

Ten other people were killed by police in America that day, according to the Fatal Encounters database. But it was the death of George Floyd, the 817th person to die at the hands of police in 2020, that set off a coast to coast protest movement that continues to this day. Just as the coronavirus pandemic dramatically illustrated the racial divide in health care, the killing of George Floyd illuminated the killings of Breonna Taylor and so many others. In death, Mr. Floyd opened a grim window onto a panorama of injustice across the United States.

On Saturday, May 30, at the request of Dallas County Judge Clay Jenkins, a group of faith leaders and representatives of community organizations met with Judge Jenkins, Dallas City Manager T.C. Broadnax, and others to discuss what could be done in Dallas County in response to the crisis of the moment and the demands of the people marching in the streets.

The participating pastors and activists had among them decades of experience working to end police brutality and the racial disparities that pervade social and political life. As a follow-up to the meeting, they drafted a statement and sent it on June 1 to Judge Jenkins, City Manager Broadnax, and Dallas Mayor Eric Johnson. That document, *10 New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change*, described a new approach to change policing and reallocate funding for broader initiatives to enhance the safety, housing, and living conditions of people in the hard-pressed communities of Dallas. Recognizing that over-policing, racial profiling, and police brutality have not made our communities safer or more just, the authors outlined specific policy changes affecting police use of deadly force and budget priorities that differ from the status quo in their approach to public safety and community wellbeing. The document was prepared by:

Rev. Dr. Frederick Haynes III, Friendship West Baptist Church
Rev. Dr. Michael Waters, Abundant Life AME Church
Imam Dr. Omar Suleiman, Faith Forward Dallas
Sara Mokuria, Mothers Against Police Brutality
Kristian Hernandez, Our City Our Future
Jodi Voice Yellowfish, American Indian Heritage Day
María Yolisma García, North Texas Dream Team
Brittany White, Faith in Action
John Fullinwider, Mothers Against Police Brutality
Rabbi Nancy Kasten, Faith Commons
Rev. Dr. George Mason, Wilshire Baptist Church / Faith Commons

Judge Jenkins posted the statement online and invited comment. Over the next month, he assembled a group of city managers from Balch Springs, Dallas, DeSoto, Irving, Lancaster, and Mesquite, and District Attorney John Creuzot. He invited the authors of the statement to join these public officials in a working group, which took the name *Working Group on New Directions for Public Safety & Positive Community Change*. He asked County Administrator Darryl Martin to facilitate the meetings. In a June 30 memo, Judge Jenkins expressed his “hope that this opportunity for honest and difficult dialogue will lead to meaningful and lasting change that strengthens our community.” The Working Group met for six weeks beginning July 1.

[See *Notes & Sources* immediately following the report. See *Appendix I* for the full text of *10 New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change*. See *Appendix II* for a complete list of Working Group members, witnesses, and major topics of discussion. See *Appendix III* for links to reports, essays, and articles that informed the Working Group’s discussions.]

New Directions for Justice

The document, *10 New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change*, included a range of recommendations with two main purposes: a) to change police use of force, particularly deadly force; and b) to change budget priorities away from policing in order to increase investment for unmet human needs in housing, health care, mental health services, employment, recreation, the arts, and other aspects of community wellbeing.

The Working Group discussions centered on two of the 10 recommendations:

1. DPD shall not be the first responder to mental health calls, unless a firearm is involved. Jointly, the City of Dallas and Dallas County shall create a program that assigns teams of mental health professionals or, as appropriate, other professionals in counseling and social work as first responders to mental health calls. If a firearm is involved, these mental health teams will provide support to police officers responding; the mental health team may take the lead in a joint police/health response when appropriate (for example, threatened suicide with firearm).
2. City and County officials shall increase investment in alternatives to police response. The County Judge and the City of Dallas shall create a task force to identify and recommend alternative ways to respond to harm and to increase safety in the community, with budget allocations to sponsor the first initiatives in the coming budget year.

Mental Health as Crisis Point / Non-Police Intervention

Two expert witnesses described programs directly addressing the creation of non-police first response to mental health crisis calls. Asantewaa Boykin shared her work with *Mental Health First (MH First)* in Sacramento, CA, and Tim Black discussed *Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets (CAHOOTS)* in Eugene, OR. The two programs are similar, but with significant differences in origin and setting.

MH First: Sacramento, California

MH First was created in January 2020 by the Anti Police-Terror Project (APTP) of Sacramento (APTP). MH First Director Asantewaa Boykin, a co-founder of APTP, is a registered emergency room nurse and mobile intensive care nurse with twenty years' experience. Program staff also includes two on-call physicians, other health care workers, and people who have themselves suffered from mental health distress.



Asantewaa Boykin

Everyone working at MH First is a volunteer. “We have had no shortage of medical professionals who have volunteered for us on 12-hour shifts overnight because they, too, understand the importance of keeping our patients out of the hands of police, when folks need care and not handcuffs,” Boykin told the Working Group. MH First operates with a 3-person team, including an EMT or Nurse; a Crisis Interventionist who engages and builds rapport with the “participant” undergoing a mental health crisis; and a Safety Liaison who addresses police officers who may be on hand, as well as onlookers, family members, and others at the scene.

The word *participant* is chosen deliberately. “For us,” said Boykin. “It really is a participatory process.” MH First practices a non-punitive, self-determined approach, “meaning it is not our job, as the police do, to swoop in and decide if you’re 5150-able [i.e., can be held involuntarily]. Our job is to show up when asked and help guide you to your next step.” The program’s outreach includes flyers, social media, word-of-mouth, and in-person engagement, particularly with visibly unhoused persons and others who may need assistance.

MH First does not coordinate with the police department, partly for reasons of credibility. “This is around community trust,” Boykin explained. “When you interact with folks, they know that our last straw is not calling the police, that when you run out of patience or we don’t have the exact resources, it is not our goal to have them incarcerated.” MH First does transport participants to the hospital if needed.

MH First estimates that to scale up the program to 24/7 operations would require 10-15 fulltime employees, including three medical professionals (e.g., clinical director).

CAHOOTS: Eugene, Oregon

CAHOOTS started in 1989, an outgrowth of the White Bird Clinic, which itself began twenty years earlier as White Bird Socio-medical Aid Station providing crisis intervention and drug counseling services. Today White Bird Clinic is a primary care provider, part of the federal Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) Health Center Program in underserved areas, with a medical and dental clinic, drug/alcohol treatment center, counseling and crisis intervention office, and the mobile crisis intervention program, CAHOOTS, in both Eugene and Springfield, Oregon.

Tim Black worked for CAHOOTS previously as a first responder, 10 years, and later as primary administrator, 6 years, before becoming director of consulting. At the clinic, Black explained, they were doing crisis counseling by phone and walk-in, to develop a non-police response. “We were seeing, even in the 70s,” he said, “officers being sent out for behavioral health crises, for addiction, for housing, for mediation and dispute, where there was no crime being committed, and there was a need for a different type responder going back that far.” Clinic employees at

first used their own cars and resources to reach people who could not or would not come to the clinic.

Today, CAHOOTS operates 2 vans on a 24/7 schedule, with a 3rd van available for high volume periods. The program receives \$2.1 million in funding from the city of Eugene, where the police budget is about \$60 million annually. Each van is staffed with an EMT and a mental health crisis counselor. Staff



receive 500 hours of field training and 40 hours of classroom instruction in harm reduction, compassionate communication, de-escalation dialogue, and other skills and strategies to work effectively with a person in crisis.

CAHOOTS is part of the 911 emergency system, and receives most of its calls through 911 dispatchers. “By integrating into the existing public safety infrastructure that meant we were going to be able to serve everybody who called,” Black explained. “Anybody who could get to a phone and call the fire department or the police department, all of a sudden had access to civilian behavioral health first responders.” He realizes that, in a way, “we are asking people to call the police on themselves. But we also divert the police, saying, ‘Let us go first.’”

The program responds to 23,000 calls annually. Only 150 calls, less than 1%, involved violence. The program finds alternative outcomes to arrest for the people it serves. Black estimated that CAHOOTS saves the cities of Eugene and Springfield about \$20 million annually by diverting people in crisis from jails and hospitals.

Veronica Hall, Dallas, Texas: “These officers are hurting my son! They’re screaming at me, and I don’t know what to do.”

Veronica Hall provided compelling testimony of how easily things can go wrong when armed police respond to a mental health distress call. On June 17, 2020, Hall called 911 because of a dispute between her son and daughter. Her son Ethan, 16, was diagnosed with ADD and depression at a young age; he had been on medications for these conditions since age 7.

At a “first offender” program, Hall had been told a year earlier that the police were trained to transport youth in crisis to a mental health facility. “When I called, the police came, and they told me my son ‘could tear the house down if he wanted to,’ and they couldn’t do anything,” Hall

said to the Working Group. But another time, the officers took her son in, got his meds, and he came back fine. “So, on June 17, I called the police again to request transport to the facility.”



The police arrived three hours later. By that time, Hall’s son was calm, doing homework in his bedroom. The first officer arrived, and she told him the situation. The second officer, however, burst into Ethan’s room, in Hall’s words, “screaming and said, ‘I don’t want to hear it!’ He grabbed [Ethan] and threw him and slammed him against his bed . . . This officer is on top of my son . . . holding my son’s wrist, he could have just hand-cuffed him there . . . [The other officer] he was gonna Tase him . . . My son is not moving, he’s not fighting him . . . he’s right behind my

son, and he says, ‘Just move and let me tase him’. . . He’s just right behind my son and he decides to tase him. And when he was done, the other officer jumps on top of him again, and grabs him, and still keeps on going, screaming.”

Not knowing what else to do, Hall called 911 again. She said, “I called you guys for help. These officers are hurting my son! They’re screaming at me, and I don’t know what to do.” The 911 operator suggested she ask for a supervisor to be sent to the scene. Meanwhile, the officers are taking Ethan to their car. “The prongs from the Taser gun are still in his back,” she recalled. “And he’s walking behind [Ethan] holding the gun with the wires . . . They slammed him against the squad car. Luckily, there is a person walking by. And she’s telling them, ‘Stop it! Why are you hurting him?’”

The officers told her that Ethan would be arrested for resisting arrest. They said he would be in the downtown jail, but they would provide no further information. Hall found Mothers Against Police Brutality online, and the group helped her locate her son. “It took almost four hours to find my son,” she said. “Then I get a call at 3 o’clock in the morning to go pick up my son” at the juvenile justice center. The supervisor told her he would look into her complaint.

Looking back on the experience, Hall said, “Now I don’t even want to call the police. I mean, what for, they’re not helping, they didn’t help, they hurt him. Now to have to deal with resisting arrest – I called for help and now it’s his fault?”

Homelessness as a Crisis Point / Non-Police Intervention Investments and Policies to Create Housing Affordable to Low-Wage Individuals and Households

Closely related to the police encounter with persons suffering a mental health crisis is the encounter with homeless people sleeping and performing other necessary daily tasks in public. The Working Group heard testimony about the futility of a law enforcement approach to homelessness from Maria Foscarinis, Director of the National Law Center on Homelessness and

Poverty (NLCHP). Behind the crisis of unhoused people, of course, is the overall lack of housing that low-wage families and individuals can afford. Sandy Rollins, Director of the Texas Tenants' Union (TTU) addressed the group concerning this broader crisis in the Dallas area and nationally.

National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty: Washington, D.C.

In her testimony, Maria Foscarinis spoke directly to the criminalization of homelessness:

“Cities have responded to the growing presence of people on the street or in public places by making it a crime to live in public . . . To make it a crime to live in public, to sleep in public, to sit in public places, to eat in public places, to loiter. It is often a response in reaction to complaints . . . people don't like seeing homeless people living on the streets, and it seems like a quick fix just to make it illegal. The problem with this is it doesn't work. People have to be somewhere.”



The 2019 report of NLCHP, [*Housing Not Handcuffs*](#), describes various ways that homelessness is criminalized, most of which have occurred in Dallas:

- Camping Bans
- Evictions of Encampments (“Sweeps”)
- Sleeping Bans
- Bans on Sitting and Lying Down
- Restrictions on Living in Vehicles
- Begging Bans
- Bans on Loitering, Loafing, and Vagrancy
- Restrictions on Food Sharing

When people are cited or arrested for violations of such ordinances, the resulting criminal record makes it even harder to find employment and housing. It is more expensive to arrest homeless persons than it is to house or shelter them.

Foscarinis recommended that, instead of sending a police officer to be the first responder, cities should send trained mental health and social workers, such as CAHOOTS, MH First, or the Pathways to Housing program in Washington, D.C. (<https://pathwaystohousingdc.org/>) which uses a successful approach known as “housing first” – housing people directly from the streets, without preconditions, and then addressing their mental health, addiction, physical health, employment, and other needs.

The *Housing Not Handcuffs* report describes programs and policies that help meet the needs of unhoused people without making them criminals.

Encampment sweeps have been common in Dallas, as homeless residents are moved from place to place, mostly around downtown and Fair Park. NLCHP recommends, “Understanding the need for communities to regulate public spaces, encampments should only be removed through clear processes, with adequate notice, and a requirement that the affected persons be provided adequate alternative housing.”

As an example of how this works, consider Charlestown SC: Charleston ensured adequate time for planning, outreach, housing and services to close a 100-person encampment through housing most of its residents, without a single arrest. Indianapolis IN and Charleston WV have also taken this approach. It is futile to move encampments from place to place, unless adequate housing or shelter is provided.

Safe Parking Lots: People living in their cars are provided with safe, authorized lots to park overnight in Eugene OR and Oakland CA; the lots are regulated. People already try to stay in 24-hour Walmart parking lots. It would be more humane to establish a couple of safe lots in different parts of the county for unhoused people to survive in their cars until other provisions can be made. A person/family with a car is likely to be working, which is the reason they hold on to the car at all costs; emergency financial aid could likely return them to a regular residence.

Legal Encampments: In camps that cannot be closed in a just manner, cities should provide water and portable toilets, trash pickup, and other services, until alternative arrangements can be provided to the camp residents.

Funding Homeless Programs: Miami-Dade County has a 1% restaurant tax, raising \$20 million annually, dedicated to funding housing, health care, and mental health services for homeless people.

Tiny Villages and Accessory Dwelling Units: Dallas has one small “tiny village” – a neighborhood of very small, 1-person houses, where individuals can live and get help with their service needs. Accessory Dwelling Units, where local ordinances allow, are small units built in the backyard of, for example, a large single-family home, which can be rented. Seattle’s Block Program makes accessory dwelling units available to unhoused individuals on a non-profit basis (<https://www.the-block-project.org/>). (Accessory residences, “granny flats,” have long existed in Dallas, but not until 2018 did an ordinance pass that allows owners to rent them out, under certain conditions approved by the Board of Adjustment; but no organized effort exists in the city to utilize these backyard units for homeless people.)

“The real solution,” said Foscarinis, concluding her testimony, “is more affordable housing, and housing that is affordable to extremely low-income people . . . Funds can be redirected away from criminal justice responses and towards investment in housing and social services. There is a lot of talk about defunding the police. Well, reallocating resources in this way would go a long way in addressing homelessness.”

Texas Tenants' Union (TTU): Dallas, Texas

Sandy Rollins presented the affordability challenges facing lower-income tenants in Dallas County:

<p style="text-align: center;">Affordable Housing: Pressure Points in a Crisis</p> <p>68,000 households in Dallas cannot afford more than \$400 in monthly housing costs.</p> <p>More than 40,000 eviction filings in Dallas County in 2019</p> <p>Census data – almost half of Dallas tenants pay 30% or more of their income for rent.</p> <p>National Low-Income Housing Gap Report – only 21 units are available to every 100 extremely low-income tenants (income less than 30% of area median) in Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington</p> <p>Rents and fees are literally out of control</p> <p>Only one in four people eligible for federal rental assistance actually receives it</p> <p>Affordable housing stock has been demolished and replaced with high-end development</p>
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Summing up the experiences of the hundreds of tenants that TTU assists every month, Rollins told the Working Group:

We've got a huge gap in what people can afford to live in and what's out there. In the last few years, our organization has seen tenants facing massive rent increases, along with a lot of extra fees being tacked onto the rent . . . We don't have rent control, and rents can go up as much as the landlord wants . . . They can also tack on fees. We're seeing fees for pest control, for trash pickup, for mandatory valet trash pickup, for mandatory cable TV, parking fees – they just get more and more creative about things to tack on. That makes it very difficult [for tenants] to have enough to cover other basic expenses.

Rollins described the insecurity of being a tenant in a rapidly changing housing market, noting Section 26.5, "Our Right to Terminate," of the standard Texas Apartment Association lease, which states in part:

We also have the right to terminate this Lease during the Lease term by giving you at least 30 days' written notice of termination if we are demolishing your apartment or closing it and it will no longer be used for residential purposes for at least 6 months.
(Underlining in original.)

She provided numerous examples of tenants receiving 30-day notices to vacate their apartment homes so the landlord could demolish the property for redevelopment. "We're seeing the existing affordable housing stock wiped out and replaced with high end development," said Rollins. "It's happening primarily in communities of color . . . And *there's no relocation assistance* that is required by state or local government."



Rollins quantified “affordability” of housing at various income levels, illustrating the lack of units affordable to the lowest-income households even in subsidized housing. Income at 30% of the Area Median Income for a household of 4 equals a salary of \$12.38 per hour. The corresponding “affordable” rent for this household equals \$644 per month. This is the rent level recommended by TTU. (Figures highlighted on next page.) Fair market rents for this size unit range from \$1180-\$2590.

Rollins cited current reports from Apartments.com that indicated there were only 232 units renting for \$600 or less in the City of Dallas. “The people at the lower income levels – there is *no* housing,” she said. “If you look at the 30% of area median income, there is little or nothing at those income levels in the market. And that’s where we think, if you’re going to put public dollars into something, it needs to be focused where the greatest need is.”



A bulldozer in West Dallas, 2018. (Photo courtesy Texas Tenants’ Union.)

What is affordable housing?						
Income (% of Dallas Area Median Income,AMI)	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	5 Persons	
30% ("extremely low income")	\$ 17,500	\$ 20,000	\$ 22,500	\$ 25,750	\$ 30,170	For a family of 4, this equals a salary of \$12.38 per hour.
50%	\$ 29,100	\$ 33,250	\$ 37,400	\$ 41,550	\$ 44,900	
80%	\$ 46,550	\$ 53,200	\$ 59,850	\$ 66,500	\$ 71,850	
100%	\$ 58,200	\$ 66,500	\$ 74,800	\$ 83,100	\$ 89,800	
120%	\$ 69,840	\$ 79,800	\$ 89,760	\$ 99,720	\$ 107,760	
Rent as a % of income	efficiency	1 bedroom	2 bedroom	3 bedroom	4 bedroom	
Rents at 30% AMI (affordable for "extremely low income")	\$ 437	\$ 500	\$ 563	\$ 644	\$ 754	Rent levels recommended by Texas Tenants' Union
Rents at 50% AMI	\$ 728	\$ 831	\$ 935	\$ 1,039	\$ 1,122	Rent levels in many "Low Income Housing Tax Credit" Properties
Rents at 80% AMI	\$ 1,164	\$ 1,330	\$ 1,496	\$ 1,663	\$ 1,796	Rent levels in TIF set-asides
Rents at 100% AMI	\$ 1,455	\$ 1,663	\$ 1,870	\$ 2,078	\$ 2,245	
Rents at 120% AMI	\$ 1,746	\$ 1,995	\$ 2,244	\$ 2,493	\$ 2,694	
Range of FMRs	\$660-\$1440	\$750-\$1640	\$900-\$1970	\$1180-\$2590	\$1550-\$3390	

Sources:
Income limits: <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/il/il19/IncomeLimits-30-FY19.pdf>
Fair Market Rents: [HUD FMRs 2020 DALLAS](#)
 Adapted from Texas Tenants' Union presentation, July 22, 2020.

A sampling of TTU’s policy recommendations at the city and state level is below.

Texas Tenants’ Union Policy Proposals
Extend COVID-19 eviction moratorium.
Provide tenants with the “opportunity to cure” past due rent before an eviction suit can be filed. More than 40 states already have such a law. (Dallas did this temporarily during the COVID-19 pandemic.)
Create a fund to assist 4,000 families with a \$600 monthly rent subsidy for \$28.8 million
Expand the Fair Housing Act to prohibit discrimination based on source of income, including Section 8 “Housing Choice” voucher holders. Lobby to repeal state law preempting source of income protections.
Use zoning to preserve existing housing, obtain new affordable units and protect any tenants who may be displaced – 25% set-aside (inclusionary zoning).
Create tax credit program for landlords willing to rent units affordable to people at 30% AMI. Existing voucher programs are insufficient to meet the need.

See Appendix III for complete list of TTU’s proposals.

Mayra Fierro, Dallas, Texas: “I exist as someone who slipped through the cracks.”

Mayra Fierro shared her experiences as a homeless youth and current youth organizer with Metro Dallas Youth Committee. She lifted up the struggles of homeless youth who identify as LGBTQ. Excerpts from her testimony follow:

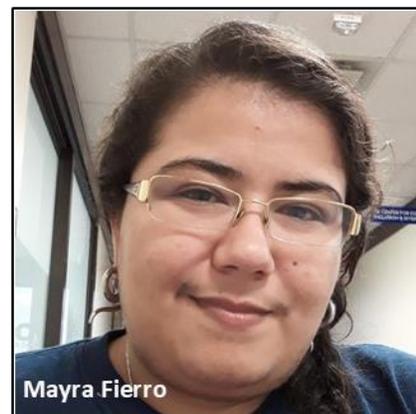
My personal experience as being a homeless teenager, I never engaged or encountered any of these services [i.e., services provided by various agencies]. So, I exist as someone who has slipped through the cracks.

We don’t have the data on youth experiencing homelessness. I know it sounds crazy because we should have data. HUD only started counting the data in 2015. Here locally we have DISD estimating 3500-4000 homeless students, while Metro Dallas Homeless Alliance point-in-time counts only show about 100 youth.

Minimum wage does not allow you to afford rent.

Homeless youth often have devices, phone or laptop, but not a connection . . . One thing I’d like to see in the city is free wi-fi, so that everybody can communicate and get to that social support system that’s so valuable, especially during corona.

We don’t have the data on local [LGBTQ] youth or local youth services. Nationally, 40% of youth say they were kicked out because they identify as LGBTQ. Personally, just this year alone, before the pandemic, I had three cases where youth were queer and found to be homeless.



There's a problem when case workers are calling me, a volunteer youth activist, and asking me where youth can be housed. Youth needing spaces, and not being accepted because of their identity, is all too common.

I identify as lesbian. I've had problems finding a job . . . We have to remember that it was just a couple of weeks ago that the Supreme Court said I couldn't be fired for being gay.

If you can't get a job in the first place, you're just struggling in survival mode. There is no doing better for yourself. You are just literally trying to make ends meet. And not hiring folks because of their experience [of homelessness] or because of their identity is truly a disservice, especially when folks contribute so much more than just this aspect of themselves . . . People have incredible insights and experiences that would *make everything better* just because they are in the room when the work's actually being done. It's kind of like that idea, going back to Harvey Milk – if we can get one through the door, if they can know one of us, we can make that much more of a difference.

Overcriminalization / Alternatives to Incarceration and Arrest / Barriers to Re-Entry / Community-Based Violence Prevention

The Working Group heard expert testimony from Andrea Ritchie, Researcher in Residence at the Social Justice Institute at the Barnard Center for Research on Women, Barnard College, on the *crisis of criminalization*; Yulise Reaves Waters, Deputy Director, and Elizabeth Henneke, Director, of Lone Star Justice Alliance on alternatives to incarceration; and Chico Tillmon, National Cure Violence Trainer, also Director, Justice Action Fund / Community Justice Reform Coalition, on non-police violence intervention. Angela Andrade explained how deportation and incarceration led to her family's breakup and impoverishment. Two members of the Working Group also made formal presentations: District Attorney John Cruzot described his proposal to create an alternative-to-arrest program for homeless and mentally ill people; Brittany White shared her story as a formerly-incarcerated woman and the barriers she faced upon reentry.

Andrea Ritchie, New York City, New York

“We are really reckoning in this moment with the failures of police reform to produce change,” Andrea Ritchie told the Working Group, “but also with the failures and impacts of our society's adoption of criminalization as a default response to every need, every conflict, and every harm in our community. And the cost of *that* both financially, but also the human costs of life and opportunity.”

Ritchie presented the basic parameters of the *crisis of criminalization* in her [2017 report](#), co-authored with Beth E. Richie (see box next page).



What is Criminalization?

Criminalization is the social and political process by which society determines which actions or behaviors – and by whom – will be punished by the state.

Criminalization extends beyond laws and policies to more symbolic – and more deeply entrenched processes of creating categories of people deemed “criminals.” This process is fueled by widespread and commonly accepted stereotypes – “thugs,” “crack mothers,” “welfare queens,” or “bad hombres.”

The crisis of criminalization is dramatically intensifying in the current political climate. For instance, criminalization of immigrants is increasingly serving as both a tool and justification for mass detention and deportation. Federal resources are being poured into law enforcement through expansion of surveillance, militarized policing, the “war on drugs,” and “broken windows” policing.

2017: There are 2.2 million people incarcerated in the nation’s prisons and jails, a 500% increase over the past four decades; 60% are people of color, almost twice the percentage of Black and Latinx people in the general population.

Black people are five times more likely, and Indigenous people four times more likely, to be incarcerated in state prison than white people.

Women are the fastest growing incarcerated population, growing 700% over the past four decades.

Ritchie stressed that far from preventing violence in the community, criminalization is an after-the-fact response. It often leads to further engagement with our punitive criminal justice system, and it can itself engender violence as it closes doors of opportunity. “For instance, a marijuana arrest, which I know is an issue in Dallas,” she explained.

A marijuana arrest can lead to eviction from public housing. It can lead to a loss of employment, or foreclosure from certain kinds of employment. It can produce child welfare consequences. So, if you imagine – one marijuana arrest and suddenly you are homeless, you’re out of school, you’re out of a job. You may have lost contact with your children. That’s going to increase, rather than decrease, the likelihood that you’ll be forced to engage in criminal conduct to survive, even if it’s just sleeping on a park bench outdoors.

Ritchie used her research on women to show how police response to violence can be counterproductive. She found that, particularly in the case of Black women, queer, and trans persons, an alarming number of instances of fatal physical and sexual violence occur in response to a call for help, citing two examples. In 2015, Michelle Cusseaux, a Black woman was killed at close range by a Phoenix police officer, after her mother called for help to take her to a mental health facility; the officer who killed Ms. Cusseaux was demoted, but not charged with any crime. This year Tony McDade, a Black transgender man, suffered a vicious transphobic attack by a group of men on May 26. McDade was obviously in psychological turmoil the next day when he was killed in a disputed, controversial police shooting by a Tallahassee officer.

“Our current responses,” Ritchie said, “are leaving behind about half of domestic violence survivors and two-thirds of sexual assault survivors [the proportion who never call police]. We’re actually leaving behind most of the people we are investing in this system to protect.”

In the [report](#) cited above, the crisis of criminalization is described as the result of policy and politics, of official decisions and routine practices in law enforcement that can and should be challenged. “What cities across the country are engaged in in this moment is not just a budgeting exercise,” Ritchie said. “What we are doing actually right now is re-evaluating our investment in policing, as our response to the things I’ve just described, as the *primary* response in most communities.”

Transformative Justice: Lone Star Justice Alliance, Second Chance Community Improvement Program, Dallas, Texas

Yulise Reaves Waters and Elizabeth Henneke addressed the Working Group about the Second Chance Community Improvement Program (SCCIP) in Dallas County, their alternative-to-incarceration program that seeks to divert young adults, arrested on non-violent charges, from jail and a typical course through the criminal justice system. (The program also operates in Williams County as the Rehabilitative Interventions and Supports for Emerging Adults Program.)



SCCIP rejects the “punitive model of justice” as not suitable for young adults (age 17-24) in favor of a “transformative justice” model, which takes a community health approach to address “the multitude of unmet needs and underlying factors that drive young adults’ involvement with the justice system.” The social determinants of health include the social and political conditions in which a person lives – for example, wealth and poverty, employment and joblessness, high or low income, high or low educational levels, access to healthy food or not, clean or polluted environment, safe or unsafe neighborhoods. SCCIP understands that these social determinants are also “criminogenic risk factors.” When the social determinants of individual and social health are highly negative, they have a high association with criminally-defined behavior.

SCCIP places the young participant at the center of an array of services, with a clinical case manager and peer support, as shown in the figure below (adapted from SCCIP presentation.)



Ms. Waters explained to the Working Group:

I like to call it wraparound services on steroids. It's not just the simple let's get you a job, let's get you an education, but it really is diving into the underlying needs of that individual, but not just the individual, also the family, also the community. . . We really take a focused approach into how it is that the conditions, the environmental factors surrounding the individual, came into play in that person's decision-making. We realized how intricately involved the social determinants of health are connected to the behaviors of our folks in our communities . . . We recognized that it was essential for us to address public health needs in order for us to impact the behaviors of our participants.

When a participant completes the SCCIP program, the original charges are dropped and the arrest record is expunged.

Started in 2014, SCCIP is now the subject of a randomized controlled trial (RCT), the gold standard for scientific research.

“We took the SCCIP model,” Ms. Henneke said, “the things that focused on community, and getting people into community, relying on their own strengths . . .

“Lone Star Justice Alliance brought two components to the program. One is a procedural component – how do we bring people into the program? People come into programs by application, or by some form of nomination. Our hypothesis was that everybody could do well if given an opportunity. Too often we were screening out those who would most benefit from the program, based upon either racial bias or our own systemic challenges in the system. What we did was to work on the procedure to make sure we could actually randomly assign folks into the program. For the first time ever, there is random assignment from the jail into a community-based alternative to incarceration.”



Henneke stressed the wellness aspect of the effort: “From inception we had a public health focus. We thought it wasn’t enough to just measure recidivism, we also wanted to measure public health.” She also emphasized that the credibility of the research used to evaluate the program “is important to planning for a *systemic change* and not just an isolated program. Because if the program works, we will know that it is scalable to the entire community.”

The program’s *transformative justice model* is being evaluated by Harvard’s Access to Justice Lab, Texas A&M Public Policy Institute, and UT Health Science Center at Houston (UTHealth) School of Public Health. This is the first RCT to look at a pre-trial alternative-to-incarceration program, in order to measure recidivism, wellness, and cost-effectiveness conducted in the United States.

**National Cure Violence / Justice Action Fund / Community Justice Reform Coalition:
Chicago, New York, Atlanta**

Chico Tillmon described his work in community-based violence interruption with National Cure Violence, Justice Action Fund, and Community Justice Reform Coalition.

While health disparities among racial/ethnic groups remain significant over the past 35 years, as shown dramatically during the current pandemic, there has been some progress. Disparities have been reduced in some health areas, such as cancer and diabetes – with one major exception. In 1985, the largest health disparity between Black and white Americans was the homicide rate; the homicide rate for the Black population was 400 percent higher than for the White population. When the Department of Health and Human Services examined health disparities next examined health disparities in 2013, the homicide disparity has risen to 470 percent between Black and white Americans. (For figures, concise evaluation, and discussion of Cure Violence: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK540802/>.)



Cure Violence was founded in 1999. The program attempted to replicate the World Health Organization's three-part approach to epidemic control in the context of violence prevention. WHO's approach to an outbreak of infectious disease involves interrupting transmission, treating those at highest risk to change behaviors to prevent contracting the disease, and changing community-wide behavior norms.

Mr. Tillmon explained to the Working Group how the public health approach works in violence interruption:

The Cure Violence approach is generic in form, broken into three prongs, which would be, first, *to detect and interrupt violence*. The second would be *working with the highest risk individuals* to change their behavior. And the third thing – the deepest desire of the model – is *to change the community normative behavior*, which would be to change the way the community looks at confrontations, and the way they resolve conflicts.

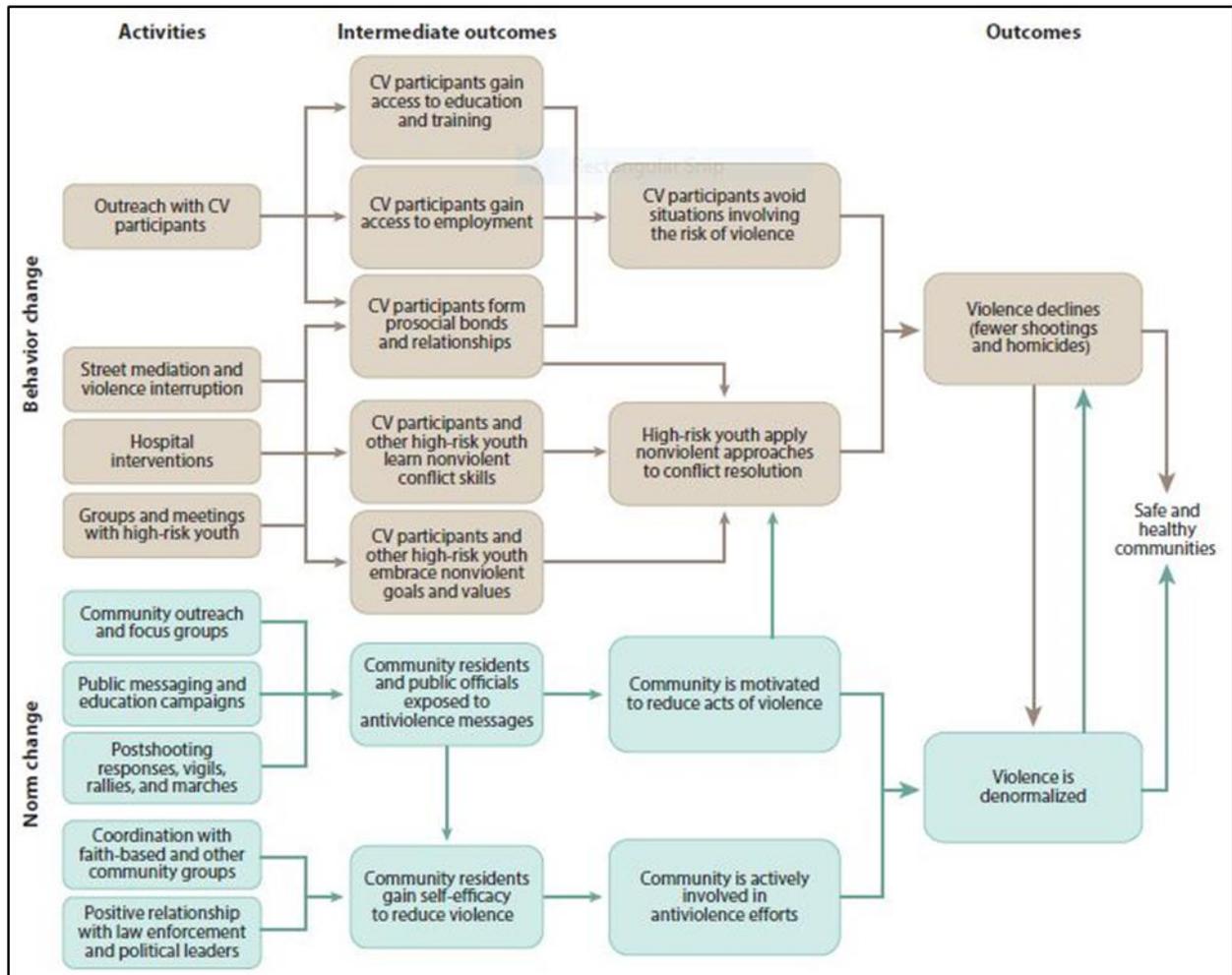
What has emerged out of the Cure Violence model are two other ways . . . CBT, Cognitive Behavior Therapy, which would focus on shifting the narrative or thought processes of individuals so that they take some of the knowledge they have and use it in a positive way, as opposed to using that same skill set in maladaptive behavior. And the other, which I love, is Ecological Systems Theory, which utilizes the public health approach, but it connects to different agencies throughout the city, so that those resources are connected to the organization trying to prevent violence.

Now when we think about violence prevention . . . that has three definitions: Primary prevention is stopping violence before it happens. When there is some type of disagreement, it's stopping it before any violence occurs. Secondary prevention would be – it's really *intervention* – stopping violence that's already occurred. Tertiary prevention would be addressing the long-term effects of violence.

Now when we look at communities throughout the United States, and particularly in Dallas, we have one problem in common – violence is an expression of other socio-economic factors. Typically, where violence is high volume, you have poverty, you have high crime, you have disinvestment in schools – so there are different *layers* of why violence is prevalent and persists in those communities.

Cure Violence not only addresses the situation of altercation, but also has a case management system that connects to different resources to try to get to the root causes of why violence is occurring in a particular community.

Cure Violence theory of change and evaluation framework:



Source:

Jeffrey A. Butts *et al.*, [Cure Violence: A Public Health Model to Reduce Gun Violence](#), Annual Review of Public Health, 2015, Vol. 36:39-53.

Cure Violence Results

When the Cure Violence model was first implemented in Chicago, it resulted in a 67 percent reduction in shootings. The program expanded and was then replicated in Baltimore, where it also resulted in large reductions in shootings and killings. Since then, the Cure Violence program has been implemented in more than 100 communities across the United States and 20 additional communities around the globe.



Photo: WBEZ Chicago

According to independent evaluations, Cure Violence has resulted in reductions as high as a 73 percent drop in shootings in communities in Chicago, 43 percent in communities in Baltimore, and 63 percent in communities in New York. Perhaps the most striking results have been in the city's Queensbridge Houses, the largest public housing development in the country comprising 96 buildings spread across 6 blocks, where there have been no shootings or homicides for more than 1,000 days. (Source: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK540802/>.)

Tillmon updated that figure of days, as of 2018, without a homicide:

A good example would be in New York. The reason I love to utilize Life Camp in New York is because they went four years without a homicide in Queens where the violence prevention, the organization is set, Life Camp, *they went four years without a homicide*. Since the installation of Life Camp, they've had a 67% decline in homicides and shootings from the time it started 17 years ago to now.

Much of the success of Cure Violence is due to working with *credible messengers* – people from the community who have the respect of, who can gain the trust of, and who have access to those individuals at highest risk for violent behavior. The program hires these individuals and trains them to support others in the community at high risk of involvement in violence. In Tillmon's words:

Let me say this first. I'm formerly incarcerated, and I've been involved in – in maladaptive behavior. The way you [win credibility or 'buy-in'] is by hiring individuals *in* the community that *know* the community. It doesn't have to be an individual that was involved in crime, it could be a coach . . . A person that's well respected in the community has the relationships already established. That's why when you are doing the hiring process, you hire from *within* the community because they know the ins and outs *of* the community – and the individuals who are involved in some kind of violent behavior.

We have to be cognizant that the people that are committing violent behavior are not coming from *outside* the community. The people in the *inside the community have a relationship with them*. They just haven't been trained how to have the right conversations with them to deter them . . . so they can change the trajectory of their life.

Angela Andrade, Dallas, Texas: “To this day I still won’t call the cops.”

The Working Group heard personal testimony from Angela Andrade, an immigrant whose parents brought her to the United States as a child. Active in North Texas Dream Team, Ms. Andrade is a participant in the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. Excerpts from her testimony are below:

I became a community organizer because of all of the experiences I had growing up. The first thing I want to say is that my life was directly impacted by mass incarceration and mass deportation.

My mother was incarcerated, and my father was deported. One of the very first conversations I remember having as a child was “the talk” – right? Learning at a very young age to *not* call the cops, to steer away from the police, because that would mean that our family would be separated. It was very confusing to me to go into public school – when you’re learning that “the cops are there to protect” – you see cops in school . . .



All I ever saw police do was harass and, you know, beat my community, my family, my friends.

When I was 10 years old, was the first time I experienced racism from a police officer. He called my siblings and me “spics.” And I didn’t realize that it was a racial slur until I was older. But I knew what he was saying was wrong, just very hateful.

Moving forward, two years. I was 12 years old, and I’m walking home from school. I was walking with a friend, and a cop came rushing towards us in his cop car. And he said, “There was two Mexican kids that stole fruit from Jerry’s Supermarket.” We’re, like, we didn’t steal any fruit, we’re getting off of school. He continued asking questions. He searched us – keep in mind he was a male officer – I’m visibly female – and, again, it was nothing out of the ordinary. I was just hoping that I wouldn’t be killed. That’s literally what was crossing my head, that and a couple of my friends saying don’t say anything, don’t talk back, just say yessir yessir, no matter what he was calling you. He was still trying to force us, to get us to admit to stealing fruit . . . It was hot outside, we were sweating. And then he started to beat us with the baton that they use, hitting us. Somebody came around the corner, and he let us go . . . I remember not telling my parents because I was thinking, *it’s just my turn. That’s it. It was my turn to get beat.*

It didn’t get any better once my parents were separated from us. I was 16, the oldest of six, so I had to take on the responsibility of raising my younger siblings. One of the things I truly feared

was getting stopped by a cop, getting a curfew ticket that I couldn't pay, getting a warrant, and then ending up in the system, and losing custody – like, I didn't even have [official] custody – but losing my siblings and getting separated again. My parents were gone.

I did have to steal food to feed my siblings – and *that was the fear*, of getting caught and going to jail – but we had to eat.

I will never, ever forget the first time I went to a friend's home in another neighborhood. It was a predominantly white neighborhood, and I was so in shock there was no police. I was so in shock that I would walk to the gas station with her, *and there was no police!* I remember telling her, like, where are all the cops? You mean you can just walk freely and not get questioned? I was so completely, ultimately confused about how that was even so. How? And why didn't I have that? Why didn't my brothers have that? Why didn't my neighbors have that? I really started looking at it – well, my neighbors are Black and Brown, my neighborhood is Black and Brown. Her neighborhood was middle-class, predominantly white – that was the difference.

When I really look at everything in my life, it really pushed me to be a community organizer today because – who was helping me? It wasn't the police, it wasn't the government, it wasn't, you know, other adults caring or what have you. It was my neighbors who were also poor. You know, if my electricity went out, here they come with the extension cord, "Okay, you can use mine until – we'll figure this out."

Brittany White, Dallas, Texas: "It just strips you of all your dignity."

Brittany White is the LIVE FREE Decarceration Manager for Faith in Action. She spoke to the Working Group of her personal experience as a formerly incarcerated person and the barriers she faced on reentry to the community. Excerpts from her testimony follow:

It is privilege that I can reveal myself publicly as a formerly incarcerated person because most of the people I share this lived experience with have to hide behind the fold. The current systems as they exist do not allow them to live into the fullness of their identity and their experience in order to get their day to day needs met. I want to explicitly stand with all formerly incarcerated people and name that to be true.

Even before I became incarcerated, I had been the victim of a crime. I lived in urban communities the majority of my life . . . I came home from work, and I found a blade in my door, as if someone was trying to break in. I tried to use the policing system at the time – I was in my early 20s, not informed about other options. I was told that they [the police] could not do anything till my home was actually broken into. And then I could fill out a report. Well, sure enough – I was living at the projects at the time – my door got kicked in. I came home one day, and the majority of my stuff was gone. I didn't fill out – I did not fill out a criminal report because I just had lost all faith in the integrity of the system.

Not just myself, but working with formerly incarcerated people, I consistently hear a theme of shame and trauma in our background.

I moved to Dallas in 1997. My father's job relocated down here. A year later my father woke up and had a seizure. We discovered he had a brain tumor, and he went on permanent disability. My dad went from making six figures a year to being on a fixed income, and my mom had to get out here and get a job to take care of her children – *and* be a fulltime caretaker for my dad.

So, I have myself been a product of the failed health systems and know how difficult it is to get the support you need to function when you care for a loved one on a 24-hour basis. When I got out of prison in 2014, I came back to Dallas County because I had parents that were willing to help take me in to get back on my feet. And before I could go off and get a job after five years of being dependent on other people [while incarcerated] – I was anxious to get out here and get independent – but my father actually needed me to reallocate his health care services before I could even be free to go work. That’s the way I needed to support my family structure at that time.

When I was able to work, as soon as I moved to Dallas, I had to pay probation \$72 every single month. That was the typical fee, plus you get an additional fee for having your probation moved from out of state. One way they criminalize you is they add all the additional fees predicated on your freedom.



In my effort to get employment, I lied on my job applications about having a felony because my previous searches for employment had been a failure.

I would go talk to my probation officer every month, and ask her where can I get healthcare – I needed to have my teeth treated desperately – in the State of Alabama, they don’t have a great dentist in the prison, at least the women’s prison. The only thing she could tell me is that I needed to be able to supply a clean drug test and my money every single month if I wanted to remain free.

The systems that wrapped themselves around me came from the faith community – shout out to my church, Concord Church, that provided a number of different resources for me. But the different systems that exist at the Dallas County level are very frustrating because *it strips you of all your dignity*. And being formerly incarcerated, you don’t get a lot of services. And in exchange for not being able to have your needs met on a day to day basis – you get poverty. And then you know what we do in response to that, Dallas County? *We criminalize being poor*. So, when people don’t have a home to go to, and they hang out at Burger King, and make everybody feel creeped out, it’s called criminal trespassing. And then we incarcerate people, instead of being able to meet their needs.

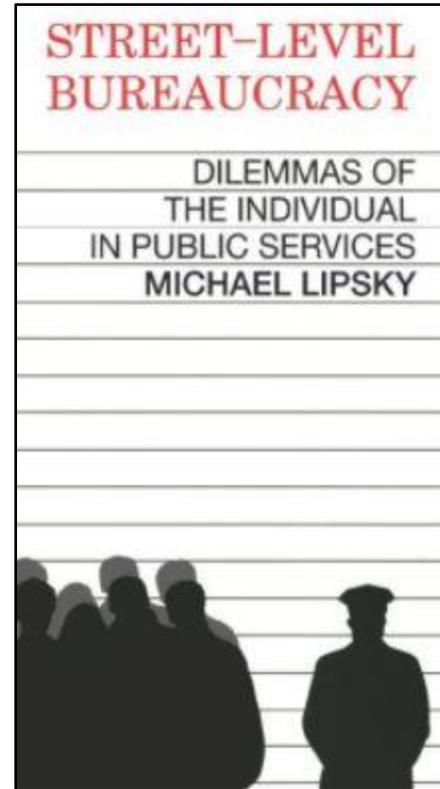
I don’t enjoy sharing my story, but I do want to be transparent for the people I care about so much. Before I close, I want to share one thing from Michael Lipski, from his book *Street Level Bureaucracy*. It talks about “service rationing.”

[Reading]

Service rationing refers to the process that workers go through to bridge the everyday divide between the ideal of how they *would* work, if they were free to function to the best of their ability, and the reality of how they *can* work given the numerous obstacles in their way. An effect of service rationing is the continual defining and refining of one’s job. If it’s not quite the work you had originally hoped to do, you mentally redefine it in some way that allows you to reconcile that growing contradiction.

In closing, street level bureaucrats are the workers who interact with people in ways that significantly affect the clients' lives, who have broad decision-making power with respect to these interactions, and who lack sufficient resources to do their jobs the best they can. Furthermore, they are in position where it's hard to hold them accountable because of the wide discretion they have in their jobs. These are the people who are promoting and protecting the current failing systems as they exist.

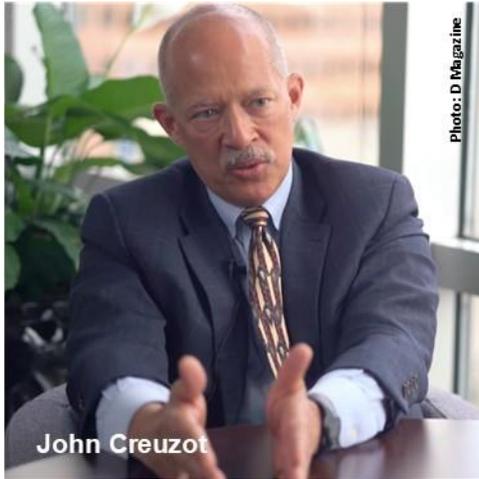
As we criminalize being poor, and refuse to give real resources and considerate thought to those who are returning from being incarcerated, we are promoting a state that lacks wellbeing and dignity for everybody. If we are truly to be the children of the Most High, if we are truly to care and create equity for all, then a budget is a moral document, and that moral document shows the priorities of those who make the decisions behind it. If the majority of our investment goes into criminalizing poor people and locking them up, then that lets me know our priority is not the dignity and wellbeing of all.



When asked what were the three things that she needed most upon her release from prison, Ms. White said:

One, it would have definitely been mental health services. I was very emotionally calloused – you have to turn off your emotions to be able to do so much time. I needed a physical wellbeing check. Then, two, I needed a job, right? I needed a job that could understand that there was an on ramp of learning that I needed. Because I had been incarcerated for five years, there was a technology advancement that I needed to get scaled up on . . . Three, I just needed to be supported as I re-socialized back into society. There is just such a completely different way of being when you're incarcerated than when coming into the free world. I had to process everything differently. I had to interact with my family differently, and I needed my support system, as well as society, to understand that there is an adjustment curve that I didn't want to be policed under.

District Attorney John Creuzot: Dallas Deflects



Dallas County District Attorney John Creuzot presented an initiative, still in development, which would provide an alternative to arrest for homeless and mentally ill people – a “deflection center” at Homeward Bound, with medical services provided by Parkland Hospital. A similar program is already operative in Houston.

“I think from a moral perspective,” Mr. Creuzot told the Working Group, “putting mentally ill and homeless people in jail and expecting some kind of positive outcome for that person, or the community, is insanity.”

Creuzot provided statistics on two long-term unhoused people to illustrate the need for a new approach. Data from the Dallas County Adult Information System tells the first case, shown below.

One Man’s Story	
Total Number of Arrests (Dallas Co. since 1999)	63
Number of Criminal Trespass Charges	46
Number of Days on Behavioral Observation	1,214
Total Number of Days Sentenced For Criminal Trespass	1,500

Creuzot explained:

What we have is officers in the City of Dallas who will arrest people for criminal trespass, who are homeless and mentally ill, and they will be taken to jail. It takes about four hours to book someone into jail.

He’s got 46 criminal trespass cases. He’s in the most expensive part of the jail – 1,214 days there [in “Behavioral Observation”]. And his total number of days sentenced for criminal trespass is 1,500 – and nothing changed in his life. He will be back.

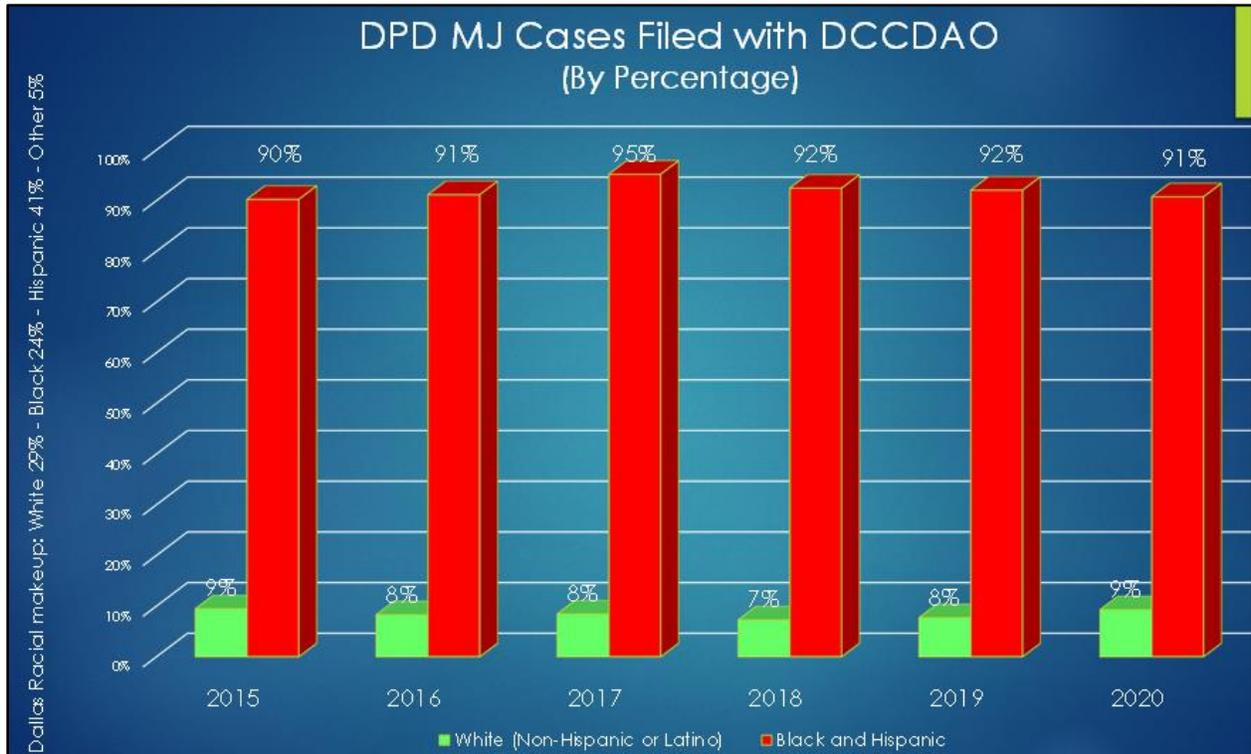
The chart below shows the odyssey of a woman, 1996 to the present, through the criminal justice system in Dallas County. *Over a 24-year period, she was sentenced to 5 full years in jail.*

One Woman's Story

Total Number of Arrests (Dallas Co. since 1996)	57
Number of Criminal Trespass Charges	41
Number of Days on Behavioral Observation	715
Total Number of Days Sentenced For Criminal Trespass	1,831

Creuzot recited the figures, “She has 57 arrests, 41 for criminal trespass. She’s spent 715 days on behavioral observation. And, once again, we go back to the total number of days sentenced for criminal trespass – 1,831 days.”

The District Attorney also testified about how arrests for minor crimes, such as marijuana possession, have a disparate impact on Black and Brown residents, as shown in the chart below:



Note: 2020 figures are for Jan-June. Graph courtesy of District Attorney’s office.

“One of the issues in my administration,” Creuzot said, “has been the disparity in marijuana arrests across the county . . . I think we are having a rethinking of that throughout our

communities . . . If we talk about the points intersection with the police and people of color, if you have left out marijuana, you have left out a huge number of points of intersection there . . . The data certainly suggests two policing systems – one for people of color, and one for everyone else.”

Proposals from City and County Officials

At the Working Group meetings on July 29 and August 5, the participating city and county officials described proposals, subject to the approval of their respective governing bodies, for the 2020-21 budget year. The Working Group has planned a progress check-in meeting in January.

Darryl Martin, Dallas County:

Assistance to District Attorney to complete “deflection” center
Grant program for cities to development alternative response to mental health crisis calls
Eviction prevention program
Research and evaluation initiative for new programs

John Creuzot, Dallas County District Attorney:

Completion of “deflection” center build-out; approximately \$1.2 million.
Add case managers from North Texas Behavioral Health Authority to office of the DA and of the Dallas County Public Defender
Increase use of cite and release for marijuana possession.

T.C. Broadnax, City of Dallas:

Expansion of behavioral health response / additional teams for Right Care program
Advancement of a different model for crisis response / non-law enforcement
Re-Entry program, using state funds with local funds for expansion; adding a pre-release component to re-entry assistance
Items from the Mayor’s Task Force on Safe Communities
Environmental initiatives, water/sewer for areas with septic tanks, increased lighting
(Note: If all potential projects are enacted, according to Mr. Broadnax, the total commitment is \$31 million – about 6% of the 2020 police budget.)

Chris Hillman, City of Irving:

Addition of one clinician to mental health response team
Addition of one social worker to domestic violence crisis response team
Homeless teens center / new attempt to create this after zoning dispute ended previous attempt

Cliff Keheley, City of Mesquite:

Increase mental health funding
Work with county and neighbor cities to create a mental health response unit in the manner of CAHOOTS program
Add services for homeless youth, e.g., more widely available wi-fi access
Identify policies to keep rents at their currently lower rates relative to Dallas

Brandon Wright, City of DeSoto:

Establish mental health response unit, housed in the library, with police lieutenant taking the lead role; \$250,000 allocated for this function, partly via grant from Parkland Hospital

Opal Mauldin-Jones, City of Lancaster:

Changed language on police complaint forms, removing intimidating language that may discourage residents from making a complaint
Conduct “deeper-dive review of our policies” – unconscious bias training; de-escalation training, victim assistance program possibly in regional collaboration
No additional officers to be hired in the coming year

Susan Cluse, City of Balch Springs:

Implicit bias training for all city staff
Increase efforts to diversify police force to reflect community demographics

Reflections from Members of the Working Group

Each member of the Working Group was invited to reflect and comment on the events of 2020, the witnesses’ testimony, the potential for changing policing and budget priorities, and/or their experience as part of the group.

When asked by County Judge Clay Jenkins to moderate this working group, I must admit I was unaware of how much of an impact these six sessions would have on me, both on a professional, but more importantly on a personal level. It was an honor to work alongside the dedicated City Managers from Balch Springs, Irving, Lancaster, Mesquite, DeSoto and Dallas in addition to the Honorable District Attorney. It was equally an honor to work with a variety of community activists who represented a wide spectrum of directly impacted constituent groups from the formerly incarcerated, clergy, victims of police assaults, and other concerned citizens.

Throughout the sessions, we were exposed to many innovative and creative alternatives to policing that remove uniformed officers from responses to specific social, behavioral, and poverty-related police calls. Proper response efforts will undoubtedly lessen the possibility of adverse community interaction with the police that has resulted in too many unnecessary deadly outcomes. As a certified Peace Officer in the State of Texas and the County Administrator of the second largest County in the State, I have a renewed sense of hope of what can be accomplished when the right, dedicated people come together to make and demand change.

Darryl Martin, County Administrator, Dallas County

The United States is in the midst of a reckoning. The “Working Group” came together and positioned Dallas County leadership to discern the zeitgeist and open the door to a new era of public safety. The zeitgeist has exposed a pandemic of injustice that contradicts who we claim to be as Americans. The policing system is rooted in an ugly history of policing some while protecting others.

Consequently, Black and Brown bodies are over-policed and public safety has decreased as hearts have been broken and lives have been senselessly and tragically slain. George Floyd may have arrested our attention, but the crime scene isn’t limited to Minnesota. Dallas County has blood on her hands. The testimony of some of our witnesses confirmed this ugly reality.

The theme of our convening challenged us to summon the moral courage to reimagine what public safety should look like. Eye witness testimony and expert witnesses have put the spotlight of our attention on the problems while inspiring us to reimagine public safety by defunding the police and investing in deprived communities. *10 New Directions* will usher in a new day of possibilities and safety for all.

Rev. Dr. Frederick Douglass Haynes III, Friendship West Baptist Church

The task force was the beginning of a conversation for members of the community, clergy, and cities about public safety beyond enforcement. We will continue seeking to develop collaborative partnerships for the provision of the critical technological and social infrastructure needed for responding to the mental health, and violence intervention components of public safety. As a region, we must continue to review our police policies and procedures to ensure that we have more accountability and not unintentional racial, social or economic disparities.

The powerful testimony of individuals directly impacted by a public safety system that is “enforcement” focused highlights the importance of identifying opportunities to seek and implement innovative, measurable, and fiscally sustainable services and programs.

Opal Mauldin-Jones, City Manager, Lancaster

The working group allowed us to create a space in which community members’ stories were elevated into the ears of those in power. To have borne witness to these personal narratives gave critical insight that should spur the way in which policy is created. I trust that each official in attendance will hear those stories the next time they draft or implement policies in their respective communities.

María Yolisma García, North Texas Dream Team

57 years ago, in his most famous address, Martin Luther King, Jr. made two proclamations that still ring true. King said, “We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.” King also said, “We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.”

The “fierce urgency of now” drew us to the work of the Working Group on New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change in Dallas County. In our work, we heard gripping testimonies from impacted persons and essential presentations from experts in reform. I am grateful for all the efforts that made our gatherings possible.

Still, the true test of these efforts lies before us. The system is not broken. It is working as designed. What has been broken are bodies in the streets and communities historically brutalized, terrorized, and disenfranchised. Now is the time to reimagine public safety by acknowledging the limits of policing and redirecting resources where most needed.

Rev. Dr. Michael Waters, Abundant Life AME Church

Any time a group can come together and openly discuss issues and the personal feelings behind them is beneficial for policy development. I personally gained a new perspective on many of the issues discussed which allows me to guide potential changes in our community. The working group found many excellent examples from around the country to serve as models for cities to follow. It is important to note that several Dallas County cities have implemented innovative programs that can serve as models for others.

The size and scope of issues will require a multi-year strategy to implement and will strongly rely on resources from the county and non-profits to be effective. Any effort taken to address these issues must occur county wide and not fall on any one entity to maintain. Partnerships will be the key for any new directions the cities and county take, and I look forward to continued discussions and efforts.

I want to express my appreciation to Dallas County and the members of the community for their time and effort in this process.

Cliff Keheley, City Manager, City of Mesquite

The work that has taken place has proven to be needed, extremely wanted, and full of very real possibilities in the near future. Having the duty and privilege to listen to Dallas residents' personal testimonies not only pointed out deficiencies in resources, that should embrace and assist them, but to so many positive and healthy options that could be implemented. These positive changes can not only change the lives of individuals and their posterity, but entire communities that have only been viewed as burdens and not as populations deserving of a chance to heal and thrive. This working group has collectively held a mirror to the face of Dallas and worked tirelessly to confront a history of inequity and supremacy in the hopes that future generations will not have to do the same. This work is a reflection of the times we are living in and what we are enduring daily. What was birthed from these conversations is a testament to what the people deserve.

Jodi Voice Yellowfish, Chair, MMIW Texas

One of the most significant learning opportunities for me was to see how different cities are effectively addressing mental health needs outside of the traditional police department model. DeSoto is using these examples to create our own mental health response unit and to potentially expand that to a regional model. I appreciate the opportunity to take a hard look at changing some of the outcomes produced by current policing models and to imagine how we can take part in causing that change.

Brandon Wright, City Manager, City of DeSoto

The basis of all organizing is relationships and negotiating collective interest. Through a formerly incarcerated lens my goal was to educate decision makers on how poverty is criminalized, and emphasize the lack of community safety nets for returning citizens. It is beyond urgent that we put the bulk of resources into the socioeconomic determinants of wellbeing. I do not cut open my story and bleed publicly for pennies on the dollar. If these passed budgets from these municipalities do not significantly divest from policing, I am offended – and every person who has had to decide between paying their bills and feeding their families should be insulted as well. Defund the police.

Brittany White, Faith In Action

I was honored to be able to participate in the Working Group on New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change. Throughout the course of our meetings, we listened to poignant testimony and delved into difficult topics. I was moved by the willingness of our leaders and community members to come together to effect change as we continue to champion for transformation in our criminal justice system. Through listening and taking action, it is my sincere hope that we will effect change quickly beginning at the local level. I believe there is great potential for our actions to be viewed as an example that will spark transformative conversations (and hopefully actions) across the state.

John Creuzot, Dallas County District Attorney

The COVID -19 pandemic had the power to shut down cities across the globe but did not have the power to stop the unrelenting violence of policing in America. The murders of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and Tony McDade drove people to the streets to rise up against all the ways policing has harmed and failed to protect Black people. Policing is not a synonym for safety. We are in a moment of crisis, and it requires us to transform the ways we operate. The testimonies we heard over the last six weeks from practitioners, scholars, and directly impacted people made it clear that we will not achieve genuine safety until we divest from policing, criminalization, and incarceration and invest in our communities and models of collective care. The police can't and aren't solving all of the problems our communities are facing. Since 1977, in Dallas County, \$16.2 billion has been spent on policing and incarceration. Compare that to the \$2.27 billion that was spent on public health, and \$1.46 billion spent on public libraries. Public safety looks like expanded access to public transportation, living wages, quality affordable housing, art and culture, access to mental health services, and non-police crisis intervention models like the ones we heard about. This is not the moment for incremental steps and small tweaks to the system. As James Baldwin said in *The Price of the Ticket*, "It's taken my father's time, my mother's time, my uncle's time, my brothers' and my sisters' time, my nieces and my nephew's time. How much time do you want for your progress?"

Sara Mokuria, Mothers Against Police Brutality

I was heartened by the experience of being a member of this working group. Far too often, there's a penchant for seeking out the opinions of consultants who are not working directly in the communities that they're claiming to be experts on, and I think this is a disservice to how we spend our city and county budget money, and most importantly, to our communities that are neither rigid, nor monoliths. It is crucial to the success and health of Dallas residents that we keep the focus on reducing harm and meeting people's needs and being realistic about what collective work it will take to do so. I hope the city managers who participated took away a vital understanding of how systems can and do impact their residents and why we cannot rely on individual solutions to systemic problems. I challenge everyone who took part in this work to embrace the curiosity and courage it will require to address the needs in our cities in a radical and lasting manner that I know all of us deserve. Together, we can and will make our cities better places to live, work, and play in.

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Kristian Hernandez, Our City Our Future

My experience and participation as part of the Working Group was extremely insightful and sharpened my sense and understanding of alternate service delivery models. The dialogue and personal testimony of people impacted by "the systems" was very impactful and helped frame several new approaches the City may seek to advance, in the spirit of equity and empowerment of the community.

T.C. Broadnax, City Manager, City of Dallas

My intention for helping assemble this group was to explore what productive dialogue could do to bring about transformative change. What I saw in each directly impacted witness's testimony was pain and despair and in some of the alternative models to law enforcement possibility and proof. The story of Veronica Hall particularly moved me because it represented how law enforcement involvement when summoned to help a loved one in need can quickly escalate to terror and regret. When communities feel apprehension around law enforcement and no longer feel like they have anyone to call even in deeply traumatic circumstances, we tell them that their pain is irrelevant. The CAHOOTS presentation was particularly inspiring to me because it shows that it is possible to have a response team to a mental health situation that exists outside of law enforcement. It is a proven model that is not only lighter on the budget, but responsive to the unique requirements of mental health episodes. Our budgets should represent a willingness to ultimately invest in communities in order to lessen the collective trauma of racialized poverty, not punish them with the same system that created those very same disparities.

Imam Dr. Omar Suleiman, Yaqeen Institute

The meetings were very informative and beneficial to me as a City Manager and to the City of Balch Springs. Some may not be aware, but the City of Balch Springs Public Safety Department is not under the control of City Manager based on the requirements of our Charter. Public Safety is directly under the control of City Council.

Police Chief Haber and I have worked closely in the past, but this has given me a greater understanding of what is needed in the Police Department as far as reallocation of funds being directed more towards: 1) training and education towards bias and sensitivity issues; 2) mental health; 3) community issues and police engagement; 4) hiring practices; 5) the judicial system; 6) where the tax dollars would most benefit the community as a whole.

It was also beneficial to have other City Managers share some information regarding their budget constraints and how they plan to move forward with some of the current economic challenges due to COVID-19.

TC Broadnax, has already shared City of Dallas Annual Budget and I'm grateful for that, for the willingness of City Managers to reach out to others and share information. My sister cities, Mesquite and Lancaster, have always made themselves available but the meetings have opened up a window for local contacts.

This is only the beginning of something powerful and beneficial to this entire region, and I hope the dialogue will continue. I look forward to where this movement will take us as leaders of our cities. It would be great to get feedback/update later on.

Susan Cluse, City Manager, City of Balch Springs

The information and personal testimonies presented to the Working Group were informative and inspiring. The discussion between the community members, faith leaders, and city leaders shows that all can come to the table to listen, understand and then act in important changes. The City of Irving will continue to enhance and expand its current community services and focus on additional services that will benefit our community.

Chris Hillman, City Manager, City of Irving

It's important that more and more Dallas residents are given the opportunity to name what keeps them safe and what is needed financially in our city and county budgets to make that a reality beyond this working group and this moment. This working group exposed the many inequities everyday residents are facing in cities across Dallas County. Working families and many vulnerable communities cannot wait another fiscal year for our public officials to get this right. I am hopeful through the many public testimonies that this year's budget, from the 6 city managers that participated in this working group, honor the lives of the hundreds of thousands of Dallas County residents with untold stories of inequities, abuse, and neglect due to a divestment from necessary city services that keep communities safe and thriving.

Mercedes Fulbright, In Defense of Black Lives

Imagination: The ability to dream, be creative, think new ideas, new things. Dreaming, Robert Kennedy challenged us, “Some men see things as they are, and ask why. I dream of things that never were, and ask why not.”

In a cultural ambience that portrays black men as thugs, and our Hispanic brothers as drug-dealers, I often find myself imagining an authentic cultural-milieu where Black and Brown people are not stripped of their individuality. Yes, we have seen too often that when lives are robbed of this intrinsic value-assessment, the results are the premature death of our Black and Brown family members.

When the community came together because of the death of another African American person from an encounter with a police officer, I began musing over a day where the dynamics of the interaction between law enforcement and minority communities can change.

Our discussions gave a platform for poignant individual stories, examples of work by tireless foot soldiers – long in battles, nonetheless optimistic about possibilities, the voices of many yearning for change converged during the six weekly meetings where we imagined a new paradigm where police officers are not the first line of contact with suffering community members.

We Imagined!

Gordon Hikel, Assistant County Administrator, Dallas County

When we drafted the *10 New Directions* statement, we had uppermost in mind the crisis in policing, illustrated by the killing on May 25 of George Floyd in Minneapolis and by other fatal police shootings closer to home – Clinton Allen, Botham Jean, Jason Harrison, Jordan Edwards, Genevive Dawes, among many others.

If you had interviewed the police chief of Minneapolis on May 24, he would have likely spoken of community policing, anti-bias training, de-escalation strategies, and positive events of the “have coffee with a cop” variety, never realizing the deep crisis of racism and brutality in his department that would explode the next day. There is a Derek Chauvin on every police force in this country, waiting to tear the social contract into shreds and leave it bleeding in the street like Michael Brown face down in his own blood on Canfield Drive, unprotected, in Ferguson six long years ago.

This is the time, and this is the crisis of the time. We *can* change policing in Dallas, in America – but will we?

John Fullinwider, Mothers Against Police Brutality

Notes & Sources

Special thanks to Dallas County Judge Clay Jenkins.

This report was prepared for the Working Group by John Fullinwider and Gordon Hikel.

Unless otherwise noted, all quotations and information in the text are taken from the testimony of witnesses at meetings of the Working Group. The views, information, or opinions expressed during the public meetings of the Working Group are solely those of the individuals involved and do not necessarily represent the views of all the participants or the entities represented during the meetings.

Page 1:

Photo of The Umbrella Project. Names on the umbrellas are those of people killed by Dallas police, with two exceptions. Mulaysia Booker, a Black transgender woman, was murdered in Dallas on May 17, 2019; Tony McDade, a Black transgender man, was killed by Tallassee police on May 27, 2020. For more on the Umbrella Project, link:

<https://artandseek.org/2020/06/05/what-the-yellow-umbrellas-represent-at-dallas-protest/>

The Washington Post database of fatal police shootings is here:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>

If one downloads the data and, in a spreadsheet, lists the 2020 fatal shootings in chronological order, Breonna Taylor's name is the 199th name listed.

“But few protests followed” : <https://www.courier-journal.com/story/news/crime/2020/05/12/mother-breonna-taylor-louisville-emt-shot-police-speaks-out/3116777001/>

Published May 12, 2020 in the Louisville Courier-Journal:

“But unlike the high-profile deaths of black men and boys shot and killed by police — such as 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Ohio, Philando Castile in Minnesota or Walter Scott in South Carolina — Taylor's death hasn't prompted wall-to-wall news coverage or massive protests.”

The Fatal Encounters database lists deaths in custody from any cause: shootings, chokings, beatings, etc., which is why the numbers are greater in this listing. Link here: <https://fatalencounters.org/>

Download their spreadsheet here: <https://fatalencounters.org/spreadsheets/>

If one lists all deaths chronologically for 2020, George Floyd's name is the 817th name on the list.

The first reports of the time of Officer Derek Chauvin held down George Floyd put the time at 8:46, eight minutes, forty-six seconds. Later, the time was corrected to by 7:46. See LA Times:

<https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-06-18/derek-chauvin-had-knee-george-floyd-neck-746-rather-than-846>

To hear the historical speeches cited, here are the links in You Tube:

Adrien Lester reading Hamlet's soliloquy lasts 2:53:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muLAzfQDS3M>

Presidents Carter, Clinton, Bush, and Obama reading the Gettysburg Address; their remarks last 1:53:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=So9o8evI5uQ>

John Lewis speaking at the March on Washington (full speech); his remarks last 6:48:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tFs1eTsokJg>

Fannie Lou Hamer speaking at Democratic Convention in 1964; her remarks last 7:40:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpIII09Lxe8>

Nelson Mandela, 1994 inaugural speech; the tape runs 8:58, including applause:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJiXu4q_VU

Page 2:

Link to the video of the May 30 meeting here:

<https://www.keranews.org/post/watch-north-texas-community-leaders-talk-about-state-law-enforcement>

“A series of meetings starting July 1”:

July 1: An introductory meeting for procedures and scheduling.

Three of the Working Group meetings were public:

Zoom Meetings:

July 15: <https://www.facebook.com/judgejenkins/videos/301351221230260/>

July 22: <https://www.facebook.com/judgejenkins/videos/275954030367140/>

July 8 was a Microsoft Teams meeting:

Cut and paste this long link into your browser: https://dallascountytexas-my.sharepoint.com/personal/alsmith_dallascounty_org/_layouts/15/onedrive.aspx?id=%2Fpersonal%2Fal smith%5Fdallascounty%5Forg%2FDocuments%2FMeeting%20%5F2%20%2D%20New%20Directions %20for%20Public%20Safety%20and%20Positive%20Community%20Change%2Emp4&parent=%2Fpersonal%2Fal smith%5Fdallascounty%5Forg%2FDocuments&originalPath=aHR0cHM6Ly9kYWxsYXNjb3VudHI0eC1teS5zaGFyZXBvaW50LmNy bS86djovZy9wZXJzb25hbC9hbHNtaXRoX2RhbGxhc2NvdW50eV9vcmcvRWFFZEVzajAzeHBQa3NZ aUxSSTg5UW9CWklQ241NEtVeEFxN1V6dGQwYXlmZz9ydGltZT1RNWdfTnhWQTJFZW

July 29 and August 5 were deliberative meetings, including budgetary information, and non-public.

Page 27:

Quotations of Creuzot are from two different meetings: July 15 and, for the last sentence, July 8.

APPENDIX I

10 New Directions for Public Safety and Positive Community Change

During the current coronavirus pandemic, in which Black people have been disproportionately killed by COVID-19, the police are still killing us. George Floyd's killing by officer Derek Chauvin, which has sparked nationwide unrest, occurred in Minneapolis, where the police department considers itself to be a champion of community policing, training on implicit bias, de-escalation, and early intervention to identify problematic officers. Yet that same department has for decades faced accusations of excessive force, particularly from Black residents. When we honestly face the recent history of Dallas – the killing by police of Botham Jean in 2018, Jason Harrison in 2014, and Clinton Allen in 2013, and countless others over the past half century – we know that our own city might well have been the center of such a storm. We need to change policing in Dallas. This statement outlines policy changes affecting police use of force, including deadly force, and budget priorities that differ from the status quo in their approach to public safety and community well-being.

Divest from the Police and Invest in the Community

1. DPD shall not be the first responder to mental health calls, unless a firearm is involved. Jointly, the City of Dallas and Dallas County shall create a program that assigns teams of mental health professionals or, as appropriate, other professionals in counseling and social work as first responders to mental health calls. If a firearm is involved, these mental health teams will provide support to police officers responding; the mental health team may take the lead in a joint police/health response when appropriate (for example, threatened suicide with firearm).
2. City and County officials shall increase investment in alternatives to police response. The County Judge and the City of Dallas shall create a task force to identify and recommend alternative ways to respond to harm and to increase safety in the community, with budget allocations to sponsor the first initiatives in the coming budget year.

For example, DPD should *not* seek to deploy Texas state troopers in high crime neighborhoods, which floods an area with troopers who don't know the community, whose typical work is much different than local police work, and which led to a deadly officer-involved-shooting (OIS) last summer in South Dallas. Instead, DPD should invest in alternative approaches, such as community-based violence prevention and interruption programs.

City and County officials should invest in practical ways to improve household income and living conditions in impoverished communities. Examples:

- funding to employ benefits advocacy counselors, who would interview and consult with households in a particular area regarding their eligibility for public benefits and assist households with necessary applications and paperwork.
- funding to employ housing assistance counselors in each Justice of the Peace court to assist tenants facing evictions with relocation expenses and helping with the cost of establishing a new residence.

- funding for employment counselors to provide hands-on assistance for residents to obtain work or better paid work, such as obtaining a commercial driving license, certification as a dental assistant, learning to program, etc.
- funding for social workers to provide hands-on assistance for residents to obtain a “medical home”, that is, a regular health care provider, and to obtain health insurance, and related health services.
- funding for small-scale practical neighborhood services provided by community groups, such as a van to carry seniors to and from the grocery store; lawn mowing services employing youth in the summer, etc.
- funding to increase environmental pollution monitoring, clean-up (for example, Shingle Mountain in Joppe), and restoration.

The coronavirus pandemic has caused economic distress beyond its immediate health threats. Instead of laying off staff during the current pandemic, the City and County should train and employ workers in contact tracing, which to be effective will require thousands. City and County employees are already vetted and have their paperwork in place, which should help streamline the startup of this essential initiative.

The City and County should provide funding for 24-hours recreation centers, with sports programs staffed by coaches and athletes, instead of police officers; should increase funding for arts programs, libraries, cultural centers; should provide funding for employment specifically of diverse groups of youth (trans, LGBTQ).

3. Dallas has become number one in deportation of immigrants, with the highest number of any U.S. city, and these deportations have impacted Black immigrants from Haiti and African nations disproportionately. The City of Dallas and Dallas County shall discontinue their intergovernmental service agreement (IGSA) with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and implement incarceration prevention measures for minor offenses – for example, broken tail light, driving without valid license, failure to signal, other non-violent offenses – that currently warrant booking, impounding a vehicle, or pretrial incarceration, which by triggering deportation lead to much more severe consequences than the original minor offense would bring to other residents.

Increase Safety and Accountability Measures

4. The City of Dallas and Dallas Police Department will adopt specific policies restricting the use of deadly force. Officers shall not shoot their firearms 1) if a suspect is unarmed; 2) if a suspect is running away or attempting to withdraw; 3) if a suspect is driving away or sitting in a parked car; 4) if a suspect is not armed with a firearm – for example, when a suspect is holding a knife, screwdriver, or blunt object; and 5) if the officer is alone – for example, after a solo foot chase.

In the event that deadly force is used, officers shall not shoot multiple times at a suspect without re-evaluating the necessity of additional deadly force.

5. DPD shall remove from armed patrol any officer involved in a use of deadly force incident until such time as all investigations have been completed, including review by a Dallas County Grand Jury.

6. DPD, in conjunction with the District Attorney's office, shall review all fatal police shootings for the period 2000-2018. Reviewers will identify any policy changes that might have prevented a particular shooting, as well as recommending charges for any unlawful police activity uncovered.
7. DPD shall fire or furlough officers whose testimony for whatever reason is not credible enough to be used by prosecutors in court ("Brady" list of officers) or officers who have multiple complaints of excessive force.
8. DPD and Dallas County Sheriff's Department shall create/review/reinforce policies concerning the "duty to intervene" to prevent officer misconduct and the "duty to render aid" when a person needs first-aid assistance as a result of officer conduct.

Duty to intervene: Officers have an obligation to protect the public. It shall be the duty of every officer to intervene when a fellow officer is using excessive force, inappropriate levels of force, or force that is no longer required to apprehend a suspect.

Duty to render aid: Officers have an obligation to protect the health and safety of any person held in custody. It shall be the duty of every officer to render timely and appropriate first-aid assistance needed as a result of officer use of force or health conditions aggravated by officer use of force. Officers shall be required to immediately determine the extent of a person's injuries or health needs and to provide reasonable assistance until emergency medical technicians (EMTs) arrive or the person is otherwise provided for.

9. The Dallas County Sheriff's Department and the Dallas County Commissioners Court, until such time as an effective vaccine and treatment are available for COVID-19, shall release from custody persons in Dallas County jail facilities who are aged 65 and older; who require quarantine because of a positive coronavirus test result; or who have existing health conditions that make them more susceptible to the coronavirus: chronic lung disease, asthma, diabetes, heart condition, liver disease, and other conditions identified by health professionals in ongoing research. The ability or inability of any current inmates to pay money bail shall not prevent their release under these conditions.

Dallas County officials shall commit to making every effort to reduce the jail population to the point where adequate social distancing is possible. For all remaining inmates, Dallas County officials shall guarantee adequate hand soap, hand-sanitizer, masks, testing, and effective social distancing.

10. City and County law enforcement must respect the diverse communities in the Dallas area, and effective policing depends upon awareness of the needs and circumstances of specific marginalized populations. For example, Dallas leads the nation in violence against transgender people. Moreover, recently on numerous occasions, Dallas police officers were found to publish on social media racial stereotypes, Islamophobic comments, and jokes about brutality against community members. As an important and reasonable accommodation for historically – and often currently – maligned groups, DPD and Dallas County Sheriff's Department shall document their interactions with any and all disenfranchised members of our community.

Note: This document was prepared and sent to Judge Clay Jenkins, City Manager T.C. Broadnax, Mayor Eric Johnson, and the news media on June 1, 2020. The document was prepared by:

Rev. Dr. Frederick Haynes III, Friendship West Baptist Church
Rev. Dr. Michael Waters, Abundant Life AME Church
Sara Mokuria, Mothers Against Police Brutality
Kristian Hernandez, Our City Our Future
Imam Dr. Omar Suleiman, Faith Forward Dallas
Jodi Voice, American Indian Heritage Day
María Yolisma García, North Texas Dream Team
Brittany White, Faith in Action
John Fullinwider, Mothers Against Police Brutality
Rabbi Nancy Kasten, Faith Commons
Rev. Dr. George Mason, Wilshire Baptist Church and Faith Commons

APPENDIX II

1. Working Group Members.

Community:

Rev. Dr. Frederick Haynes III, Friendship West Baptist Church
Rev. Dr. Michael Waters, Abundant Life AME Church
Imam Dr. Omar Suleiman, Faith Forward Dallas
Sara Mokuria, Mothers Against Police Brutality
Kristian Hernandez, Our City Our Future
Jodi Voice Yellowfish, American Indian Heritage Day
María Yolisma García, North Texas Dream Team
Brittany White, Faith in Action
Mercedes Fulbright, In Defense of Black Lives
John Fullinwider, Mothers Against Police Brutality

Government:

Susan Cluse, City Manager, Balch Springs
T.C. Broadnax, City Manager, Dallas
Brandon Wright, City Manager, DeSoto
Chris Hillman, City Manager, Irving
Opal Mauldin-Jones, City Manager, Lancaster
Cliff Keheley, City Manager, Mesquite
John Creuzot, Dallas County
Darryl Martin, Administrator, Dallas County

Support:

Gordon Hikel, Assistant Administrator, Dallas County
Angelina Smith, Dallas County
Jheison Romain, Dallas County
Shay Cathey, Dallas County

2. Witnesses.

The Working Group heard from expert witnesses and from residents of Dallas County who have been directly impacted by the issues under discussion

July 8, 2020

[Andrea Ritchie](#), Barnard College Center for Research on Women's Social Justice Institute
[Asantewaa Boykin](#), Mental Health First (MH First), Anti Police-Terror Project Sacramento
Brittany White, directly impacted, on the barriers facing people re-entering the community after incarceration

July 15, 2020

[Chico Tillmon](#), National [Cure Violence](#) Trainer/Justice Action Fund /Community Justice Reform Coalition, Director

[Yulise Waters](#), [Lone Star Justice Alliance](#), Deputy Director

[Elizabeth Henneke](#), [Lone Star Justice Alliance](#), Director

[Tim Black](#), Director of Consulting, Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets ([CAHOOTS](#))

John Creuzot, Dallas County District Attorney

Angela Andrade, directly impacted, on deportation and incarceration as drivers of homelessness and family break-up

Veronica Hall, directly impacted, on police brutality during a recent family mental health crisis

July 22, 2020

[Maria Foscarinis](#), [National Law Center of Homelessness & Poverty](#), Director

[Sandy Rollins](#), [Texas Tenants' Union](#), Director

[Mayra Fierro](#), directly impacted, Metro Dallas Youth Committee, on the needs of homeless youth

3. Major Areas of Discussion.

Overcriminalization / Alternatives to Incarceration and Arrest / Barriers to Re-Entry

Mental Health as Crisis Point / Non-Police Intervention

Investments in Health Care, Mental Health Services, Community Health

Homelessness as a Crisis Point / Non-Police Intervention

Investments and Policies to Create Housing Affordable to Low-Wage Individuals and Households

APPENDIX III

The Working Group reviewed numerous reports, essays, and articles, listed below.

Reports and Essays:

Interrupting Criminalization, Andrea Ritchie:

http://bcrw.barnard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/InterruptingCriminalization_FINAL.pdf

The Crisis of Criminalization, Andrea J. Ritchie and Beth E. Richie

<http://bcrw.barnard.edu/publications/the-crisis-of-criminalization/>

Housing Not Handcuffs / National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (2019):

<http://nlchp.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/HOUSING-NOT-HANDCUFFS-2019-FINAL.pdf>

Eviction Looms for Millions of Americans Who Can't Afford Rent

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/eviction-looms-for-millions-of-americans-who-cant-afford-rent-11594891802>

Legislative Watch: Homelessness in the COVID Era / It's a health risk at any time and one that disproportionately affects Black individuals and families.

<https://www.governing.com/next/Legislative-Watch-Homelessness-in-the-COVID-Era.html>

National Academy of Sciences: A Roadmap to Reducing Child Poverty (full report):

<https://www.nap.edu/catalog/25246/a-roadmap-to-reducing-child-poverty>

Summary of A Roadmap to Reducing Child Poverty report here:

<https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:ab6b8f5f-ad76-4996-88c4-93a16060c169>

Texas Tenants Union Proposals for Tenant Rights / City and Texas Level

<https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:0b4c2295-9733-4c09-bdd9-cb345dc2c33f>

Public Investment in Community-Driven Safety Initiatives, Urban Institute, 2018:

https://www.urban.org/research/publication/public-investment-community-driven-safety-initiatives/view/full_report

Austin Gun Violence Task Force Report, July 22, 2020:

<https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn:aaid:scds:US:f68b0f29-ee8f-4051-999a-b15718734879>

Reimagining the Role of Police, Anthony Romero, June 5, 2020:

<https://www.aclutx.org/en/news/reimagining-role-police>

How I Became a Police Abolitionist, Derecka Purnell:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/07/how-i-became-police-abolitionist/613540/>

Dallas County Community Health Needs Assessment, 2019:

<https://www.parklandhospital.com/dallas-community-health>

News from cities that have reduced police budgets and increased human service budgets:

LAPD begins cost cutting, and units must ‘show your relevance,’ chief says

<https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-07-23/facing-pressure-from-all-sides-lapd-begins-internal-restructuring>

LA votes for unarmed crisis responders to nonviolent crimes:

<https://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2020/06/30/city-council-votes-unanimously-replace-officers-nonviolent-calls-crisis-response/>

San Francisco Proposes to Shift \$120 Million From Police To Tackle Racial Disparities

<https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/07/31/897835937>

San Francisco reforms: Police no longer will respond to noncriminal calls

<https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-06-12/san-francisco-police-reforms-stop-response-noncriminal-calls>

Oakland’s Mid-cycle Budget Cuts \$14.3 Million from Police Budget, Invests Additional \$50 million to Address Racial Disparities

<https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2020/oaklands-mid-cycle-budget-cuts-14-3-million-from-police-budget-invests-additional-50-million-to-address-racial-disparities>

Portland City Council Approves Budget Cutting Additional \$15M From Police

<https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-police-budget-15-million-defund-cannabis-council-vote/>

Winston-Salem Public Safety Committee votes to move \$1 million from police to anti-poverty efforts:

<https://www.newsobserver.com/article243390601.html>

Baltimore City Council Approves \$22.4M In Cuts to Police, Prosecutors

<https://www.baltimoresun.com/politics/bs-md-pol-police-budget-explainer-20200617-4yjweepbkreknjlef4f45jiblm-story.html>

<https://www.wbal.com/article/464307/124/city-budget-committee-makes-227m-in-cuts-to-police-prosecutors>

Milwaukee Common Council approves measure exploring 10% cut to the police budget

<https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/2020/06/16/defunding-police-milwaukee-common-council-approves-exploring-10-cut/3197651001/>

Austin Proposes Budget That Includes Cutting Roughly 2% From the Police Department [\$11.3 million]

<https://www.kut.org/post/austin-proposes-budget-includes-cutting-roughly-2-police-department#>

AUSTIN UPDATE: Austin City Council votes to cut police department budget by one-third, reinvest money in social services [\$150 million]

<https://www.texastribune.org/2020/08/13/austin-city-council-cut-police-budget-defund/>

San Antonio City Council grapples with reforming police discipline, budget in wake of George Floyd protests

<https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/San-Antonio-City-Council-grapples-with-reforming-15331706.php>