

FREEDOM TO THRIVE

REIMAGINING SAFETY & SECURITY IN OUR COMMUNITIES



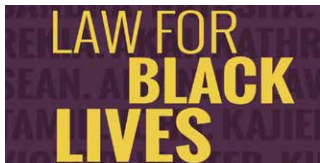


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About the Authors



The Center for Popular Democracy (CPD) is a national network of 48 grassroots organizations in 32 states, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico. CPD works to create equity, opportunity, and a dynamic democracy in partnership with high-impact base-building organizations, organizing alliances, and progressive unions. CPD strengthens our collective capacity to envision and win an innovative pro-worker, pro-immigrant, racial and economic justice agenda. CPD's Racial Justice Campaign works in collaboration and solidarity with our partners and allies across the country for an end to discriminatory and oppressive policies which marginalize Black people and other communities of color.



Law for Black Lives is a network of over 3,000 radical lawyers, law students, and legal workers committed to helping build the power of Black communities and organizers. Formed out of the uprisings in Ferguson and Baltimore, Law for Black Lives works with individuals and organizations across the country to embolden, defend and protect the ongoing movement for Black liberation.



Black Youth Project 100 (BYP100) is an activist member-based organization of Black 18–35 year old abolitionist freedom fighters moving toward liberation using a Black Queer Feminist lens. BYP100 is building a network focused on transformative leadership development; grassroots, direct action, and digital organizing; policy advocacy; and political education. BYP100 envisions a world where all Black people have economic, social, political, and educational freedom.

This report was written by Kate Hamaji and Kumar Rao of the Center for Popular Democracy, Marbre Stahly-Butts of Law for Black Lives, and Janaé Bonsu, Charlene Carruthers, Roselyn Berry, and Denzel McCampbell of BYP100, in collaboration with 27 local organizations around the country.

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actionnow.org

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ArchCity Defenders (Missouri)
archcitydefenders.org

Neighborhoods Organizing for Change (Minnesota)
mnnoc.org

#ATLisReady (Georgia)
atlisready.black

New Florida Majority
newfloridamajority.org/wp

Black Alliance for Just Immigration (New York)
blackalliance.org

New Georgia Project
newgeorgiaproject.org

BYPrOO
byproo.org

New York Communities for Change
nycommunities.org

Californians for Safety and Justice
safeandjust.org

Organize Florida
orgfl.org

CASA (Maryland)
wearecasa.org

Organized Communities Against Deportations (Illinois)
organizedcommunities.org

Community United for Police Reform (New York)
changethenypd.org

Prison & Family Justice Project (Michigan)
law.umich.edu/centersandprograms/pcl/Pages/pfjp.aspx

Dignity & Power Now (California)
dignityandpowernow.org

SNaP Coalition (Georgia)
rjactioncenter.org/snap

Ella Baker Center (California)
ellabakercenter.org

Take Action Minnesota
takeactionminnesota.org

Good Jobs Detroit (Michigan)
goodjobsnow.org

VOCAL-NY
vocal-ny.org

Make the Road New York
maketheroadny.org

Youth Justice Coalition (California)
youth4justice.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the last 30 years, at both the national and local levels, governments have dramatically increased their spending on criminalization, policing, and mass incarceration while drastically cutting investments in basic infrastructure and slowing investment in social safety net programs.¹

The choice to resource *punitive* systems instead of stabilizing and nourishing ones does not make communities safer. Instead, study after study shows that a living wage, access to holistic health services and treatment, educational opportunity, and stable housing are far more successful in reducing crime than police or prisons.²

This report examines racial disparities, policing landscapes, and budgets in twelve jurisdictions across the country, comparing the city and county spending priorities with those of community organizations and their members. While many community members, supported by research and established best practices, assert that increased spending on police do not make them safer, cities and counties continue to rely overwhelmingly on policing and incarceration spending while under-resourcing less damaging, more fair, and more effective safety initiatives. Each profile also highlights current or prospective campaigns that seek to divest resources away

from police and prisons towards communities and their development. We call this the invest/divest framework. We also offer a “Budget 101” to help readers understand some of the terms reflected in this report, and provide a general framework of budget analysis and advocacy.

At the end of the report we highlight the potential impact of participatory budgeting, a popular financial governance strategy which can assist advocates and communities in advancing the invest/divest framework.

Key Findings

- Among the jurisdictions profiled, police spending vastly outpaces expenditures in vital community resources and services, with the highest percentage being 41.2 percent of general fund expenditures in Oakland.
- Among cities profiled, per capita police spending ranges from \$381 to as high as \$772.
- Consistent community safety priorities emerged across jurisdictions. Most notable among them are demands for mental health services, youth programming, and infrastructure such as transit access and housing.

City	Total Police Spending (Total Budget)	Per Capita Police Spending (Total Budget)	% of General Fund Expenditures on Police Department
Atlanta	\$218,300,000	\$486	29.7%
Baltimore	\$480,700,000	\$772	25.6%
Chicago	\$1,460,000,000	\$537	38.6%
Detroit	\$310,200,000	\$450	30.0%
Houston	\$850,400,000	\$383	35.0%
Los Angeles	\$1,485,600,000	\$381	25.7%
Minneapolis	\$163,200,000	\$408	35.8%
New York City	\$4,891,900,000	\$581	8.2%
Oakland	\$242,500,000	\$594	41.2%
Orlando	\$153,800,000	\$599	32.3%

County	Total Police/Sheriff & Corrections Spending (Total Budget)	Per Capita Police/Sheriff & Corrections Spending (Total Budget)	% of General Fund Expenditures on Police/Sheriff and Corrections
Contra Costa*	301,000,000	\$275	20.0%
St. Louis County	\$132,900,000	\$133	31.8%

*General Funds only, since total departmental funds are not provided.

INTRODUCTION

Budgets are essentially financial documents that reflect the spending priorities and types of investments an institution deems to be sensible, practical, and effective.

For government, budgets are also moral documents. They are an articulation of what—and whom—our cities, counties, states, and country deem worthy of investment.

Over the last 30 years, the US has dramatically increased its investment in policing and incarceration, while drastically cutting investments in basic infrastructure and slowing investment in social safety net programs.³ Elected officials have stripped funds from mental health services, housing subsidies, youth programs, and food benefits programs, while pouring money into police forces, military grade weapons, high-tech surveillance, jails, and prisons. These investment choices have devastated Black and brown low-income communities who are most affected by both criminalization and systemic social divestment.⁴

Moreover, the choice to invest in *punitive* systems instead of stabilizing and nourishing ones does not make our communities safer. Study after study shows that a living wage, access to holistic health services and treatment, educational opportunity, and stable housing are more successful in reducing crime than more police or prisons.⁵

Despite this reality, the US collectively spends \$100 billion annually on policing⁶ and another \$80 billion on incarceration⁷ across all levels of government. State expenditures on corrections increased each year between 1982 and 2001, outpacing overall budget growth.⁸ On average, state spending for corrections increased by 141 percent between 1986 and 2013, while the average spending on higher education rose less than six percent.⁹ Meanwhile, states across the country continue to make fatal cuts to the kinds of programs and institutions that actually stabilize and strengthen communities.¹⁰

Local Spending

These trends in government spending are also prevalent at the local level. The vast majority of municipalities are spending huge portions of their budgets on policing, while comparatively little goes to maintaining the services, resources and infrastructures needed to keep communities healthy and safe. In Oakland, California, for example, over 40 percent of the city's general funds go to policing. Human services, which include violence prevention programs, services for youth, housing and income support, and Head Start, receive less than 30 cents to every dollar allocated in the overall budget for policing. Ultimately, due to shrinking state and local government budgets,¹¹ more spending on policing and incarceration means fewer resources for initiatives and institutions proven to benefit communities, whether they be in education, health, environment, or basic infrastructure.¹²

Impact of Criminalization & Community Divestment

The massive divestment from communities of color¹³ historically coincided with the US government's "War on Drugs" and "tough on crime" policies, which are themselves some of the newest linchpins in the nation's long history of social control and criminalization of marginalized people. A number of federal laws passed in the 1980s and 1990s increased penalties for criminal offenses and funneled trillions of dollars to police and prisons without creating any mechanisms to ensure accountability.¹⁴ Local and state governments also criminalized Black and Latinx communities through an onslaught of new criminal statutes.¹⁵ States and municipalities passed new laws criminalizing formerly noncriminal behavior, empowering police to arrest people for the most minor infractions, from violations of park rules to "excessive noise."¹⁶

Cities and counties hired armies of police to enforce these new laws. With this legislative mandate came broadened officer discretion and increased targeting of low-income Black and Latinx communities. The racial impact of this targeting has been devastating. According to a study by the New York Civil Liberties Union, for example, up to 85 percent of those summoned in New York for low-level offenses from 2002 to 2013 were Black or Latinx.¹⁷ Similar racial discrepancies exist in other parts of the country.¹⁸ For drug offenses nationwide, Black people are approximately 3.5–4 times more likely than white people to be arrested,¹⁹ even though Black people use drugs at roughly the same rate as whites.²⁰ Despite these alarming racial disparities and documented instances of systemic corruption, including those in Los Angeles and Atlanta discussed in this report, police departments and correctional agencies continue to receive increased funding with limited oversight and restrictions.

As a result of systemic divestment and redlining, neighborhoods targeted by discriminatory policing also have high levels of poverty, unemployment, and racial segregation.²¹ In many urban neighborhoods, where millions of dollars are spent to lock up residents, the education infrastructure and larger social safety net are completely crippled by inadequate resources. Neighborhoods with high rates of incarceration also have some of the lowest performing and lowest funded schools.²² In 2010, the Los Angeles Unified School District faced a deficit of \$640 million, while more than a billion dollars was spent to incarcerate people from neighborhoods that are home to less than 20 percent of the city's adult population.²³

For all the costs, both financial and human, investments in policing and incarceration have had little to no proven benefits. Instead they have perpetuated cyclical poverty and the destabilization of present and future generations.²⁴ There have been no conclusive findings that either increased policing or incarceration have a meaningful impact in crime-reduction efforts.²⁵ In fact, studies show that the impact of incarceration on crime may be marginal compared to various non-punitive forms of intervention.²⁶

A variety of studies have echoed what the authors of this report learned from organizers across the country, that investments in drug treatment, mental health support, educational completion programs, and supportive interventions for families in crisis are more effective, less expensive, and more humane “crime fighting” strategies than increased incarceration and policing.²⁷ Everything from preschool programs,²⁸ to summer jobs for youth,²⁹ to improved access to healthcare³⁰ are more clearly linked to reduced crime rates and community development than police, jails, and prisons.

About this Report

This report examines the budgets in 12 jurisdictions and compares city and county spending priorities with those of community organizations and their members. The difference in priorities is stark. While the over 25 community organizations interviewed are calling for more money for infrastructure, job training and placement, affordable housing, drug rehabilitation, educational support, youth programs and jobs, healthcare, and mental health services, cities continue to prioritize funding for militarized police forces—many with histories of brutality, corruption, and discrimination. While research supports community members' assertion that increased spending on police does not make them safer, cities remain steadfast in police investment and continue to spend significant portions of their budgets on policing.

This report also highlights campaigns which seek to shift power and resources away from police and prisons and toward community priorities. These invest/divest campaigns, which advocate for investments in supportive services and divestment from punitive institutions, challenge the very roots of mass criminalization and inequity. They demand elected officials and decision makers acknowledge that the lack of investment in communities of color and the over-investment in their criminalization is emblematic of governmental disregard for Black and brown life. They, along with dozens of other groups across the country, are fighting not only to make their communities safer, but stronger and more equitable. ■

BUDGET ANALYSIS 101

The Budget Cycle

The budget process varies from city to city and county to county, but generally follows a similar arc. First, municipal departments announce their personnel and non-personnel needs for the upcoming year. At the city level, the mayor proposes a budget that reflects his or her priorities and balances proposed expenditures with available revenue. This is typically followed by a process to solicit public input through committee meetings and public. The mayor negotiates the proposed budget with the city council, which then adopts the final budget.³¹ At the county level, a similar process is negotiated between the county administrator



or county executive and the board of supervisors, the county council, or some equivalent body.³² The budget should specify the amount and sources of city or county revenue, and the amounts allocated for salaries, goods and services, infrastructure, and equipment.³³

The budget cycle for cities and counties usually spans one year and is often aligned with the fiscal year, though may follow an alternate timeline. In some cases, budget appropriations are made for multiple years at a time. For example, Oakland's city budget is determined every two years, and includes two one-year spending plans.³⁴

City and County Revenue and Expenditures

Local budgets cover the costs of running cities and counties including, for instance, costs of sanitation, electricity, and road maintenance. Local budgets also fund departmental operations and services. Typical examples include public safety, health, recreation, city planning, economic development, housing development, transportation planning, and workforce services. Many budgets have separate plans for operating and capital expenditures, which are typically non-recurring infrastructure investments.³⁵



Often, cities fund police departments while counties fund the sheriff's department and corrections department. This is not a rule of thumb, however, as some counties also have police departments and other cities also fund probation and corrections.

Cities and counties raise revenue through property taxes, charges for services, and user fees.³⁶ Some states allow local government to charge income and/or sales taxes, though property taxes typically comprise a larger share of revenue than income or sales taxes.³⁷ Local governments also receive transfers and grants from the state and federal government.³⁸

Restricted versus Discretionary Funds

Every city and county has multiple individual funds within its budget, each of which generates revenue from specific sources and most of which have restrictions on use. Individual funds are created by laws, grant requirements, or decisions made by the governing body. A restricted fund is often limited for specific uses and must be reported separately to demonstrate compliance.³⁹ All funds that are not restricted are accounted for in the “general fund.” The general fund is primarily funded by property taxes, and is the most flexible, discretionary fund. Whether restricted by legislation or allocated through the discretion of city council, each fund reflects city priorities and commitments.

This Report’s Invest/Divest Budget Methodology

This analysis looks at total expenditures (which include city, state, and federal resources funneled through local budgets) on police and corrections as a proportion of the total budget, as compared to expenditures on the resources and services that truly keep communities safe—health and mental health, education, youth development, workforce development, and public transportation (i.e. “Selected Budget Expenditures”). Each budget profile looks at either the “total budget” or “total operating budget” depending on the terminology presented in the budget document. If both are listed, the analysis uses the “total operating budget.”*

As a way of visualizing spending, the analysis compares the amount in cents invested in community resources and services to each dollar spent on the police (i.e. “Cents to the Dollar”). This comparison assesses community expenditures as a percentage of police expenditures.

*It should be noted that budgets treat capital funds in different ways. In some cases, capital expenditure programs are captured in the total budget, and in other cases they are listed discretely.

Finally, the analysis assesses general fund expenditures on police and corrections, since these expenditures reflect discretionary and uncommitted funds within the city budget (i.e. “General Fund”). Some departments are funded primarily by the general fund (as is often the case with police departments), while others may be only funded through a combination of the general fund and other funds. Some departments do not receive any funding through the general fund.⁴⁰

When assessing local budgets, advocates often target the general fund because it is typically subject to an annual process and contains uncommitted resources that can be used for broad city functions and services.⁴¹ Budget allocations in restricted funds can also be challenged and altered through legislative and administrative advocacy.



It should be noted that this analysis looks exclusively at city and county expenditures that are reflected in local budgets, which do not capture all local, state or federal spending in a particular jurisdiction. For example, in many cities, the budget for public education is established through a separate budget process under the Board of Education. In other cities, a housing authority provides affordable housing but this spending is not captured in the local budget. ■

BUDGET PROFILES





Photo: Racial Justice Action Center

Racial Disparities

Atlanta, a city where more than 50 percent of residents are Black,⁴² was ranked the second most unequal city in the US in 2016.⁴³ Eighty percent of Black children in Atlanta live in communities with concentrated poverty, compared to six percent of white children.⁴⁴ The Black unemployment rate is 22 percent, which is nearly double the citywide rate.⁴⁵ White residents earn over three times more than Black residents and about twice as much as Latinx residents.⁴⁶ Graduation rates for Black and Latinx students in Atlanta Public Schools are 57 and 53 percent respectively, compared to 94 percent for white students.⁴⁷

In addition to stark racial inequalities, the dismantling of the social safety net has left many Atlanta residents displaced, without access to transportation, adequate healthcare, or employment opportunities.⁴⁸ The city, a pioneer of public housing in the 1930s, systematically demolished over 14,000 public housing units in the lead-up to the 1996 Summer

Olympics.⁴⁹ Often to facilitate corporate and commercial agendas, Atlanta has continued to give sweetheart deals to developers.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, there has been insufficient investments in transportation, health, and education infrastructures to support those who have been forced out.⁵¹

Policing Issues

Communities of color are routinely confronted with discriminatory policing, law enforcement corruption, police violence, and over-criminalization.⁵² One particularly high profile incident occurred in 2007, when the police fatally shot an elderly Black woman named Kathryn Johnston during a drug raid.⁵³ It was later discovered that the drugs found on the scene had been planted by the police.⁵⁴ Johnston's case was not an isolated event. In court documents, prosecutors showed that Atlanta police officers often lied to obtain search warrants and fabricated documentation of drug purchases.⁵⁵ However, despite a

long history of corruption and misconduct, the Atlanta police budget continues to grow apace, with little effective accountability or oversight.⁵⁶

In 2007, the City of Atlanta created the Atlanta Citizen Review Board (ACRB) to provide civilian oversight of the Atlanta Police Department. The Board was granted direct subpoena power in 2010⁵⁷ and the City Council passed legislation in 2016 that expanded the board's authority over a broader range of complaint categories.⁵⁸ However, organizers have criticized the ACRB for its low promotion of complaints, its lack of transparency, and its “Don’t Run” campaign, which placed the onus on individuals to avoid violence at the hands of the police.⁵⁹ Moreover, the existence of the ACRB has not had an impact on the use of police force. The Atlanta Police Department’s use of force incidents increased from 2011 to 2014 (from 487 to 711 incidents, including use of force against property).⁶⁰ The recent killings of Alexia Christian,⁶¹ Deravis Caine Rogers,⁶² and DeAundre Philips⁶³ make clear that Black people are still routinely targeted and killed by police violence, often with impunity.⁶⁴

January 2017 saw the retirement of George Turner, the Police Chief of six years who oversaw the expansion of Atlanta’s police force. The new Police Chief, Erika Shields, has made a number of statements supporting reforms in the department and the pre-arrest diversion program.⁶⁵ Yet despite calls for systemic reform and divestment, the police budget in Atlanta has continued to grow. In August 2016, for example, the Atlanta City Council approved a \$5.6 million purchase of 1,200 cameras and video storage equipment.⁶⁶

Organizing Efforts

In the spring of 2016 the Solutions Not Punishment Collaborative (SNaP Co) released a report titled “The Most Dangerous Thing Out Here is the Police: Trans Voices on Police Abuse and Profiling in Atlanta.”⁶⁷ The report powerfully illustrates the discrimination faced by Trans people in Atlanta and demonstrates the prevalence of police and state violence. The report reflects the reality that police are more often perpetrators than protectors in the Trans communities. The report, and the organizing it reflects, was a precursor to the mass street protests that occurred in the summer and fall of 2016. For five consecutive days,

People’s Priorities

Organizers in Atlanta have identified a number of priority investment areas that would increase public safety and reduce community destabilization. ATLiSReady, a Black-led social impact network, conducted a survey of 650 low-income community members. Those interviewed identified access to housing, transportation, and affordable energy as priority investment areas. Community members also voiced enthusiasm for widespread criminal justice reform, the repeal of “quality of life ordinances,” and support and protections for Trans and queer residents.⁸⁰

Organizers have identified the need for job training and placement programs as well as pre-arrest diversion services to mitigate the harmful impacts of overcriminalization and economic instability.⁸¹

In light of discriminatory practices that make it difficult for Trans people to obtain employment or secure housing, SNaP Co and other organizations across the city are prioritizing the creation of a holistic Trans Community Center. The Center will offer a variety of services including job training and placement, housing

services, and other supports.⁸²

Because of widespread displacement and gentrification, housing is a key community priority.⁸³ Organizations are fighting for affordable housing as well as an end to discriminatory practices against Black, brown, trans and formerly incarcerated community members.⁸⁴ Marilyn Winn, with Women on the Rise, points out that the average \$1,800 spent to keep one person in the city jail for a month would be more humanely and effectively spent to provide stable housing and other needed services.⁸⁵

Atlanta: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Operating Budget
Department of Police Services	Total Police Department spending	\$218,300,000	10.9%
Department of Corrections	Corrections Department	\$33,400,000	1.7%
Department of Planning and Community Development	Includes funding for transportation planning and affordable housing	\$24,200,000	1.2%
Department of Parks and Recreation	Includes funding for youth development/ afterschool programs	\$35,700,000	1.8%

Source: City of Atlanta Fiscal Year 2017 Adopted Budget

hundreds joined together in marches and rallies to protest police brutality and the inhumane legal system in Atlanta and beyond.⁶⁸ In the summer of 2016, a number of groups submitted a list of demands to Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed,⁶⁹ which included the following: an overhaul of the Atlanta Police Department's (APD) training institutions and the adoption of a de-escalation model rather than the militarized tactics they currently use; an end to collaboration between law enforcement and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); the termination of all practices of racial profiling that target communities of color; and expanded accountability measures to deter police violence, including increased oversight of the APD that includes community participation.⁷⁰ The list of demands also called for investments in affordable housing, equitable health and environmental resources, and equal access to quality public education.⁷¹ These demands were a result of ongoing and longstanding organizing efforts.

Organizers in Atlanta have looked beyond policing and successfully pushed back against mass criminalization. A coalition of groups including SNAP Co, Women on the Rise, Trans(forming), LaGender, Inc., Racial Justice Action Center, and others, successfully advocated for the development⁷² and implementation of a pre-arrest diversion program that diverts people from the criminal legal system into community based services and supports.⁷³ Additionally, groups across Atlanta worked to repeal 40 "quality of life" ordinances, which had been used for decades to criminalize

poverty and Blackness.⁷⁴ The repeal was part of a "Criminal Justice Reform Package" first drafted in 2016 during the mass street protests, but which did not pass until January 2017 after organizations from SNAP Co, Black Lives Matter, Malcolm X Grassroots, and others "took City Hall by storm" in the wake of the killing of DeAundre Phillips.⁷⁵ Building on this victory, organizers are currently fighting to decriminalize marijuana violations and 30 other low-level offenses.

Activist groups also continue to fight to prevent the closing of the city's largest, and only "no turn away," homeless shelter. Despite community outcry the City Council voted to close the shelter in order to make space for the Atlanta Police Station's SWAT headquarters.⁷⁶ Today the shelter remains open yet inadequately funded.⁷⁷

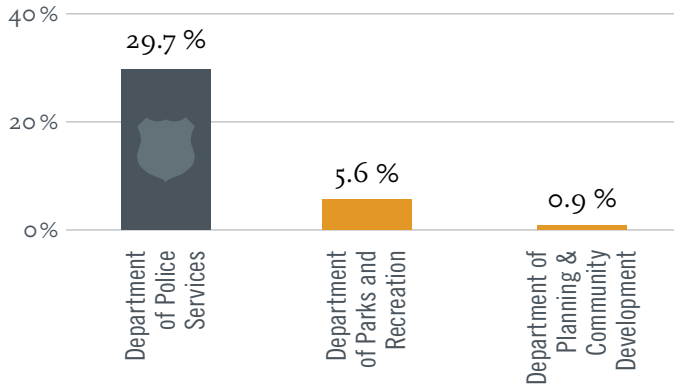
FY17 Atlanta City Budget ⁷⁸

Total Operating Budget

In Fiscal Year 2017 (FY17) Atlanta had a total operating budget of \$2 billion, out of which \$218.3 million, or 10.9 percent of the total operating budget, was dedicated to the Department of Police Services. This is equivalent to \$486 per capita.⁷⁹

Spending on policing dwarfs expenditures on critical community resources. For instance, funding for the Department of Community Development, which includes

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: City of Atlanta Fiscal Year 2017 Adopted Budget

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing to Selected Investments in Communities



Source: City of Atlanta Fiscal Year 2017 Adopted Budget



Photo: Racial Justice Action Center

funding for transportation planning and affordable housing, receives only 1.2 percent of total expenditures. The Department of Parks and Recreation receives less than two percent of total expenditures.

For every dollar spent on the Atlanta Police Department (including city, state, and federal funds), the Department of Planning and Community Development, which funds transportation planning and affordable housing development, receives 11 cents. For every dollar spent on policing, the Department of Parks and Recreation, which includes funds for youth development and afterschool programming, receives 16 cents.

General Fund

In FY17, Atlanta allocated nearly 30 percent of its \$607.4 million general fund expenditures to the Police Department, which vastly outpaces spending on the numerous investments being called for by communities. General fund expenditures for the Department of Planning and Community Development and the Department of Parks and Recreation, for example, received less than one percent and 5.6 percent of general fund expenditures respectively. ■



Photo: Racial Justice Action Center

⚡ Campaign Highlight ⁸⁶

A coalition of organizations in Atlanta has been working to close the local Atlanta City jail. The jail, which disproportionately houses low-income Black people who have been not been convicted of crimes, and are often only accused of low-level offenses, is a manifestation of the over policing, criminalization, and misplaced investment choices that plague the city.⁸⁷ Organizers are engaging in a long-term multi-pronged strategy to render the jail obsolete and to build community-based support and infrastructure that will better protect and serve all communities.

This strategy has included the development and implementation of a pre-arrest diversion program,⁸⁸ advocacy to repeal low-level offenses at the city level⁸⁹ and traffic offenses

at the state level, and working closely with immigrant justice groups to end collaboration with ICE and reduce the targeting of immigrant communities by law enforcement. The pre-arrest diversion program was a several years long campaign that centered impacted communities. While the design of pre-arrest diversion is often a law enforcement-led process, in Atlanta the program has been uniquely community driven. The program was designed by a 60-person design team that included judges, community members, formerly incarcerated people, trans leaders, law enforcement, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and business stakeholders. The design team worked extensively with communities and service providers to assess needs, map out existing services,

and identify gaps in service. In its implementation the program will remain accountable to communities through a policy advisory board charged with engaging communities and ensuring the program continues to meet their needs and interests.⁹⁰

In addition to reducing investment and reliance on the criminal justice system, organizers are working to develop community support networks and infrastructure. This includes the creation of a community based case management system that embodies the values of de-incarceration, harm reduction and community-centered justice. Organizers are also seeking funding for the creation of a holistic Trans community center that will provide employment, housing, and health support.⁹¹

BALTIMORE



Racial Disparities

Following the killing of Freddie Gray in 2015 at the hands of its Police Department, Baltimore began to receive national attention for not only its policing practices, but for its stark racial divisions—particularly in terms of poverty, inequality, and access to resources. In 2015, 28 percent of Black residents lived below the poverty line, nearly double the rate of white poverty.⁹² In Freddie Gray’s neighborhood, which was almost 97 percent Black, unemployment was at 24 percent with a median income of less than \$25,000.⁹³ While 60 percent of white households in Baltimore own their homes, only about 42 percent of Black households own their homes.⁹⁴ Fifty-one percent of white adults have a bachelor’s degree or higher, compared to 13 percent of Black adults.⁹⁵ There is a staggering 20 year gap in life expectancy between Baltimore’s richest and poorest neighborhoods.⁹⁶

Policing Issues

For years, the Baltimore Police Department has been under scrutiny for misconduct, corruption, and brutality, resulting in significant erosion of community trust between police and communities of color.⁹⁷ In the two decades leading up to 2012, the Baltimore Police killed 127 people, a significantly higher number than police killings in other cities of similar size.⁹⁸ A 2014 investigation by the Baltimore Sun showed that the majority of victims of both beatings and killings

at the hands of police were Black.⁹⁹ From 2011 to 2014 the city paid out \$5.7 million to settle over 100 police brutality suits, in addition to \$5.8 million in legal fees to defend the police.¹⁰⁰ The Baltimore Sun reported that for years the city did not track the number of lawsuits filed against individual officers, leaving city officials unaware that some officers were involved in multiple lawsuits.¹⁰¹ While the city has spent millions defending police, there remains little accountability. There are also serious restrictions on civilian input, including a line in the city’s contract which prevents civilians from sitting on police trial boards.¹⁰²

In 2010, the city publicly stated that it would no longer use “zero-tolerance policing,” a policing approach characterized by mass arrests and aggressive enforcement of minor infractions. Popularized between 1999 and 2007 by then-Mayor Martin O’Malley, the official abandonment of zero-tolerance policing was prompted by a 2006 lawsuit brought by the ACLU of Maryland, which alleged that the Baltimore police were improperly arresting thousands of people every year in a response to the department’s pressure to increase arrests.¹⁰³ However, as made evident by the continued killings and police brutality suits, this change did not succeed in shifting the culture of aggressive, often violent, policing in Baltimore.

The 2014 death of Freddie Gray sparked an uprising that garnered national media attention. Freddie Gray's death and subsequent protests led to a DOJ investigation and a damning report that confirmed what Black residents have known to be true for decades.¹⁰⁴ The 2016 report describes the magnitude of discrimination against Black residents, including wildly disproportionate rates of stops, searches, and arrests, as well as excessive use of force. For example, between January 2010 and May 2015, police made 300,000 pedestrian stops; 44 percent of stops were made in two predominantly Black districts containing 11 percent of the city's population.¹⁰⁵ Seven Black men were stopped more than 30 times each.¹⁰⁶ Black people were also 37 percent more likely to be searched during pedestrian stops and 23 percent more likely to be searched during vehicle stops, even though officers found contraband on white residents 50 percent more often during pedestrian stops.¹⁰⁷

In March of 2016, 500 police officers began wearing body cameras as the first of five stages in an \$11.6 million program. The full police force will be equipped with cameras by 2018.¹⁰⁸

In January 2017, the City of Baltimore and the DOJ agreed on a consent decree to institute reform in the Baltimore Police Department. The decree calls for an independent federal monitor and community oversight task force as well as, among other requirements, mandates that all vans which transport people in custody must have video cameras recording constantly when a passenger is in the vehicle.¹⁰⁹

Baltimore had the highest increase in homicides in the nation in 2016,¹¹⁰ while rates of death due to overdose are even higher.¹¹¹ Despite these trends, the city continues to embrace the prosecution of dealers over investments in addressing root causes of crime.¹¹² The city is now treating every overdose as a potential homicide, which has had a chilling effect on calls for help during emergencies.¹¹³

And still justice has not been served for Freddie Gray. A total of six officers were charged in his death, three of which were acquitted and three of which had their charges dropped.¹¹⁴

Organizing Efforts

In the face of such blatant injustice, advocates and organizers continue their work. In the summer of 2015, the Campaign for Justice, Safety & Jobs (CJSJ) formed to drive local police reform work in Baltimore, including much of the work that continues currently around the consent decree.¹¹⁵ CJSJ serves as the Baltimore table of the Maryland Coalition for Justice and Police Accountability (MCJPA)¹¹⁶—which includes the ACLU of Maryland, CASA, and the Maryland NAACP chapter¹¹⁷—and worked on parallel reforms at the city level.¹¹⁸

In 2016, MCJPA proposed a number of police reform measures which included cutting in half the time officers can wait before speaking to investigators, extending the timeframe for filing complaints alleging police violence, and opening police trial boards to the public.¹¹⁹ In the 2016 legislative session, MCJPA won the first major change to the

People's Priorities

Across the city, organizers are advocating for investments in students and youth over jails and police. Maryland Communities United is a membership-based grassroots organization which organizes communities to win transformative change for social, economic, and environmental justice.¹²⁶ One of their primary demands is increased investments in youth, and specifically

in community schools.¹²⁷ CASA, which works to expand opportunities for Latinx and immigrant people in Maryland,¹²⁸ also identifies youth programs and community schools as top investment priorities.¹²⁹ In addition, CASA and its coalition partners seek investment in and prioritization of small businesses and worker cooperatives, particularly when it comes to broadening access

to city contract opportunities for small businesses and cooperatives. By prioritizing small business owners and alternative business models, the city could be supporting local livelihoods and improving quality of life, particularly in the communities which are currently being targeted and killed by the police.¹³⁰

Selected Budget Expenditures, FY17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Operating Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$480,700,000	18.2%
Sheriff	Total Sheriff Department spending	\$20,200,000	0.8%
Office of Criminal Justice	Criminal Justice (administers local law enforcement grants like the Justice Assistance Grant program)	\$8,700,000	0.3%
Health	Includes substance abuse and mental health programs and youth violence prevention program	\$137,000,000	5.2%
	<i>Substance Abuse and Mental Health</i>	\$2,300,000	0.1%
	<i>Youth Violence Prevention</i>	\$3,800,000	0.1%
Health and Welfare Grants	Provides grants to health and welfare organizations to aid disadvantaged citizens and citizens with various special needs	\$1,214,000	0.05%
Housing and Community Development	Includes affordable housing programs	\$58,500,000	2.2%
Baltimore City Public Schools	Funding for public schools	\$265,400,000	10.0%
Educational Grants	Supports community college, supplements public education, out of school time programs	\$7,200,000	0.3%
Office of Employment Development	Includes funding for workforce services, workforce services for youth, employment programs for ex-offenders	\$25,000,000	0.9%
Office of Human Services	Includes funding for services for the homeless and low and moderate income families	\$65,300,000	2.5%
	<i>Homeless Services & Housing</i>	\$45,300,000	1.7%
	<i>Head Start</i>	\$8,600,000	0.3%
	<i>Community Action Centers</i>	\$6,300,000	0.2%
Transportation	Transportation construction and maintenance	\$200,200,000	7.6%

Source: Fiscal 2017 City of Baltimore Adopted Budget

law enforcement officers bill of rights in over 30 years.¹²⁰ MCJPA advocacy resulted in changes to hiring, training, and disciplinary processes; enabled residents to make complaints against police anonymously; and, through the Law Enforcement Officer’s Bill of Rights, extended the time residents can file complaints from 90 days to a year and a day.¹²¹

Currently, CJSJ is pushing for civilian influence in the consent decree process, including requirements to contract with community-based groups to solicit structured feedback and transparent selection of an independent monitor.¹²²

FY2017 Baltimore City Budget ¹²³

Total Operating Budget

In FY17, Baltimore had a total operating budget of \$2.6 billion, out of which \$480.7 million (or approximately 18.2

percent of the total budget) was dedicated to the Police Department. Spending on the Baltimore Police is equivalent to \$772 per capita.¹²⁴

Key community resources receive far less funding. For instance, Homeless and Housing Services received less than two percent of operating budget expenditures. Expenditures on Baltimore City Schools received only 10 percent of budget expenditures. The Office of Employment Development, which includes employment and workforce programs for youth and adults, received less than one percent of budgeted expenditures. Between FY2013 and FY2017, total operating expenditures on the Police Department increased by 23 percent while the total operating budget only increased by 15 percent.¹²⁵

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing vs Selected Investments in Communities



Source: Fiscal 2017 City of Baltimore Adopted Budget

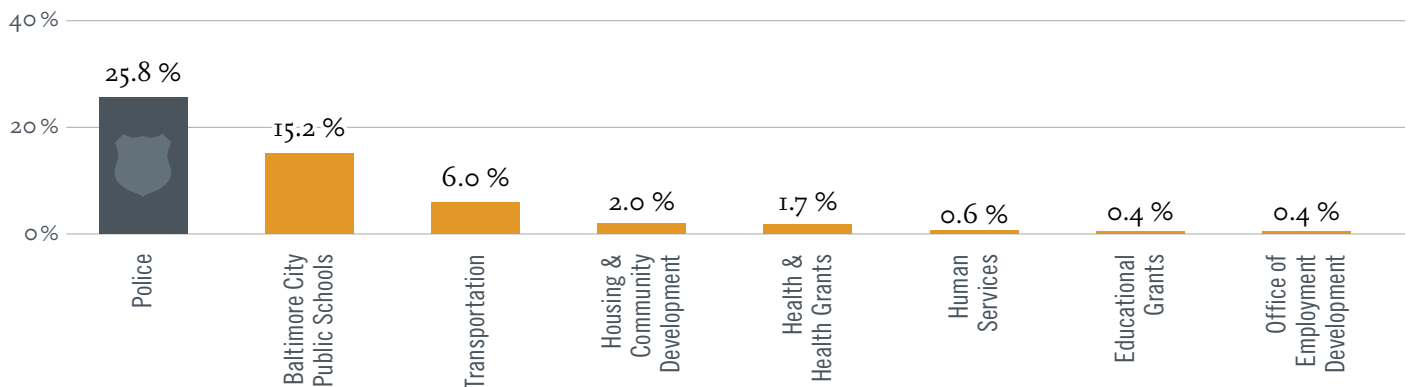
BALTIMORE

For every dollar spent on the Baltimore Police Department (including city, state, and federal funds), Baltimore City Public Schools receives 55 cents. The Office of Employment Development, which funds jobs programs, receives five cents. The Substance Abuse, Mental Health, and Youth Violence Prevention programs, which are housed within the Human Services Department, each receive just one cent of every dollar allocated to policing.

General Fund

In FY17, Baltimore allocated 25.8 percent of \$1.7 billion general operating fund expenditures to the Police Department. The Health Department and health grants, by contrast, comprised less than two percent of general fund expenditures. Human Services, which include homeless services, housing, and Head Start, received just over one half of one percent of general fund expenditures. ■

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: Fiscal 2017 City of Baltimore Adopted Budget

⚡ Campaign Highlight

Securing Funding for Community Schools

Maryland Communities United has long been fighting for increased funding for community schools as an investment in real public safety. By employing restorative justice approaches and engaging in conscious work around trauma, community schools are actively making communities safer.¹³¹

At the city level, there have been both important successes and persistent challenges. In 2015, in the wake of Freddie Gray's murder, advocates won expansion of funding for community

schools above and beyond the school budget. Specifically, they won an additional \$4 million (for a total of \$10 million) in funding from the mayor's budget for community schools coordinators and out-of-school time. However, the fight to maintain this funding has been ongoing. The following year, the same mayor turned around and cut \$2.4 million from community schools and out-of-school time--after the Baltimore City Council voted 15 to 0 to make cuts to the mayor's budget to press her to free up additional funding for schools, community schools, and out-of-school time. This action was unprecedented for the

city council in recent years, as the city council only has the power to cut from the mayor's budget, but cannot redirect funds to new purposes. Organizers have since won the reinstatement of \$2.4 million in education funding.¹³²

One of the key messages that the campaign has used to advance its agenda is that the city invests disproportionately in the police and severely under-invests in youth. In addition, many community members have been incarcerated and treated harshly by the police, compounding the collective trauma in the community and



undermining public safety. Organizers are calling for an honest assessment of whether the prioritization of policing is truly an effective approach to public safety, particularly when other community investments are so under-resourced. For example, the proposed investment in community schools is equivalent to less than one percent of the police budget. The city spends nearly half a million dollars per year on its police force. This spending has grown steadily over the last several decades, even though the city's population is only 60 percent of what it was 50 years ago. The mayor just

increased the police budget substantially to meet demands of the consent decree it recently signed with DOJ.¹³³

Baltimore's City Council president recently moved legislation mandating that three percent of city's budget be set aside for youth-related programs. While some people believe this will help to deal with the community school gap in the short term, others are skeptical about where that money will be ultimately directed.¹³⁴

Baltimore's Consent Decree

Under its current consent decree with

the DOJ, Baltimore must raise \$1.2 million to pay an independent monitor and to conform with the various other provisions of the decree. CASA is pushing to ensure transparency, public input, and community participation in the process to understand where this money is going and exactly how it is being used.¹³⁵ Specifically, CASA believes that the city should not invest any additional money in police overtime. Instead, the city should dedicate a significant portion of the \$1.2 million for contracts with community groups that are organizing around issues which impact Black and brown communities in Baltimore.¹³⁶

CHICAGO



Sarah-Ji, Love and Struggle Photos

Racial Disparities

Chicago is one of the most segregated cities in the country. The city's largest racial and ethnic groups—Blacks, Latinxs, and whites—each make up roughly one-third of the city's population in mostly distinct geographic communities.¹³⁷ A recent report by the Institute for Research on Race & Public Policy found that racial and ethnic inequities in Chicago “remain pervasive, persistent, and consequential” in the areas of housing, health, economics, education, and justice.

Chicago has a deep historical legacy of housing discrimination, economic restructuring, and uneven urban development which has left many families unable to afford housing in the city. In patterns that mirror Chicago's housing segregation, healthcare providers, pharmacies, and grocery stores are concentrated in white neighborhoods while “food deserts” cluster in almost exclusively Black census tracts.¹³⁸

Income inequality among Blacks, Latinxs, and whites is worse in Chicago than in the nation overall: over 30 percent of Black families and around 25 percent of Latinx families live below the poverty line while the poverty rate is less than 10 percent for white families.¹³⁹ Moreover, one-third of Chicago's Black and Latinx households possess either zero or negative net worth, compared to only 15 percent of white households.¹⁴⁰

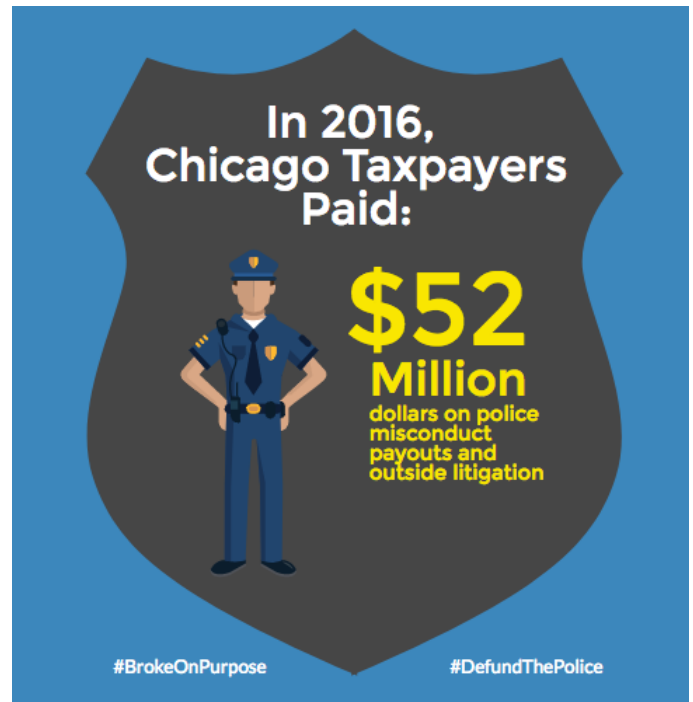
In May 2013, the Chicago Board of Education voted to close 47 underutilized elementary schools, the largest school closure in US history at the time.¹⁴¹ Today, Chicago's Public Schools' (CPS) resources remain unevenly distributed along lines of race and ethnicity. Of the \$650 million put toward new schools or school additions by CPS during the past six years, about 75 percent has gone toward schools where white students are overrepresented by at least twice their

representation in the district overall.¹⁴²

Policing Issues

With 12,500 sworn officers, the city of Chicago has the second largest police force in the nation.¹⁴³ The Chicago Police Department has a decades-long and infamous history of police misconduct. As outlined in a recent report by Chicago's Police Accountability Task Force, the department's track record includes, among many others, the murder of Black Panther Party Illinois chapter Chairman Fred Hampton in the 1960s;¹⁴⁴ the Metcalfe hearings that exposed the widespread misuses of police authority in the 1970s;¹⁴⁵ widespread disorderly conduct arrests in the 1980s;¹⁴⁶ the torture of over 100 Black men on Chicago's south Side committed under former Lt. Jon Burge from the 1970s to the early 1990s;¹⁴⁷ the unconstitutional gang loitering ordinance in the 1990s;¹⁴⁸ and the common use discriminatory stop-and-frisk in the 2000s.¹⁴⁹

In recent years, the Chicago Police Department has been subject to a renewed legitimacy crisis. The delayed release of footage of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald's murder by 16 shots from officer Jason Van Dyke's gun was a tipping point.¹⁵⁰ Amid protests and campaigns to unseat then State's Attorney Anita Alvarez, police Superintendent Garry McCarthy, and Mayor Rahm Emanuel,¹⁵¹ the Department of Justice launched a federal investigation in 2015 to assess the Chicago Police Department's use of force, "including racial,



ethnic and other disparities in use of force, and its systems of accountability."¹⁵²

While the DOJ began its investigation, Mayor Emanuel convened a Police Accountability Task Force to develop recommendations for reforming the Chicago Police Department.¹⁵³ The Task Force issued a scathing yet unsurprising report that highlighted many of the discriminatory practices that Chicago's communities of color

People's Priorities

Organizers in Chicago have identified several priority investment areas that would increase community safety and well-being. BYP100 Chicago demands a participatory city budget in which the public has the power to defund the Chicago Police Department and reinvest those resources in Black futures by setting a living wage and by fully funding healthcare, social services, public schools, and sustainable economic development projects.

Chicago has also taken money from their city budget to fund programs providing legal representation for immigrants in immigration courts. However, these funds are extremely limited, generally restricting representation to either children or immigrants eligible for relief under current immigration law. Organizations like Mijente and Organized Communities Against Deportations show that grassroots organizing from

immigrant communities has had a significant impact. Cities and other funding entities seeking to support protections for immigrants need to think beyond a legal paradigm and invest in community organizations with a history of building power against harmful immigration enforcement tactics, or those which are learning from and developing that work.¹⁷⁰

Selected Budget Expenditures, FY17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Operating Budget
Department of Police	Total Police Department spending	\$1,460,000,000	17.6%
Department of Planning and Development	Includes affordable housing development	\$176,100,000	2.1%
Department of Public Health	Includes mental health services	\$32,000,000	0.4%
Department of Family and Support Services	Includes youth programs, violence reduction programs, homeless services, after school programs, and homeless services	\$76,400,000	0.9%
<i>Youth Mentoring</i>		\$6,000,000	0.07%
<i>Early Childhood Education</i>		\$15,100,000	0.2%
<i>Violence Reduction</i>		\$2,600,000	0.03%
<i>Summer Programs</i>		\$16,700,000	0.2%
<i>After School Programs</i>		\$17,800,000	0.2%
<i>Homeless Services</i>		\$10,200,000	0.1%
Department of Transportation	Funding for designing, planning, and constructing infrastructure	\$165,900,000	2.0%

Source: FY 2017 City of Chicago Budget Ordinance

experience daily. For instance, police shoot Black residents at much higher rates—between 2008 and 2015, 74 percent of those hit or killed by police officers were Black and 14 percent were Latinx.¹⁵⁴ Between 2012 and 2015, 76 percent of those tasered were Black and 13 percent were Latinx.¹⁵⁵ In the summer of 2014, Chicago police made more than 250,000 stops that did not lead to arrest, and of those 72 percent were Black and 17 percent were Latinx.¹⁵⁶ A survey of 1,200 Chicago residents ages 16 or older found that nearly 70 percent of young Black men were stopped by police in the last 12 months.¹⁵⁷

Even though Black and Latinx Chicagoans bear the brunt of police misconduct and use of force, they are less likely than white Chicagoans to have their complaints against Chicago Police Department officers sustained.¹⁵⁸ This remains true even as the city maintains the highest number of fatal police-

involved shootings in the nation, and as Chicago taxpayers continue to absorb the massive cost of misconduct payouts over the past ten years.¹⁵⁹ In fact, an extensive database from The Chicago Reporter revealed that hundreds of Chicago Police Department misconduct lawsuit settlements between 2011 and 2016 have cost Chicago taxpayers \$280 million.¹⁶⁰

Due to increased scrutiny, the Chicago Police Department has been under pressure to demonstrate efforts to reform. In 2015, The ACLU of Illinois and the Chicago Police Department reached an agreement to reform stop-and-frisk practices, requiring an independent evaluation of the department's practices and procedures, improved data collection, and additional training for officers.¹⁶¹ As of January 2016, the department now records every stop-and-frisk encounter, including those that result in an arrest (previously data was collected only on stops that did not result in arrest). In order

to help facilitate complaints, the department additionally issues receipts for all stop-and-frisk encounters.¹⁶²

Organizing Efforts

Despite slow moves toward reform, grassroots organizations remain critical and undeterred in their efforts.¹⁶³

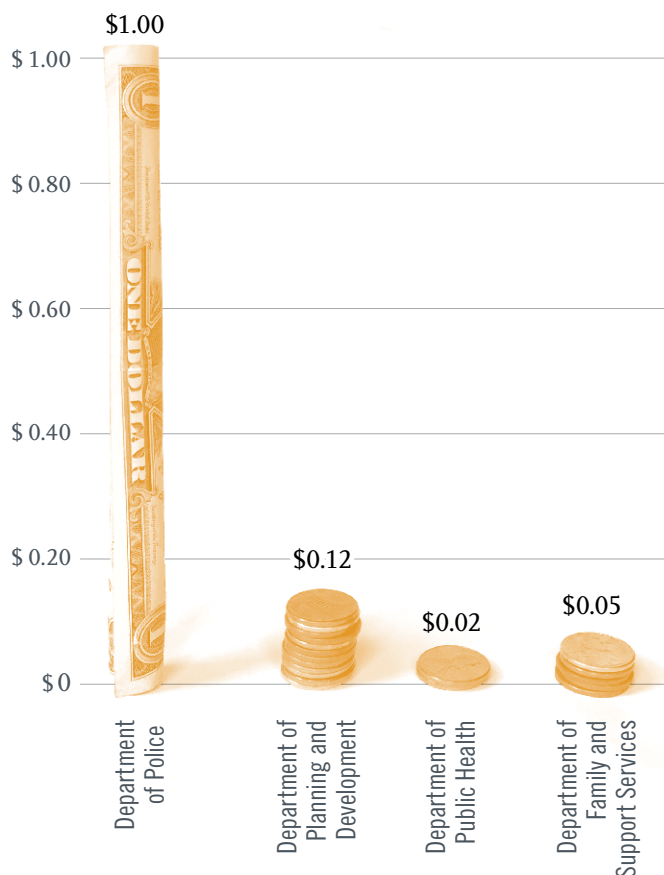
Indeed, Chicago’s resistance against police violence, criminalization, and incarceration is as longstanding as the issues themselves. Some of the efforts by Chicago-based organizations committed to these issues include demands for the implementation of an elected Civilian Police Accountability Council (CPAC) with mandated inclusion of survivors and families of victims of police violence; a campaign headed by the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; the closing of the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (the largest juvenile prison in the country) led by Generation Y/Center for Change and Fearless Leading by the Youth; Chicago Torture Justice Memorial’s efforts to release Jon Burge torture survivors who are still imprisoned; and the divestment from the Chicago Police Department. Chicago-based organizations are also pushing for a reinvestment of police funds in the reopening of closed schools and closed mental health centers, housing for the homeless, funding for crisis centers, drug treatment and recovery centers, and jobs programs.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, a coalition of community, policy, and civil rights organizations, called the Coalition for Police Contracts Accountability, recently came together to pressure city council and the mayor to withhold approval of Chicago Police Department’s union contract unless it includes a number of critical changes proposed by the group.¹⁶⁵ Organizers in the city have also taken on an explicitly abolitionist stance by imagining “a world without police,” in which the city puts its \$1.4 billion police budget to other uses.¹⁶⁶ Even the Police Accountability Task Force seems to recognize that solutions require more than just a change within the Chicago Police Department—Chicago’s communities of color are in critical need of investments in jobs, education, and other important community anchors.¹⁶⁷

FY17 Chicago City Budget ¹⁶⁸

Total Operating Budget

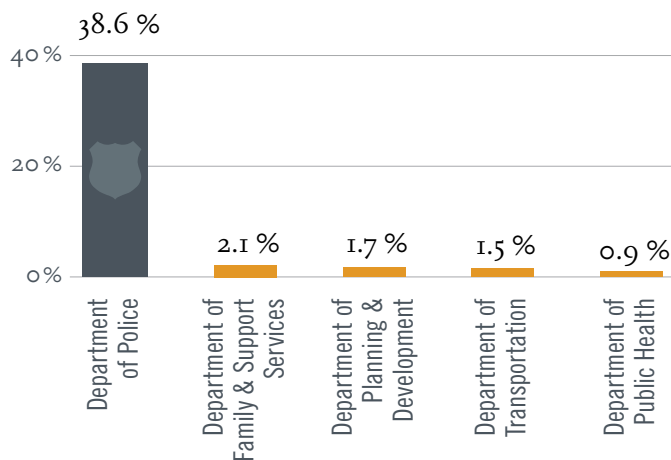
In FY2017, the City of Chicago allocated nearly \$1.5 billion of its \$8.2 billion operating budget (or 17.6 percent) to the

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing to Investments in the Dollar



Source: FY2017 City of Chicago Budget Ordinance

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: FY2017 City of Chicago Budget Ordinance



Sarah-Ji, Love and Struggle Photos

Department of Police. Total expenditures on the Chicago Police Department far outpaced expenditures on critical resources like health services and programs for youth. For instance, the Department of Public Health (which includes mental health services), received a third of one percent (0.4 percent) of total budget expenditures. The Department of Family and Support Services (which houses youth programs, violence reduction programs, after school programs, and homeless services) received less than one percent of total budget expenditures. Expenditures on the Chicago Police Department are equivalent to \$537 per capita.¹⁶⁹

For every dollar spent on the Chicago Police Department (including city, state, and federal funds), the Department of Public Health, which includes mental health services, receives two cents. The Department of Planning and

Development, which includes affordable housing development, receives 12 cents for every dollar spent on policing. The Department of Family and Support Services, which funds youth development, after school programs, and homeless services, receives five cents.

General Fund

In FY17, Chicago allocated 38.6 percent of its \$3.7 billion general fund budget to the Police Department. The Department of Planning and Development, by contrast, received 1.7 percent of general fund expenditures. The Department of Family and Support Services, which includes funding for youth mentoring, early childhood education, violence reduction, summer programs, after school programs, and homeless services, receives 2.1 percent of general fund expenditures. ■

“The DOJ report is just more evidence that the City of Chicago needs to stop rewarding the Chicago Police Department with salary increases and more hiring. This means less cops, more social services, better public schools, and more affordable housing in Black communities. In the face of DOJ’s findings, our commitment and demand to #StopTheCops and #FundBlackFutures remains unchanged.”

– *BYP100 Chicago*

Campaign Highlight

The Campaign to Defy, Defend, Expand Sanctuary builds on the invest/divest narrative and organizational relationships that began with a direct action to #StopTheCops and #FundBlackFutures. In 2015, BYP100—with the help of Organized Communities Against Deportations (OCAD), the #Not1More deportation campaign (which evolved into Mijente), We Charge Genocide, Assata’s Daughters, and others—shut down entry points to the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) conference in Chicago via direct action civil disobedience to demand divestment from the exorbitant resources harbored by police and the reinvestment of resources in Black communities.

Organizers have challenged Mayor Emanuel’s categorization of Chicago as a Sanctuary City, and have been pushing for policies that make a real impact in the lives of Chicagoans. The Campaign to Defy, Defend, Expand is a collaborative effort between BYP100, Mijente, and Organized Communities Against Deportations (OCAD) to expand and redefine what sanctuary

means to marginalized communities in the current political landscape. The organizations have envisioned the following three directions to take this fight: (1) to the policy world, through advocating for good policy at the city level for our people; (2) to their communities, creating and modeling sanctuary (safe) spaces and ways to support and defend each other; and (3) toward base building and political education for themselves, their members, and their communities about the attacks they’re up against.

A central goal of the Campaign to Defy, Defend, Expand Sanctuary is to shift the Sanctuary City conversation from a framing only about defending immigrants and “improving” trust with local police towards one that addresses the criminalization of Black people and other communities of color as part of the minimum standard of defining a ‘sanctuary’ city, while recognizing the link between the criminal justice and immigration systems. Police currently act as a gateway and funnel to both mass incarceration and mass deportation through collusion and collaboration with immigration

enforcement. Together, BYP100 Chicago, Mijente, and OCAD have been fighting for policy changes that encompass both protections for immigrants from federal law enforcement and policies that address racist policing and criminalization.

Organizers have pushed the city to defy Trump by amending Chicago’s sanctuary policy (which provides some protections for immigrants) by removing the exceptions based on people’s criminal record, and by forfeiting the federal funding for policing that the city is being threatened with. They are also demanding that the city eliminate the gang database used to track and target people; decriminalize and repeal crimes of survival; reduce the police budget and reallocate funds to diversion programs and harm reduction services, including alternatives to 911; and institute liability insurance to shift some onus onto police officers who commit acts of violence or other misconduct. BYP100 Chicago has also engaged in a land-based struggle to create models for sanctuary spaces that are not reliant on policing to keep each other safe.

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY



Racial Disparities

In the last decade and half, East Contra Costa has experienced a significant rise in poverty. According to census data, poverty rates in cities like Antioch, Pittsburg, and Bay Point have skyrocketed, whereas poverty rates in neighboring cities have been steadier over time.¹⁷¹ In the mid-2000s, household incomes in East Contra Costa County stagnated and/or fell as poverty rates grew, and many workers were stuck in low-wage industries. Unemployment rates grew and East Contra Costa County became the “unofficial foreclosure capital” of the Bay Area.¹⁷² While communities of color were once concentrated primarily in inner cities, they are now being pushed out to the outer suburbs, and notably, to eastern Contra Costa County.¹⁷³

Racial biases in the criminal legal system are particularly acute in Contra Costa County. Black people made up just 9.6 percent of the population in Contra Costa County in 2013, but represented 26 percent of all criminal cases and 30 percent of people on probation, with Black

youth representing 40 percent of youth on probation. Compounding these gross disparities, Black residents in Contra Costa are underrepresented on county juries (constituting just 7.5 percent), further denying Black people access to justice.¹⁷⁴

Corrections and Policing Issues

In 2011, Governor Jerry Brown signed AB109 to reduce the number of low-level state prisoners in response to a federal mandate requiring California to significantly reduce its prison population. As a result, counties were required to absorb a greater number of inmates.¹⁷⁵

Contra Costa County has been criticized for the overcrowding and poor treatment of its inmates. For instance, the Martinez Detention Facility offers no classes or vocational training and inmates are forced to eat meals in their cells. In 2015, staff reported that inmate-to-inmate violence had increased by 50 percent from the prior year.¹⁷⁶

Contra Costa County: Selected General Fund Expenditures, FY 17

Department/Program	Description	General Fund Expenditure	% of Total General Fund
Sheriff-Coroner	Funding for administrative, investigative, technical, forensic, coroner, emergency, detention, and court security services	\$226,800,000	15.1%
Probation Department	Includes funding for probation programs and facilities, and care of court wards	\$74,300,000	4.9%
Employment and Human Services	Funding for aging and adult services, children and family services, community services, workforce services, workforce development board, and zero tolerance for domestic violence programming	\$441,300,000	29.3%
<i>Workforce Services Bureau</i>	Provides financial support and services to low-income clients, including supportive services, necessary for heads of families and single adults to obtain and retain employment	\$212,300,000	14.1%
<i>Community Services Bureau</i>	Offers Head Start, state-funded child care, and anti-poverty programs	\$39,000,000	2.6%
Health Services	Includes the General Fund subsidy provided to the Contra Costa Regional Medical Center and Health Centers, and the Contra Costa Health Plan	\$352,200,000	23.4%
<i>Mental Health</i>	Mental health services for adults, children, and youth	\$191,000,000	12.7%
<i>Alcohol and Other Drugs</i>	Alcohol and other drug prevention, intervention, treatment, and recovery services	\$17,800,000	1.2%
<i>Health, Housing and Homeless Services</i>	Includes funding for outreach to encampments, emergency shelter, transitional housing, and permanent supportive housing for adults, youth, and families	\$5,700,000	0.4%
<i>Detention Facility Programs</i>	Provides medical and mental health services to inmates of the county's adult and juvenile detention facilities	\$23,600,000	1.6%

Source: FY2017 County of Contra Costa Budget. Note that this analysis looks only at general fund expenditures, as the final adopted budget does not list department totals regardless of funding source.

Many of the people in county jails are actually awaiting mental health treatment programs. Because of a lack of funding, people with pressing mental health needs are often placed in jail cells to wait for treatment because of space limitations and a lack of staffing in the appropriate facilities. Approximately 15 percent of inmates in Contra Costa have been identified as having mental health needs, although actual numbers are likely much higher as official statistics

depend on people self-reporting prior diagnoses.¹⁷⁷

In 2016, class action lawsuits were filed against several California counties, including Contra Costa County, for charging exorbitant fees for telephone use, causing undue financial hardship and making it difficult for people to make calls to and from jails. The suits argue that these excessive fees are possible because the county contracts with a private

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY



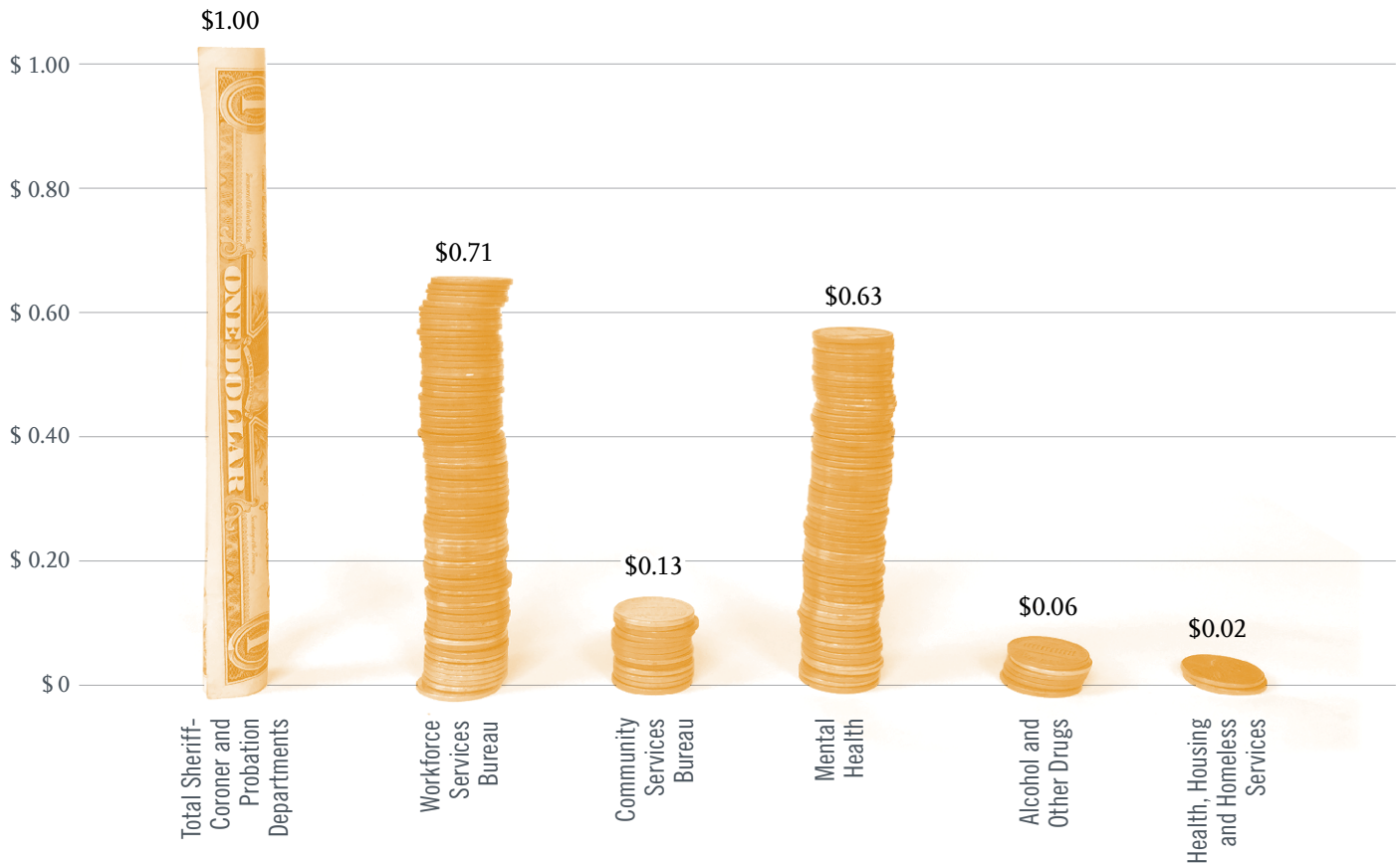
People's Priorities

A recent survey of voters in Contra Costa County demonstrates unequivocally that voters support an array of community reinvestment policies over plans to increase policing and incarceration.¹⁸⁴ Three-quarters of Contra Costa County voters, for example, believe that investment in their community offers a more effective crime prevention strategy than

investment in law enforcement. As safety priorities, voters overwhelmingly chose healthcare services; access to early education and afterschool programs; and expanded employment opportunities for the most vulnerable, including communities of color, foster youth, low-income families, and the formerly incarcerated. An overwhelming majority of voters

strongly support resourcing mental health services (69 percent) as well as youth programs such as sports leagues and Boys & Girls clubs (75 percent). Just 37 percent of voters support putting more police officers on the street. Yet while the Sheriff's budget has grown by 26 percent since 2010, the county's health budget has grown by a mere one percent.¹⁸⁵

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: FY2017 County of Contra Costa Budget

company to operate the phone system in a closed process.¹⁷⁸

Political scandals have recently plagued Contra Costa County, including in the office of District Attorney Mark Peterson. Peterson was forced to resign in June 2017 in a plea deal cut on the same day state Attorney General Xavier Becerra's office filed 13 felony charges against him, all related to his admitted use of \$66,000 in campaign funds for personal expenditures.¹⁷⁹

Organizing Efforts

California's Bay Area has a long tradition of activism and organizing around police accountability, and activists in Contra Costa have continued in this tradition. The Contra Costa County Racial Justice Coalition, for example, has brought together a broad range of community and labor organizations, faith leaders, and Contra Costa residents to eliminate racial disparities in Contra Costa County. Their

agenda includes advocating for county funds to support public investment in communities; to stop corporate profiting from shackles, walls and jails; and to advocate for public services that enhance their communities.¹⁸⁰

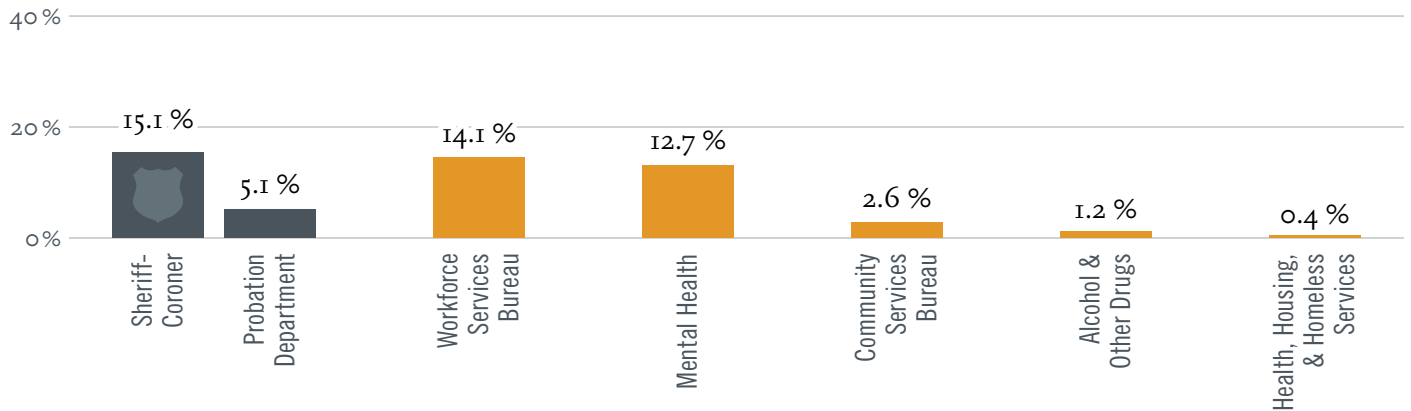
Recently, major organizing efforts have focused on ending the County Sheriff's multi-million-dollar contract with ICE to house immigrant detainees under the Trump administration's expanded deportation program.¹⁸¹

FY17 Contra Costa County Budget ¹⁸²

General Fund

In FY17, Contra Costa County had a total general fund budget of \$1.5 billion, out of which \$226.8 million, or 15.1 percent of the total budget, was dedicated to the Sheriff-Coroner. A combined \$301 million, or 20 percent of the general fund, was dedicated to the Probation Department and the Sheriff-Coroner. Per capita spending on the Sheriff-

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: FY2017 County of Contra Costa Budget

Coroner and the Probation Department is equivalent to \$275.¹⁸³

County expenditures on health services and workforce services receive a greater proportion of general fund expenditures than these resources typically receive from the general fund at the city level. However, specific programs that are critical to community safety still receive a disproportionately small share of general fund spending when compared to spending on policing and corrections. Mental health services within the Health Department receive only 12.7 percent of general fund expenditures. The

Community Services Bureau, which offers Head Start, state-funded child care, and anti-poverty programs, receives less than three percent of general fund expenditures.

For every dollar from the general fund spent on the county’s Sheriff-Coroner and Probation Department, Health, Housing, and Homeless Services together receive two cents. The Community Services Bureau, which is operated by the Employment Services Department and offers Head Start, state-funded child care, and anti-poverty programs, receives 13 cents for every dollar spent on the Sheriff-Coroner and Probation Departments. ■

“People see our Sheriff’s agenda to build jails and incarcerate more folks as moving the Trump agenda in Contra Costa. And we are fighting it.”

– David Sharples, Lead Organizer, ACCE-Contra Costa

⚡ Campaign Highlights

Services not Cells is a campaign run by ACCE-Contra Costa, alongside several other community organizations including religious groups and formerly incarcerated residents. The campaign calls for the county to reject the Contra Costa County Sheriff's proposal to spend \$95 million in taxpayer money expanding and building

new jail facilities. Most egregious in this proposal, according to the campaign, is that at least \$25 million of the total required cost would come from a combination of reserve funds (funds set aside for an economic downturn) and general funds which would (and should) otherwise be spent on basic services such as youth

services, healthcare, libraries, and infrastructure. Services Not Cells calls on the county to divert investment from jails into mental health services *outside of the jail system*, where it has been proven that preventive treatment can help community members avoid incarceration, live healthier lives and flourish in their communities.¹⁸⁶

Californians for Safety & Justice, a statewide advocacy group, developed a "Blueprint for Shared Safety" in order to promote smart justice strategies that increase safety and reduce costs by investing in prevention, education, and health. The blueprint "aims to shift the focus from penal-only responses to crime, to prevention, true accountability, and restoring the well-being of all communities."¹⁸⁷ Working with diverse stakeholders, including community groups, law enforcement, and crime victims groups, the blueprint lays out the following five principles: 1) shifting to a public health frame; 2) well-being is safety; 3) crime survivors at the center; 4) Breaking the Cycle of harm; and 5) making the system work. Californians for Safety & Justice sees the blueprint as a tool to help frame and communicate strategic messaging around resourcing and public policy debates nationwide.¹⁸⁸



BLUEPRINT FOR SHARED SAFETY

Working Together to Build Safety for All

DETROIT



Racial Disparities

Detroit is the most densely concentrated Black city in the country¹⁸⁹ with approximately 80 percent of the population recorded as Black or African American according to the ACS 2011–2015 survey. Detroit also has the highest rate of poverty of all US cities with more than 300,000 residents.¹⁹⁰ In a recent report, “Mapping the Water Crisis,” the We the People of Detroit Community Research Collective notes the following:

“For several decades, Detroiters have observed our city devolve from a thriving metropolis of predominantly African American working people... to a divided landscape where there is a bustling, largely white, downtown core, surrounded by wide stretches of urban prairie and foreclosed and vandalized homes.”¹⁹¹

This change did not happen overnight, nor by accident. This same report lists several key changes that have facilitated corporations’ takeover of the city, including but not limited to:

- The disempowerment of the majority Black electorate and their elected Mayor and City Council Members through imposition of a governor-appointed Emergency Manager accountable only to the mayor;
- The privatization of city social service agencies and a radical reduction in social welfare resources for the poor; and
- The intervention of private foundations and appointed commissions to assume policy and decision-making roles, circumventing the authority of elected officials and government agencies.¹⁹²

The Research Collective also found that the city's enforcement of water shutoffs for non-payment, which disproportionately affect Black communities, have exacerbated the city's foreclosure crisis¹⁹³ thus accelerating the displacement of longstanding residents and contributing to gentrification. Water shutoffs continue to occur at an alarming rate, despite the city government's reassurance that a recently-implemented assistance plan is working to help families in need. Nearly 18,000 households are currently at risk of losing access to water in their homes.¹⁹⁴

Policing Issues

Policing the poor has long been a major issue in the city of Detroit. Between 2013 and 2015 alone, Detroit police made over 1,000 arrests under Operation Restore Order, a series of 17 paramilitary police operations that chiefly targeted the city's deeply-impooverished West and East Sides. Thirty arrests were made during Operation Restore Order's inaugural raid. These included 21 parking-related violations as well as an eight-month pregnant mother who failed to pay a fine for

possession of a nickel bag of marijuana.¹⁹⁵ The geography of these raids clearly mirrors overall patterns of uneven development across the city, making it an obvious example of "broken windows policing" at work.

Detroit communities have contended with police brutality for many decades. Several defining events include: the Twelfth Street Riot in 1967, in which Detroit's overwhelmingly white police force and the National Guard were pitted against residents living in Detroit's predominantly Black inner city, resulting in 43 dead;¹⁹⁶ the creation of the notorious STRESS (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets) anti-crime unit in 1971 that was responsible for the deaths of 22 people, all but one of which were Black;¹⁹⁷ the murder of Malice Green in 1992 at the hands of two white police officers;¹⁹⁸ and the shooting of seven-year-old Aiyana Stanley-Jones during a nighttime raid by the Detroit police in 2010.¹⁹⁹ Between 1995 and 2000, the Detroit police were involved in 47 fatal shootings, including six unarmed suspects.²⁰⁰

People's Priorities

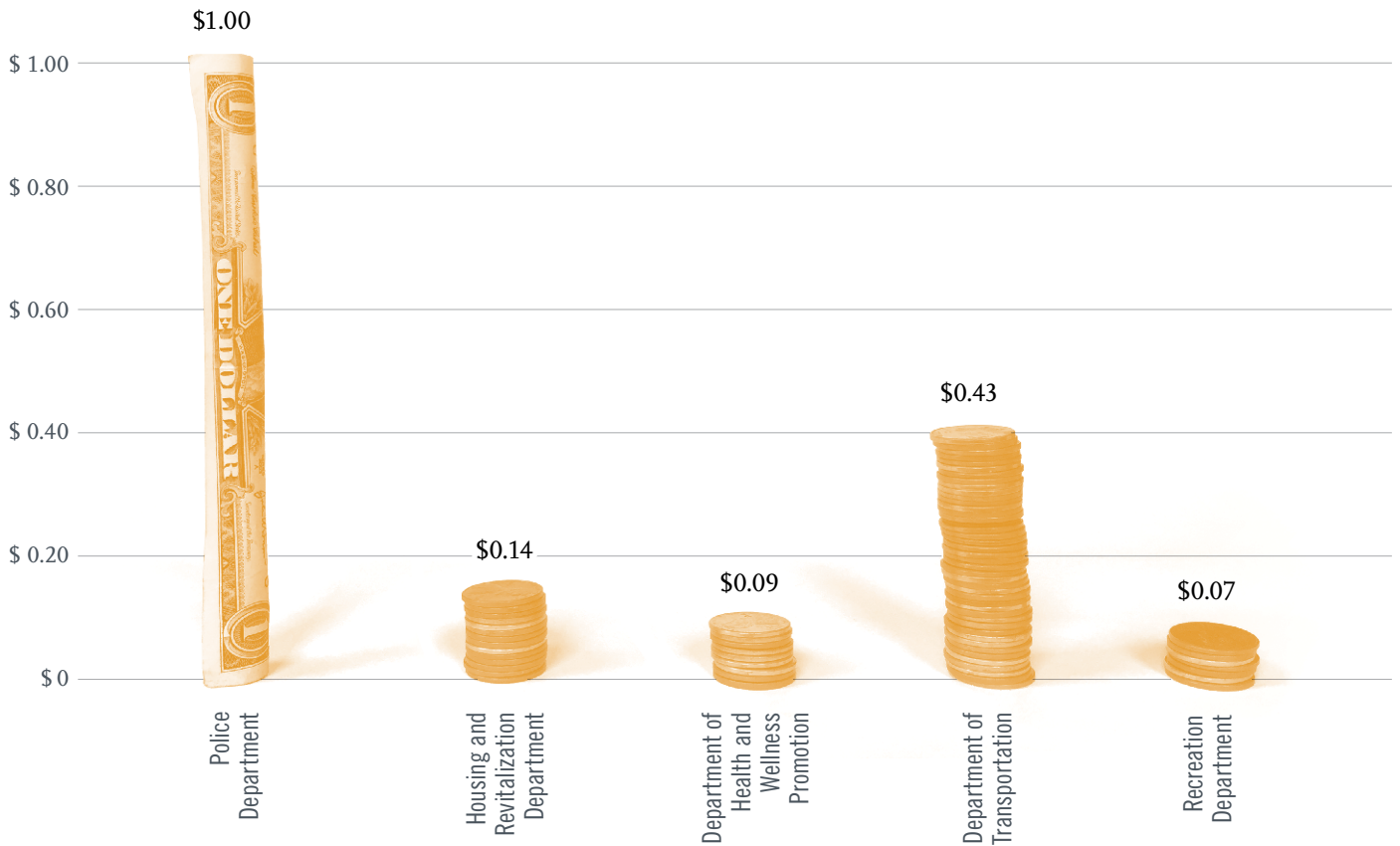
Remnants of Detroit's financial troubles beginning in 2005²¹³ make it difficult to prioritize needs since "everything in Detroit is underfunded."²¹⁴ One major issue is increased displacement and gentrification, fueled by city officials' determination to focus resources on downtown and downtown-adjacent areas such as Midtown/Cass Corridor and Corktown. Nkosi Figueroa of Good Jobs Detroit emphasizes this problem, noting: "Resources allocated to patrolling midtown and downtown are twice what they are just two or three blocks east and west of midtown.... We know they are spending more money to protect the people in midtown and downtown than they are to protect people in neighborhoods."²¹⁵ Detroit organizers recognize that it is essential for families to have access to running

water, adequate health services, quality education, and equitable mass public transportation, among other things. Yet overall the city lacks the kinds of resources needed to create sustainable communities for those who live outside the core business district.

The city of Detroit recently announced that it ended the 2016 budget year with surplus of nearly \$63 million.²¹⁶ This news arrived as many Detroiters were without access to water in their homes, and as many more were suffering as a result of inadequate funding for the Department of Health, widespread school closures, and woefully underfunded regional transit and recreation departments.²¹⁷ BYP100 Detroit is seeking investment at municipal and county levels in

affordable, sustainable housing and education. They are framing this increased investment in education and housing around the current problem of equity in the city. Resources are currently being used to facilitate processes of downtown gentrification, while longstanding residents in this majority Black and working class city are being displaced with no assistance or recourse. For BYP100 Detroit, reinvestment is a means of returning power to Black people and communities who continue to be disenfranchised. They also frame reinvestment as a critical safety issue, arguing that nobody can be safe without access to housing, water, and education, among other things.

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: FY2017-FY2020 City of Detroit Four-Year Plan

In 2000, the DOJ began an investigation into the Detroit Police Department’s (DPD) use of force, arrest and witness detention practices, and conditions of confinement. The investigation revealed widespread misconduct,²⁰¹ simply confirming what Detroit’s Black and brown communities have always known to be true. In 2003, the DOJ began its legal oversight of the DPD alongside the filing of two separate consent decrees, one related to the high number of police shootings and another pertaining to the illegal detention of witnesses.²⁰² The DPD was released from federal oversight in 2016, after it was determined that the department had sufficiently met its obligations under the agreement.²⁰³

In 2015, the DPD was selected to receive a \$1 million grant from the DOJ to implement a body camera program, which would be supplemented by city dollars. In 2016, the DPD

began implementing body cameras and in-car videos after city council approved a \$5.2 million contract with technology company WatchGuard. Upon full implementation, all 1,500 patrol and investigative officers in the police department will wear cameras, and 450 vehicles will be equipped with cameras.²⁰⁴

Organizing Efforts

Detroit has a powerful history of Black-led activism and organizing. The Nation of Islam and the New Afrikan Independence Party were both founded in Detroit, and The League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement both had influential roles within the broader labor movement.²⁰⁵ The first National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality was held in 1996, in coordination with dozens of other cities across the country. The protest eventually led to the formation of The Detroit

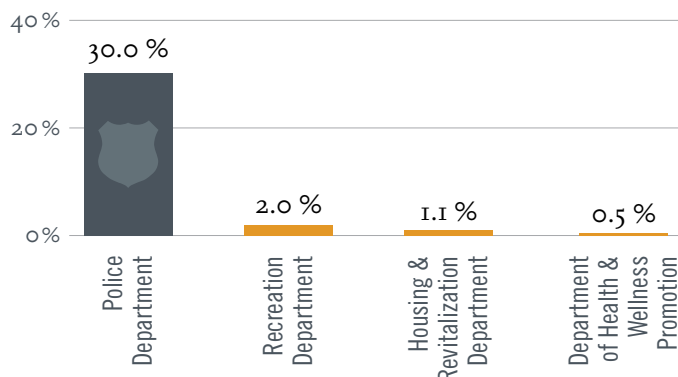
Coalition Against Police Brutality.²⁰⁶ In more recent years, We the People of Detroit, as well as younger organizations such as the Detroit chapter of Black Youth Project 100, have contributed to this struggle by confronting the many pressing issues facing communities of color including housing evictions, water shutoffs, and the various urban “renewal” projects that drive community displacement.²⁰⁷ New Era Detroit, a membership-based organization fighting for economic and racial justice in the city, has also been pushing for this type of neighborhood safety for many years.²⁰⁸

FY17 Detroit City Budget ²⁰⁹

Total Budget

After it exited Chapter 9 bankruptcy in 2014, the Detroit city budget entered a three-year period of financial oversight under the Financial Review Commission. The city was required to have a balanced budget for three consecutive years for oversight to be lifted oversight.²¹⁰ The current four-year budget (FY2017–FY2020), allocates a total of \$1.8 billion in total expenditures for 2017, out of which \$310.2 million (or 16.8 percent) is dedicated to the Police

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: FY2017-FY2020 City of Detroit Four-Year Plan

Department. Per capita spending on the Police Department is approximately \$450.²¹¹

By contrast, the Department of Housing and Revitalization, which provides funding for affordable housing, receives only 2.4 percent of total expenditures. The Department of Health and Wellness Promotion receives 1.6 percent of expenditures.

⚡ Campaign Highlight

BYP100 Detroit is currently ramping up a campaign called Rooted in the D, which aims to divest from punitive housing foreclosure and other displacement measures, and invest in keeping people in their homes and allowing those who have been displaced to return to the city. The campaign is currently engaging in community building and base building activities across the city to identify where money and other resources are most urgently needed.

Working through a Black Queer Feminist lens, BYP100 Detroit also recognizes that many households in the city are headed by Black women and femme-identified people. Through the Rooted in the D campaign, BYP100

Detroit aims to connect with and amplify the experiences of those most marginalized and erased from the Detroit’s narrative, and to support the struggles of those being forced to leave their house, community, or city.

The Rooted in the D campaign seeks to initially help address the city’s ongoing water shutoff crisis. The campaign will help support and build upon the expansive and dedicated work of groups such as We the People of Detroit, the People’s Water Board, and others who are actively working to address the immediate problem of lack of access to water. The goal is to develop long-term solutions and push current plans such as the Water Affordability Plan, which would move

water bills to be based on a resident’s income and ability to pay. This would address the current issues of residents not being able to afford current water rates. BYP100 Detroit is also planning to engage in direct action, community outreach, and policy advocacy, and will employ visionary tactics and solutions through input from the community.

As the campaign moves forward and base-building continues, BYP100 Detroit will address other areas that contribute to the displacement of Black people in Detroit. They ultimately seek to implement policy changes that will keep people in their homes, improve the quality of life of residents, and bring back residents who have been displaced and/or forced out of the city.

DETROIT

The Department of Recreation, which includes after school programming and educational activities in addition to park maintenance, receives only just over one percent of the total budget. The city's total budget decreased by 27 percent between FY2013 and FY2017. However, expenditures on the Police Department decreased by only 17 percent in this same period.²¹²

For every dollar spent on the DPD (including city, state, and federal funds), the Department of Health and Wellness Promotion receives nine cents. Housing and Revitalization, which funds affordable housing programs, receives 14 cents.

General Fund

In FY17, Detroit allocated 30 percent of its \$1 billion general fund budget to the Police Department. Vital community resources received significantly less funding. For instance, the Department of Housing and Revitalization, which includes funding for affordable housing, received 1.1 percent of general fund expenditures. The Department of Health



and Wellness Promotion received only half of one percent of all general fund expenditures. (Note that the Department of Transportation does not receive funds from the general fund so is excluded below.) ■

Detroit: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY 17

Department/Program	Description	Total Expenditure	% of Total Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$310,200,000	16.8%
Housing and Revitalization Department	Includes funding for affordable housing development	\$43,500,000	2.4%
Department of Health and Wellness Promotion	Health funding for public health programs and services	\$28,900,000	1.6%
Department of Transportation	Provides public transit services	\$134,200,000	7.3%
Recreation Department	Focused primarily on maintenance of parks, but includes afterschool and summer programming, educational activities	\$20,800,000	1.1%

Source: FY2017–FY2020 City of Detroit Four-Year Plan. Analysis excludes non-recurring surplus expenditures (\$67.9 million) in blight reduction and capital projects in FY17.

“We cannot have this high police spending while folks are being displaced, while children in the city do not have the same educational opportunities as their suburban counterparts, while families go without water. Higher police budgets do not make us safe.”

– *Denzel McCampbell*
Chapter Co-chair
BYP100 Detroit

HOUSTON



Racial Disparities

Black and brown residents of Harris county live in poverty, are denied access to educational opportunities, and are criminalized at astounding rates. High poverty neighborhoods in Harris County have quadrupled over the past three decades, and now make up 40 percent of the county.²¹⁸ This is double the national average rate of 20 percent.²¹⁹ Poverty, high unemployment, and low levels of educational attainment in Harris County are generally all concentrated in neighborhoods of color.²²⁰ At the same time, the spatial concentration of the city's wealthiest individuals has grown, largely isolating wealthy residents from much of the rest of the region.²²¹ Such high levels of segregation deepen gross inequities in access to education, employment, nutrition, and healthcare for Black and brown communities. For example, nearly 40 percent of Black children experience food insecurity—twice the percentage of white children. This suggests that programs and resources to reduce

economic and social disparities in Houston and Harris County need to consider specific areas in order to address multiple needs within the communities most in need of resources.²²²

Across the state Black and Latinx residents also face increasing criminalization. One study found that in Texas, Black people are five times more likely than white people to be incarcerated and Latinxs are twice as likely as whites to be incarcerated.²²³ The same study also found that there are more Black men in prisons and jail than in institutes of higher education.²²⁴

Policing Issues

The Houston Police Department (HPD) is the largest police department in Texas and the fifth largest in the country.²²⁵ Despite persistent incidents of racial profiling

and police brutality, there is little accountability for police in Houston. An investigation by the Texas Observer revealed that between 2007 and 2012, the HPD received an average of 1,200 complaints per year. Only a third of complaints resulted in disciplinary action and of those, more than half were written reprimands, which have little effect on an officer's record. A mere seven percent of all complaints ended in serious discipline, defined as a three-day suspension or more.²²⁶

The Observer's analysis also showed that Houston police officers regularly profile Black residents. In 2012 almost half of those arrested at traffic stops were Black, despite the fact that Black people comprise only a quarter of the city's population²²⁷ and the HPD's own records demonstrating that white residents are more likely to be carrying contraband than Black residents.²²⁸ In the six year period that was analyzed, civilians reported instances of police brutality 588 times. However the HPD's Internal Affairs division, which investigates complaints internally, dismissed all but four of these allegations.²²⁹

Between 2005 and 2012, almost every shooting by the HPD was deemed "justified" by HPD.²³⁰ One of the most shocking examples of a so-called "justified" shooting took place in 2015 when a HPD officer shot an unarmed Black man inside his own hospital room while he was experiencing a breakdown in mental health.²³¹

Organizing Efforts

In recent years, activists have been drawing increased attention to problems within the HPD and the criminal justice system more generally. After the 2015 death of Sandra Bland, who died in a Waller County jail cell after being arrested for minor traffic violations, organizers across the region begin aggressively challenging policing and incarceration practices.²³² Houston activists, including leaders from the Texas Organizing Project (TOP) and the Right2Justice Coalition (comprised of 25 organizations including the ACLU of Texas and the Texas Criminal Justice Coalition), called a press conference in 2016 to demand that independent prosecutors investigate all police shootings, and to call for meaningful civilian review boards equipped

People's Priorities

Organizers in Houston have identified a number of investment priorities that address the needs and safety of Houston residents. TOP leaders are currently planning a "listening tour" to engage even more deeply with the community and to develop an even clearer sense of community priorities and needs.²³⁷

Houston organizers have identified "second chance" housing and employment opportunities for formerly incarcerated people as a key need for communities of color and an effective way to prevent recidivism and reduce the need for police and prisons.²³⁸ Texas had 735,000 people incarcerated or on probation in 2014.

Black people are disproportionately incarcerated, making up 12 percent of the state's population but 32 percent of the prison and jail population.²³⁹ Black and brown communities have been destabilized both because of high incarceration rates and because of discriminatory policies and punitive restrictions on people returning to their communities from jail or prison. TOP and other groups are working to secure investments in housing opportunities for formerly incarcerated community members as well as job training and placement programs.²⁴⁰

Additionally, Houston organizers are advocating for increased investment in mental health treatment that does

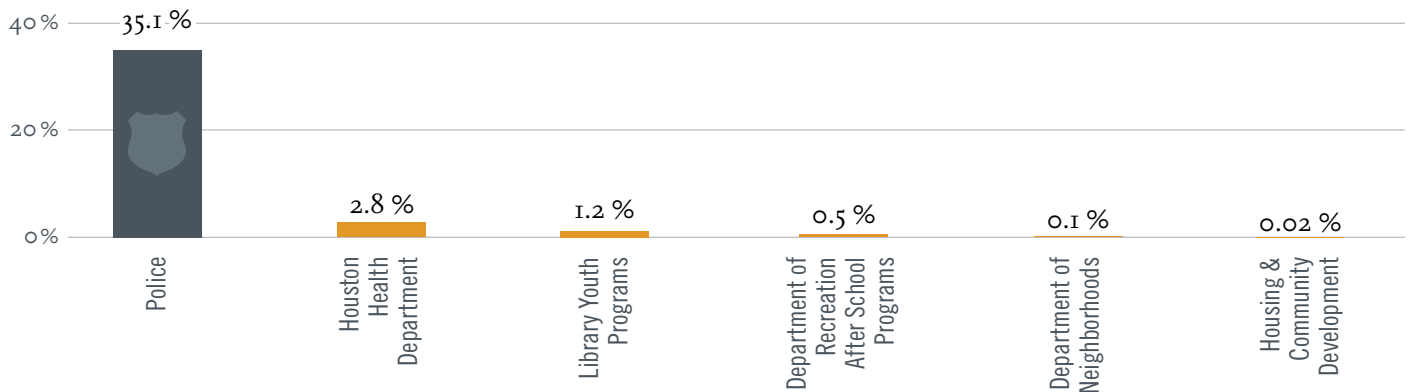
not criminalize those with mental health issues. Due to a lack of investment in these kinds of resources, individuals dealing with mental health crises often become the responsibility of police and local jails. The current system is not only inhumane, as incarceration has been shown to aggravate mental health issues, but it is also ineffective and expensive. TOP and other organizations are pushing back against plans to build additional prisons and jails, and are instead advocating for long-term investment in a humane and effective mental health infrastructure that can address health issues before they escalate into safety issues.²⁴¹

Selected Budget Expenditures, FY17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditures	% of Total Operating Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$850,400,000	16.8%
Housing and Community Development	Includes affordable housing initiatives	\$532,800	0.01%
Houston Health Department	Health Department	\$103,400,000	2.0%
Department of Neighborhoods	Includes funding for youth programs, including a program to provide a gang education and awareness training, job training, and college/career preparation	\$11,700,000	0.2%
Library Department	Includes funding for workforce development and student success programming	\$41,100,000	0.8%
Parks and Recreation	Includes funding for afterschool and summer enrichment programs	\$84,800,000	1.7%

Source: City of Houston Adopted Operating Budget FY17

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



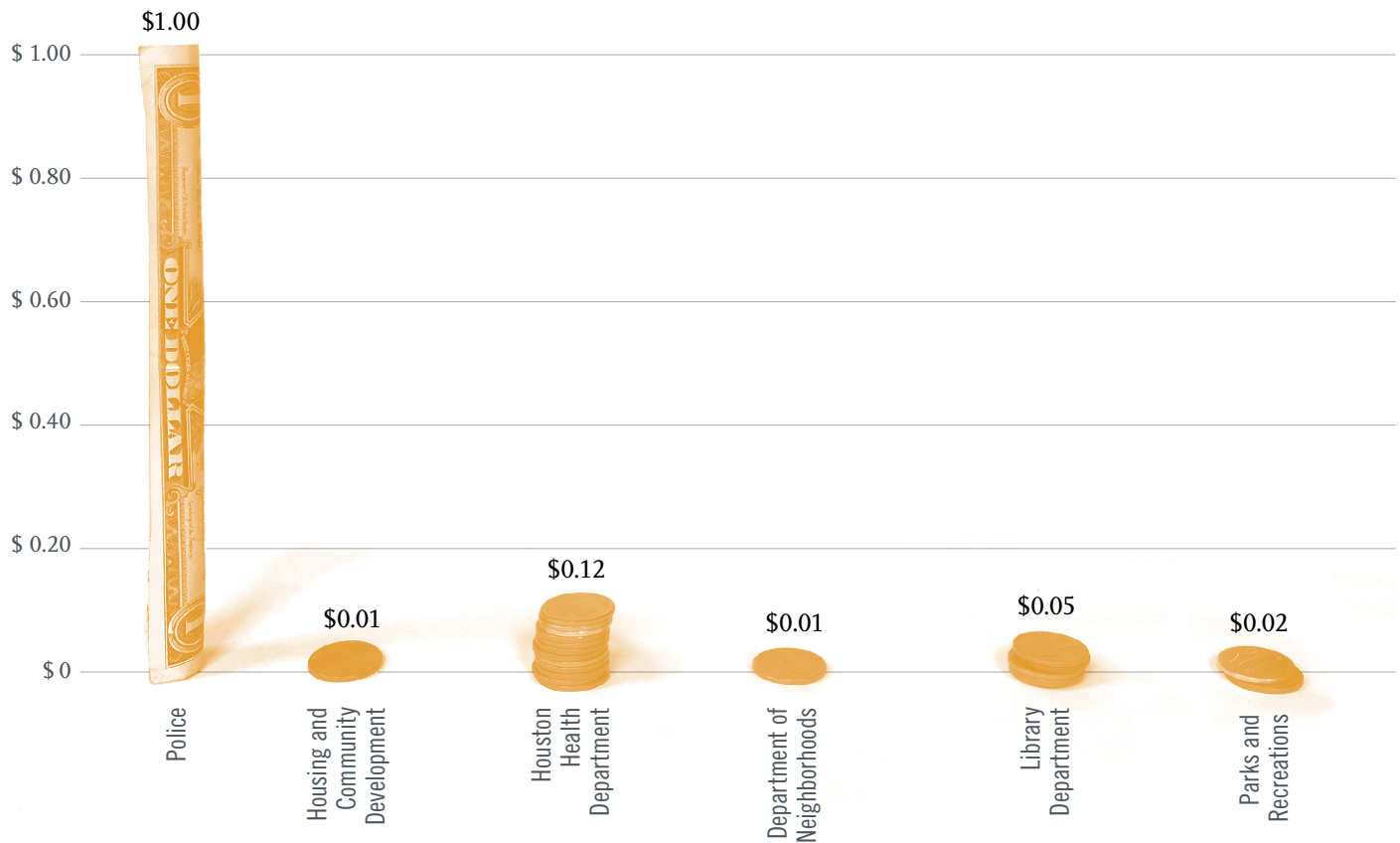
Source: City of Houston Adopted Operating Budget FY17

with subpoena power. The press conference also launched a campaign to reform Harris County’s bail system and “debtor’s prisons,” which consistently cage people simply because they are too poor to post bond.²³³

TOP and partners across Harris county have used a variety of strategies, including electoral engagement, advocacy and direct action, to improve conditions for Black and brown residents and transform the political landscape. In 2015,

organizers in Houston helped elect Sylvester Turner, the second Black mayor of Houston. TOP has played a crucial role in steering the Mayor’s agenda, with several members serving on his criminal justice transition team. During the 2016 elections, TOP canvassers reached nearly 350,000 Black and brown residents. Due in part to their efforts, Harris County democrats overwhelmingly won county offices, including the election of the first Democratic District Attorney in nearly 40 years and the election of a sympathetic

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Police versus Investments in Community



Source: City Of Houston Adopted Operating Budget FY17

Sheriff, who openly supports bail reform and has pledged to protect Houston residents from aggressive Federal immigration policies.²³⁴

FY2017 Houston City Budget²³⁵

Total Operating Budget

Houston had a total budget of \$5.1 billion in FY17, out of which \$850.4 million (or 16.8 percent of the total budget) was dedicated to the Police Department. Per capita spending on the Police Department is equivalent to \$383.²³⁶

Spending on the Police Department vastly outweighs spending on critical community resources like affordable housing, health services and youth programs. For example, the entire Housing and Community Development department received only .01 percent of total expenditures. The combined budgets of the Department of Neighborhoods, Department of Parks and Recreation, and Library Department, which each house programs for

students, received less than three percent of total budget expenditures.

For every dollar spent on the HPD, the Houston Health Department receives 12 cents. The Department of Neighborhoods, the Library Department, and the Parks and Recreation Department, each of which house student/youth programs, receive a combined eight cents for every dollar spent on the police.

General Fund

In FY17, Houston allocated 35.1 percent of its \$2.3 billion general fund budget to the Police Department, dwarfing general fund contributions to important community services such as housing and community development (which received .02 percent of general fund expenditures) and public health (which received 2.8 percent of general fund expenditures). ■

“It is imperative for Houston to direct more resources toward services to address mental illness and homelessness. This is the only way to effectively tackle jail overcrowding and mass incarceration.”

– *Tarsha Jackson*
Harris County Director
Texas Organizing Project



⚡ Campaign Highlight

Since the death of Sandra Bland, who was in a Waller County jail cell because she was unable to pay bail, organizers have been fighting to end the discriminatory use of pretrial detention. Despite a recent lawsuit that found Harris County Commissioner's Court (the county governing body) has spent over two million dollars to oppose reform of the bail system.²⁴²

In May 2017 organizers took matters

into their own hands by bailing out incarcerated mothers so they could be home with their families for Mother's Day. TOP joined groups in 15 cities across the country who collectively bailed out over 100 mothers and caregivers, further highlighting the inhumane impact of discriminatory policing and bail system. TOP worked with the Sheriff's Department and county services to bail the women and worked to provide them with

much-needed services. Despite support from county officials, however, TOP struggled to ensure that the women they bailed got access to critical housing, mental health, and employment resources. The Mama's Day Bailout made clear that decades of overfunding police and prisons have resulted in a lack of resources for mental health facilities, drug treatment resources, affordable housing, and job training.²⁴³

LOS ANGELES



Racial Disparities

Despite several pockets of concentrated wealth,²⁴⁴ Los Angeles has more people in poverty than any major city in the US.²⁴⁵ Los Angeles County ranks seventh in income inequality out of the largest 150 metro regions in the country,²⁴⁶ with higher income inequality than any other California metro area.²⁴⁷ For example, residents of South Central/Watts, Southeast/East Vernon, Huntington Park City, and Walnut Park, who are predominately Black and/or Latinx, have health, earning, and education levels that are equivalent to national averages in 1970.²⁴⁸

Black and Latinx residents are much more likely to be in poverty than white residents. In LA County, nearly a quarter of Black residents and nearly 24 percent of Latinx residents live below the poverty line, compared to about 11 percent of whites.²⁴⁹ Black people face higher rates of joblessness at all

education levels²⁵⁰ and Latinxs are much more likely to be working poor compared with all other groups.²⁵¹

Policing Issues

Los Angeles has a long history of systemic police corruption and brutality—from the brutal beating of Rodney King in 1991,²⁵² to the Rampart Scandal in 1997, when a white off-duty officer shot a Black officer in an act of road rage,²⁵³ to the Pérez Scandal in 1998, in which an officer pled guilty to stealing cocaine and shooting and framing an unarmed gang member (who became paralyzed as a result), and then implicated about 70 other officers in various forms of misconduct.²⁵⁴ Both the Rampart and Pérez scandals exposed systemic corruption and the cover-ups of illegal behavior.

Los Angeles: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY16-17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$1,485,600,000	16.9%
Economic and Workforce Development	Includes funding for workforce development	\$20,100,000	0.2%
	<i>Youth Workforce Development; Adult Workforce Development</i>	\$9,400,000	0.1%
Housing and Community Investment	Includes affordable housing and rent stabilization programs	\$64,900,000	0.7%
Transportation	Total Transportation Department spending, including funding for the planning and operation of city's streets and highway system	\$160,200,000	1.8%
Non-departmental General City Purposes	Includes council spending on jobs, youth, homeless community, and substance abuse programs to individual organizations and programs	\$167,700,000	1.9%

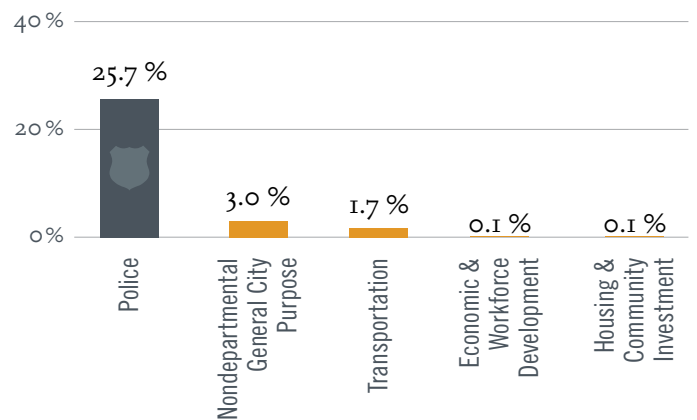
Source: Fiscal Year 2016–2017 City of Los Angeles Budget. This includes capital funds, as LA does not report total operating funds separately.

In November 2000, Los Angeles and the DOJ agreed to enter into a consent decree, mandating that the DOJ oversee the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for five years.²⁵⁵ However, despite the consent decree, and a new \$57.6 million body camera program (beginning in 2016 with plans to roll out five years),²⁵⁶ the LAPD still led the nation in the most fatal shootings for the second year in a row in 2016, while the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department—the largest sheriff's department in the country—was second in the nation in 2016 for most fatal shootings.²⁵⁷ Racial profiling also persists, with Black residents consistently stopped at much higher rates than white residents. In the first half of 2014, 32 percent of pedestrians stopped by LAPD officers were Black, despite comprising only 10 percent of the population.²⁵⁸ A Department of Justice investigation found that the L.A. Sheriff's Department “engaged in a pattern or practice of stops, searches, and seizures and excessive force in violation of the Constitution and federal law” targeting specifically Black residents living in Section 8 housing.²⁵⁹

Organizing Efforts

Activists have continued to fight for reform in the LAPD. Recently, voters and the police union approved Charter

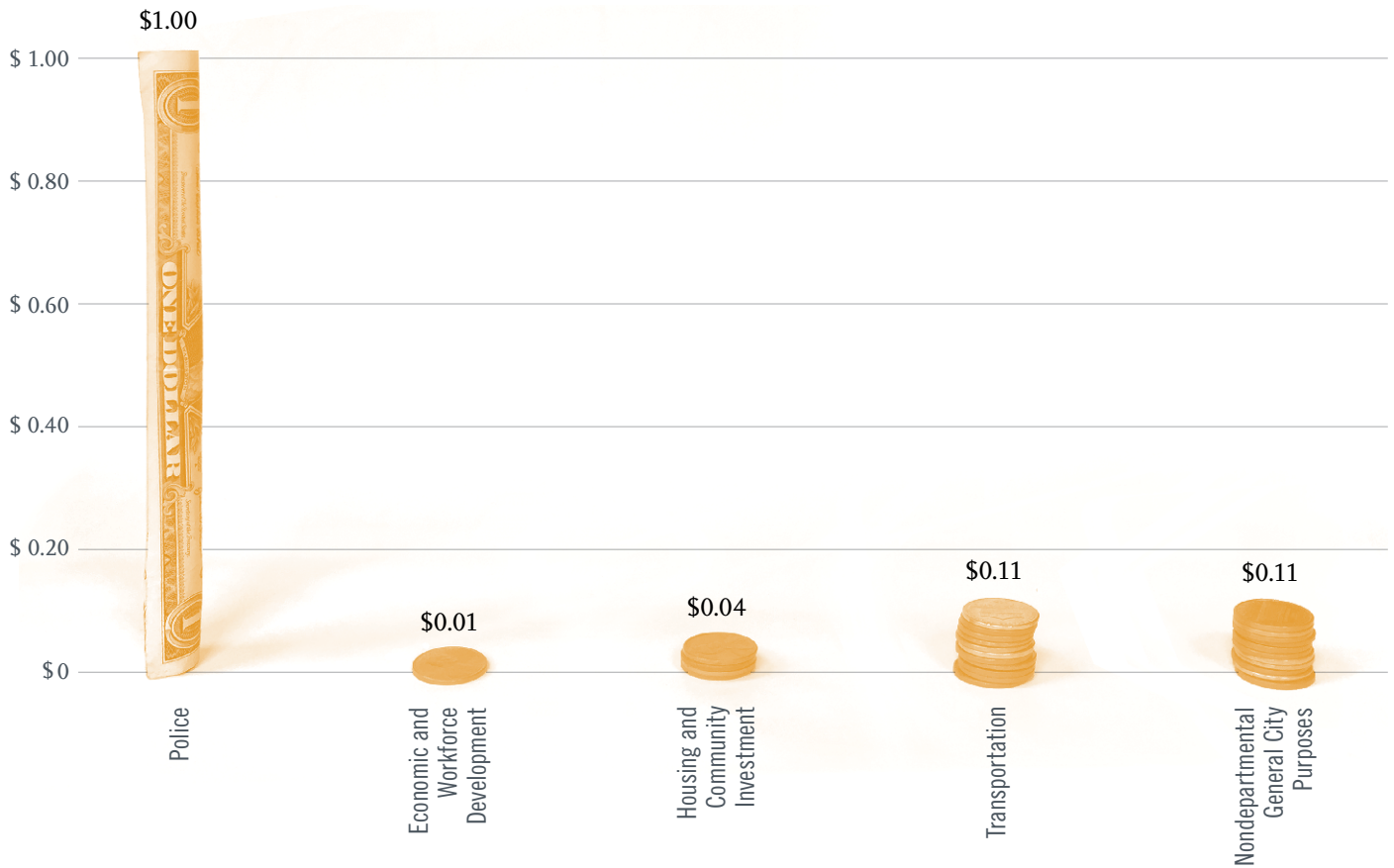
FY16-17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: Fiscal Year 2016–2017 City of Los Angeles Budget

Amendment C which, according to activists, will make police oversight even more difficult. The ballot measure was criticized for being confusing to voters, and while using language that suggests increased civilian oversight, will actually stack the deck in favor of officers.²⁶⁰ Accountability groups are now calling for an overhaul of the process used to select civilians who review allegations of misconduct, as well

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Police versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: Fiscal Year 2016-2017 City of Los Angeles Budget

People's Priorities

Organizers in Los Angeles have a long history of making budgetary demands at the municipal, county, and state levels to reflect community priorities. Youth Justice Coalition (YJC) is a large youth and family organizing group that challenges the criminalization, incarceration, and oppression of young people in Los Angeles.²⁶⁵ In a

2015 survey of over 1000 people on their public safety priorities, YJC found that respondents across race and income overwhelmingly prioritized investments in youth educational and job programs, as well as hiring of intervention workers, over options to add more police officers or to more strictly enforce criminal law.²⁶⁶

Recently, YJC has called for moving just five percent of the police budget into resourcing these priorities, an investment that would create 50,000 youth jobs, 100 youth centers, and the hiring of 1000 “peace builders” and intervention workers in schools.



as a sweeping review of police discipline.²⁶¹

At the county level, organizers are fighting for increased oversight and accountability in county jails. In spring of 2017, protesters, many affiliated with community organization Dignity and Power Now, drew attention to the lack of oversight and poor conditions in jails, following several inmate deaths, including a suicide.²⁶²

FY16-17 Los Angeles City Budget ²⁶³

Total Budget

In FY16–17, the City of Los Angeles had a total budget of \$8.8 billion, out of which nearly \$1.5 billion (or 16.9 percent of the total budget) was dedicated to the Police Department. Police spending is equivalent to \$381 per capita.²⁶⁴

Other important community resources receive vastly fewer resources. For instance, the Youth Workforce Development and Adult Workforce Development programs, operated by the Economic and Workforce Development Department, received a combined tenth of one percent of total

expenditures. The Department of Housing and Community Investment, which includes affordable housing and rent stabilization programs, received 0.7 percent of expenditures. For every dollar spent on the Los Angeles Police Department (including city, state, and federal funds), workforce development programs, housed under the Economic and Workforce Development Department, received one cent. Housing and Community Investment, which includes affordable housing and rent stabilization programs, received four cents for every dollar spent on police.

General Fund

In FY16–17, Los Angeles allocated 25.7 percent of \$5.6 billion general fund to the Police Department. By contrast, Economic and Workforce Development received one tenth of general fund expenditures. A mere three percent of general funds supported Non-departmental General City Purposes, which included city council spending on jobs, youth, homeless services, and substance abuse programs to individual organizations and programs. ■

“Los Angeles City
spends more to protect
stray dogs than protect
its young people from
violence.”

– *Kim McGill*
Organizer
Youth Justice Coalition



⚡ Campaign Highlights ²⁶⁷

Dignity and Power Now (DPN), an LA-based grassroots organization that fights for incarcerated people, their families, and communities,²⁶⁸ is in the midst of an ongoing fight against a recent jail expansion proposal in LA County. The County Sheriff's Department is seeking to spend \$3.4 billion on two new jails—one a women's facility and the other a "consolidated mental health treatment" facility. Citing the Department of Justice and utilizing the civilian oversight commission created by its advocacy, DPN argues that expanding jails would perpetuate serious violations against the human rights of LA residents, particularly those with mental health issues. Dignity and Power argues that no mental health treatment can happen effectively in a jail context, citing the quadrupled increase in the rate of self-harm inside of the jails over the last five years.²⁶⁹ The Sheriff's Department, which controls the county jail system and has an extensive traditional

police patrol function, has been directly responsible for significant assaults, death, and medical neglect, and has paid out millions of dollars in legal settlements for this violent misconduct. Through its campaign, which includes targeting the county's budget, DPN is demanding that the \$3.4 billion dollars that is being sought for jail expansion be spent instead on jail diversion, mental health crisis centers, and permanent supportive housing. These investments, DPN argues, would disrupt the cycle of destabilization and violence that jails inflict on vulnerable populations.

YJC recently launched a campaign called **Transportation is an Educational Right**.²⁷⁰ The highest number of citations issued by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department for fare evasion are being issued to youth under the age of 18.²⁷¹ According to YJC, law enforcement, the courts and the Probation Department allocate millions of dollars each

year toward policing this issue, and processing citations through the County's new diversion. The campaign has three primary goals: 1) to secure a free metro pass (unlimited MTA buses and train access) for LA County students, preschool through college; 2) to end the contract with the LA County Sheriff's Department to patrol the Metro system, redirecting those funds toward the pass and toward community intervention workers (a cheaper and more effective safety option) contracted in cooperation with the County's Community Development Department; and 3) to end the stop and frisk, fare evasion ticketing, arrest, and detention of people on public transportation. Over-policing of the Metro system not only costs the city millions of dollars, but because these practices overwhelmingly target youth of color, they further block youth from attending school or accessing other resources in the county.

MINNEAPOLIS



Racial Disparities

Minneapolis is often praised for its high scores on quality of life measures, high levels of education, and low unemployment.²⁷² However, residents of color are often denied access to this wealth and opportunity. Minneapolis grapples with deep racial inequality and has some of the most stark racial disparities in the US.²⁷³ Minnesota has the largest racial poverty gap in the nation, with Black residents in the Twin Cities three times more likely to live below the poverty line than their white counterparts.²⁷⁴ Since the start of the twenty-first century, the number of severely segregated schools has increased more than sevenfold, and the population of segregated, high-poverty neighborhoods has tripled.²⁷⁵ While Minnesota has been recognized for its students' high scores in national tests and entrance exams, it lags behind the rest of the country in on-time graduation for students of color.²⁷⁶ The rate of infant mortality for Black and Indigenous children in Minnesota is twice as high as

the rate for white children,²⁷⁷ and Black communities continue to be stifled by mass criminalization.²⁷⁸

Policing Issues

Racial disparities in policing are especially stark. In 2014 the ACLU analyzed low-level arrests by the Minneapolis police department between 2012 and 2014, exposing a sharp disparity in the way police enforce low-level offenses in low-income communities of color. The report found that Black and Indigenous people were more than eight-and-a-half times more likely than whites to be arrested for low-level offenses.²⁷⁹ Black people comprise 19 percent of the Minneapolis population but account for 59 percent of low-level arrests. White, by contrast, comprise 64 percent of the population but only 23 percent of low-level arrests.²⁸⁰

Minneapolis: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY 17

Department/Program	Description	Total Budget Expenditure	% of Total Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$163,200,000	11.2%
Community Planning and Economic Development	Includes adult workforce, youth development, and housing programs.	\$102,600,000	7.1%
	<i>Adult Workforce Development</i>	\$5,800,000	0.4%
	<i>Youth Training and Development</i>	\$4,700,000	0.3%
	<i>Homeownership support and development</i>	\$6,600,000	0.4%
	<i>Affordable Housing development</i>	\$14,300,000	1.0%
Health	Health Department	\$21,300,000	1.5%
	<i>Youth Development and Sexual Health</i>	\$1,700,000	0.1%
	<i>Youth Violence Prevention</i>	\$1,100,000	0.1%
Public Works	Includes funding to ensure safe transportation by maintaining streets and sidewalks	\$342,200,000	23.5%
	<i>Transportation Maintenance and Repair; Transportation Planning and Engineering; Transportation Planning and Programming</i>	\$68,700,000	4.7%

Source: FY2017 Budget for the City of Minneapolis. Capital program expenditures are included in total budget numbers.

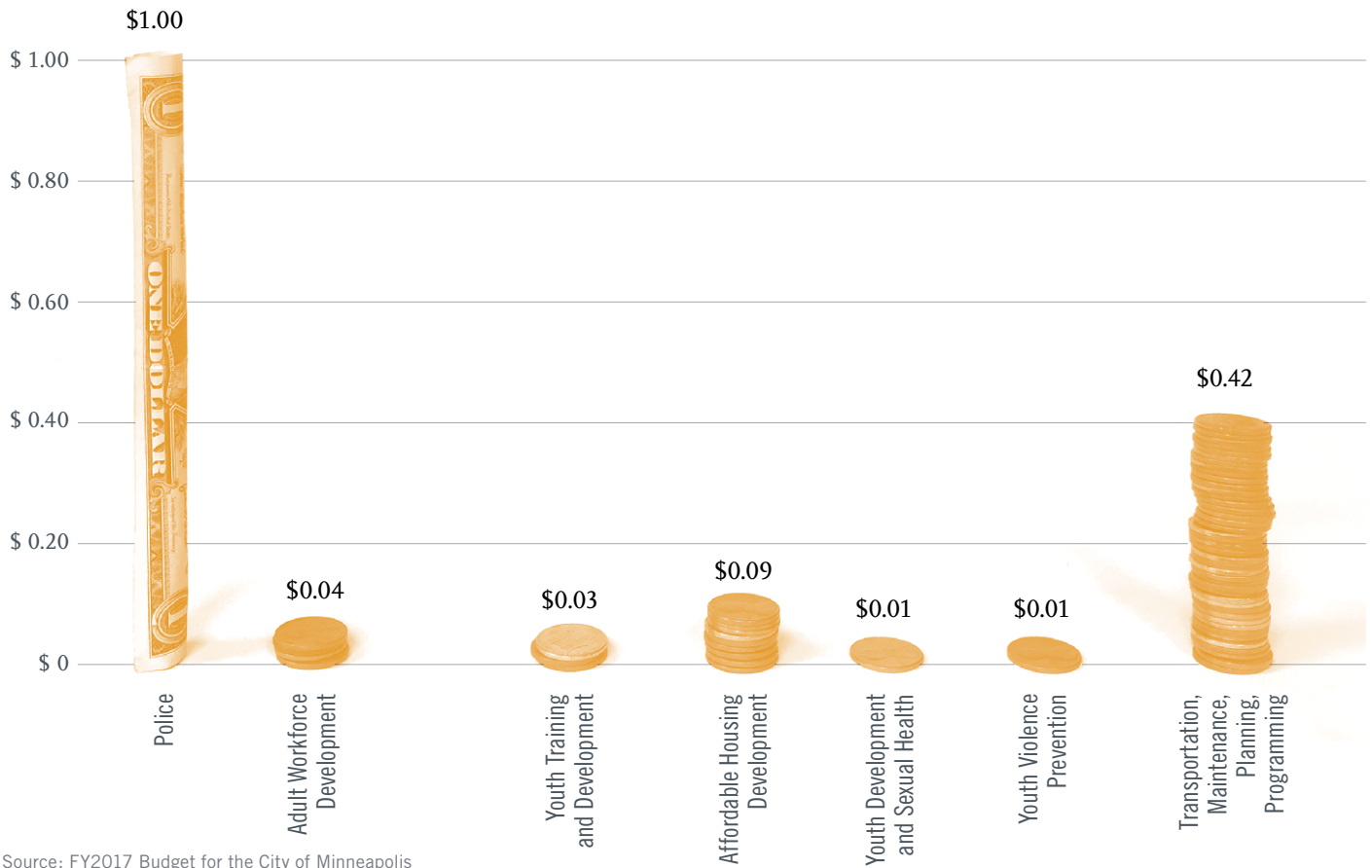
Black people are also imprisoned at much higher rates. While Black people make up only six percent of the state's population, they make up nearly 37 percent of the prison population.²⁸¹ Despite declining crime rates since the 1990s, Minnesota's prison population has grown exponentially, reaching one of its highest levels in 2013.²⁸² This was due in part to increased penalties and the enforcement of minor drug offenses and Driving While Impaired (DWI) laws.²⁸³

The Minneapolis police also have a history of misconduct and brutality.²⁸⁴ In 2015 and 2016, the city's Police Conduct Oversight Commission (PCOC) received complaints about how difficult it was for Minneapolis residents to file complaints against police officers. The PCOC ordered an investigation and found that complainants were regularly turned away or told that no paper forms were available (when they were easily printable). Complainants were

also instructed to reroute their complaints to different precincts unnecessarily, or incorrectly told that no action could be taken without an officer's name and badge number.²⁸⁵

Police misconduct has cost the city millions of dollars in legal fees. Between 2011 and 2014 the city paid out more than \$9.3 million for police misconduct lawsuits. From 2006 to 2012, the city paid nearly \$14 million in lawsuits related to excessive force leading to death or injury, cases involving property damage during raids, and the use of racial slurs.²⁸⁶ The response from city officials has been anemic and no systemic changes or accountability measures have been put in place. Without addressing the underlying issues of brutality, racism, and impunity, the city council allocated more than a million dollars to a body camera program in 2014 over a two-year period.²⁸⁷

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: FY2017 Budget for the City of Minneapolis

Organizers and activists continue to demand reform in response to persistent discrimination and violence at the hands of the police. In 2015 Black Lives Matter Minneapolis, Neighborhoods Organizing for Change (NOC), and local partners garnered national attention with a number of high-profile demonstrations. These included two marches that shut down highways and another that partially shut down the Mall of America during one of its busiest shopping days of the year, and which resulted in the arrest of 11 members of Black Lives Matter Minneapolis.²⁸⁸

Organizing Efforts

In November 2015, in response to the murder of Jamar Clark by the Minneapolis police, activists organized a sit-in at the Fourth Precinct police station. During this peaceful demonstration, five protesters were shot by white supremacists.²⁸⁹ After 18 days of protest, the police swept through and shut down the encampments, despite many protesters still

present.²⁹⁰ Local and federal authorities declined to pursue civil rights charges against the officers responsible for Jamar Clark’s death.²⁹¹ Organizers won a victory in 2015 with the repeal of laws against lurking and spitting, known as the Minneapolis “Black Codes” because they were disproportionately enforced against people of color.²⁹²

In 2016, Philando Castile was fatally shot in broad daylight next to his girlfriend and her daughter by a St. Anthony police officer during a traffic stop for a broken tail light. The immediate aftermath of his death was captured on camera and broadcast live on Facebook by Castile’s girlfriend, while the officer continued to point the gun at her and her daughter.²⁹³ In response, thousands of protesters from the Twin Cities area mobilized in protest and held vigils in Castile’s honor.²⁹⁴ In June 2017, a jury in Minnesota acquitted the officer, Jeronimo Yanez, of all charges after five days of deliberation.²⁹⁵

Organizers and community members in Minneapolis believe that sustained community-based investments—not more police or more aggressive policing—is key to making their communities safer and healthier. NOC, Take Action Minnesota, and other organizations across the state have been advocating at the local and state level for investments that address the root causes of crime and increase access and opportunity for Black and brown communities, who have been systematically denied the fruits of economic growth and targeted by racially discriminatory policing and incarceration practices.

Organizing groups are advocating for policies and investments that make communities safer by ensuring access to jobs, mental and physical healthcare, stable and affordable housing, and educational opportunities. Organizers and communities are also working to reduce the reach and responsibilities of the Police Department, and are promoting community-based alternatives to both policing and incarceration. Community groups believe that 10 percent of the police budget, or \$16 million dollars, would make a substantial difference in addressing community needs and increasing safety in ways that would build community power and improve, rather than

endanger, the wellbeing of families.

High unemployment rates in Black and brown communities across the state,³⁰² as well as a sharp decline in the median income of Black families in recent years,³⁰³ are key concerns among organizers and community members in Minnesota. NOC believes that access to quality jobs is a more powerful crime-fighting tool than police or prisons.³⁰⁴ In Minnesota, the Black unemployment rate is nearly four times that of the white unemployment rate.³⁰⁵ Organizers at the local and state level are advocating for substantial investments in job training and placement programs, specifically for Black and brown youth, as well as investments in small Black- and brown-owned businesses. Last year, for example, a coalition of Black-led groups demanded that the State invest \$75 million, less than half what is spent annually on policing in Minneapolis, to create a community-controlled fund for Black-owned business and \$8 million for a youth job programs in St. Paul and Minneapolis.³⁰⁶ A similar summer jobs program recently implemented in Chicago reduced violent crime arrests by over 43 percent over a 16-month period.³⁰⁷

Organizers have also identified the lack of affordable housing and homelessness as an important safety

issue in need of intervention. In North Minneapolis, an investment of \$11 million, less than six percent of the 2017 Minneapolis police budget, would allow for major rehabilitation of a number of identified slum properties, thus helping to create affordable housing.³⁰⁸

In addition to advocating for employment and housing opportunities, groups in Minneapolis are also demanding increased funding for mental health services and community-based alternatives to policing. In Minneapolis, like most cities across the country, a divestment from health services and supports have meant that the police are the primary responders to mental health issues. Not only does this lead to the criminalization of mental health issues, it also too often leads to the killing of civilians by police who are not trained or equipped to de-escalate mental health crises. Organizers in Minneapolis are demanding increased funding for mental health services administered through the Department of Health rather than the Police Department. In addition to funding community-based mental health supports, organizers are also exploring and expanding democratic, transparent, and accountable models of community safety including community street patrols and restorative justice tools.



Since the beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement, Minneapolis has seen a wave of mass protests and mobilization. In response, the Police Department has been aggressively charging and criminalizing protesters.²⁹⁶ In 2017, Minnesota lawmakers proposed bill in the state legislature that would further criminalize peaceful protests and demonstrations.²⁹⁷

In December 2016, NOC members at the city budget hearing successfully pressured the City Council and mayor to secure an unprecedented \$1.5 million for “safety beyond policing” strategies in the 2017 budget. These strategies include:

- \$185,000 in ongoing funding to the Health Department for Group Violence Intervention and Youth Violence Prevention aid and funding to community partners
- \$261,000 in ongoing funding, plus additional one-time funds, to create a 3-person mental health co-responder pilot in the Minneapolis Police Department
- \$500,000 in one-time funds for community-directed alternative safety strategies in West Broadway and Little Earth neighborhoods
- \$250,000 taken from Meet Minneapolis (an organization that markets the visitor experience of Minneapolis) to fund alternative community safety strategies through the Downtown Improvement District
- \$67,000 allocated from Fire Department and Public Health funds to fund Youth Violence Prevention through the Health Department
- \$50,000 taken from the City Coordinator to fund culturally relevant sex trafficking prevention work through Health Department
- \$100,000 diverted from the Police Special Revenue Fund to invest in alternative community safety strategies in Phillips West and Ventura Village neighborhoods
- \$100,000 taken from City Attorney’s office to fund Hate Crimes Investigator at Civil Rights Department

While funding for alternative public safety measures is an important step in the right direction, it came as the city also allocated funds to add 15 police officers to the budget. Organizers are now calling for additional money to prioritize and fully fund “safety beyond policing” instead of increasing investment in police departments.²⁹⁸

FY2017 Minneapolis City Budget ²⁹⁹

Total Budget

In FY17, Minneapolis had a total budget of \$1.5 billion, out of which \$163.2 million (or 11.2 percent of the total budget) was dedicated to the Police Department. Total expenditure on policing is equivalent to \$408 per capita.³⁰⁰

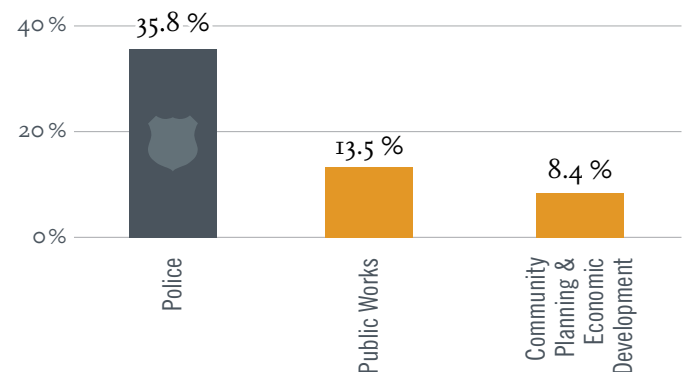
Critical resources like health and youth development programs received far less funding than the Police Department. For example, the entire Health Department received only 1.5 percent of total budget expenditures. Youth violence prevention programs, operated by the Health Department, received one tenth of one percent of total expenditures. Affordable housing development programs, operated by the Community Planning and Economic Development Department, received one percent of total expenditures.

For every dollar spent on the Minneapolis Police Department, adult workforce development programs and youth training programs receive four cents and three cents, respectively. Affordable housing development, operated by the Community Development and Economic Planning Department, receives nine cents for every dollar spent on police.

General Fund

In FY17, Minneapolis allocated 35.8 percent of its \$438.4 million general fund budget to the Police Department. The Community Planning and Economic Development Department, which houses programs workforce development programs, affordable housing development, and homeownership support and development, received only 8.4 percent of general fund expenditures. The Public Works Department, which funds transportation planning, maintenance and repair, receives 13.5 percent of general fund expenditures. ■

FY 17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: FY2017 Budget for the City of Minneapolis

⚡ Campaign Highlight ³⁰⁹

Black Legislative Agenda

Jamar Clark was shot in the head by Minneapolis police on November 15th, 2015.³¹⁰ According to local organizers,³¹¹ his death, which marked the 141st time that Minneapolis police killed a Black civilian since 2000, was symptomatic of ongoing police brutality and impunity. Dozens of community members went to the local police precinct and stayed for 18 days in protest.³¹² When the occupation ended the police immediately attempted to pass an emergency measure through city council that would have used \$605,000 to fortify

the police precinct and make it more difficult for community members to use their bodies and voices in protest. Organizations throughout Minneapolis filled the corridors of City Hall to successfully defeat the proposal.³¹³

After successfully demonstrating their collective power, they went further. NOC, Black Lives Matter Minneapolis, and other organizations advocated for changes at the State level. Together they created the United Black Legislative Agenda. The Agenda addresses issues of economic justice, criminal justice, and Black immigrant

justice. The coalition successfully advocated for \$35 million in equity funding to support job training and development programs, incubation for Black businesses, and increased funding for community schools.

The progress from mass protest and occupation to a legislative victory that funnels more resources into communities is an inspiring example of how communities can turn grief and rage resulting from police violence and economic deprivation into a legislative and community vision.

NEW YORK CITY



Racial Disparities

In New York City, racial disparities persist in nearly every sphere of life for its residents. Thirteen percent of white residents citywide live below the poverty line, compared to 21 percent of Black residents, 23 percent of Asian residents, and nearly 25 percent of Latinx residents.³¹⁴ Black, Latinx and Asian residents are more likely to be rent-burdened than their white counterparts (approximately 30 percent of each group is rent-burdened compared to less than 23 percent of whites).³¹⁵ The Black unemployment rate is approximately double the white unemployment rate.³¹⁶ Ninety-six percent of Black and 95 percent of Latinx students attend majority low-income schools.³¹⁷ The graduation rate for Black and Latinx female students and Black male students is about 80 percent that of their white peers.³¹⁸ In 2013, the death rate for Black males between 15 and 24 was 1.5 times higher than the rate for white males.³¹⁹ In the city's poorest neighborhoods, which are also disproportionately communities of color, poor health outcomes are also concentrated. For example, in Mott Haven and Melrose in the Bronx, the asthma

hospitalization rate among children was 14 times higher than in Manhattan's Financial District.³²⁰

Policing Issues

In recent years, organizers have brought highlighted the devastating impact of the NYPD's decades-long history of discriminatory policing practices that disproportionately target low-income communities of color, and particularly youth, members of the LGBTQ community, the homeless, people with mental health issues, street vendors, and sex workers.³²¹ Stop-and-frisk, which grew out of a broader "broken windows" policing agenda,³²² is a practice in which police officers stop individuals in public places based on their supposed reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.³²³ Between 2004 and 2012, more than 80 percent of the 4.4 million people stopped and frisked by the NYPD were Black or Latinx.³²⁴ Through a multi-prong organizing strategy, which centered those most impacted and included organizing, advocacy and litigation, New Yorkers have

experienced some success in amplifying the racist nature of stop-and-frisk, and in decreasing its unbridled abuse by the NYPD. Not only has the practice been deemed ineffective (nearly nine out of 10 New Yorkers have been completely innocent when stopped),³²⁵ but NYPD's stop-and-frisk program was also found to be unconstitutional. In 2013, a federal district court ruled the NYPD's stop-and-frisk program unconstitutional, following class action lawsuits brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights and several other legal organizations.³²⁶

As a result of the ruling, along with advocacy and organizing,

the court set forth a number of measures that the NYPD is required to implement. These include changes to NYPD policies and training, and to how the department handles complaints and discipline. The NYPD was also required to establish a pilot program for body cameras and appointed an independent monitor to oversee the overall remedy process. An independent court monitor was appointed to oversee the reform process.³²⁷

The city now reports fewer incidences of stop-and-frisk, but part of decline can also be attributed to a decrease in police reporting of pedestrian stops.³²⁸ Discriminatory

People's Priorities

As in other cities, organizers and community groups in NY have long demanded policies and investments that make communities safer by ensuring access to stable and affordable housing, public health, youth services, and equitable educational practices.

Housing and transit in NYC continues to be increasingly unaffordable and dysfunctional, with relatively little being invested to expand or improve transit access, stop gentrification and the development of luxury real estate, or to expand affordable and safe housing for those with low to middle incomes. New York Communities for Change, (a multi-racial membership based organization of working families fighting against economic and racial oppression),³⁵⁴ for example, has called for a radical shift in housing and development policy that protects New Yorkers through significant investments in real affordable housing.³⁵⁵

Access to youth jobs, mental health services, and transportation are also critical resources for communities across NYC. Urban Youth Collaborative (UYC), a youth-led coalition anchored by grassroots community

organizations, Make The Road New York,³⁵⁶ Future of Tomorrow, and Sistas and Brothas United, seeks investment in all three areas. In particular, UYC views investments in youth jobs as investments in community safety. However, there are approximately 50,000 youth that the city's Summer Youth Employment Program cannot currently fund.³⁵⁷

VOCAL-NY has called for serious investments in harm reduction, healthcare, employment, and mental health programs that addresses the opioid crisis in a holistic and non-criminalized way. VOCAL-NY has argued that NYC should provide additional support for programs such as safe injection sites, which can help to prevent overdoses, the spread of disease, and connect people with addiction to other beneficial life resources.³⁵⁸

Communities United for Police Reform is a campaign to end discriminatory policing practices in New York, bringing together a movement of community members, lawyers, researchers and activists.³⁵⁹ In 2015 they worked with their diverse member groups

to develop a set of priorities for how to better invest \$100M (the cost associated with hiring a proposed 1000 new police officers) to reflect the real needs of New Yorkers:³⁶⁰

Youth programs & services:

- Summer youth programming (>\$100M)
- Free lunch programs for all public school students (\$24M)
- After school programs (\$13.6M)
- Parental engagement (\$7.1M)

Housing, Human, & Social Services:

- Beds for runaway and homeless youth (\$4.5M)
- Legal representation for housing court tenants and immigrants in deportation proceedings (>\$100M)
- Public housing repairs (\$300M)
- Alternatives to incarceration programs (\$6.8M)

Higher Education:

- Invest in City University of New York (\$150M)

Community & Economic Development:

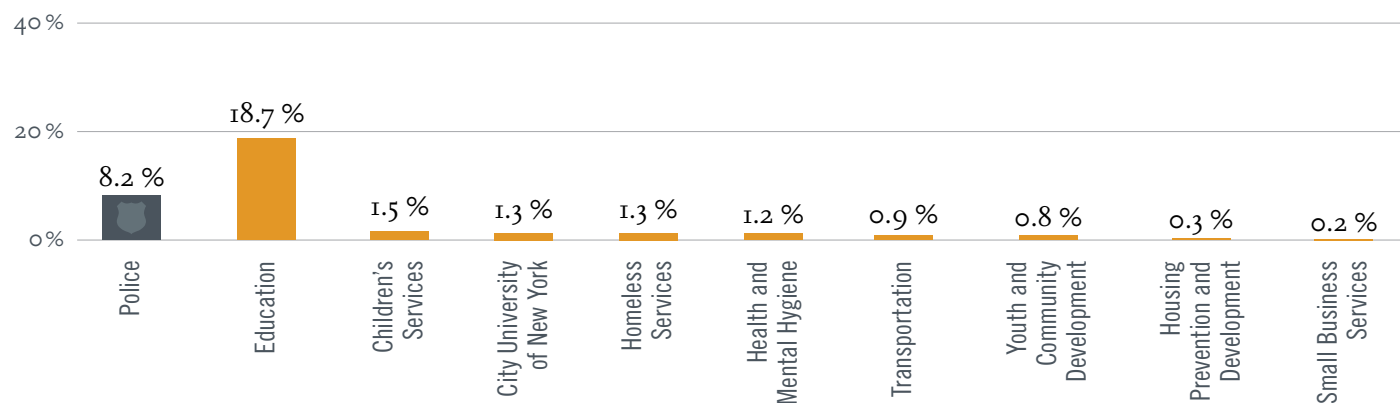
- Social work outreach for elderly (\$34M)
- Adult literacy programming (\$5M)

Selected Total Budget Expenditures, FY 17

Department/Division	Description	Total Budget Expenditure	% of Total Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$4,891,900,000	6.0%
Department of Probation	Probation Department spending	\$94,300,000	0.1%
Department of Correction	Corrections Department spending	\$1,392,200,000	1.7%
City University of New York	Funds colleges in NYC's CUNY system	\$1,041,400,000	1.3%
Department of Education	Operates public schools in NYC	\$23,179,300,000	28.2%
<i>Universal Pre-K</i>	Free pre-k to all four-years olds in NYC	\$863,300,000	1.1%
Department of Youth and Community Development	Includes funding for youth development services, including the Summer Youth Employment Program	\$559,300,000	0.7%
Housing Preservation and Development	Includes funding for affordable housing development	\$1,269,900,000	1.5%
Administration for Children's Services	Includes funding for Head Start, but also for the juvenile detention system	\$2,901,300,000	3.5%
<i>Headstart</i>		\$1,091,500,000	1.3%
<i>Juvenile Justice</i>		\$196,000,000	0.2%
Department of Health and Mental Hygiene	Includes funding for mental health and chemical dependency programs	\$1,521,600,000	1.9%
Department of Homeless Services	Includes funding for transitional housing and other services for homeless families and adults	\$1,297,100,000	1.6%
Department of Small Business Services	Includes workforce development programming	\$220,500,000	0.3%
<i>Workforce Investment Act</i>	Manages the Department's contracted training and employment programs.	\$60,500,000	0.1%
Department of Transportation	Provides policy guidance for all transportation matters related to the city.	\$943,400,000	1.1%

Source: The City of New York Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2017

FY 17 Selected City Expenditures



Source: The City of New York Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2017

broken windows policing, also characterized by quota-driven policing that pressures officers to meet numerical goals for arrests and summonses and deploys officers in particular neighborhoods³²⁹—persists and continues to aggressively target Black and brown communities.³³⁰ The racial disparities in who is impacted by stop-and-frisk abuses have not changed under the de Blasio administration, with nearly 89 percent of stops still targeting New Yorkers of color, and over 80 percent of stops not resulting in summons or arrest.³³¹ In 2015 there were nearly 1.8 million punitive interactions between the NYPD and New Yorkers, an estimated 80 to 95 percent of which occurred between the NYPD and Black and Latinx New Yorkers between the ages of 15 and 59.³³² Nearly 95 percent of juvenile arrests in 2015 involved Black or Latinx youth.³³³

The close scrutiny of stop-and-frisk has also revealed other discriminatory policing practices by the NYPD, such as such as unconstitutional searches and the failure of officers to identify themselves to members of the public during routine activities. For more than three years, advocates attempted to pass the “Right to Know Act” which would both require officers to identify themselves to the public and protect New Yorkers against unconstitutional searches.³³⁴ While the Speaker, Mayor, and then-NYPD Commissioner Bill Bratton agreed to revise certain NYPD Patrol Guide sections in response to advocacy,³³⁵ police reform advocates, including individual members of the New York City Council, critiqued the implementation as being insufficient and unenforceable.³³⁶ Communities across NYC continue to advocate for passage of the Right To Know Act, with support

for passage growing across the city, including amongst over 200 organizations and the City Council.³³⁷

In 2015 the NYPD hired nearly 1,300 officers to its force³³⁸ over the objections of communities,³³⁹ despite the fact that it is already the largest police force in the country.³⁴⁰

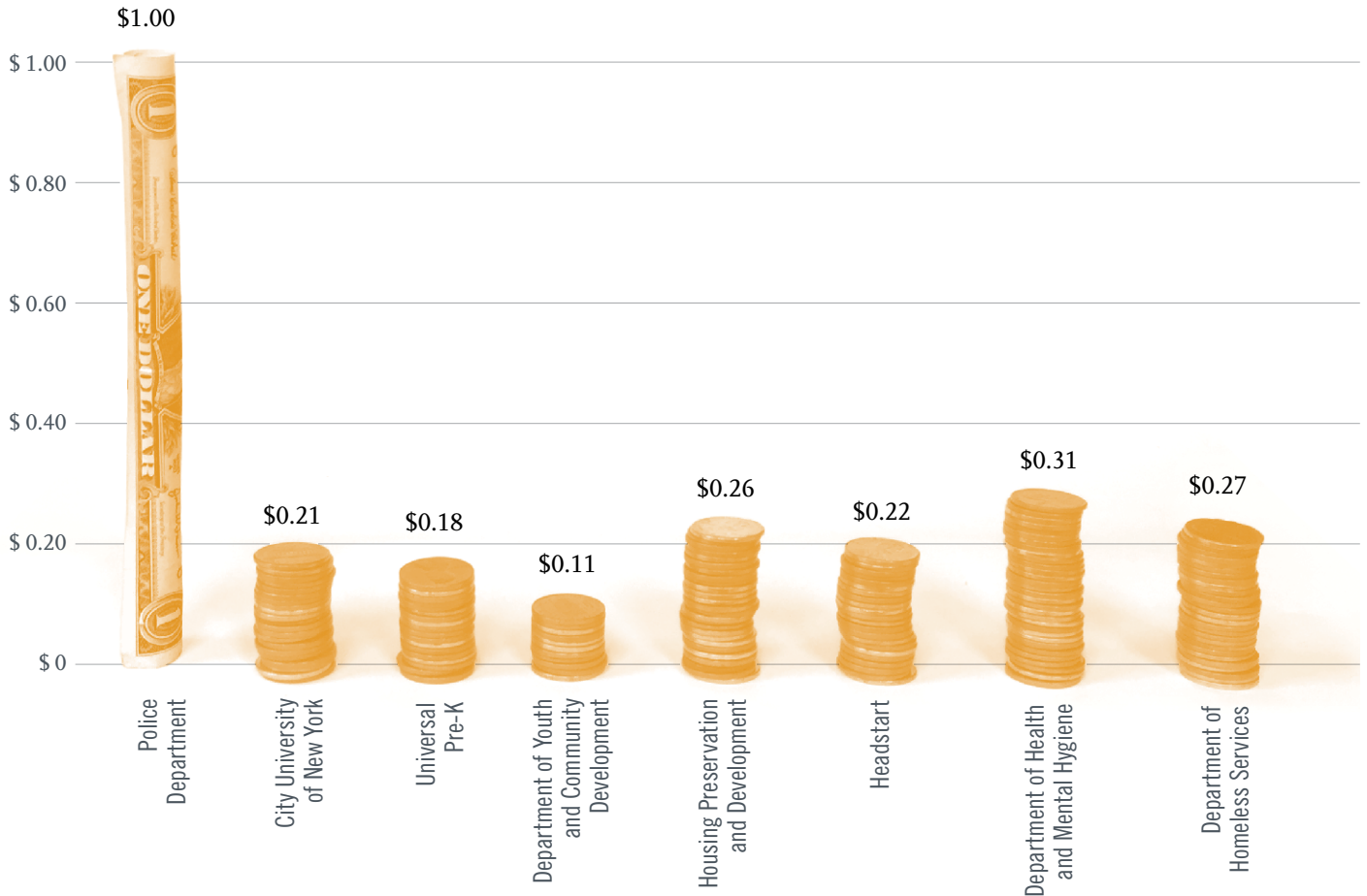
In February 2017, the city and its largest police union settled a tentative five-year contract that, in addition to promising salary increases for officers, requires that nearly 24,000 patrol officers are equipped with body cameras by the end of 2019. The agreement will cover the years from 2012 to 2017 and will cost taxpayers a total of \$1.9 billion.³⁴¹ The coalition group Communities United for Police Reform (CPR), composed of community organizations such as VOCAL-NY, New York Communities for Change, and Make the Road NY, warned that the body camera policy lacks transparency and accountability.³⁴² For example, the policy does not require that police record all investigative encounters.³⁴³

Organizing Efforts

In 2013, CPR won passage of a local law, the Community Safety Act, which established an independent Inspector General for the NYPD and expanded and strengthened a ban on police profiling and discrimination.³⁴⁴ Some additional demands that organizers have made include reparations for victims of police brutality out of the NYPD budget and a reinvestment of NYPD funds in working-class communities of color.³⁴⁵ At the two-year anniversary of the death of Michael Brown, an unarmed Black man fatally shot by police



Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Policing versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: The City of New York Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2017

in Ferguson, activists organized a shutdown of City Hall and, among other demands, called for the resignation of then-NYPD Chief Bill Bratton.³⁴⁶

New York City has seen a number of high profile police killings, with little or no accountability for the officers involved. The killing of Amadou Diallo, Sean Bell and Ramarley Graham all resulted in mass protests and activated communities familiar with police brutality and impunity.³⁴⁷ Following the killing of Eric Garner, and the non-indictment of the officers involved, tens of thousands took to the street in protest.³⁴⁸ Despite public outrage, the officer that killed Eric Garner received multiple pay increases while assigned to desk duty following the incident.³⁴⁹

In recent years, the NYPD has come under increased scrutiny for its attempts to increase the size of the police budget as organizers have called for increased budget accountability and organized mass mobilizations around police reform.³⁵⁰

FY17 New York City Budget ³⁵¹

Total Budget

In FY17, the Police Department received nearly \$4.9 billion, or six percent of the total city budget of \$82.1 billion. Combined spending on police, probation and corrections was \$6.4 billion, or 7.8 percent of total expenditures. Spending on the Police Department is equivalent to \$580 per capita.³⁵²

NYC's Department of Education does receive a significant amount of city funding, which is different from most cities, where the public education budget is separate from the city budget. Yet other critical services receive significantly less funding than the police. For example, the Department of Youth and Community Development, which funds youth development programs including the Summer Youth Employment Program, receives 0.7 percent of total expenditures, while the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene receives less than two percent.

For every dollar from the total city budget spent on the NYPD (including city, state, and federal funds), the CUNY system receives 21 cents. Universal Pre-K receives 18 cents. The entire Department of Health and Mental Hygiene receives 31 cents for every dollar spent on the NYPD.

City Funds

In FY17 New York City allocated 8.2 percent of \$59.2 billion in city funds to the Police Department, and a combined 10.6 percent of city funds to the Departments of Police, Probation, and Corrections. The entire department of Health and Mental Hygiene, by contrast, received just over one percent of city funds. The Department of Youth and Community Development, which operates multiple youth development programs, received less than one percent. (However, it should be noted that City Council members also have a discretionary budget, some of which is reflected in the city departmental budget and some of which is allocated to separate initiatives and community-based organizations.)³⁵³ ■

Campaign Highlight

'Counselors, Not Cops'

In April 2017, two organizations, Urban Youth Collaborative (a student-led organization that fights for education reform and social, economic, and racial justice in communities)³⁶¹ and the Center for Popular Democracy published a report calling for the divestment of police and punitive punishment

in schools and the reinvestment of these funds in youth services.³⁶²

Using a budgetary analysis, the report demonstrated that NYC spends over \$746 million in criminal enforcement within public schools, and highlighted a set of youth driven and designed priorities for using that same money to advance both school safety and

opportunity. The groups called for resourcing a range of safety and support initiatives including restorative justice programs, mental health services, hiring of additional counselors, youth jobs programs, transport subsidies, and the elimination of punitive disciplinary practices.³⁶³

OAKLAND



Racial Disparities

Oakland, the birthplace of the Black Panther Party, has a deep history of Black organizing and activism.³⁶⁴ It is a historically Black city; it was once 47 percent Black, but since 2000 the city has lost 30 percent of its Black population.³⁶⁵ As the Bay Area has become the hotbed for the tech industry, housing prices have skyrocketed while wages have remained stagnant. This has created a displacement crisis in Oakland, particularly among Black families, who face the highest housing cost burden.³⁶⁶

Today, Black families reside disproportionately in East Oakland and West Oakland, areas of the city that experience persistent poverty.³⁶⁷ Latinx residents are disproportionately clustered in East Oakland.³⁶⁸ Due to disparities in access to opportunities for healthy living, in addition to many years of disinvestment, low-income communities of color in East and West Oakland disproportionately experience chronic disease complications and deaths.³⁶⁹ A Black resident born in West Oakland has an average life expectancy that is 15 years shorter than that of a white person born in the affluent Oakland Hills.³⁷⁰

In the Oakland Unified School District in 2011 to 2012, Black, and Latinx males had lower graduation rates (52 and 54 percent, respectively) than white males, who had graduation rates of 74 percent.³⁷¹

Policing Issues

The Oakland Police Department has been long marked by gross dysfunction and scandal. In 2000, four police officers who called themselves “The Riders” were accused of beating, robbing, and framing suspects in a low-income neighborhood in West Oakland.³⁷² Following the scandal, in 2003 the OPD was placed under a federal consent decree in order to settle a lawsuit that alleged systemic abuse and biased practices by Oakland police.³⁷³ In 2016 the OPD garnered national attention for yet another major scandal. The OPD fired seven police officers for attempting sexual assault, engaging in lewd and racist conduct, and accessing law enforcement databases for their own gain. The OPD was forced to suspend and fire more officers still for failing to report these crimes.³⁷⁴ Over the course of eight days in 2016, as a result of their mishandling of this scandal, three different police chiefs were forced to resign.³⁷⁵

Oakland: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY 17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Operating Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$242,500,000	21.1%
Human Services	Includes support for violence prevention programs, services for children and youth, Housing and income support, and Head Start	\$70,100,000	6.1%
Non-Departmental subsidies to Head Start	Subsidies to Head Start	\$3,500,000	0.3%
Economic and Workforce Development		\$17,300,000	1.5%
<i>Workforce Development</i>	Includes support for administering workforce development programs	\$5,100,000	0.4%
Housing and Community Development	Includes funding for affordable housing	\$18,800,000	1.6%
Public Works		\$161,500,000	14.0%
<i>Transportation Planning and Funding; Transportation and Pedestrian Safety</i>	Includes funding for transportation planning and safety	\$7,900,000	0.7%
Oakland Parks and Recreations	Includes funding for Pre-K services and youth job training	\$26,100,000	2.3%

Source: Fiscal Year 2015–17 Adopted Policy Budget, City of Oakland

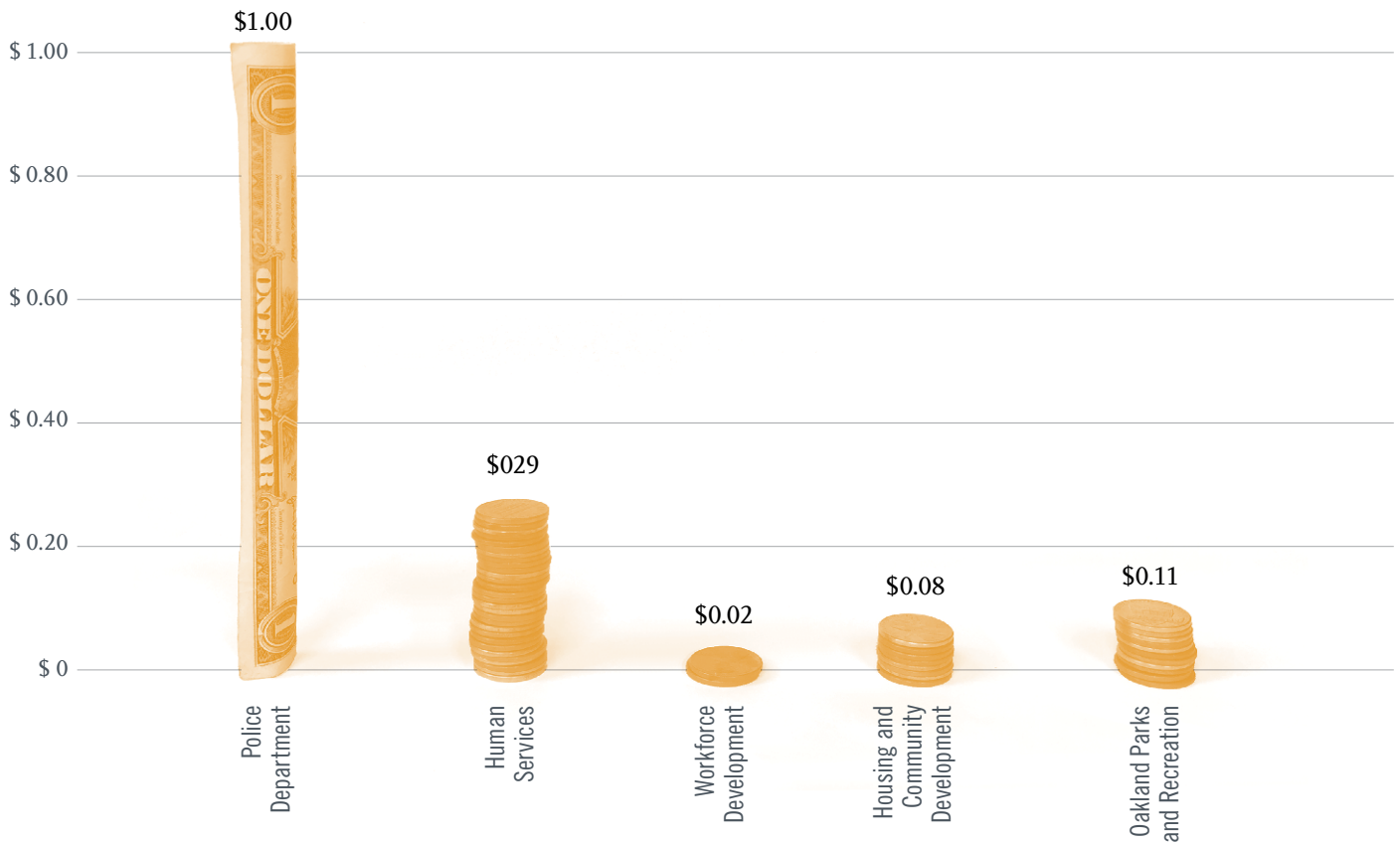
People's Budget Priorities

Advocates such as Alliance of Californians for Community Employment (ACCE)-Oakland (a grassroots, member-led organization fighting for policies and programs to improve communities)³⁸⁶ are calling for equitable investments in infrastructure and employment in the historically under-resourced and economically distressed Flatlands

neighborhood.³⁸⁷ These types of sustained investments, as called for by communities, will blunt the impact of gentrification and commodification, which are rapidly coming to define development in Oakland. The Ella Baker Center (which works locally, statewide, and nationally to shift resources away from prisons and punishment and towards opportunities

for low-income communities and people of color)³⁸⁸ is similarly demanding resources for affordable housing, employment programs, and investments in rehabilitation for formerly incarcerated people through increased funding for community colleges and healthy food benefits.³⁸⁹

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Police versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: Fiscal Year 2015–17 Adopted Policy Budget, City of Oakland

Racial bias in policing is still a persistent problem in Oakland. In 2016, Stanford University released a study documenting what Black communities in Oakland have experienced for years. The study found that Black men were four times more likely to be searched than whites during traffic stops, and more likely to be handcuffed even if they were not arrested.³⁷⁶

In 2010 the OPD was one of the first police departments in the US to roll out a body camera program.³⁷⁷ However, advocates have pointed out the need for improvements in use and oversight. For example, citizens with misconduct complaints are not guaranteed access to footage and the department does not limit how long footage is retained.³⁷⁸ In 2014 a quarter of the department’s footage was purportedly accidentally deleted by the department.³⁷⁹ Despite the OPD’s

history of bias, dysfunction, and cover-ups, the OPD remains a high-budget priority even as the city fails to meet the basic needs of Oakland communities of color.

Organizing Efforts

Community members are standing up to blaze a new path forward. In 2009 hundreds of Oakland residents took to the streets when a white Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) officer killed Oscar Grant, an unarmed Black man.³⁸⁰ The officer was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter—not murder—and activists mobilized to demand justice.³⁸¹ Police cracked down on protesters, arresting 78 people after the verdict was announced.³⁸²

Today’s generation of activists in Oakland remain steadfast on the organizing frontline in the struggle to end the

criminalization of Black and brown communities, to reform abusive policing practices, and to push for critical investments in Oakland’s communities of color.

FY15-17 Oakland City Budget ³⁸³

Total Operating Budget

The Oakland City Budget is determined every two years. In FY2017, the Oakland Police Department was allocated \$242.5 million (or 21.1 percent) out of a total \$1.1 billion total budget (not including Capital Improvement Projects). Spending on police was equivalent to \$594 per capita.³⁸⁴

By contrast, the Human Services Department, which includes support for violence prevention programs, services for children and youth, housing and income support, and Head Start, received only 6.1 percent of expenditures. The Department of Housing and Community Development, which includes funding for affordable housing development, received 1.6 percent of total expenditures, while Workforce Development, operated by the Department of Economic and Workforce Development, received less than half of one percent. Between FY13 and FY17, total expenditures on the Police Department increased by 18.8 percent, while total

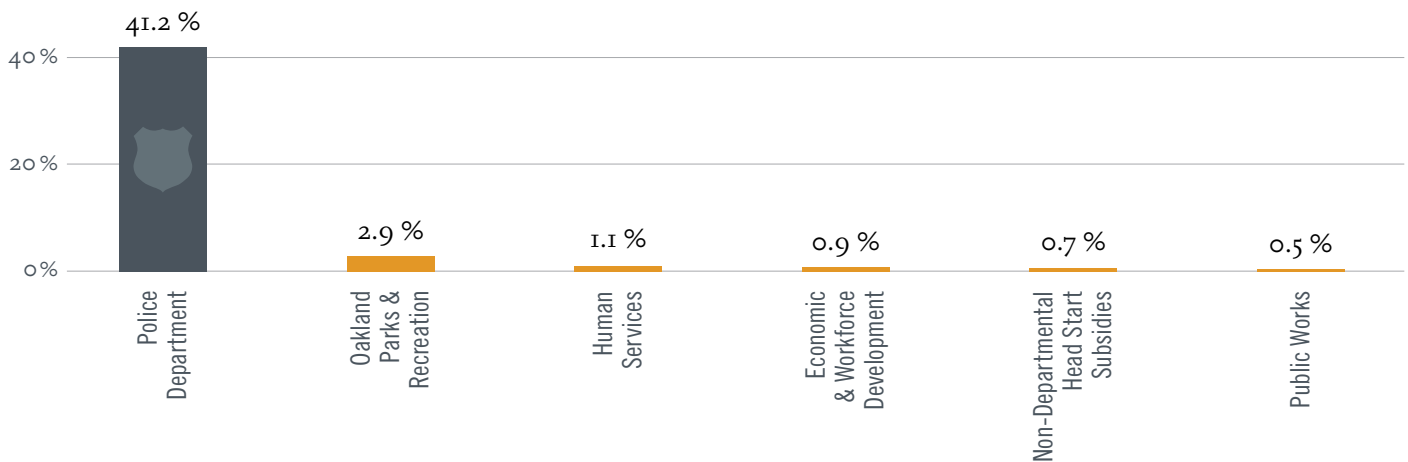
budget expenditures increased by only 7.8 percent.³⁸⁵

For every dollar spent on the OPD (including city, state, and federal funds), the entire Human Services Department (which includes support for violence prevention programs, services for children and youth, housing and income support, and Head Start) received 29 cents. Workforce Development (operated by the Economic and Workforce Development Department) received two cents for every dollar spent on the police.

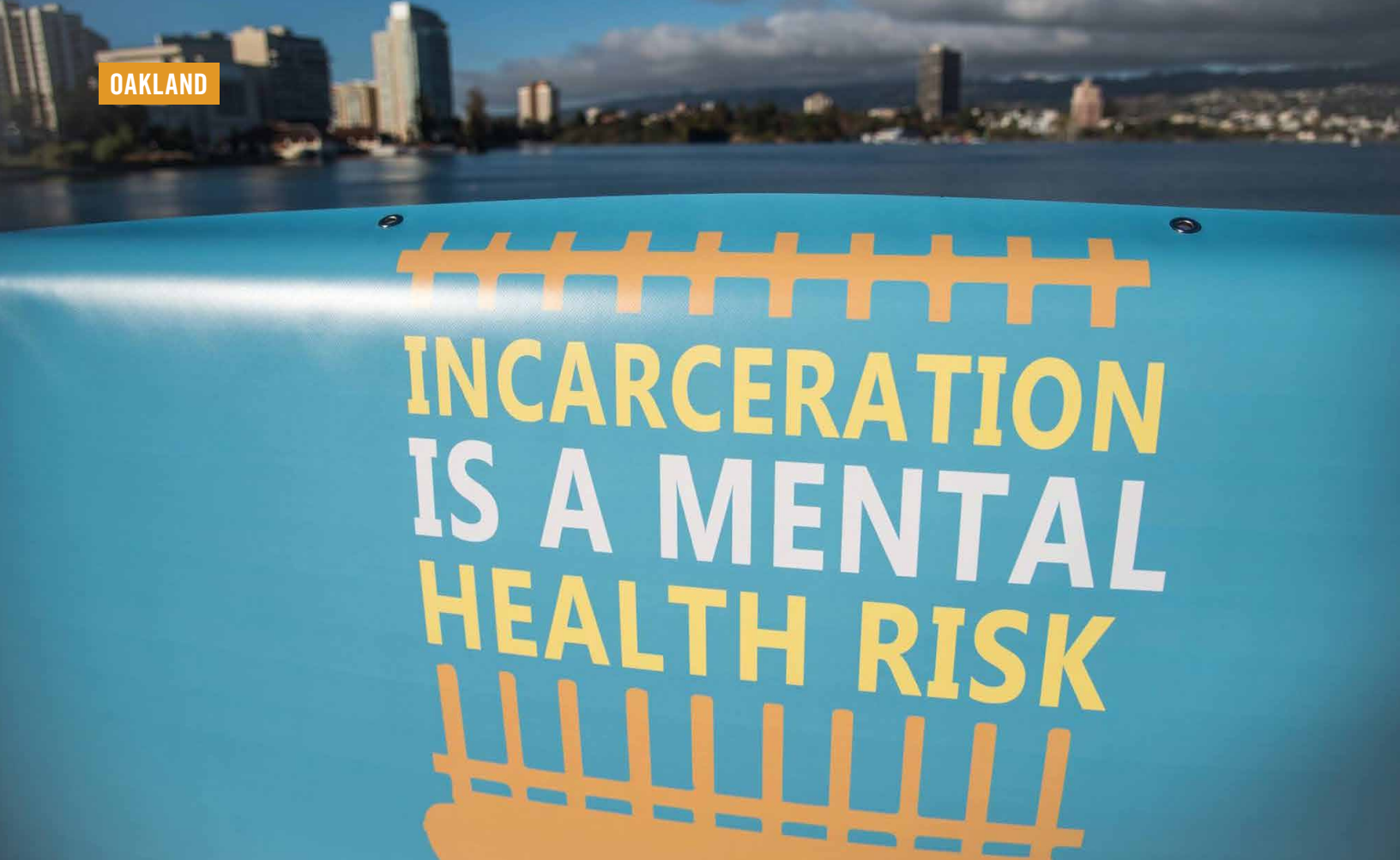
General Fund

In FY17, Oakland allocated 41.2 percent of its \$530.7 million general fund budget to the Police Department, vastly outweighing general fund expenditures on almost all critical community resources. Human Services, which funds Head Start, services for youth, and income supports, receives just over one percent of general fund expenditures. Economic and Workforce Development received less than one percent of general fund expenditures. (Note that the general fund does not contribute to the Housing and Community Development Department, so is not reflected in this chart.) ■

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: Fiscal Year 2015–17 Adopted Policy Budget, City of Oakland



INCARCERATION IS A MENTAL HEALTH RISK

⚡ Campaign Highlights

Proposition 47 was a ballot initiative passed by California voters in 2014 that reduced certain drug possession “wobbler” crimes from felonies to misdemeanors, and reduced sentences for property offenses. Critically, advocates successfully pushed to ensure that the resulting state savings from reducing prison populations be used to create a special fund called the Safe Neighborhoods and Schools Fund (SNSF). The fund is disseminated annually to organizations providing mental health and substance use services, truancy and dropout prevention, and victim services.³⁹⁰ Groups like the Ella Baker Center have continued their advocacy following the approval of Proposition 47. Their current

campaign calls for the calculation of county savings to be invested in community based supports.³⁹¹

Jobs Not Jails

The Ella Baker Center, working alongside other members of the Justice Reinvestment Coalition of Alameda County, created the Jobs Not Jails campaign in 2015. The campaign demanded that the county Board of Supervisors invest 50 percent of the county’s public safety realignment funds into reentry services, instead of allocating the majority of those funds towards the sheriff. Since 2011, Alameda County has received more than \$30 million from the state each year to support the “realignment” of people

convicted of lower-level offenses from California prisons to county jails. In March 2015, the Board of Supervisors approved a directive to set aside half of the county’s public safety realignment budget for community-based reentry programs that help people rebuild their lives after leaving jail.³⁹²

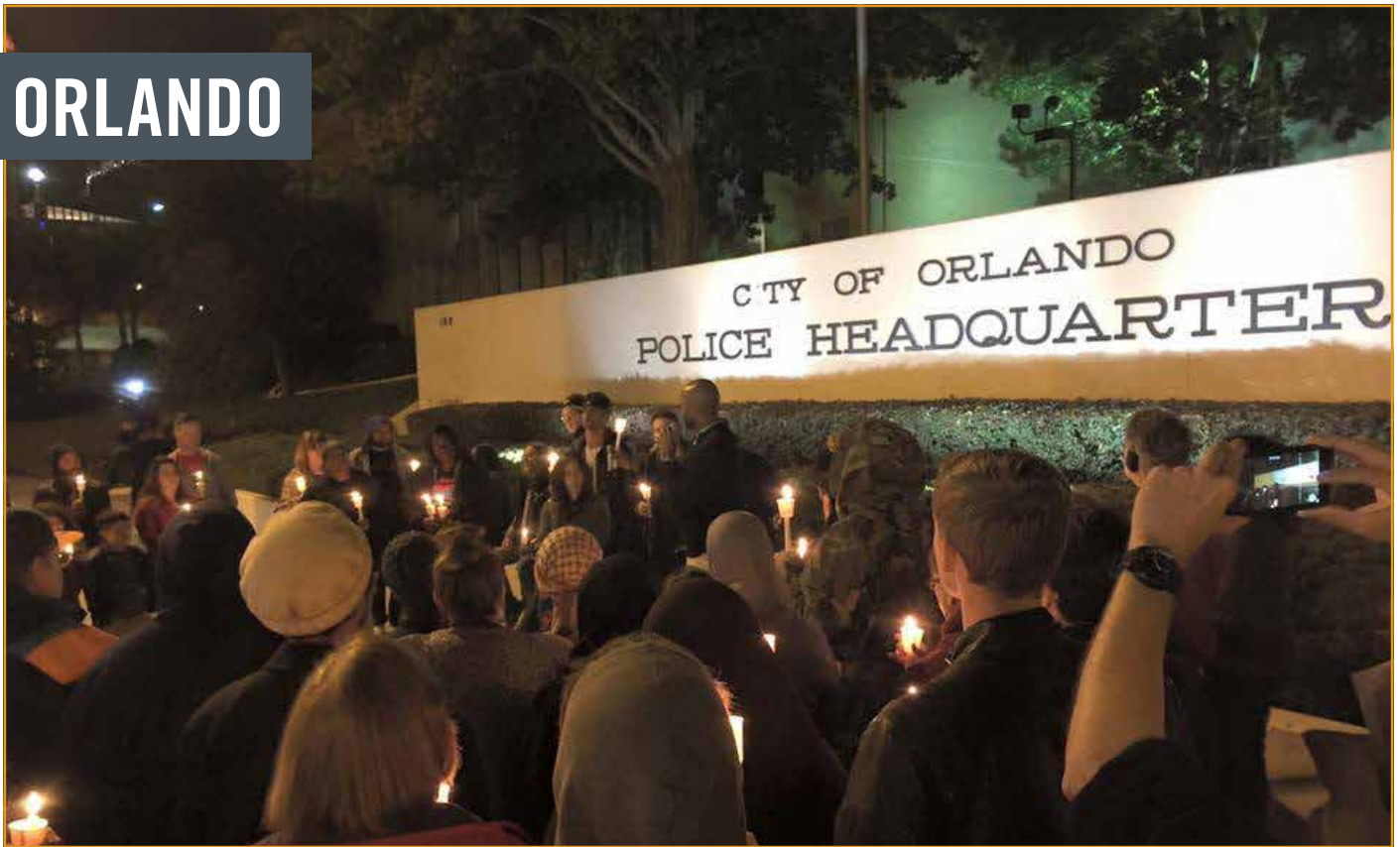
In 2016 the Ella Baker Center worked with the Justice Reinvestment Coalition to build on that win when the county strengthened its commitment to community reinvestment by making a permanent allocation of 50 percent of its public safety realignment funding into community-based reentry services.³⁹³



“Invest/Divest is about righting past and present wrongs through a reinvestment strategy that takes into account the ways in which our communities have been over-policed, over-incarcerated, and under-resourced.”

– Zachary Norris, Executive Director of Ella Baker Center

ORLANDO



Racial Disparities

There are deep racial disparities in Orlando across multiple measures. The percentage of Black residents living below the poverty line is nearly twice that of white residents (29.6 percent versus 15.4 percent).³⁹⁴ Approximately 25 percent of Latinx residents live below the poverty line.³⁹⁵ At the state level, Florida ranks 49th for the lowest per capita expenditures on mental health programs. About 70 percent of Floridians who need mental health treatment do not have access to it.³⁹⁶ Orlando has the third lowest household income among the nation's largest metro areas.³⁹⁷

Policing Issues

In recent years, the Orlando Police Department (OPD) has been subject to scrutiny for its use of excessive force, particularly against Black residents. The Orlando Sentinel published the results of a 10-month investigation into the Department's use of force between 2010 and 2014 and found that in this five-year period, Orlando police officers used force on 3,100 people, injuring 1,900 (1,200 of whom required medical care).³⁹⁸

The investigation showed that the use of force is racially discriminatory. The majority of those subjected to force were Black (55 percent), though Black residents comprise only 28 percent of the population. Of the ten people shot and killed by the police between 2010 and 2014, seven were Black.³⁹⁹

The OPD's misuse of force is also a financial drain on the city, with Orlando paying millions of dollars to settle related legal cases. Indeed, between 2010 and 2014 Orlando spent \$3.6 million in payouts—more than twice paid out in similar cities (i.e. similar size and comparable demographics and police department size).⁴⁰⁰ An additional 30 lawsuits were still pending at the time of the investigation.⁴⁰¹

The OPD was given a \$500,000 body camera matching grant by the Department of Justice and began rolling out the program in 2014.⁴⁰² However, the rollout was stalled and needed to be restarted from scratch when the OPD filed ethics complaints against two officers who were also working for a company bidding for the contract to supply body

Orlando: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY 16-17

Department/Program	Description	Total Expenditure	% of Total Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$153,800,000	13.1%
Economic Development		\$98,800,000	8.4%
<i>Community Redevelopment Agency</i>	Includes funding for a community school (Parramore PS-8) and supportive housing	\$11,700,000	1.0%
Families Parks and Recreation Department		\$34,200,000	2.9%
<i>Director's Office, Recreation, Children's Initiative</i>	Includes funding for summer academic youth programming as well as after school programming, youth employment and development programs, and food programs	\$21,900,000	1.9%
Housing and Community Development	Includes funding for affordable housing and housing for the homeless	\$9,100,000	0.8%
Transportation	Includes funding for roads, transit, parking, bicycle, and pedestrian	\$45,400,000	3.9%

Source: Fiscal Year 2016–17 Budget for the City of Orlando

People's Priorities

Organize Florida is a community-based member organization made up of low- and moderate-income people dedicated to the principles of social, racial, and economic justice. One of Organize Florida's current investment priorities is youth programs, particularly in the Pine Hills community, which is disproportionately impacted by poverty and gun violence and where programs for youth are few to none. Organize Florida is advocating for a program modeled after the county's Parramore Kidz Zone (PKZ), which has achieved impressive outcomes for its students.⁴¹³ By 2015, the PKZ program boasted a 61 percent decline in juvenile arrests, a 56 percent decline in teen pregnancies, and a 38 percent decline in child abuse cases in the neighborhood

since PKZ started. In addition, there were across-the-board increases in the percentage of Parramore elementary, middle, and high school students performing at grade-level in math and reading. Currently, 70 youth participants are in college, all of whom are the first generation in their families to attend.⁴¹⁴ Organize Florida also seeks to prioritize investments in support for parents of youth participants who are struggling to pay bills and working multiple jobs for poverty wages. Funding for counselors and social workers would help parents navigate the various systems in place for accessing resources that provide vital support for whole families.⁴¹⁵ Since the 2008 economic recession, local governments and counties

across Florida have continued to fund community services at historically low levels. Programs such as Pre-K, libraries, after school care, and local parks departments continue to be underfunded, despite economic growth in the state. At the same time, many local police departments in Florida are increasingly securing BearCats (armored vehicles) and military-grade AR-15 rifles. Activists at New Florida Majority, a statewide community membership organization to win legislative reform,⁴¹⁶ are demanding answers from elected officials as to why cities cannot afford to maintain or build parks, for example, but can equip police officers with unnecessary and expensive military vehicles and weapons.⁴¹⁷

cameras.⁴⁰³ In 2016 Orlando picked Motorola to supply the cameras, with rollout scheduled to occur in 2017.⁴⁰⁴ Accountability measures will be crucial to the success of the program. For example, the OPD was not originally required to document when their body cameras were out of service, which is now a requirement.⁴⁰⁵

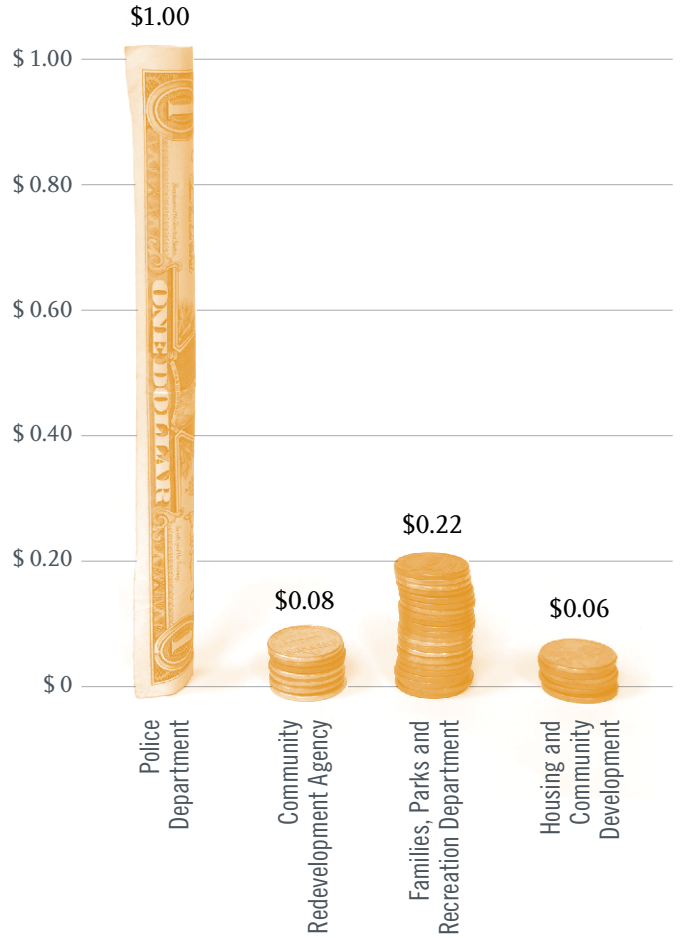
Organizing Efforts

Much work remains to be done in shifting the culture of racist policing. However, organizers have had a number of wins in recent years. In 2004, activists made a number of demands of the county Sheriff’s Office including regular community meetings to address brutality concerns, better channels for the community to file official complaints, and accessible data about traffic stops and searches on the department’s website. Then-Sheriff Steve Jones added his signature at the bottom of the list of demands.⁴⁰⁶

Orlando organizers and activists have stood in solidarity to protest police violence in other parts of the country as well. In July of 2016 organizers planned a high-profile event to protest the killings of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile in solidarity with activists in Louisiana and Minnesota.⁴⁰⁷ Also in the summer of 2016, activists in Orlando participated in the National Night Out for Safety and Liberation, in which 25 cities across the country engaged in conversation about the meaning of true safety, that is, community solutions to crime and security risks instead of over-policing. In Orlando, as part of this event, community members and organizers canvassed the Pine Hills neighborhoods to bring awareness to safety and community solutions.⁴⁰⁸

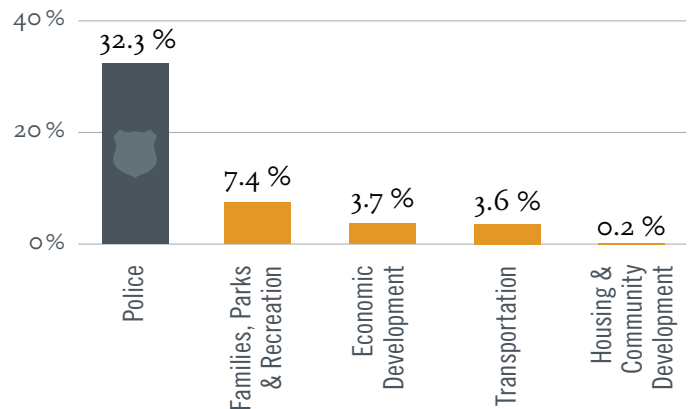
In recent years, organizations such as Organize Florida have also led efforts around the expansion and transparency of body camera programs, and around improving access to police records.⁴⁰⁹ Organizers in Orange County have also recently engaged in fights to reduce juvenile arrests by promoting civil citations over arrests, which result in sanctions like community service or restitution payments. Civil citations, moreover, do not stay on a person’s record and therefore help in lowering recidivism rates.⁴¹⁰

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Police versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: Fiscal Year 2016–17 Budget for the City of Orlando

FY16/17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: Fiscal Year 2016/17 Budget for the City of Orlando

FY16-17 Orlando City Budget ⁴¹¹

Total Budget

In FY16–17 Orlando had a total operating budget of \$1.2 billion, out of which \$153.8 million (or 13.1 percent of the total budget) was dedicated to the Police Department. Spending on police is equivalent to \$599 per capita.⁴¹²

Critical community resources receive far less funding. For example, the Community Redevelopment Agency, a division within the Department of Economic Development that includes funding for a community school and supportive housing, received one percent of total operating budget expenditures. Within the Families, Parks, and Recreation Department, the divisions that fund summer programming to youth, after school programs, youth employment and food programs received less than two percent of budget expenditures.

For every dollar spent on the OPD (including city, state, and federal funds), the Community Redevelopment Agency, a division within the Department of Economic Development that includes funding for a community school and supportive housing, received eight cents. Housing and Community Development, which includes funding for affordable housing and homeless services, received six cents.

“Pine Hills is a community in Orlando that is particularly impacted by gun violence and poverty. Instead of spending millions on police and incarceration, we want programs here that provide youth and their families critical resources and services.”

– *Lynda Duke, Community Leader, Organize Florida*

General Fund

In FY17, Orlando allocated 32.3 percent of its total \$424.1 million general fund budget to the Police Department. By contrast, the Economic Development Department, which includes funding for a community school (Parramore PS-8) and supportive housing, received 3.7 percent of general fund expenditures. Housing and Community Development, which includes funding for affordable housing and housing for the homeless, receives only 0.2 percent of general fund expenditures. ■

Campaign Highlight

Deprioritizing Marijuana-related Arrests

More than 39,700 Floridians were arrested for low-level cannabis possession in 2016.⁴¹⁸ Last year, activists in Orlando engaged in a campaign to de-prioritize marijuana-related arrests. Organizers pointed to the disproportionate impact of marijuana arrests on communities of color. Black people were four times more likely than white people to be arrested for marijuana possession and to an overloaded criminal justice system

that focuses on jailing people over non-violent misdemeanors. They also emphasized the enormous costs associated with prioritizing marijuana possession,⁴¹⁹ exemplified by the fact that Florida was spending as much as \$229 million per year to enforce marijuana possession laws. The campaign calculated that by simply deprioritizing the possession of small amounts of marijuana, savings could amount to over \$2 million in reinvestment funds for critical resources, programs, and institutions that make the city's

communities safer and stronger.⁴²⁰

In 2016 Orlando's city council passed a measure permitting police officers to issue citations instead of filing criminal charges for small amounts of marijuana. Citations are misdemeanors and therefore do not appear on a person's criminal record. To date, police have made use of this option only minimally.⁴²¹ Yet the campaign continues to build on its successes and plans to expand its deprioritization efforts next to Orange and Osceola counties.⁴²²

ST. LOUIS COUNTY



Racial Disparities

The St. Louis region is one of the worst in the nation in terms of economic disparities between Black and white residents. A 2015 report found that Black residents in the St. Louis region are more than three times as likely to live in poverty than white residents.⁴²³ The unemployment rate for Black residents is also nearly three times higher than that of white residents, as is the infant mortality rate for Black residents as compared to white residents.⁴²⁴

Policing Issues

St. Louis County is home to Ferguson, which has been subject to national attention since 2014 after the fatal shooting of unarmed teen Michael Brown by white officer Darren Wilson.⁴²⁵ Protests began immediately after the shooting and the nation watched as Ferguson's police force responded with a brutal, militarized crackdown—breaking

out riot gear, deploying tear gas, smoke bombs, and stun grenades,⁴²⁶ and instituting a citywide curfew.⁴²⁷ Despite the horrifying police response, community members bravely continued to exercise their First Amendment rights and protested for over 100 days.⁴²⁸

Michael Brown's death led to a DOJ Investigation that detailed an ecosystem of profiteering and racism orchestrated by police, administrators, and local courts. However, issues with police brutality and systemic abuses in the municipal courts started long before the mass protests or DOJ investigation. As far back as 1966 the NAACP had drawn attention to the issue. Local legal advocacy groups, such as ArchCity Defenders, also conducted research and released a white paper about it,⁴²⁹ and local papers covered the issue of systemic abuse in the courts.⁴³⁰ Between 2012 and 2014, Black people accounted for 85 percent of

St. Louis County: Selected Budget Expenditures, FY17

Department/Program	Description	Total Operating Expenditure	% of Total Operating Budget
Police Department	Total Police Department spending	\$107,600,000	19.4%
Justice Services	Provides custody and supervision to those mandated to county supervision	\$25,200,000	4.5%
Department of Planning	Includes funding for mental health, youth job programs, and housing development	\$2,000,000	0.4%
Department of Transportation and Public Works	Includes funding for the public transit system	\$100,800,000	18.1%
Department of Human Services	Includes funding for homeless services, youth programming, and workforce development	\$5,400,000	1.0%
<i>County Youth Programs</i>		\$1,700,000	0.3%
<i>Homeless Services Program</i>		\$500,000	0.1%
Department of Public Health	Includes funding for mental health services	\$59,100,000	10.6%

Source: St. Louis County, Missouri 2017 Adopted Budget

People's Priorities

Organizers in St. Louis have been working with community members to identify the types of investments and services needed to ensure real public safety. Through a series of town halls, communities identified a number of interventions that would support stronger and safer communities, and which would be less costly in both financial and human terms than the current over-investment in policing and incarceration.⁴⁴⁶

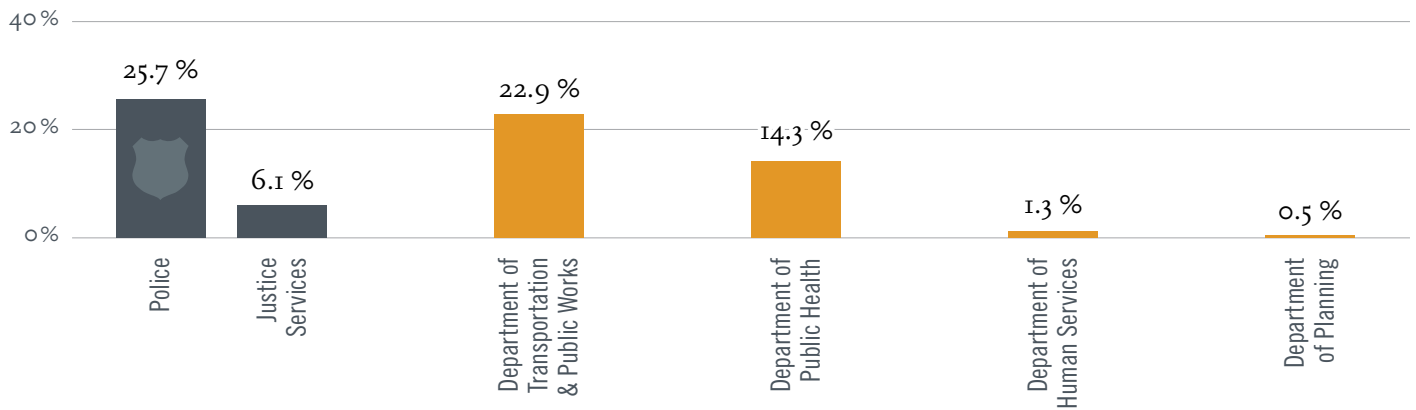
Communities identified the need for economic opportunity and have

demanded meaningful enforcement of the minimum wage.⁴⁴⁷ Research supports their argument that increased economic opportunity makes communities safer and more stable, with studies showing a strong correlation between increases in real wages and decreases in crime.⁴⁴⁸

In light of the aggressive criminalization of poverty, homelessness, and mental health issues, as well as the rampant incarceration of residents for inability to pay bail for low-level offenses, communities have been pushing for

the closure of the local jail and have identified the need for increased investment in mental health supports and drug treatment programs.⁴⁴⁹ These services, most of which are operated by the Department of Planning and the Department of Human Services, are woefully underfunded. For every dollar the Police Department receives these Departments receive less than one half of one cent. Communities also identified a need for after school programs, youth-focused conflict resolution and increased spending on education.⁴⁵⁰

FY17 Selected General Fund Expenditures



Source: St. Louis County, Missouri 2017 Adopted Budget

vehicle stops, 90 percent of citations, and 93 percent of arrests, while comprising only 67 percent of the Ferguson population.⁴³¹ Certain charges were brought almost exclusively against Black people. For example, Blacks accounted for 95 percent of “Manner of Walking in Roadway” charges.⁴³² Nearly 90 percent of documented uses of force involved Black residents.⁴³³ While the DOJ highlighted abuses in Ferguson, discrimination against Black and brown people is endemic in many other police departments within the region.⁴³⁴

Discrimination against Black residents also extends into the courts. As a result Black people in Missouri are five times more likely to be incarcerated than their white counterparts.⁴³⁵ For years, St. Louis County has made a business of exploiting citizens for minor infractions and then threatening incarceration as a means of making citizens pay.⁴³⁶ This system has disproportionately burdened low-income communities of color, who are more often targeted by police and less likely to have access to legal representation, and who have to pay a larger proportion of their incomes in fines.⁴³⁷ Events in Ferguson led to heightened attention toward this practice and the county has been forced to respond. For example, several St. Louis County municipalities are now consolidating to reduce the use of municipal courts to raise revenue.⁴³⁸

Organizing Efforts

Michael Brown’s death has renewed a movement for

police accountability in St. Louis and across the country. Local organizations such as Missourians Organizing for Reform and Empowerment (MORE), the Organization for Black Struggle (OBS), ArchCity Defenders, and the St. Louis Council have organized community members, families, activists, and advocates in marches, rallies, panels, workshops, sit-ins and acts of civil disobedience across the St. Louis area.⁴³⁹ Ferguson activists are demanding a future that includes full employment, decent housing, quality education, an end to the school-to-prison pipeline, and freedom from mass incarceration.⁴⁴⁰

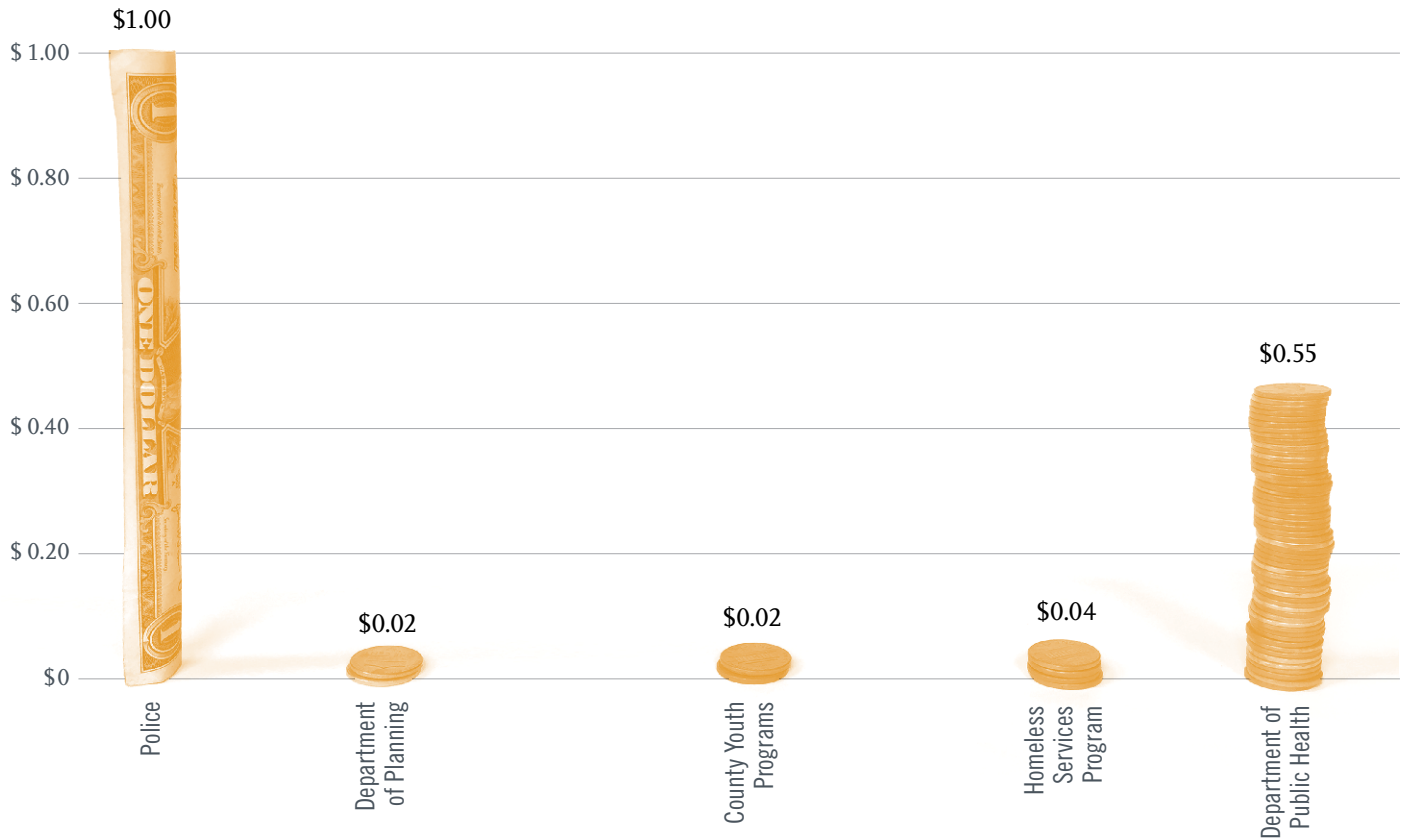
Organizations in St. Louis use a multiplicity of tactics and focus on an array of targets. MORE’s campaign, The Power Behind the Police, targets corporate profiteers, who benefit from the current corrupt court and policing systems.⁴⁴¹ OBS and other groups across the region have engaged in long-term community power building through political education, leadership development, and cultural organizing. ArchCity Defenders, a local legal organization that works closely with community groups in St. Louis, has filed over thirty state and federal lawsuits challenging the criminalization of people of color and poverty. They have worked to end “debtors prison,” limit the use of money bail, and increase police accountability.⁴⁴²

FY17 St. Louis County Budget ⁴⁴³

Total Operating Budget

In FY17, St. Louis County had a total operating budget

Cents to the Dollar: Investments in Police versus Selected Investments in Community



Source: St. Louis County, Missouri 2017 Adopted Budget

of \$555.7 million, out of which \$107.6 million, or 19.4 percent of total operating funds, was dedicated to the Police Department. The county spends a combined \$132.9 million, or approximately 23.9 percent of the total budget, on the Police Department and Justice Services, which provides custody and supervision services. Police Department and Justice Services spending was equivalent to \$133 per capita.⁴⁴⁴

By contrast, county youth programs, a division housed within the Human Services Department, received 0.3 percent of total operating budget expenditures. Homeless services, also within the Department of Human Services, received 0.1 percent of total expenditures. The Department of Planning, which includes funding for mental health, youth job programs, and housing development, received 0.4 percent of expenditures. Between FY2013 and FY2017, total expenditures on the Police Department increased by ten percent, though total operating budget expenditures

increased by only nine percent over the same period.⁴⁴⁵ For every dollar spent on the County Police and Justice Services combined, the Department of Planning, which includes funding for mental health, youth job programs, and housing development, received one cent. County youth programs, housed within the Human Services department, received two cents for every dollar spent on police.

General Fund

In FY17, St. Louis County allocated a combined 31.8 percent of its \$413.5 million general fund budget (the most discretionary fund) to the Police Department and Justice Services. The Human Services Department, which houses homeless services, youth programming, and workforce development programs, received 1.3 of percent of general fund expenditures. The Department of Planning, which includes funding for mental health, youth job programs, and housing development, receives 0.5 percent of the general fund. ■

“St. Louis is pouring money into increasing surveillance of Black people, which is just another way to increase the criminalization of our communities. More license plate readers and more cameras on our corners don’t increase safety, they just increase the amount of data that is cataloged without transparency. If a decrease in crime is the actual goal, invest in people solutions that are proven to work.”

– Tia Byrd
Executive Director
Missourians Organizing for
Reform and Empowerment



⚡ Campaign Highlight ⁴⁵¹

A coalition of organizations in St. Louis county, including MORE, OBS, the Coalition Against Police Crimes and Repression (CAPCR), ArchCity Defenders, Decarcerate St. Louis (a campaign of MORE), and the Ferguson Collaborative, hosted a series of town halls under the banner Redesigning Public Safety. Over six months, the coalition hosted town halls in Ferguson, Pine Lawn and St. Louis, all cities in St. Louis County. The town halls brought community members together to strategize about what types of investments,

programs, and services would make them feel safe. At each meeting organizers presented an analysis of the city budget, breaking down how much was spent on policing, courts, and jails. Community members overwhelmingly called for investments in community centers, mental health supports, and afterschool programs.

In Pine Lawn, one of the sponsoring organizations, the Pine Lawn Coalition, used the findings from the town hall to develop a local legislative platform. They pushed for the repeal

of unnecessary and abusive city ordinances, police accountability, and increased community power. Roslyn Brown, one of the organizers of the town hall, along with two other candidates from the Pine Hall Coalition, successfully ran on a platform pushing for divestment from police and incarceration and investment in communities. Since taking office they dissolved the Pine Lawn police force and are actively pushing for increased community investments.

MAPPING THE COSTS OF CRIMINALIZATION

AMOUNTS ARE FOR FY17 BASED ON LOCAL BUDGETS AND U.S. CENSUS DATA

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY



POLICE, SHERIFF, CORRECTIONS & PROBATION BUDGET

\$301,000,000

20% OF GENERAL FUND

\$275 PER CAPITA

OAKLAND



POLICE BUDGET

\$242,500,000

41.2% OF GENERAL FUND

\$594 PER CAPITA

LOS ANGELES



POLICE BUDGET

\$1,485,600,000

25.7% OF GENERAL FUND

\$381 PER CAPITA

MINNEAPOLIS



POLICE BUDGET
\$163,200,000
35.8% OF GENERAL FUND
\$408 PER CAPITA

DETROIT



POLICE BUDGET
\$310,200,000
30.0% OF GENERAL FUND
\$450 PER CAPITA

NEW YORK CITY



POLICE BUDGET
\$4,891,900,000
8.2% OF GENERAL FUND
\$581 PER CAPITA

CHICAGO



POLICE BUDGET
\$1,460,000,000
38.6% OF GENERAL FUND
\$537 PER CAPITA

BALTIMORE



POLICE BUDGET
\$480,700,000
25.6% OF GENERAL FUND
\$772 PER CAPITA

ST. LOUIS COUNTY



POLICE, SHERIFF, CORRECTIONS
& PROBATION BUDGET
\$132,900,000
31.8% OF GENERAL FUND
\$133 PER CAPITA

ATLANTA



POLICE BUDGET
\$218,300,000
29.7% OF GENERAL FUND
\$486 PER CAPITA

HOUSTON



POLICE BUDGET
\$850,400,000
35.0% OF GENERAL FUND
\$383 PER CAPITA

ORLANDO

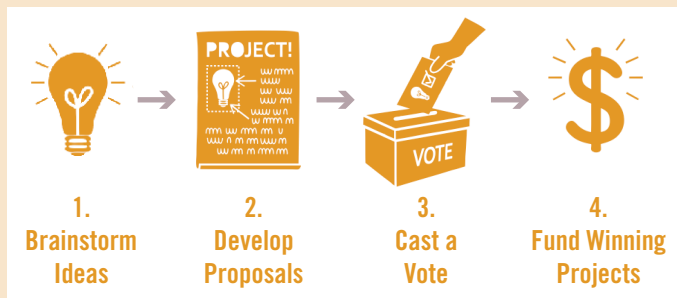


POLICE BUDGET
\$153,800,000
32.3% OF GENERAL FUND
\$599 PER CAPITA

A CALL TO ACTION FROM THE PEOPLE

Participatory Budgeting: A Model for Community Control over Money

Together we are advancing toward the type of society in which communities decide how to spend their tax dollars and other city resources. A shared understanding of different types of governance models is necessary as we move forward. Participatory Budgeting (PB) is one such model. PB is a democratic process in which community members decide how to spend a portion of a public budget, and gives the community decision-making power over government funds. PB consists of four main phases:



Source: The Participatory Budgeting Project

PB was first established in Brazil in the 1980s and has since become a leading example of the potential for community-controlled decision making over government money.⁴⁵² For the past seven years, PB has been building momentum in the US and Canada. An organization called the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP) has been leading the charge in pushing PB as a national model for community inclusion over decision making.⁴⁵³

For PB to be truly equitable, it must center the voices of those most impacted, thus giving marginalized communities power over the pots of money that most affect their lives. Poor Black communities in particular are more cynical of the idea of democracy because democratic processes have never served them justly or beneficially.⁴⁵⁴

Poor Black people have instead been alienated from all power and control in a system that has consistently suppressed their ability to achieve liberation in its truest form. The ongoing perpetuation of oppressive systemic impacts on Black communities that have been disinvested in has deepened the need for innovative ways of centering community voices and demanding reparations for Black people. Today's political demands must acknowledge the harms caused by chronic and intentional disinvestment and make democracy real by allowing self-determination in how those communities are funded.

Acknowledging the havoc that mass incarceration (a product of the same capitalist system through which chattel slavery was entrenched) has inflicted on the Black community, it is imperative that we center the voices of those who have been most directly impacted by the criminal legal system. One example of how PB centers the voices of those most impacted is the inclusion of "system-involved" people in decision making over government money. Some examples of PB processes that have successfully engaged system-involved community members include previously incarcerated people making decisions about reentry funds through the Participatory Budgeting Project in New York City;⁴⁵⁵ the Participatory Budgeting Project in Hartford, Connecticut, which brought civic engagement into corrections facilities;⁴⁵⁶ and several PB processes in the United Kingdom, which engaged communities in deciding on how to allocate police and safety funds.⁴⁵⁷

Marginalized communities are disproportionately overrepresented in prisons and excluded from democratic decision-making processes. Systems of policing are responsible for the mass incarceration of Black people with no authentic accountability to the communities that they disproportionately target. Community groups have pushed back against the many forms of state-sanctioned violence by launching divest/invest campaigns, which aim to redirect public money originally intended for funding policing institutions back into impacted communities. For example, community members in Greensboro, North Carolina, with a local population that

is 40.6 percent Black, decided to spend \$500,000 of the city's budget on pools and recreation center upgrades, crosswalk upgrades, and bus shelters.⁴⁵⁸ Residents of Far Rockaway in New York City, part of a city council district where 68 percent of the residents are Black,⁴⁵⁹ decided to spend \$1.85 million in city council funds on upgrades in their schools including computer labs, a new kitchen, and a greenhouse project.⁴⁶⁰

Because mass incarceration has a vastly disproportionate impact on Black and Latinx people, a model that centers the most marginalized would have them decide how to address and repair that harm. As stated in the 2015 report "Who Pays? The True Cost of Incarceration on Families," "all states need to restructure their policies to reduce the number of people in jails and prisons and the sentences they serve. The money saved from reducing incarceration rates should be used instead to reinvest in services that work such as substance abuse programs and stable housing, which have proven to reduce recidivism rates. Additionally, the focus of sentencing needs to shift to accountability, safety, and healing the people involved, rather than simply punishing those convicted of crimes."⁴⁶¹ Because PB processes are organized around intentional outreach and inclusion, PB it is one way to ensure that the people directly impacted are actually the ones making decision about how the funds are spent.

Divest/invest campaigns are a concrete example of how PB can build on current campaign work and endorse community control over money. Decisions made about funds that have been divested from policing, mass incarceration, juvenile justice detention facilities, and school pushout should center the voices of Black communities, especially system-involved and previously-system-involved people. The intention is not to replace current community-based organizing work with the PB model, but instead to supplement and build on that work. At this point, PB has been most successful on a small scale, typically at the city district or ward level. While PB has yet to be implemented at scale of larger city budgets, it nevertheless serves as a promising governance model and something to strive for as part of divest/invest campaign strategies.

Potential campaign wins that PB could support include, for example, taking School Resource Officers (SROs) out of schools and reallocating funding to social workers and trained conflict resolution practitioners; closing an existing Juvenile Justice facility or prison and providing robust community-based alternatives; and ending new prison plans. These are all starting places for PB to help communities decide where to redirect funds. Campaign wins will not end at "no new jail" or "less police on the streets," but will instead be expanded to include community control over budgeting decisions for funds originally allocated toward those expenditures.

Economic and racial justice policy platforms that have already been designed by movement leaders such as "Vision for Black Lives: Police Demands for Black Power, Freedom, & Justice" and "Agenda to Build Black Futures" can provide the framework for where and how PB is implemented. While many proposals described in these policy platforms require continued political pressure and organizing to manifest, implementation of PB in our communities can and does happen now. Tangible strategizing that brings us closer to PB as an accountability tool for government money can include:

1. Building a research team to conduct in-depth research on municipal budgets and summarize their findings
2. Mapping out decision making points, decision makers, and pots of money to target
3. Designing and mapping out a national campaign web
4. Base building on the ground
5. Budgeting and PB training and development (with the support of organizations like the Participatory Budgeting Project)
6. Assembling an oversight and accountability team

Taxpayer dollars are being over invested in the very systems that exploit and discriminate against people on the margins. It's time the people made good on our investment by taking that money back and redirecting it into our own communities.

CONCLUSION

There is abundant evidence that police and jails do not make communities safe, and in many cases actually undermine safety. Yet at the local, state, and national levels, significant portions of public money are dedicated to policing and incarceration, while comparatively miniscule amounts are dedicated to the services, resources, and infrastructure needed to keep communities healthy and safe. Instead of expanding punitive systems, community members and organizers around the country are fighting for investments in the type of critical resources that truly make communities safe: healthcare, mental health services and treatment, educational opportunities, affordable housing, transit access, and investments in youth.

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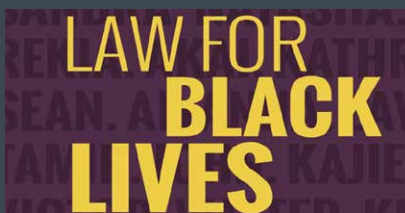
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