

“Reimagining Community Safety”: A Qualitative Analysis of the Defund the Police
Movement

by

Brandee Augustine

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

Approved November 2021 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Edward Maguire, Chair
Andrea Montes
Abigail Henson

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2021

ABSTRACT

In May 2020, following the death of George Floyd, communities across the nation organized protests to raise awareness about police brutality and racism in police departments. Protesters popularized the term “defund the police,” which encourages local officials to remove funding from police departments and reinvest it into community resources. This study uses qualitative methods to analyze archival and interview data (N= 13) regarding the Defund the Police Movement in Minneapolis, MN; Portland, OR; and San Francisco, CA. The study provides insight into the relationship between community members and police officers before the movement, how people conceptualized the movement, and hopes for public safety in the future. The results indicated that regardless of people’s perspectives of the Defund the Police movement, people appreciated the increase in discussion about best practices and policy changes to increase public safety.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my daughter. Thank you for being the perfect distraction from my work and my biggest motivation to finish.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3
History of Policing.....	3
Police Use of Force and Discretion.....	7
Police Budgets and Defunding the Police.....	8
3 METHODOLOGY.....	13
Site selection.....	14
Data collection.....	15
Data analysis.....	17
4 RESULTS.....	19
Minneapolis, Minnesota.....	19
Portland, Oregon.....	26
San Francisco, California.....	33
5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	41
Discussion.....	41
Conclusion.....	45
REFERENCES.....	47

	Page
APPENDIX	
A RECRUITMENT MATERIAL	56
B INTERVIEW PROTOCOL	58
C IRB APPROVAL	60

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In May 2020, Minneapolis Police killed George Floyd, an unarmed African American man, during an arrest for the alleged use of counterfeit money. Video footage of George Floyd's arrest and death circulated across news outlets and social media. George Floyd's death was the catalyst for protests, demonstrations, and legislation changes across the United States. Defunding the police was one of the many calls made by activists.

Because of the increased militarization in police departments, over-policing, and excessive use of force, Black and Brown community members have questioned police practices for years (Dansky, 2016; Edwards et al., 2019; Kraska, 2007; Kraska & Kappeler, 1996; Vitale, 2017). These issues raised by Black and Brown community members have led to perceptions of police illegitimacy (Kearns et al., 2020), especially since police have a longstanding history of violence in these communities (Kramer & Remster, 2018). Further, Gau and Brunson (2010) interviewed Black men who reported feeling unfairly targeted by police officers based on race and socioeconomic status. Respondents described their experiences with police as “routinely” verbally abusive. Elijah Anderson (2000) further describes the relationship between Black people and police officers in his book, *Code of the Street*. Interviewees argued that law enforcement officers were not helpful when they responded to calls for service but illegitimately targeted people during their routine patrols.

The relationship between police departments and people of color will be an ongoing topic of discussion until all community members feel safe and protected. In this

thesis, I will consider how race and police interactions have influenced the Defund the Police movement and how the movement has progressed in three different cities. This thesis will provide an overview of changes and future policy proposals for the Defund the Police movement in three large cities: San Francisco, CA; Minneapolis, MN; and Portland, OR. My research will uncover some of the challenges police departments were facing prior to the death of George Floyd, how local government and police departments have responded to requests to defund the police and plans to increase public safety. Currently, city officials are still making changes to police budgets and practices. Thus, how cities respond to the movement, and the movement itself, is an ongoing process. In this thesis I will draw on archival records and interviews to examine the Defund the Police movement in these three cities. I will be interviewing citizens and leaders in police departments to get their perspective on how the Defund the Police movement has evolved in each city.

Chapter 2 will provide a literature review about relationships between police and Black and Brown communities, social movements, and police budgets. Chapter 3 will discuss data collection and methodology. Based on a qualitative analysis of archival records and interviews, I will illustrate how the Defund the Police movement has been operationalized in San Francisco, CA; Minneapolis, MN; and Portland, OR.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Policing

Many of the activists and community members calling to defund the police believe today's challenges with police brutality and use of force are related to the early history of policing. To understand policing today, we must understand its origins. During the 1800s, in Southern cities where the population of African slaves exceeded the number of slave owners (e.g., New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston), early forms of policing developed as a method to control and capture slaves (Brown, 2020). For example, in his book *Policing the Southern City* (1996), historian Dennis Rousey described the formation of the New Orleans Police Department. According to Rousey, in 1805, the mayor of New Orleans, Etienne Boré, and city council members formalized the Gendarmerie, an organized police force with an emphasis on catching slaves. The Gendarmerie had an organized rank system, uniforms, and traveled by horse. Based on the fear of slave revolts, slave owners paid taxes to fund the capture of runaway slaves. As mentioned, several Southern cities took on similar forms of policing. Although the Gendarmerie, along with other departments, were reconstructed in 1836, slave catching remained an important function in Southern police departments after Reconstruction.

On the other hand, in Northern cities, the first organized forms of policing began in Boston, Massachusetts in 1837. However, police scholars usually regard New York's Municipal Police of 1845 as the first modern police organization based on its large size, structure, and 24-hour patrol schedule (Miller, 1977; Monkkonen, 1992). In short, the departments in Boston and New York mimicked features of the London Metropolitan

Police, established in 1829. Sir Robert Peel was critical in passing the legislation and developing the principles behind London's police force. Peel also helped bring these principles into American police departments (Miller, 1977; Williams, 2003).

Collectively, these principles aimed to have impartial officials maintain order and stop crime in communities. Like the South, policing still played a role in maintaining social order, which included controlling slaves. While both regions benefitted from slavery, there were two main differences about slavery in each region. Northern states did not have as many slaves as compared to Southern states. Also, slaves in Northern states primarily worked in their owner's homes rather than on traditional plantations (Grigoryeva & Ruef, 2015). These differences allowed for less focus on police officers' roles as slave catchers in the North during that time.

From the late 1800s to the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement, the United States entered the "lynching era." The Equal Justice Initiative Lynching Project (2017) reports 4,084 "racial terror" lynchings of Black people between 1877 and 1950 in Southern states. White community members, government officials, and police officers conducted lynchings and beatings as extralegal punishment for alleged crimes committed by Black community members. Lynchings commonly took place in public, with mobs of white people gathering around to watch (Elkins, 2016). Before lynching the victims, mobs often burned, tortured, or mutilated their victims (Equal Justice Initiative, 2017; Kotch, 2019). Police officers both participated and condoned the violent deaths, and oftentimes there was no legal prosecution for those involved (Messner et al., 2005). Black people knew that police officers would not protect them from racial violence (Equal Justice Initiative, 2017; Anderson, 1999).

Next, decades of Jim Crow laws, alongside other instances of violence and discrimination, led to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and '60s. Black people demanded their rights to vote, fair housing, and equal justice under the law. During the movement, activists organized protests, boycotts, and challenged unjust laws in the courts. However, regardless of their approach, Black people were often met with violence both from police officers and white citizens. While slavery, the Lynching era, and parts of the Jim Crow era did not happen during today's Black people's lifetimes, Black people have shared their experiences with police brutality across generations to warn and protect Black children (Gonzales, 2020; Harris & Amutah-Onukagha, 2019). Additionally, the lack of procedural justice exercised by police officers throughout history further contributed to Black people's mistrust and fear of police (Anderson, 1999; Moule et al., 2019).

During the modern era, police brutality continues to contribute to Black people's fear and mistrust of police. In 1992, four white LAPD police officers brutally beat Rodney King, a Black taxi driver. After a citizen videotaped the beating, the video was later released to the press. Despite the video evidence, the court found three of the officers not guilty on all counts, while the jury was hung on the other officer's charges. The verdict was a catalyst for riots throughout Los Angeles, as Black people expressed their discontent with the LAPD and their frustration with the outcome of the case. However, King is only one of many Black victims of police brutality. Other recent fatal police interactions have caused similar reactions throughout the United States.

For instance, in 2009, Johannes Mehserle, a white officer with the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) police shot and killed Oscar Grant, a 22-year-old Black man, in

Oakland, California. In 2014, Darren Wilson, a white police officer with the Ferguson Police Department, shot and killed Michael Brown, an 18-year-old Black man. That same year, Timothy Loehmann, a white police officer with the Cleveland Police Department, shot and killed Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old Black child; while Daniel Pantaleo, a white officer with the NYPD, killed Eric Garner, a 43 year-old Black man, with a fatal chokehold during his arrest. In 2015, Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old Black man, died after suffering a spinal cord injury while in the custody of the Baltimore Police Department. Then, in 2016, Baltimore police officers also shot and killed Korynn Gaines, a 23-year-old Black woman, in her home.

Many of these killings were recorded and spread on social media, receiving national attention. However, most of the Black lives lost to police brutality do not receive the same level of attention as these well-known cases. Despite this, police excessive use of force and lack of accountability have spurred several social movements in the United States. One of the most well-known movements formed in response to police violence is Black Lives Matter (BLM) (Khan-Cullors & Bandele, 2018). Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi founded BLM in 2013. BLM first emerged as a hashtag expressing frustration about the murder of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed Black teenager, and the subsequent acquittal of his killer, George Zimmerman. Nearly a year later, BLM became associated with protests against police violence following the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner. Again, in the summer of 2020, police killings of Black people have been the cause of protests and calls to defund and disarm police officers. Officials at various levels of government and police departments began responding to calls for change and calls to address police use of force. The response varied by city. More

responsive cities enacted changes in their local police departments such as restriction on the use of rubber bullets and increased police training while other officials reassured citizens that videos of police brutality do not reflect police officers' behavior in their cities.

Since the creation of police departments, the social dynamics of racism and classism has always influenced police officers' decision making (Jones, 1977; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). In turn, the history of police brutality, in addition to their personal experiences, reinforces Black people's fear and mistrust of police (Carr et al., 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). A study of race and perceptions of police by Pew Research (2020) found that two thirds of Black people believed police treat them as if they were suspicious or not smart because of their race. Ultimately, police officers have been responsible for upholding racial violence and discrimination toward Black people (Brunson, 2007). Advocates of the Defund the Police movement argue that police discretion further complicates issues of police use of force.

Police Use of Force and Discretion

Supporters of the Defund the Police movement argue that the roles of police officers leave room for bias and discrimination. One example of this is police discretion. Since the situations surrounding police-citizen interactions vary, some level of discretion is required in policing. Mastrofski (2004, p. 101) describes police discretion as, "... the leeway that officers enjoy in selecting from more than one choice in carrying out their work." Examples of police discretion are the decision to issue a ticket, make arrests, or to use force. Administrative policies and the culture within departments influences police

discretion (White, 2001, 2003). Police discretion becomes even more complex when considering the decision to use fatal force and how race influences such decision (Bass, 2001).

Some of the same challenges of restricting police discretion can also be found in police use of force practices (Waegel, 1984). As mentioned, police respond to a variety of calls. During police calls, some level of force is prohibited to allow officers to complete their job. An example of this is when officers are restraining someone or using self-defense. However, in these cases, it can sometimes be challenging to differentiate use of force from excessive use of force. Excessive use of force is not common in police-citizen interactions (Ajilore & Shirey, 2017; Robin, 1963). Regardless, determining use of force policies and when officers use excessive force, is an ongoing challenge for police departments (Alpert & MacDonald, 2001). Police officers are more likely to use deadly force against Black, Indigenous and Hispanic people than white people (Edwards et al., 2019; Washington Post, 2015). The disproportionate use of deadly force toward Black and Brown people is a cause for concern and an ongoing argument for the Defund the Police movement. Supporters of the movement argue that reducing the police budget may be the only way to keep Black and Brown people safe from police violence (Fernandez, 2021).

Police Budgets and Defunding the Police

Advocates for defunding the police draw attention to police funding and call for the reallocation of funds to community efforts that address drug addiction, homelessness, and systematic inequality. Although advocates of BLM popularized the Defund the

Police movement, several communities have made similar requests. For example, Indigenous community members called for the decolonization of lands (Tuck et al., 2014) and abolition of police, while undocumented community members have called for the abolition of ICE (Uhlmann, 2019). Such movements originated from abolitionist ideology. Abolitionists call for the eradication of systems rather than reformation (McLeod, 2015). There have been several abolitionist movements throughout history, but the modern prison abolitionist movement traces its roots to the War on Drugs beginning in the 1980's (Bowman, 2014). The War on Drugs led to increased incarceration rates for Black and Brown people. This was in part because of the overcriminalization of crack cocaine, a form of powder cocaine, which was more commonly sold in Black neighborhoods (Walker et al., 2018). Prison abolitionist leaders argued that the War on Drugs was an inappropriate response to drug addiction that ultimately harmed Black and Brown communities by relying on carceral punishment and meting out lengthy sentences rather than addressing addiction. For this reason, prison abolitionists call to abolish prisons and install alternative forms of justice because they believe that the reliance on prisons for punishment is ineffective and inhumane (McLeod, 2015). For additional information on abolition, I recommend seeing these sources (see Davis et al., 2021; Gilmore, 2021; Kaba, 2021).

Modern-day abolitionists and advocates of defunding the police argue that police departments target at-risk communities, which leads to higher arrest rates, excessive use of force, and sentencing disparities (McLeod, 2015; Kaba, 2020). The call to defund the police has brought together people from several political perspectives. Some people advocate for the destruction of the current justice system; others believe reform (e.g.,

implicit bias training, increasing diversity within police departments, etc.) without budget increases is a better approach (White et al., 2020). Another alternative to decreasing the police budget is problem oriented policing practices, which encourage officers to address high-risk people and places in addition to, or instead of, their typical daily duties (Goldstein, 1979; 1990). Other researchers argue that reducing the police budget could increase officer stress and ultimately lead to less effective policing (Brunson, 2020). Despite this being a controversial topic, there is limited research on the effectiveness of decreasing police budgets to reduce police violence. Ultimately, the movement to defund the police includes several groups of people who believe defunding is the next best step despite differing end goals.

Research has yet to be conducted on the Defund the Police movement. However, there has been research that supports the use of alternatives to traditional police practices. Researchers in Massachusetts have found evidence supporting the reallocation of funding to address problems, such as drug addiction, that subsequently increase people's likelihood of committing a crime (Varano et al., 2019). Similarly, police departments have created Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) to address mental illness. Evidence suggests that there are benefits of funding CIT training that promotes alternatives to traditional policing (Teller et al., 2006; Franz & Borum, 2011). Studies supporting CIT, and other alternatives to policing, do not consider the effects of reducing department budgets; however, they do provide evidence that supports addressing people's needs by finding solutions beyond traditional police practices. In a meta-analysis of CIT programs, Taheri (2016) found that there is not enough significant evidence to show that CIT programs reduced arrests or injuries to either officers or citizens. However, Tahari (2016)

suggests that there are some benefits to CIT programs, and therefore the focus should be improving them rather than discontinuing them.

As mentioned, the response to calls to defund the police is taking shape in various ways. Some cities responding to the Defund the Police movement have canceled contracts with school resource officers, significantly reducing police budgets. Mission Local, a local news outlet based in San Francisco, reported that the San Francisco Board of Education discontinued its funding of school resource officers, which has led to a \$42,000 decrease in funding for the San Francisco Police Department for the upcoming academic year (Hom, 2020). Funding kept by the San Francisco Board of Education will be reallocated toward increasing counseling and health staff on school campuses. School districts in cities across the country have taken similar approaches to reduce police budgets. In other cities, such as Charlotte, NC, leaders have focused on police policy by exploring the addition of more first responders to address specific calls to service (Pauroso, 2020). Community members hope that developing a different role, such as “violence interrupters,” will better address violent crime and reduce calls to the police.

Next, most of the news coverage concerning defunding the police focuses on major cities with large police departments. Police budgets are a major expenditure for most large cities. According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2020), police budgets have continued to increase from 2000 to 2017. Advocates of the Defund the Police movement argue that cities should divest funding from police departments and reallocate funds to meet community members’ immediate needs. Communities’ needs vary, however, commonly suggested alternatives to funding police are more employment opportunities, mental health services, and restorative justice practices (Fernandez, 2021).

The current role of police officers is not to solve overarching societal problems, rather it is to respond to community members' calls and address crime. Advocates of the movement hope that by allocating funding to address the root of causes of crime, there will be a decrease in crime and an overall reduction in the demand for police officers. Additionally, many advocates oppose simply reforming the current model of policing because, based on the history of police accountability and violence, reform will not be a big enough step toward protecting all community members (Zerkel, 2020).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This thesis answers three main questions: (1) How was the relationship between three selected police departments and the community prior to the death of George Floyd? (2) What changes in policing are community members requesting? (3) How did city officials respond to calls to defund the police? To answer these research questions, I rely on qualitative analysis of two types of data: archival records and interviews. The archival records analysis examines local news stories and publicly available records in multiple media formats, including typewritten text and audiovisual recordings. These records are drawn from a variety of sources, including local news articles, city council meetings, and press releases. Since the movement has gained attention recently, archival records are important because they make up the most recent information on the topic and create narratives that influence the movement.

The second type of data are based on interviews with citizens, elected officials, and leaders in police departments. Interviews help outline some of the changes people have experienced in their cities as residents, police officers, or city officials, because of the movement. Interviewees were not asked about demographic information, however six interviewees voluntarily self-identified as Black or African American. I conducted semi-systematic interviews, which allowed me to explore additional subject matter that emerged during the interviews. Appendix B contains the interview protocol. The flexibility to pursue additional lines of inquiry was important because there is not an extensive prior literature on the topic, and it was valuable to explore themes that were not otherwise included in the interview protocol. Including data from both archival records

and interviews is useful for showing how the movement has formed in each city.

Triangulating multiple data sources is particularly suitable for this analysis. I use archival data to identify key events and decisions in each city, while interview data provides more granular insights and details about why these events took place and what effects they may have had.

Site Selection

I selected three cities for the proposed study: Minneapolis, MN; Portland, OR; and San Francisco, CA. I selected these three cities because local governments in each city showed a commitment to enact changes in response to the Defund the Police movement. While there has been variation in the responses by each city, some of the early decisions made by government officials included removing officers from schools and not increasing police budgets. These early decisions are important because these cities will likely serve as models for other cities where community members are also looking to defund the police. In choosing these three cities from all those that expressed an early commitment to the Defund the Police movement, I relied on three additional selection criteria. The first was that the cities had fewer than a million citizens. Due to logistical constraints on the number of interviews I could conduct, it was important to avoid cities that were too large because it is difficult to conduct a sufficient number of interviews to understand in detail how the Defund the Police movement has taken shape. A second criterion was that the cities are not located in the same state or region of the United States. The third criterion was that the selected cities would vary in average income, racial demographics, and population size. Variation in demographics is

important because these factors could influence how the movement is understood and implemented. Including cities with a range of demographic characteristics may also increase the generalizability of the study.

Data Collection

Archival data were identified using keyword searches. As mentioned, archival data includes informal and formal documents (e.g. news articles, city council meetings, and press releases)¹. Keyword searches focused on collecting site-specific information on the progress of the Defund the Police movement. Additionally, archival data were identified and collected based on documents recommended by interviewees and those cited in documents already gathered. Archival data were categorized by research site and ordered chronologically within each site.

I conducted semi-systematic interviews to explore people's perceptions of the Defund the Police movement. In total, 13 interviews were conducted². Interviewees were identified using a snowball sampling method³. I aimed to divide the number of interviews at each research site evenly between citizens and police officers however, these groups were not mutually exclusive⁴. A purposive sampling method was used to identify people within different groups who understand and are affected by the movement. Including interviews with people from differing perspectives provided an in-depth, nuanced

¹ Informal documents included infographics, news articles, and any other documents that are not shared by government officials. Formal documents included official meeting minutes, press releases, or budget information that was shared by police departments or government agencies.

² Four interviews were conducted in Minneapolis, three in Portland, and three in San Francisco.

³ Snowball sampling occurs when a participant recruits or recommends additional participants for the study.

⁴ Participants were not compensated for their participation in the interviews. Recruitment took place via email.

understanding of the movement and its evolution in each city. Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and took place via Zoom video call. Interviews were video- and audio-recorded, and then transcribed verbatim using a transcription service. The information gathered during the interviews was used to triangulate the information found in the archival records, and vice versa. Triangulation of data helped increase the validity of the research because themes and patterns were discovered from analyzing multiple data sources (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019).

I interviewed three police officers in San Francisco. However, after several attempts, I was unable to interview police officers in Minneapolis and Portland. In Portland, I sent three emails to the Portland Police Bureau. The first two emails were sent to the Chief's Office. In these emails, I discussed the goal of the project and my intention to interview officers. The first email received no response. After sending a second email, an unsworn public information officer responded, stating, "With our critical staffing shortage (we've lost 150 sworn members in 13 months), we are just trying to answer emergency calls for service." They suggested sending my interview questions to a sworn public information officer; however, after sharing my interview questions via email, the sworn public information officer did not respond. In addition to reaching out to the Portland Police Bureau, I reached out to the Portland Police Association by phone twice, and both times, they declined to participate in the study. I also reached out to two Portland police officers individually via email. Both officers are National Institute of Justice's Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science (LEADS) scholars. Neither officer responded to my interview requests. In total, I sent five emails and made two phone calls attempting to speak with Portland Police officers.

In Minneapolis, I filled out two online forms requesting to speak with someone in the Minneapolis Police Department. The Department did not respond to either request. Similarly, I reached out to the Police Officers Federation in Minneapolis both by phone and email. Over the phone, they declined to share contact information for officers who would be willing to interview. I did not receive a response via email. I reached out to a former Minneapolis Police Chief, via email. They did not respond to my request to interview. Also, an attempt was made to interview another former Minneapolis Police Chief. They did not agree to interview, but they suggested I reach out to a National Institute of Justice's Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science officer from Minneapolis; however, the officer did not respond. Lastly, I reached out to two journalists in Minneapolis who recently reported about the Defund the Police movement. In the email, I asked for Minneapolis officers who would be willing to speak. Neither journalist responded to my email. In total, I made nine attempts to interview Minneapolis police officers, including eight emails and one phone call. Despite my best efforts, I was not able to conduct interviews with Portland or Minneapolis police officers.

Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected for this study was analyzed using an inductive reasoning approach through which researchers allow general themes and patterns to emerge from the observations. Inductive approaches are often used when little is known about a research topic because they allow themes to emerge from the data, rather than using a deductive approach that focuses on testing existing theories (Braun & Clark, 2006). Based on the limited prior research on the Defund the Police movement, an

inductive methodological approach was most suitable for answering the research questions in this study.

Digital copies of archival data were collected and stored. Archival data that was collected in video- or audio- format was transcribed using edited transcription of the relevant data⁵. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. After transcription, all the data was coded using NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software. Initial coding focused on establishing a set of simple, recognizable codes. After the initial phase of coding, I completed a second phase of coding that focused on identifying broader themes in the data. These broader themes were created based on patterns that emerge within the initial codes. In the second phase, I categorized codes based on their relationship to one another and their relationship to the research questions. I measured the frequency or prevalence of codes based on how often they were mentioned throughout the data. Additionally, I created sub-themes to describe themes that emerged within subgroups (e.g. community member, police officer, or government official). Finding themes and sub-themes throughout data is a common method of qualitative data analysis (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). After identifying broader themes, the initial code, and in some cases, the raw data, was reviewed to ensure that it was properly coded and aligns with the themes. I continued the coding process and repeated these steps as necessary to ensure that the themes were representative of the archival and interview data. This process was used for both the archival and interview data.

⁵ Any materials not associated with the focus of the current project were not included in the archival records.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of my qualitative analysis of archival and interview data for Minneapolis, MN; Portland, OR; and San Francisco, CA. First, I share the archival findings, then the interview findings for each site. The archival findings provide background about the city and changes since the Defund the Police movement. Similarly, the interview findings provide insight into the movement and additional perspective from the community.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Archival findings

Minneapolis, Minnesota is a Midwestern city with a population of about 400,000 residents. In 2021, the Minneapolis Police Department had about 700 sworn officers across five precincts and a budget of \$181 million. Minneapolis has a history of discriminatory police practices toward people of color. Black and East African people make up a large portion of arrests⁶, despite only making up 19% of the population⁷. As a result of residents' concerns about police practices, the U.S. Department of Justice is investigating if the Minneapolis Police Department "... engages in discriminatory policing" (Department of Justice, 2021).

⁶ According to the Minneapolis Crime Statistics, in 2018, African American people accounted for 26.5% of arrests.

⁷ According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2019, African American people represented 19.2% of the population.

Minneapolis has been at the center of the conversation about the Defund the Police movement. Not only was Minneapolis home to George Floyd, who was murdered by Derek Chauvin, a Minneapolis Police officer, but there is also an upcoming election that is expected to make unprecedented changes to policing in the city. On June 7, 2020, Minneapolis city council members publicly shared their commitment to dismantle the Minneapolis Police Department. The commitment came after a long series of protests and activism around the city. While this commitment was an important step, the current city charter limits the extent to which the police department can reduce the number of officers. The Minneapolis city charter has a staffing minimum for patrol officers based on the population size. Therefore, a public vote is necessary to change the charter before making any significant changes to the department's structure.⁸ Community organizers in Minneapolis began collecting the 20,000 signatures necessary to initiate the voting process, which is set to take place in November 2021. If passed, the vote will change the charter, removing the mandatory minimum number of officers and reassigning the department's oversight to the city council members and mayor.

Community members and local officials acknowledge that changing the charter is only one step in an overall plan to reimagine the department and rebuild its relationship with citizens. While it is not guaranteed, many hope to create a new public safety model that staffs various professionals, including mental health responders, violence prevention teams, and police officers. However, not everyone in Minneapolis supports the charter amendment and some people are concerned about the reduction of sworn officers. Since

⁸ On November 2, 2021 Minneapolis residents voted against the charter amendment. Since the vote was defeated, the Minneapolis police department must maintain its current structure, per the city charter.

the number of officers fell below the amount required by the charter, citizens filed a lawsuit against the city arguing that the number of officers left them feeling unsafe and violated the charter. Minneapolis Judge Jamie Anderson ruled in favor of the citizens and ordered the city to hire more officers. Minneapolis Mayor, Jacob Frey, supports the ruling and believes the city should be investing in more officers while also reforming the police department. These changes are especially important in shaping citizens' understanding of public safety, because compared to 2020, there has been a slight year to date increase in homicides⁹ (Minneapolis Police Department, 2021). Ultimately, the decision to change the charter will be in the hands of citizens.

In the meantime, in May 2021, Mayor Frey released "The Minneapolis Model for Community Safety and Accountability," which outlines the plans for restructuring the police department. The policy changes outlined in this planning document aim to increase accountability, transparency, and credibility. The document also includes directives to minimize the use of force, implement body-worn cameras, and restrict no-knock entry searches. Additionally, Mayor Frey and Police Chief Medaria Arradondo mandated training for officers that included understanding topics such as procedural justice theory, implicit bias, and trauma. These changes come with a proposed budget decrease of \$19 million from the \$179 million policing budget for the 2021 fiscal year. A portion of this budget is reallocated to the Office of Crime Prevention, which focuses on, "preventing it [violence] before it begins, intervening at the first sign of risk and healing after it happens" (Office of Minneapolis Mayor, 2021). In addition to restructuring the

⁹ In 2020, the Minneapolis Police Department reported 71 homicides between January and October. This is lower than the 75 homicides reported between January and October 2021.

department and reducing the police budget, the city of Minneapolis has strengthened the practice of redirecting mental health professionals responding to calls of service.

Thousands of Minneapolis citizens protested nightly after the death of George Floyd. While some protests were non-violent, others resulted in property damage, injuries, and additional use of force by police officers to citizens. Notably, in May 2020, protesters set a Minneapolis Police station on fire. Throughout protests, police officers sprayed tear gas to control the crowd. Since, Mayor Frey banned the use of tear gas by police officers during the protests. The U.S. Attorney General, Merrick Garland, also announced that the Department of Justice will be opening an investigation into the police department's use of force during the protests. The goal of this investigation is to establish "a public safety system that protects and serves all members of our community," and "restore and build trust in the Minneapolis Police Department and its officers," said Anders Folk, Acting U.S. Attorney for Minnesota (Department of Justice, 2021).

An ongoing concern for citizens in Minneapolis were punishment disparities between Black and Brown children in schools as compared to white children. After the death of George Floyd, citizens advocated to remove school resource officers from school campuses. Many believed this would help keep children out of the juvenile justice system and reduce the likelihood of police violence. After meetings with the Minneapolis School Board, the request was granted and schools removed officers from campuses. Similarly, local universities removed armed law enforcement officers.

Overall, there were several changes in Minneapolis to address police violence and increase public safety. Journalists, local officials and community members continuously cited the death of George Floyd and racial bias as a primary reason for these changes,

however it may take months, or even years before we know if these changes were successful in keeping Black and Brown citizens safe (Dernbach, 2021).

Interview findings

To better understand the Defund the Police movement in Minneapolis, four community members were interviewed. Each of these community members is a resident of Minneapolis, including one who has lived in the city for over 20 years. While they did not all agree with every aspect of the movement, all interviewees described having some involvement in it. Some interviewees were involved in protests and others proposed bills aimed at addressing police violence.

Before the death of George Floyd, the community experienced several deaths at the hands of police officers, including Philando Castile¹⁰ in 2016 and Jamar Clark¹¹ in 2015. When asked about the relationship between Minneapolis police officers and the community, one interviewee stated, “I think by and large people were distrusting of MPD... like very fearful and nervous about MPD...” Another interviewee agreed saying, “people of color, particularly Black folks, knew that police brutality was a problem but felt like they couldn’t do anything about it.” All the interviewees recognized the history of police violence as a problem in Minneapolis.

In addition to police violence, the community recognized having a lack of social supports for people experiencing homelessness, mental illness, and drug addiction.

Therefore, police officers have become one of the only resources to respond to calls for

¹⁰ Philando Castile was shot by a Jeronimo Yanez, a St. Anthony, Minnesota, police officer. St. Anthony is a suburb of Minneapolis.

¹¹ Jamar Clark was shot by Dustin Schwarze, a Minneapolis police officer.

people experiencing these challenges, despite not always having adequate training. For this reason, the slogan “defund the police” has been used by community members in Minneapolis for years. When asked about prior reasons to defund the police, one interviewee stated, “I think one thing that everyone has come to understand is that a lot of the problems that eventually cause crime are directly related to the fact that people are under-resourced and a lot of our communities are undervalued... once we put our actual money and resources into these other things, then obviously crime is going to go down.” Overall, community members described that many of the issues within the police department that ultimately led to the movement existed before the death of George Floyd.

Community members from Minneapolis were at the forefront of the Defund the Police movement. Globally, people were watching the reactions of Minneapolis's community members, local officials, and the police department. Community members agreed that George Floyd's murder constituted excessive force by police; however, community members had different understandings of the Defund the Police movement. Some community members were hesitant to use "defund" and "abolish" because they did not believe it described what would happen after the police department was removed or defunded. One community member believed, “there were too many different versions of what abolishing the police meant to people.” Another community member expressed similar concerns, arguing that in addition to being uncertain about the language, the slogan also did not give enough information about the goal of the movement. They argued, “it’s not just about gutting the police, but actually replacing them with more appropriate responders because when people call 9-1-1 you can't just tell them, ‘Hey, sorry, we don't have anybody for you.’” Across interviews, community safety was the

primary goal, and everyone agreed changes should be made to policing. However, removing police officers from the community without replacing them with new resources is not the solution. Another concern about the movement was that there were too many organizations starting with different goals and missions. One interviewer described it as, “too many cooks in the kitchen” making it difficult to understand the movement. The lack of unity also made it difficult for newer activists and community organizers to support the movement.

While there were challenges defining the movement, all interviewees agreed that more investments into the community are necessary, however they do not all support the upcoming charter amendment. One interviewer explained that they do not support the amendment because they believe, “... that it basically doesn't actually defund anything. What it does, is it simply moves the police under the city council.” Other interviewees shared this concern. Though they do not support the charter amendment, some interviewees appreciate the effort local officials, and the police department, are putting forth to respond to the community’s needs, however they questioned, “how authentic it is.”

Everyone interviewed agreed that there has been less police activity in their communities since the height of the protests. One interviewee stated, “you know, people are not any more trusting or enthusiastic to interact with the police and the police don't seem to be any more enthusiastic to interact with the community, from what I've seen.” They went on to describe how fewer police officers have been patrolling their neighborhood since the protests. Across interviews, the lack of police in their neighborhoods and the increase in crime was a growing concern. Some interviewees

stated that though there was a call to reduce the scope of the police department, there have not been enough reinvestments into social supports to keep the community safe.

There is no agreement on the best policy changes; however, everyone hopes the discussions about public safety and changes in policing continue as they await the upcoming election. An interviewee made an important point, "...that [from their perspective] the city and the state have not made one single change that would have kept George Floyd alive." They went on to encourage the Minneapolis Police Department to continue working on solutions to public safety that would protect people of color.

Portland, Oregon

Archival data findings

Portland, Oregon has a population of 650,000 people and a police department of about 900 sworn officers. In 2021, the Portland Police Bureau's (PPB) budget was \$226 million (Shifey, 2021). Portland is a liberal city with a history of community organizing aimed at protecting marginalized groups (Hambleton, 2020). After the election of Donald Trump in 2016, there has been an ongoing battle to control leadership and resources in Portland. Since the election, tensions continue to rise between the members of opposing political parties. Radical far-left groups, such as Antifa¹², are described as "... anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-homophobia, but also by and large socially leftist and anti-capitalist" (Reyes & Stanglin, 2017). They often clash with groups from the far-right, such as Patriot Prayer, who describes their goal as "encouraging the country to fight for freedom at a local level using faith in God to guide us in the right direction" (Coaston, 2020). Across

¹² "Antifa" is an abbreviation for "anti-fascist".

the United States, Portland is described as an epicenter of violence and protests for both groups as they have different agendas and understandings of public safety (Levinson, 2021).

In addition to disagreements within the community, the U.S. Department of Justice also raised concerns about public safety in Portland. In 2014, the U.S. Department of Justice placed Portland under a consent decree to address use of force by officers against people experiencing mental illness. As a result of the investigation, the Department of Justice published 190 requirements for the city and PPB to revise its management and accountability practices. These requirements focused on use of force policies, training, mental health services, employee information systems, community engagement and officer accountability.

While protests were not uncommon in Portland, community advocates came out in historic numbers after the murder of George Floyd. There were months of protests that involved violence from both protesters and officers from the PPB. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, in 2020, there were over 6,000 instances of use of force by PPB officers during protests (Shifey, 2021). The ongoing protests were catalysts for externally generated departmental changes, including restricting the use of tear gas and some features of long-range acoustic devices (LRAD). LRAD is used by police departments to disperse crowds and send louder messages than traditional messaging systems. In his statement, Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler, who was also tear gassed during a protest, argued that PPB's use of tear gas and the sonic warning function of LRAD were unsafe.

In addition to regulating use of force, charges were brought against an officer who was recorded striking a woman with his baton during a protest. A Multnomah County

grand jury indicted the officer for, “unlawfully, knowingly and recklessly causing physical injury” (Bernstein, 2021). Despite the history of violence, this is one of the few instances of PPB officers being indicted for excessive use of force during a protest. The Portland Police Association stated, “unfortunately, this decorated public servant has been caught in the crossfire of agenda-driven city leaders and a politicized criminal justice system” (Levinson, 2021). Charles Lovell, who was appointed as Chief of Police in June 2020, expressed concerns that the policy restrictions and charges brought against PPB officers, left them feeling unsupported by local officials and is causing officers to retire and leave the force.

During the protests, community organizers were advocating for a \$50 million budget cut to the PPB along with policy changes, including reducing the size and scope of the department. Among these requests was reducing the presence of the Gang Enforcement Team and the Portland Transit Police. Activists argue that these specialized units, especially the Gang Enforcement Team, disproportionately arrest non-white citizens (Dooris, 2020; Elinson, 2021). Portland Commissioner Jo Ann Hardesty and the city council eliminated the Gang Enforcement Team. This change included reassigning 38 sworn officers and reducing the PPB budget by \$5.4 million. Similarly, the Portland Transit Division received a \$4.3 million reduction and reassigning 24 sworn officers. In total, PPB reduced its budget by \$15 million and reassigned 84 sworn officers. While it was not the total amount activists were requesting, Commissioner Hardesty argued it was a good starting point and that there was not enough evidence to reduce the budget by \$50 million in one year (Dooris, 2020). However, in the months following the budget cuts,

there was an increase in homicides¹³, compared to rates in 2020 (Portland Police Bureau, 2021). Increases in crime led to a budgetary amendment that increased the police budget by \$5.2 million to hire more patrol officers and reinstate a new specialized unit to focus on gun violence called the Gun Violence Reduction Team (Kavanaugh, 2021).

Additionally, \$6.8 million was reallocated toward the Portland Response team, a Black Youth Leadership Development initiative, and funding toward the homeless community (Portland City Budget Office, 2021).

Another substantial change in Portland was the removal of armed school resource officers and the funds reinvested in a community-driven youth initiative, school counselors, and social workers. Removing school resource officers reduced the PPB's budget by \$1.9 million and reassigned 14 sworn officers into different units. Portland Superintendent Guadalupe Guerrero discussed the change in a social media post, stating the district would need to "re-examine the relationship with the PPB."

While protests are not as frequent as they were in summer 2020, discussions about reinvesting funding in the community are ongoing and community members were successful in reducing the PPB budget. Despite the history of police violence, local officials have made efforts to increase community safety. Establishing a public safety model that protects Portland's most vulnerable and marginalized populations remains a goal for community organizers and local officials.

Interview findings

¹³ According to PPB Offense Statistics, there were 57 total homicides in 2020. Though the year is not over, there have been 67 homicides between January and September 2021.

To better understand the trajectory of the Defund the Police movement in Portland, I interviewed three of the city's residents. All three residents considered themselves community organizers or advocates and are involved in creating political change in Portland. One organizer also held a position in the local government.

Community members in Portland identified several compounding issues, including a lack of mental health and drug treatment resources, the growing housing crisis, and excessive use of force and discriminatory practices within the PPB. All interviewees agreed on the definition of the Defund the Police movement as an effort to, "allocate or reallocate resources that have traditionally been given to law enforcement and putting it in to other means of reimagining community safety."

When asked about the relationship between the community and PPB, one interviewee replied, "People who are partaking in protests in the streets prior to the killing of George Floyd. We were seeing an aggressive police stance against innocent bystanders for quite some time... law enforcement was being overzealous." They went on to add, "And then in addition to the Portland police repeatedly killing houseless people, black men and trans women, a lot of different marginalized groups were being impacted and people were becoming more aware." Across interviews, community members were familiar with the challenges people were facing in Portland, especially the tension between political groups after the election of Donald Trump.

Before the movement, community groups were focused on reducing the police budget through electoral politics and community organizing. One interviewee described an effort by a coalition to remove funding from PPB to maintain funding for parks and recreational programs. Ultimately, funding from the parks and recreation programs were

cut but the coalition continued working on organizing to prepare for the next budget cycle. The interviewee described how this experience prepared community groups for the Defund the Police movement in 2020.

As mentioned, Portland residents protested for months after the death of George Floyd. Many of these protests involved violence from officers and protesters (Maguire, 2021). When asked about the effects of the protests on the efforts to defund the police, one interviewee explained that the protests were, “very visible and you actually saw police beating people, spraying people and arresting people,” they went on to describe that the publicity of the protests kept political leaders invested in finding a solution to PPB’s challenges. Another community member mentioned that there was backlash from the protests. They described how local business owners blamed the lack of business on “unhoused people and protesters making the community unsafe, instead of acknowledging how the pandemic effected the economy.” It remains unknown whether the protests were necessary to enact change in Portland.

While Portland is predominately white¹⁴, many of the organizations centered on the experiences of Black community members. After the death of George Floyd, community members described an expansion of the existing organizations and the start of several new groups. One interviewee described their experiences by stating, “I saw community groups engaging in developing alliances to help represent a marginalized point of view especially in communities of color.” At the peak of the movement, several organizations focused on reinvesting the police budget into the community. Across

¹⁴ According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2019, 77.4% of Portland residents are white, 9.7% are Hispanic or Latino, 8.2% are Asian, and 5.8% are Black. Native American and Hawaiian Pacific Islander represent less than 1% of the population.

interviews, community members recognized the movement as an effort to reimagine public safety by funding community initiatives instead of policing. However, there were organizations focused on different tactics ranging from police reform to the complete abolition of the Portland Police Bureau. Ultimately, there were several changes made in Portland based on grassroots organizing. One interviewee explained that changes in Portland were made by, “real grassroots black small nonprofits, or small independent artists that have really been the backbone of the movement.”

Community members interviewed were all familiar with the changes in Portland, including the city council's decision to reduce the police budget and remove the Gang Enforcement Team. When asked about the changes in Portland, one interviewee described the Gang Enforcement Team as, “notoriously racist for targeting African American youth.” They described how activists have been working to eliminate the Gang Enforcement Team for years.

Some of the challenges described in Portland were maintaining unity among community organizations who disagreed about the best methods for improving community safety. Also, since the movement relies on elected officials' support, community members described the difficulties of understanding the process to enact changes in Portland. One interviewee stated, “I think the movement is reliant upon recruiting and retaining elected officials. Otherwise, if you don't have the necessary electives to really see the plan through, you won't be able to get the plan through.” This frustration was shared by other community members who hoped that eventually, the community would be more empowered to proactively enact change. To help address this

challenge, organizers set up workshops to help citizens better understand their role in Portland's budgetary cycle.

When asked about a strength of the movement, interviewees described the community's willingness to mobilize quickly to address police violence. One interviewee described becoming more involved in local politics by supporting bills such as HB2949, “that create an \$80 million fund for the hiring of rural and BIPOC practitioners to work in the mental health field, the plan includes providing student loan forgiveness and childcare.” Another important strength in Portland was the community’s willingness to physically resist police through protests. Regardless of tactics, community members all agreed that changes to community safety and protecting marginalized people from police violence will continue to be a goal in Portland.

San Francisco, California

Archival findings

San Francisco is a large city in the California Bay Area with a population of about 800,000 people. In 2021, the police department reported having 2,100 sworn officers and a department budget of \$738 million. Much like Minneapolis and Portland, San Francisco has a long history of community organizing focused on addressing police violence, reducing the police budget, and supporting anti-racism movements. In 1966, San Francisco and the Bay Area became home to the first chapter of the Black Panther Party, which focused on investing in the Black community through education, political awareness, and self-defense to prevent police violence (Harris, 2001). San Francisco has remained active in social movements across several communities including Occupy San

Francisco, Black Lives Matter, and Stop Asian Hate. This history has contributed to the city's reputation as liberal and as a safe place for immigrants, people of color, and LGBTQIA+ community members.

In the wake of George Floyd's murder, there was an increase in protests and discussions about minimizing the role of police officers, departments, and correctional staff. However, this was not the first instance of community resistance against the criminal justice system. In 2020, No New San Francisco Jails Coalition, a collective of 45 community organizations, successfully pushed for the closure of San Francisco's County Jail 4. This change came after protests and meetings arguing that the jail building was unsafe and the investment in incarceration cut costs from community-based initiatives. Since the closure of the jail, coalition members have been working to ensure it is not replaced and funding is reinvested in the community.

Unlike mayors in some other cities, San Francisco mayor London Breed supports the push to reinvest funding from the San Francisco Police Department into the community. In a recent statement, Mayor Breed described that, "San Francisco has made substantial progress on police reform in recent years, especially around our use-of-force policies, but we know there are structural inequities in our city that continue to impact our African-American community each and every day" (Office of the Mayor, 2020). To help address inequality she created the Dream Keepers Initiative, which reinvests \$120 million in the Black community over two years. Much of the funding is set aside to help address disproportionate homelessness rates and increase wellness and mental health resources in the Black community. The remainder is allocated to Black families' education, youth development, and economic security. Mayor Breed acknowledges that

Black people in San Francisco have been victims of systematic racism, and prioritizing reinvestment in the community is critical to rebuilding trust between Black and Brown community members and the police department.

Mayor Breed also plans to reform practices in the San Francisco Police Department. Given the city's increase in homicides compared to 2020¹⁵, she committed to invest more money into hiring officers as well as unarmed first responders to address calls about homelessness and mental health. Similarly, community members protested to remove school resource officers from campuses. This request came from community members who believed that Black students were punished more harshly than their white peers. The San Francisco school district voted in favor of the community and agreed to remove school resource officers from schools. The funding that was previously reserved for school resource officers was reinvested into hiring more counselors and mental health professionals. Community members hope this change will help protect Black children from discrimination by San Francisco police officers.

While there have been recent changes in the Defund the Police movement, they have not been without criticism from the community. Community organizers were initially advocating for a much larger cut to the police budget, some requesting a 50% reduction, but ultimately they did not get the support needed from local government. Nevertheless, there have been changes to police practice and a reduction in the police budget. Community members are still committed to advocating for additional changes and hope their efforts help protect Black and Brown residents.

¹⁵ As of October 10th, 2021, the San Francisco Police Department reported 44 homicides. This is a 12.8% increase from 2020. Since 2020, assaults have also increased by 9.2%.

Interview findings

To understand the Defund the Police movement in San Francisco, I interviewed three community members and three San Francisco police officers. All the community members interviewed were residents of San Francisco and two of them identified as community organizers who started their work as a result of the movement. The police officers I interviewed were all long-time officers in the San Francisco Police Department, including one officer who has worked in San Francisco for about 20 years. Only one of the interviewees discussed their perspective as both a San Francisco resident and police officer.

Interviewees from San Francisco had varying perspectives on the relationship between San Francisco police officers and the community before the death of George Floyd. Officers acknowledge that community members did not always agree with their practices and policies, but they embraced the opportunity to have transparent conversations with the community. They recognized that the relationship was not perfect, but since they were in the community every day, they built bonds with people within their assigned area through their consistency. One interviewee described the department as, “very community oriented.” Another interviewee agreed, stating, “we were basically there every day, through thick and thin, through the good times and the bad times.” Additionally, they described community engagement initiatives like reading to children in schools, attending community barbeques, and attending camping trips with at-risk youth. All officers interviewed believe that building relationships with the community is an important part of their job. However, both police officers and community members

mentioned racism having a negative effect on the relationship between the groups, most believing that the history of policing negatively impacted the relationship and was influential in the Defund the Police movement. When describing the relationship between the community and the police prior to the movement, one officer mentioned, “the animosity goes way back to the 1800’s when the plantation police were formed. Runaway slaves would run and, you know, the plantation police would go in and find the slaves and bring them back to master.” The history of policing was recognized across interviews.

Community members described the relationship as less friendly and welcoming than officers. They argue that overall, Black and Brown people had reason to be less trusting of police officers because of the history between police officers and communities of color. One interviewee described that, “People who've grown up here are familiar with the violence enacted by the SFPD.” However, one community member described the relationship with police as, “routine” stating, “I wouldn't necessarily say it was friendly... It was almost like, I guess, a routine, knowing it's only a matter of time before we'll see a patrol car.” Overall, community members were weary of police officers.

Across interviews, there was a clear understanding of the Defund the Police movement as an attempt to remove funding from the police department and reinvest it into the community. The majority of interviewees were in support of the concept. Community members believed that more resources would be beneficial for everyone, especially youth. Most community members see the movement as a step toward abolition and reducing the need for police in the city. One interviewee described how, “defunding is not the end goal, but it is a useful strategy towards abolition.” Police officers also

expressed support for the movement since they believed they were called to situations beyond their job title, mainly “social issues” like mental health crises or minor domestic disputes. One officer described feeling like police were a “catch all” for anything going wrong in the community and oftentimes they could not solve problems in one interaction. Overall, most interviewees supported the Defund the Police movement.

Though in support, all police officers expressed concerned about where the funding from the department would be reinvested and if there would be accountability measures to ensure the funds helped address community needs. One officer was clear about the support of the movement but wanted to ensure that groups receiving funding are, “...held to a level of accountability and they are providing the services and doing the things that they said they would do.” The process to ensure accountability of the community organizations receiving the funds was not outlined by local officials.

All interviewees noticed some changes in policing and policies after the movement. Community members noticed fewer officers in their neighborhood. One community member explained, “There’s less police activity. But I also noticed that there's a lot of police officers doing security jobs in high tourist areas.” One officer, who recently received a pay cut, agreed describing how stores in wealthy areas pay officers for security jobs and officers have been using these jobs to recuperate their pay. Another officer described how police officers are scared to do their jobs because “they don't want to end up in prison for making a mistake.” The reason for less officers in neighborhoods has not been explained, however the police department has discussed police officers retiring from the force since the protests.

Furthermore, members involved in community organizations described a reduction in protests and more direct action organizing, including building stronger relationships with other community members, and establishing mutual aid. They described mutual aid as helping people meet their needs by paying their bills, covering the costs of food, and running errands. Community members believe these practices are still connected to the movement because they could reduce the need for officer calls to service by helping people meet their needs within the community.

Police officers were familiar with many of the changes to the budget and changes they experienced in their job, such as calls for mental health being redirected and removing officers from schools. One officer described the changes as “something new every day.” Other officers embraced the changes and hoped they are successful in protecting the community.

While everyone interviewed acknowledged some differences in the city since the movement, there were differences in how they perceived the changes. According to the San Francisco Police Department’s Crime Data Report (October 2021), there has been an increase in homicides and assaults. Due to the increases in crime, local officials have reinvested funding into the police department. Some interviewees attribute this increase in crime to officers being hesitant to engage the community based on the perception of less community support. They also mentioned the ongoing effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, increasing rates of homelessness, and drug overdoses. Most community members believe the police department and local officials are framing the increase in crime as a result of the movement. One community member described believing that, “there's been right-wing activism around falsifying crime rates in San Francisco and

saying that police are needed more than ever.” Other community members agree that the crime rate is being used to reinvest in the police department without considering other reasons for the increase in crime.

When asked about the benefits of the movement and hopes for the future, everyone mentioned the increase in communication and awareness around policing issues. They also agreed that safety is a priority, and most agreed that there needed to be some changes to police practices; however, they do not agree on what the changes should include.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

All three sites had a history of anti-racist activism and protests against police brutality prior to the death of George Floyd. These movements were necessary, as community members from every site recognized the history of racism and discrimination in police departments and described the community as having some tension and distrust toward the police. For this reason, efforts to reduce the role and budget of police departments were present in every city before the death of George Floyd.

After the death of George Floyd, discussions about defunding the police spread. Across sites, the definition and purpose of the Defund the Police movement were clear. This understanding of the movement was informed by changes happening in their respective cities as well as cities across the country. Community members interviewed in each site described a wide range of experiences with the movement. Some people considered themselves longtime activists, while others referred to themselves as community members or residents. Regardless of the experiences in the community, people still understood and participated in the Defund the Police movement. Some community organizers, especially in San Francisco, perceived the Defund the Police movement as a step toward abolition, while organizers in other cities described the movement as a reform effort. Regardless of the end goals, similar changes were happening across sites, including revising police use of force policies, increasing alternative responses to mental health calls, and removing school resource officers. These changes also were accompanied by adjustments to the police budget. However, it is

important to note, many of these reductions did not clearly describe how funding would be reinvested into the community. This was a problem some interviewees recognized in Portland and Minneapolis.

Across sites, interviewees were familiar with the changes described in the archival findings. Additionally, at least one interviewee in every city noticed less police presence in their neighborhood. Some people felt this was happening as a form of retaliation in response to the movement. However, police officers in San Francisco believed it was because officers were scared to face disciplinary actions for “making mistakes.” Overall, interviewees did not all agree on whether these changes have been effective, especially because each city in the study has reported increases in homicide rates and gun violence. Community members argued that the rise in crime could not be attributed to the Defund the Police movement because there have been other influential factors including quarantines and the Covid-19 pandemic.

Across sites, both police officers and community members agreed that local officials should address police brutality and that reinvesting funding into the community is essential. Additionally, interviewees were not opposed to minimizing the scope of police officers’ jobs or reducing the department’s budget. Most interviewees believed police officers do not receive enough training to address such a wide range of calls.

When asked about the benefits of the movement, nearly everyone interviewed, including police officers, agreed that the increase in communication was a benefit of the Defund the Police movement. The conversations encouraged people to learn about the local government’s budgeting practices, and some interviewees believed they may not have learned without the movement. When asked about the movement’s drawbacks,

interviewees across sites agreed that it felt fractured because there were several protests and organizations focused on the same topic but with different goals. It is not uncommon for newer social movements to be leaderless and fractured; however, this can make them less structured and predictable (Durac, 2015). As for the Defund the Police movement, people may agree on broad ideas, such as the need to invest funding into the community; however, they may disagree on details such as where the funding should come, which community initiatives to fund, or how to advocate for more community investments. Ultimately, community members recognized this as a drawback of the movement.

Implications for research

Several aspects of this study have key implications for future research. While the study focused on the Defund the Police movement in different cities, increasing the sample size and the number of sites would provide additional insights about the nature of the movement, the factors that influenced it, and its effects on policing and public safety. Developing a large sample to represent the scope of the topic in a movement can lead to more accurate understandings and findings (Sandelowski, 1995).

Future research would also benefit from analyzing policy changes since the Defund the Police movement and determining their effectiveness over time. Allowing more time during the movement will help researchers understand the impact these changes have on public safety.

Lastly, while it was beyond the scope of this study, future research should focus on the history of anti-racism movements and how they may have impacted the Defund the Police movement. This is especially important for the Defund the Police movement

because it was informed by calls and requests made during the Black Lives Matter movement. Considering the relationship between the Defund the Police movement, Black Lives Matter, and other anti-racist movements will provide researchers with an understanding of how these movements emerge and how they overlap or conflict with one another.

Implications for policy and practice

The spread of the Defund the Police movement resulted from the brutal death of George Floyd, therefore all the policy changes were reactionary. In the future, practitioners should continue to take proactive measures to address racial disparities and police brutality. Proactively addressing the community's concerns may also help build more trust between local officials and community members (Donnelly & Majka, 1998).

Community organizers advocated for most of the changes in the movement. To continue creating change in their city, community organizers must build networks of organizations and resources to help solve problems (Dreier, 1996). Having a strong community network is important for community-led social movements (Chaskin, 2001; Saegert, 2006).

Lastly, police departments should continue increasing transparency with the community and addressing officer accountability. Many community members described not trusting the police as among their main concerns. Increasing transparency and accountability helps community members better understand and legitimize police practices (Walker, 2007). Additionally, for police departments to build a stronger

relationship with community members, it is important to acknowledge the history of racial bias and discrimination in police departments (Mentel, 2012).

Limitations

Although this study makes some useful contributions to the literature, it has two primary limitations. The first was the number of police officers interviewed. Despite several attempts to reach out to police officers in Minneapolis and Portland, I was unable to interview them. I reached out to the police department, local police unions, and journalists who recently worked with police officers in both cities. Despite allowing optimal time for responses and several attempts to contact officers, all interview requests either did not receive any reply or officers declined to participate. Given the controversy around the Defund the Police movement, I speculate officers may be hesitant to participate out of fear of misrepresenting the department. Also, many officers have retired or left the force after the protests and therefore, officers may be reluctant to participate because they view the protests and the movement as a negative turning point in their careers. Ultimately, the attempts to involve police officers in the study were unsuccessful in two of the three cities, and this is a limitation of the study.

The second limitation was the total number of interviews. I conducted thirteen interviews, including ten residents and three police officers. While the interviews were informative, increasing the number of interviews, especially with police officers, would have created a more holistic understanding of the Defund the Police movement.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Defund the Police movement progressed in various ways across the United States. Using both archival and interview data, this study revealed how the movement took shape in three cities. At some point in the movement, all three cities reduced the scope and budget of the police department. Since crime rates have increased across these cities, it is difficult to measure the effects of policy changes on public safety. It is important to note that generally, crime rates have increased across most U.S. cities, but there is not enough data to attribute the increase in crime directly to the Defund the Police movement. However, research shows that “de-legitimization” of police increases crime (Council on Criminal Justice, 2021). A key finding in this study was increased awareness about police practices and how local officials spend money. Another key finding is that everyone, including police officers, felt that there should be changes in the role of police officers in society. Overall, people believe that investing in community resources is essential to reimagining community safety.

REFERENCES

- Office of Minneapolis. (2021). *A Minneapolis Model for Community Safety and Accountability* (p. 14). Office of Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey. <https://www.minneapolismn.gov/media/-www-content-assets/documents/Minneapolis-Model-for-Community-Safety-and-Accountability.pdf>
- Ajilore, O., & Shirey, S. (2017). Do #alllivesmatter? An evaluation of race and excessive use of force by police. *Atlantic Economic Journal*, 45(2), 201–212. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11293-017-9538-6>
- Alpert, G. P., & MacDonald, J. M. (2001). Police use of force: An analysis of organizational characteristics. *Justice Quarterly*, 18(2), 393–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820100094951>
- Anderson, E. (2000). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. Norton.
- Bass, S. (2001). Policing space, policing race: Social control imperatives and police. Discretionary Decisions. *Social Justice*, 28(1), 156–176.
- Bernstein, M. (2021, June 15). *Portland police officer indicted on assault charge stemming from use of baton during protest*. <https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2021/06/grand-jury-indicts-portland-police-officer-on-assault-charge-stemming-from-use-of-baton-during-protest-last-summer.html>
- Blume Oeur, F. (2021). Fever dreams: W. E. B. Du Bois and the racial trauma of COVID-19 and lynching. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44(5), 735–745. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1849756>
- Bowman, S. W. (2014). *Color behind bars: Racism in the U.S. prison system*. Praeger.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Brown, R. A. (2019). Policing in American history. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 16(1), 189–195. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X19000171>
- Brunson, R. K. (2007). “Police don’t like black people”: African American young men’s accumulated police experiences. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6(1), 71–101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00423.x>

- Brunson, R. K. (2020, June 12). Protests focus on over-policing. But under-policing is also deadly. *Washington Post*.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/underpolicing-cities-violent-crime/2020/06/12/b5d1fd26-ac0c-11ea-9063-e69bd6520940_story.html
- Carr, P. J., Napolitano, L., & Keating, J. (2007). We never call the cops and here is why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods. *Criminology*, 45(2), 445–480. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2007.00084.x>
- Chaskin, R. J. (2001). Building Community Capacity: A Definitional Framework and Case Studies from a Comprehensive Community Initiative. *Urban Affairs Review*, 36(3), 291–323. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10780870122184876>
- Coaston, J. (2020, September 8). The pro-Trump, anti-left Patriot Prayer group, explained. *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/2020/9/8/21417403/patriot-prayer-explained-portland>
- Council on Criminal Justice. (2021). *Crime Trends in Context*.
<https://counciloncj.org/meeting-bulletin-2/>
- Dansky, K. (2016). Local democratic oversight of police militarization. *Cambridge: Harvard Law and Policy Review*, 10(1), 59.
- Davis, A. Y., Meiners, E., Richie, B., & Dent, G. (2021). *Abolition, feminism, now*. Penguin UK.
- Department of Justice. (2021). *Attorney General Merrick B. Garland Announces Investigation of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the Minneapolis Police Department*. Department of Justice, Office of Public Affairs.
<https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/attorney-general-merrick-b-garland-announces-investigation-city-minneapolis-minnesota-and>
- Dernbach, B. (2021, August 24). *Confused by all the legal squabbles around the Minneapolis public safety amendment? We've got you covered! Your vote will count—and here's a breakdown of what you're voting on*.
<https://sahanjournal.com/policing-justice/minneapolis-police-department-ballot-amendment-faq/>
- Diehl, S. (2019). *Is social media only for white women?: From #metoo to #mmiw*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
<http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/docview/2296357332?accountid=4485>

- Donnelly, P., & Majka, T. (1998). Residents' Efforts at Neighborhood Stabilization: Facing the Challenges of Inner-City Neighborhoods. *Sociological Forum*, 13(2), 189–213.
- Dreier, P. (1996). Community Empowerment Strategies: The Limits and Potential of Community Organizing in Urban Neighborhoods. *Cityscape*, 2(2), 121–159.
- Dooris, P. (2020, June 17). Portland City Council defunds police bureau by \$15 million. *KGW8*. <https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/protests/defunding-portland-police-city-council-budget-15-million-cuts/283-239c5e3a-cfed-4dce-8775-d2c52a9df9aa>
- Durac, V. (2015). Social movements, protest movements and cross-ideological coalitions – the Arab uprisings re-appraised. *Democratization*, 22(2), 239–258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2015.1010809>
- Edwards, F., Lee, H., & Esposito, M. (2019). Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race–ethnicity, and sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(34), 16793–16798. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1821204116>
- Elinson, Z. (2021, August 2). Portland, Ore., Can't Find Police for Unit to Fight Rising Murder Rate. *Wall Street Journal*. https://www.wsj.com/articles/portland-ore-cant-find-police-for-unit-to-fight-rising-murder-rate-11627896601?mod=searchresults_pos1&page=1
- Elkins, A. (2016). Stand our ground: The street justice of urban American riots, 1900 to 1968. *Journal of Urban History*, 42(2), 419–437. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144215623490>
- Embrick, D. G. (2015). Two nations, revisited: The lynching of black and brown bodies, police brutality, and racial control in 'post-racial' Amerikkka. *Critical Sociology*, 41(6), 835–843. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920515591950>
- Equal Justice Initiative (2017). Lynching in America: Confronting the legacy of racial terror (Third Edition). Equal Justice Initiative. <https://eji.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/lynching-in-america-3d-ed-091620.pdf>
- Fernandez, P. (2021, April 13). Defunding the police isn't punishment—It will actually make us safer. *Cosmopolitan*. <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a32757152/defund-police-black-lives-matter/>
- Fox, K. (2020). The murder and missing of indigenous women and girls: New policies on an enduring crisis. *Criminal Law Bulletin*, Vol. 56(No. 6).

- Franz, S., & Borum, R. (2011). Crisis intervention teams may prevent arrests of people with mental illnesses. *Police Practice and Research*, 12(3), 265–272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2010.497664>
- Gau, J. M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010). Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: A study of inner-city young men’s perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(2), 255–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820902763889>
- Gilmore, W. R. (2021). *Change Everything: Racial Capitalism and the Case for Abolition*. Haymarket Books.
- Goldstein, H. (1979). Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach. *Crime & Delinquency*, 25(2), 236–258. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001112877902500207>
- Goldstein, H. (1990). *Problem-oriented policing*. Temple University Press.
- Grigoryeva, A., & Ruef, M. (2015). The historical demography of racial segregation. *American Sociological Review*, 80(4), 814–842. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122415589170>
- Hambleton, R. (2020). Leading the healthy city: Taking advantage of the power of place. *Cities & Health*, 4(2), 221–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23748834.2019.1693793>
- Harris, A., & Amutah-Onukagha, N. (2019). Under the radar: Strategies used by black mothers to prepare their sons for potential police interactions. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 45(6–7), 439–453. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798419887069>
- Harris, J. (2000). Revolutionary black nationalism: The black panther party. *The Journal of Negro History*, 86(3), 409–421. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2649073>
- Hom, A. (2020, June 20). *School district moves to part ways with San Francisco Police Department*. Mission Local. <https://missionlocal.org/2020/06/school-district-moves-to-part-ways-with-san-francisco-police-department/>
- Jones, T. (1977). The police in America: A black viewpoint. *Taylor & Francis, Ltd.*, 9(2), 22–31.
- Kaba, M. (2020, June 12). *Yes, we mean literally abolish the police*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>
- Kaba, M. (2021). *We Do This ‘Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice*. Haymarket Books.

- Kavanaugh, S. (2021, May 18). Amid calls to ‘defund the police,’ most Portland residents want police presence maintained or increased, poll finds. *Oregon Live*. <https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2021/05/amid-calls-to-defund-the-police-most-portland-residents-want-police-presence-maintained-or-increased-poll-finds.html>
- Kearns, E. M., Ashooh, E., & Lowrey-Kinberg, B. (2020). Racial differences in conceptualizing legitimacy and trust in police. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45(2), 190–214. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-019-09501-8>
- Khan-Cullors, P., & Bandele, A. (2018). *When they call you a terrorist: A black lives matter memoir* (First edition). St. Martin’s Press.
- Kirk, D. S., & Papachristos, A. V. (2011). Cultural Mechanisms and the Persistence of Neighborhood Violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 116(4), 1190–1233. <https://doi.org/10.1086/655754>
- Kotch, S. (2019). Lethal state: A history of the death penalty in North Carolina. In *Lethal state: A history of the death penalty in North Carolina* (pp. 23–56). University of North Carolina Press.
- Kraska, P. B. (2007). Militarization and Policing—Its Relevance to 21st Century Police. *Policing*, 1(4), 501–513. <https://doi.org/10.1093/policing/pam065>
- Kraska, Peter B., & Kappeler, V. E. (1997). Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Paramilitary Units. *Social Problems*, 44(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3096870>
- Kramer, R., & Remster, B. (2018). Stop, frisk, and assault? Racial disparities in police use of force during investigatory stops: Racial disparities in police use of force. *Law & Society Review*, 52(4), 960–993. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12366>
- Levinson, J. (2021, June 15). Portland police officer charged for assaulting activist photographer at protest. *Oregon Public Broadcasting*. <https://www.opb.org/article/2021/06/15/portland-police-officer-charged-for-assaulting-activist-photographer-at-protest/>
- Maguire, E. R. (2021). Protest policing and the reality of freedom: Evidence from Hong Kong, Portland, and Santiago in 2019 and 2020. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 45(3), 299–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2021.1899002>
- Malone Gonzalez, S. (2020). Black girls and the talk? Policing, parenting, and the politics of protection. *Social Problems*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spaa032>

- Mastrofski, S. D. (2004). Controlling street-level police discretion. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593(1), 100–118.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716203262584>
- McLeod, A. (2015). Prison abolition and grounded justice. *UCLA Law Review*, 62(5)(1156), 39837.
- Mentel, Z. (2012). *Racial Reconciliation, Truth-Telling, and Police Legitimacy*. U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
https://s3.trustandjustice.org/misc/Racial-Reconciliation_Truth-Telling_and-Legitimacy.pdf
- Messner, S. F., Baller, R. D., & Zevenbergen, M. P. (2005). The legacy of lynching and southern homicide. *American Sociological Review*, 70(4), 633–655.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000405>
- Miller, W. R. (1977). *Cops and bobbies: Police authority in New York and London, 1830-1870*. University of Chicago Press.
- Minneapolis Police Department. (2021). *Minneapolis Police Department Crime Statistics*. Minneapolis Police Department.
<https://www.minneapolismn.gov/government/government-data/datasource/crime-statistics-dashboard/>
- Moule, R. K., Burruss, G. W., Gifford, F. E., Parry, M. M., & Fox, B. (2019). Legal socialization and subcultural norms: Examining linkages between perceptions of procedural justice, legal cynicism, and the code of the street. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 61, 26–39. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2019.03.001>
- Monkkonen, E., Tonry, M., & Morris, N. (1992). *Modern policing*. University of Chicago.
- Pauroso, P. (2020, June 23). *What does defunding the police look like for Charlotte? Community leaders weigh in*. <https://www.wbtv.com/2020/06/23/what-does-defunding-police-department-look-like-charlotte-community-leaders-weigh/>
- Pew Research Center (2020). 10 things we know about race and policing in the U.S. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/03/10-things-we-know-about-race-and-policing-in-the-u-s/>
- Plaintiff's Notice of Fifth Periodic Compliance Assessment Report* (p. 73). (2021). U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/file/1296911/download>

- Pfeifer, M. J. (2004). *Rough justice: Lynching and American society, 1874-1947*. University of Illinois Press.
- Portland Police Bureau. (2020). *Portland Police Bureau Budget Details and Changes (FY 2019-20 and FY 2020-21)*. Portland Police Bureau. <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/cbo/article/763271>
- Portland Police Bureau. (2021). *Portland Police Bureau Monthly Neighborhood Offense Statistics*. Portland Police Bureau. <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/71978>
- Reyes, L., & Stanglin, D. (2017, August 23). What is antifa and what does the movement want? *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/08/23/what-antifa-and-what-does-movement-want/593867001/>
- Robin, G. D. (1963). Justifiable homicide by police officers. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 54(2), 225. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1141171>
- Rousey, D. C. (1996). *Policing the southern city: New Orleans, 1805-1889*. Louisiana State University Press.
- Saegert, S. (2006). Building Civic Capacity in Urban Neighborhoods: An Empirically Grounded Anatomy. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(3), 275–294. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2006.00292.x>
- San Francisco Office of the Mayor. (2020). *Mayor Breed and Supervisor Walton to Lead Effort on Redirecting Funding from the Police Department to the African-American Community*. Office of the Mayor. <https://sfmayor.org/article/mayor-breed-and-supervisor-walton-lead-effort-redirecting-funding-police-department-african>
- San Francisco Police Department. (2021). *San Francisco Police Department Crime Data*. San Francisco Police Department. <https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/stay-safe/crime-data/crime-dashboard>
- Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 18(2), 179–183. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.4770180211>
- Shifley, K. (2021). *Police Bureau Budget Review 2021-2022*. <https://www.portland.gov/sites/default/files/2021/ppb-fy-2021-22-requested-budget-review.pdf>
- Taheri, S. A. (2016). Do crisis intervention teams reduce arrests and improve officer safety? A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 27(1), 76–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887403414556289>

- Teller, J. L. S., Munetz, M. R., Gil, K. M., & Ritter, C. (2006). Crisis intervention team training for police officers responding to mental disturbance calls. *Psychiatric Services*, 57(2), 232–237. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ps.57.2.232>
- Tuck, E., McKenzie, M., & McCoy, K. (2014). Land education: Indigenous, post-colonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research. *Environmental Education Research*, 20(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2013.877708>
- Uhlmann, N. E. (2019). *Abolish ICE* (1st ed.). OR Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4bxmx>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Federal, state, and local governments: Government finance and employment classification manual*. <http://www.census.gov/govs/www/class.html>
- Vaismoradi, M., & Snelgrove, S. (2019). Theme in Qualitative Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol 20, No 3 (2019): Qualitative Content Analysis I. <https://doi.org/10.17169/FQS-20.3.3376>
- Varano, S. P., Kelley, P., & Makhoulta, N. (2019). The city of Brockton’s “champion plan”: The role of police departments in facilitating access to treatment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 63(15–16), 2630–2653. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X19866127>
- Waegel, W. B. (1984). How police justify the use of deadly force. *Social Problems*, 32(2), 144–155. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800784>
- Walker, S. (2007). *Police Accountability: Current Issues and Research Needs*. National Institute of Justice Police Planning Research Workshop. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/218583.pdf>
- Washington Post (2015). Fatal force: Police shootings database. Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>
- Weichselbaum, S., & Lewis, N. (2020, June 9). *Support for defunding the police department is growing. Here’s why it’s not a silver bullet*. The Marshall Project. <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2020/06/09/support-for-defunding-the-police-department-is-growing-here-s-why-it-s-not-a-silver-bullet>
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2005). Racially Biased Policing: Determinants of Citizen Perceptions. *Social Forces*, 83(3), 1009–1030. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2005.0050>

- White, M. D. (2001). Controlling police decisions to use deadly force: Reexamining the importance of administrative policy. *Crime & Delinquency*, 47(1), 131–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128701047001006>
- White, M. D. (2003). Examining the impact of external influences on police use of deadly force over time. *Evaluation Review*, 27(1), 50–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193841X02239018>
- White, M., Fradella, H., & Flippin, M. (2020). How Can We Achieve Accountability in Policing? The (Not-So-Secret) Ingredients to Effective Police Reform. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3720162>
- Williams, K. L. (2003). Peel's principles and their acceptance by American police: Ending 175 years of reinvention. *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*, 76(2), 97–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032258X0307600202>
- Zerkel, M. (2020, October 15). 6 reasons why it's time to defund the police. *American Friends Service Committee*. <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/6-reasons-why-its-time-to-defund-police>
- Zhao, J., Ren, L., & Lovrich, N. P. (2010). Budgetary support for police services in U.S. municipalities: Comparing political culture, socioeconomic characteristics and incrementalism as rival explanations for budget share allocation to police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(3), 266–275. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.03.003>

APPENDIX A
RECRUITMENT MATERIAL

Recruitment Email

Hello _____:

My name is Brandee Augustine. I am a master's student under the direction of Dr. Ed Maguire in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Arizona State University. For my thesis, I am conducting a research study to understand the Defund the Police movement in San Francisco, CA; Portland, OR; and Minneapolis, MN.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve one interview that will last 30-60 minutes. You must be 18 or older to participate in the study. Your participation in the study is voluntary. I will be recording the interview for data analysis purposes. Only the research team will have access to the recordings. During the interview, you will be asked to describe events leading up to the Defund the Police movement and changes you have observed as a result of the movement. If you feel uncomfortable for any reason, you can skip any questions. Although there is no direct benefit to you, the possible benefit of your participation is an understanding of the progress of the movement and an opportunity to share insight on some of its potential benefits and drawbacks. I will be available following the interviews to answer any questions and explain any aspect of the study.

If you have any questions concerning the research study or your participation in this study, please contact me at brandee.augustine@asu.edu or Dr. Edward Maguire at edmaguire@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Sincerely,

Brandee Augustine
School of Criminology & Criminal Justice
Arizona State University

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Community members:

1. What is the defunding the police movement?
2. How would you describe the relationship between community members and the police in your city prior to the death of George Floyd?
3. Prior to the movement, was there activism in your community that focused on policing/police brutality?
4. Describe how the Defund the Police movement started in your city.
5. Describe the changes you have noticed as a result of the movement.
6. Name two benefits of the movement.
7. Name two drawbacks of the movement.
8. What future changes do you hope to see as a result of the movement?

Police officers or local government officials:

1. What is the defunding the police movement?
2. How would you describe the relationship between community members and the police in your city prior to the death of George Floyd?
3. Name an effort, prior to the movement, that improved police/community relationships.
4. Describe how the Defund the Police movement started in your city.
5. Describe the changes you have noticed as a result of the movement.
6. Name two benefits of the movement.
7. Name two drawbacks of the movement.
8. What future changes do you hope to see as a result of the movement?

APPENDIX C
IRB APPROVAL

Edward Maguire
WATTS: Criminology and Criminal Justice, School of -
edmaguire@asu.edu

Dear Edward Maguire:

On 3/22/2021 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Defunding the Police
Investigator:	Edward Maguire
IRB ID:	STUDY00013612
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• citiCompletionReport6043886.pdf, Category: Other;• citiCompletionReport6043886-2.pdf, Category: Other;• Consent Form, Category: Consent Form;• Interview Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);• IRB Form, Category: IRB Protocol;• Recruitment , Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 3/22/2021.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are required.

Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator