the west, and 2<sup>nd</sup> to lowest in the north.



