

#NYCBUDGETJUSTICE #DEFUNDNYPD

The Path Forward:

How to Defund the NYPD, Invest in Communities & Make New York Safer

June 16, 2020



**COMMUNITIES
UNITED FOR
POLICE REFORM**

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This report is dedicated in loving memory to Nikita Price.

Nikita joined the ancestors on May 21, 2020. He was a civil rights organizer at Picture the Homeless, a key leader on CPR's steering committee where he co-chaired our Policy Working Group for years, and was loved and respected far and wide in NYC's social justice movements, amongst homeless and housing rights organizers across the country, and even around the world.

Nikita was a father, a friend, a leader, a mentor to many, and so much more. We miss him terribly, we miss his "Big Ups Family" – and we know he would have been in the streets and in meetings with us to demand that New York City #DefundNYPD and invest in Black, Latinx and other communities of color for #NYCBudgetJustice. We love you, Nikita and we hope we honor your memory with our organizing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is a report written with love. And number-crunching. By New Yorkers who love New York City and who love other New Yorkers – and who are part of the Communities United for Police Reform's (CPR) big, extended family.

Everyone who contributed to this report believes that we can have a city that is safe and where everyone can thrive. We know that the long-bloated budget of the NYPD and the history of defunding Black, Latinx and other communities of color are major obstacles to safety.

Almost none of the people who contributed to this report were municipal budget experts before hustling over the past weeks to make this possible. But now, quite a few are experts at reviewing and understanding NYC's budget and financial documents – and most have become experts on the depth and astounding scale of secrecy that hides the NYPD's budget from meaningful public scrutiny and protects the NYPD and its budget from oversight. Please shower these folks with love and sleep; and shower their organizations with love, time and/or money.

Contributors (including research, budget analysis, feedback, number-crunching, arguing about assumptions behind numbers, and thought partners) include: Brooklyn Movement Center (Anthonine Pierre and James Subhudi); Audre Lorde Project (Cleopatra Acquaye Reynolds); NYC Anti-Violence Project (Zara Nasir & Reem Ramadan); Center for Popular Democracy (Kumar Rao, Eli Vitulli, Kate Hamajil); Drug Policy Alliance (Melissa Moore & Cassandra Frederique); Girls for Gender Equity (Ashley Sawyer, Quadira Coles, Charlotte Pope); Jews for Racial & Economic Justice (Leo Ferguson, Yehudah Webster, Rachel McCullough); Justice Committee (Yul-san Liem & London Arnold); Make the Road NY (Adilka Pimental); New York Civil Liberties Union (Michael Sisitzky & Johanna Miller); Public Science Project (Brett Stoudt); VOCAL-NY (Nick Malinowski); and Marc Krupanski. **Writers & Editors:** Jews for Racial & Economic Justice (Leo Ferguson); NYC Anti-Violence Project (Zara Nasir); CPR staff (Ileana Méndez-Peñate and Joo-Hyun Kang); and Alejandro Varela. **Graphics & design:** CPR staff (Julian Liu).

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Note: An earlier version of this report included a typo for a figure noted on p.10 and some inconsistent rounding of figures. Updates have been incorporated in this version.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few months, New York City has been devastated by the coronavirus pandemic.

Everyone has been impacted in some way - however Black, Latinx and other communities of color have been devastated by a combination of high coronavirus-related death rates, COVID-19 infections, loss of employment and income, lack of stable housing, food insecurity, and brutal police violence during the pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has starkly revealed and exacerbated every measure of inequality in New York City, including the prevalence of abusive policing in communities of color.

In this context, Mayor de Blasio proposed an executive budget for the upcoming fiscal year¹ that would protect the NYPD's bloated expense budget of close to \$6 billion while cutting and even eliminating critical programs and services New Yorkers rely on – including those that will be crucial to an equitable recovery from COVID-19.

We can not afford for our communities to continue to be defunded during a pandemic while the NYPD's almost \$6B expense budget is given special protection by the Mayor and the City Council in the FY21 budget.

The deadline for adoption of New York City's FY21 budget is June 30th.

When the Mayor and City Council negotiate and adopt the FY21 budget, they should prioritize the well-being and equitable recovery of communities hardest hit by all aspects of COVID-19.

In order to do this, the NYPD FY21 expense budget must be reduced by at least \$1 billion and those monies should be redirected to critical infrastructure, services, social safety net, and programs that directly benefit Black, Latinx and other communities of color – including our youth and elders.

Monies from NYPD cuts should be redirected to core needs for communities most impacted by police violence and the COVID-19 pandemic, especially Black, Latinx and other communities of color in New York City.

About the #NYCBudgetJustice campaign to #DefundNYPD for community safety:

Days after Mayor de Blasio announced his disastrous FY21 budget proposal, Communities United for Police Reform (CPR) publicly launched the #NYCBudgetJustice campaign to demand an end to the special protection given to the NYPD's bloated budget – and re-allocation of

monies from the NYPD's budget to other agencies crucial to New Yorkers' survival and safety through the course of the pandemic.

The demands of the #NYCBudgetJustice campaign are for the Mayor and City Council to:

- #DefundNYPD by at least \$1 billion in the FY21 expense budget – and for those monies to be redirected to core needs in Black, Latinx and other communities of color. This will be essential for an equitable transition and recovery in the COVID-19 period. A roadmap with essential areas that should be amongst cuts to the NYPD's bloated budget is included in the final section of this report.
- Require increased NYPD budget transparency by including transparency-related terms and conditions in the budget that is passed for FY21. The NYPD's budget is arguably the most secretive and opaque of any New York City agency. This lack of transparency functions as structural protection from meaningful fiscal oversight, including in budget negotiations. This has allowed the NYPD's budget to balloon by over \$1 billion during the de Blasio administration.
- Block increases of any NYPD expense budget lines in FY21 – and deny and cancel any new policing-related initiatives in the NYPD expense budget, other agency expense budgets, NYC general fund budget and in the capital budget plan. This includes cancelling the new NYPD "community ambassador program²" that Mayor de Blasio announced on June 7, 2020.

While this report does not look at the NYC capital budget, the #DefundNYPD for #NYCBudgetJustice campaign also calls for cancellation of all NYPD items in the capital budget, and redistribution of capital budget dollars and capital project properties to other agencies meeting critical needs of the most under-resourced New Yorkers.

II. INVEST IN COMMUNITIES TO MAKE NEW YORK SAFER

The call to #DefundNYPD is a grassroots demand to reduce public dollars invested in policing and mass criminalization – and redirect those monies to public infrastructure, services and other needs in Black, Latinx and other communities of color.

One of the lessons we should take from the current pandemic is that **safety for all New Yorkers is possible only when there are strong, accessible, and culturally competent citywide systems and infrastructure that center the needs of low-income Black, Latinx and other communities of color**. We should understand that safety for all is possible only with strong public health

systems, housing for all, quality education, environmental justice, food justice, transportation justice, disability justice, protections for workers and all of the additional elements needed for robust citywide infrastructure that guarantees the basic needs of all residents to thrive.

No amount of police officers, police training or police funding will ever be able to provide the basis for communities to survive and thrive. That is the fundamental contradiction with New York City's budget approach under the de Blasio administration: Monies have been invested in policing and criminalization instead of health, housing and other community needs. This helps explain why NYC has been so devastated by COVID-19, especially amongst elders, Black, Latinx and other communities of color.

At least \$1 billion from the NYPD's bloated almost \$6 billion expense budget should be redirected to address the needs of low-income communities of color, including but not limited to youth, elders, immigrants, healthcare workers and other essential workers, homeless New Yorkers, public housing residents, people with disabilities, LGBTQ and gender nonconforming people, women, informal economy workers (including street vendors, sex workers, canners and others) – and the many New Yorkers who have or may become newly unemployed or homeless as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic period.

Social services, public health infrastructure and quality mental health programs were stretched thin before this pandemic. After this pandemic, we should be prepared for an even larger portion of NYC residents who will rely on social services and public infrastructure to survive and we need a budget that reflects this. Now more than ever, we must support New York's frontline social services, healthcare workers and other essential workers (including informal economy workers) and shore up the sectors that support these vital services.

The demand for at least \$1 billion to be cut and redirected from the NYPD's bloated and non-transparent budget is a floor, not a ceiling. \$1 billion is the minimum of what should be re-allocated to other agencies from the NYPD's expense budget.

For decades, there has been a systemic under-investment - and in many cases disinvestment - from New York City's public health and other public infrastructure, the social safety net, and core programs and services for communities of color.

Since de Blasio became Mayor, the NYPD's spending from 2014 - 2019 has been more than what NYC spent on the departments of health, homeless services, housing preservation & development, youth & community development, and workforce development combined.³

In other words, **New York City government has defunded Black, Latinx and other communities of color for years.**

Areas like public health (including mental health) and other public infrastructure, affordable housing, youth programs, youth supports in schools, support for elders, education, and more have had a long history of under- and disinvestment. The impact has been that our communities have been effectively defunded for years.

Budgets are moral documents that outline a government's priorities – and tells the story of how a government cares for its people.

The **NYC budget for the past 6 years of Mayor de Blasio's tenure tells a story that indicates our local government has for too long prioritized policing and criminalization over the health and well-being of our communities.**

In the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic and in the face of continued brutal police violence, we can not afford for our communities to continue to be defunded while the NYPD's almost \$6B expense budget is given special protection by the Mayor and the City Council in the city's budget.

The approach we have seen since the pandemic began has been a continued reliance on policing and mass criminalization instead of commitment and action to care for New Yorkers' basic needs. This is a backwards, flawed approach.

We can't police our way out of this pandemic – and we shouldn't try to. Eliminating the NYPD's expanding role in social services, firing officers who harm civilians, and reducing the NYPD's overall budget would both save the city significant resources and free up city budget dollars to be re-allocated to agencies that have been starved of resources in recent years and will have crucial roles to play in ensuring an equitable recovery from COVID-19.

The goal should be to reduce and eliminate the role of police in the lives of New Yorkers, including those who need housing, mental health services, youth development, healthcare and other services. **The goal of New York City's budget should be to enhance New York City's social safety net and strengthen the City's public infrastructure that will enable all New Yorkers to thrive.**

There are many agencies, programs and services that will need additional resources to ensure an equitable recovery from COVID-19, would benefit from redirection of at least \$1 billion from the NYPD's outsized budget – and would help make NYC safer for all of us.

The following is just a sampling of areas NYC will need to shore up to ensure a more equitable recovery from the pandemic. The following is not in any way meant to be comprehensive.

- **Our elders.** Our elders are most at risk for serious complications and death from COVID-19. Even as conditions change and the city relaxes stay-at-home restrictions, until there is a coronavirus vaccine, many seniors will likely spend much of the next year

MAYOR DE BLASIO'S BUDGET PRIORITIES:

CRIMINALIZATION VS. COMMUNITY SAFETY

City budgets map priorities. Here's a snapshot of how NYC's budget under de Blasio has prioritized policing and criminalization over community safety infrastructure. This is a preliminary snapshot and what's included here as "community safety" is not meant to be comprehensive. Stay tuned for more.

FOR EVERY DOLLAR THAT GOES TO THE NYPD AND CORRECTIONS,

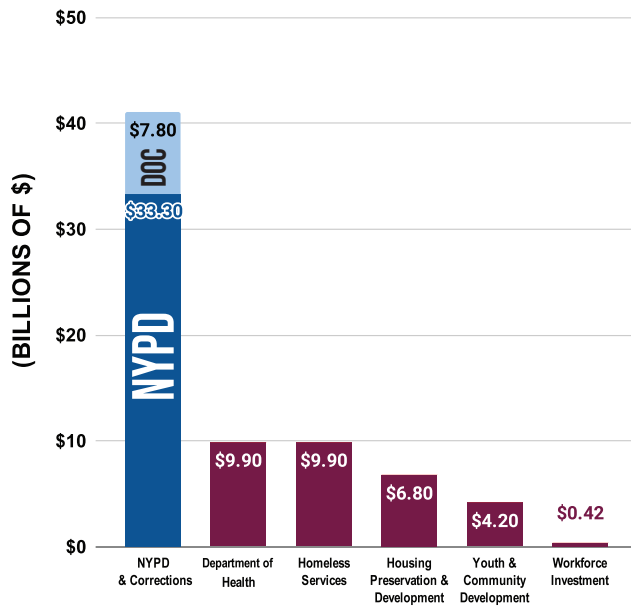


OTHER AGENCIES GET:



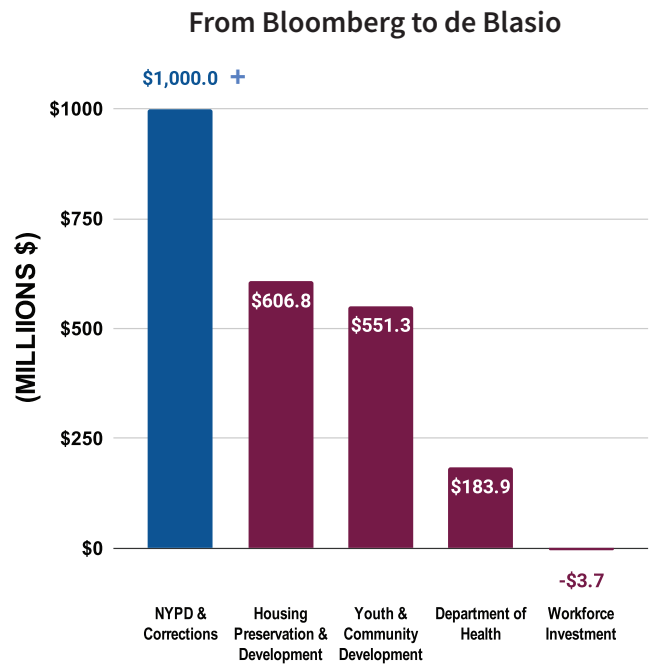
Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2020, City of New York.

TOTAL SPENDING, 2014-2019



Adopted Budget Fiscal Years 2015-2020, City of New York.

GROWTH IN SPENDING, 2013-2019



Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2014, City of New York; Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2020, City of New York.

in isolation. Over the past few months, community based aging service organizations have gone above and beyond to try to make sure that seniors are safe and have the food and resources they need. Yet the Mayor's FY21 budget does little to account for how seniors will need continued intensive services throughout the next year. The Department of Aging receives less than one half of 1% of the city's budget, while it serves almost 20% of the city's population.

Ensuring that seniors get home delivered meals, emergency food provisions, have access to mental health and physical health services, and that the **Department for the Aging** can cover other COVID-19 related expenses should be a top priority for NYC's FY21 budget. At the very least the FY21 adopted budget should restore the **\$48 million**⁴ that has been cut from these services - but that by itself will not be enough.

- **Our children and youth.** Ensuring that the over **one million children in New York City's** public schools, 800,000 of which live in poverty, receive after school and summer programs that are essential to healthy kids and strong communities is always essential, but especially in the coming year when there will be little stability for school-aged children as the institutions that serve them are in flux. Ensuring that our young people have summer employment options and invaluable job training experience is crucial as many families will surely depend on this income in the year to come. In addition, NYC had the first-ever work program for homeless LGBTQ youth that is proposed to be cut in the Mayor's FY21 budget. Cutting this program would yield a savings of only \$2.7 million, compared to the likely impact of helping to keep LGBTQ youth safe and could serve as a model for future programming⁵ if the program were allowed to move forward.

In comparison to the NYPD's bloated almost \$6 billion expense budget, these programs cost the city very little and yet make a huge positive difference in the lives of children and youth. NYC should restore the budget for the **Department of Youth and Community Development, \$180 million**⁶

- **Education and schools.** Ensuring that our **Public Schools** are well-staffed, well-supported, and have the equipment and other infrastructure they need for what is sure to be another unpredictable year of education during a global pandemic should also be a top priority. Schools are not just centers for education, but community centers that connect families with vital resources. Several of the programs that the Mayor cut in the FY21 budget are funds that give schools the flexibility to afford multi-lingual counselors, trauma responsive social workers, and connect people and families to meals, housing, and other resources. CPR member Girls for Gender Equity found that the Mayor's proposed FY21 budget includes a higher headcount for school safety agents than school psychologists, social workers and counselors combined – and offers students eight times as many safety agents than school nurses⁷.

We need to restore cuts to the **Department of Education, \$641 million⁸** and create police-free schools so that we can build school environments that truly support the safety and development of our young people.

- Higher education. Ensuring that young people have access to affordable quality college options is essential, especially in this period of economic devastation. Monies from the NYPD's expense budget could help to restore funding that Mayor de Blasio has been proposed as cuts for the City University of New York, \$31 million⁹

In the midst of the still-ongoing pandemic and economic devastation faced by Black, Latinx and other communities of color, it is unacceptable that the NYPD has largely been shielded and protected from proposed budget cuts while reductions are being proposed for youth programs (including but not limited to the Summer Youth Employment Program), education and youth supports in schools, homeless services, mental health, and programs for our elders.

The path to safety for all New Yorkers requires that we rethink our priorities decisively to move away from criminalization and policing, and deepen investments in our communities.

There are many crucial needs for the FY21 budget that were not forecasted in the Mayor's executive budget proposal – including what is expected to be an exacerbated long-term economic crisis compounding the current health crisis. NYC will need to decide whether we will invest in basic survival needs for low-income Black, Latinx and other communities of color – including related to housing, income and food supports.

Part of the city's plan for an equitable recovery from COVID-19 must include reducing the NYPD's budget by at least \$1 billion in FY21.

III. WHY #DEFUNDNYPD for #NYCBudgetJustice

Since Mayor de Blasio's executive budget proposal was released in April 2020, the NYPD's pattern of abusive policing has been widely exposed. Video after video of violent and discriminatory NYPD social distancing and coronavirus-related enforcement was released after being taken by bystanders who copwatched incidents. Release of NYPD data¹⁰ related to social distancing revealed what New Yorkers of color already knew – there are deep racial disparities in the NYPD's targeting and violent policing of Black and other communities of color, not explainable by the volume of 311 calls¹¹ or other so-called objective markers of social distancing complaints.

The recent media coverage and viral videos of NYPD officers violently policing protesters has deepened and expanded the public's understanding of the widespread nature of police violence. New Yorkers experienced being mass-pepper sprayed, violently thrown to the ground by white

shirts and patrol officers, having an NYPD car driven into a crowd, having masks pulled off while being pepper-sprayed by officers, indiscriminately being chased and beaten with batons, mass arrests for non-violent protest, and more. In addition to many incidents of physical violence by officers, there were countless instances of abuse of authority, threats and humiliation including an organized effort amongst many officers to cover their shield numbers, retaliation against those who asked for their names or pulled cell phones out to record police abuse, as well as racist, transphobic, homophobic and sexist vitriol from officers.

Sadly, **these incidents are not limited to the recent protests.** While the mass brutality by officers exposed the protest-related police violence, Black and Latinx New Yorkers have been experiencing increases of police violence within their neighborhoods since the start of the pandemic and before, with little public attention.

In this context, Mayor de Blasio, Commissioner Shea and other NYPD brass have repeatedly refused to condemn the widespread violence by officers against New Yorkers or fire officers for actions that would not have been allowed in any other profession. Instead, the Mayor and NYPD brass have gone to great lengths to justify and excuse the widespread police violence and misconduct New Yorkers experienced and witnessed.

This is dangerous because it is part of a pattern by elected officials and police brass that emboldens police brutality, and serves as pre-authorization for police violence, making clear that most officers will not be fired for these actions. The Mayor and Commissioner's refusal to fire many officers who have killed and brutalized New Yorkers over the years is also part of why so many officers are emboldened to harm New Yorkers – and plays a role in why some officers who witness these incidents are reluctant to intervene or report the misconduct.

Aside from the more recent incidents, there are other reasons to drastically reduce the NYPD's budget. **The NYPD's budget during the de Blasio administration has been larger than what the city has spent on the departments of health, homeless services, youth & community development, and workforce development combined.**

The outsized NYPD budget and the history of defunding crucial infrastructure, services and community programs does not make NYC safer. Instead of doing deep investments in these crucial areas with the agencies that have the expertise and responsibility for mental health, education, youth development and more, the de Blasio administration has allowed the role of the NYPD in all facets of social service delivery and community programs to expand. In fact, during Mayor de Blasio's tenure, the NYPD budget has ballooned by over \$1B and mass criminalization and abusive policing strategies have grown – while crucial services have been cut and/or stagnant.

Decreasing the NYPD expense budget for FY21 by at least \$1 billion is necessary to restore and expand critical infrastructure and programs that benefit Black, Latinx and other

communities of color. This is fiscally prudent, sound policy and morally necessary in this time of crisis—and would enhance, rather than risk public safety.

In the midst of the still-ongoing pandemic and economic devastation faced by Black, Latinx and other communities of color, it is unacceptable that the NYPD has largely been shielded and protected from proposed budget cuts while youth programs (including but not limited to the Summer Youth Employment Program), education and youth supports in schools, homeless services, mental health, programs for our elders have been cut.

We need a robust plan that addresses the budgetary needs the city faces to address the increasing need for housing stability, as well as income and food support for all New Yorkers, including elders, families, people who homeless, healthcare workers, informal sector workers, undocumented New Yorkers and others. **Part of this plan must include reducing the NYPD's budget by at least \$1 billion in FY21**, the fiscal year that starts July 1, 2020.

IV. HOW TO DEFUND THE NYPD AND ENSURE A MORE EQUITABLE PANDEMIC RECOVERY

The NYPD's budget is perhaps the most secretive and least transparent of all NYC agencies. In addition, the NYPD receives programmatic monies from private sources (e.g. NYC Police Foundation) that the NYPD is not required to report on to the City Council in spite of the Council's budget oversight role. This is unacceptable and are some one of the structural reasons the NYPD's outsized budget is so well-protected in politics.

The demands of the #NYCBudgetJustice campaign are for the Mayor and City Council to:

- #DefundNYPD by at least \$1 billion in the FY21 expense budget – and for those monies to be redirected to core needs in Black, Latinx and other communities of color. This will be essential for an equitable transition and recovery in the COVID-19 period. A roadmap with essential areas that should be amongst cuts to the NYPD's bloated budget is included at the end of this section.
- Require increased NYPD budget transparency by including transparency-related terms and conditions in the budget that is passed for FY21. The NYPD's budget is arguably the most secretive and opaque of any New York City agency. This lack of transparency functions as structural protection from meaningful fiscal oversight, including in budget negotiations. This has allowed the NYPD's budget to balloon by over \$1 billion during the de Blasio administration.
 - The NYPD should be required to disclose all private sources of income that equal \$5,000 or more in any fiscal year, details of the specific purpose(s) those funds are used towards, and a full description and accounting of budget lines that those funds cover.

- The NYPD should be required to have more specific units of appropriation as part of its public facing budget.
- The NYPD should be required to provide a public report of all officers with pending and closed misconduct incidents, with details including when and whether disciplinary action was taken and detail of the type of disciplinary action taken.
- Block increases of any NYPD expense budget lines in FY21 – and deny and cancel any new policing-related initiatives in the NYPD expense budget, other agency expense budgets, NYC general fund budget and in the capital budget plan.
 - This includes cancelling the new NYPD “community ambassador program¹²” that Mayor de Blasio announced on June 7, 2020.

While this report does not look at the NYC FY21 capital budget, the #DefundNYPD for #NYCBudgetJustice campaign also calls for cancellation of all NYPD items in the capital budget, and redistribution of capital dollars and capital project properties from the NYPD to other agencies meeting critical needs of the most under-resourced New Yorkers.

Roadmap for crucial cuts

Communities United for Police Reform’s (CPR) #NYCBudgetJustice campaign has identified a minimum of five main areas that should be included in a package of cuts to the NYPD’s FY21 expense budget – to total at least \$1 billion in reductions. In addition to at least \$1 billion in cuts directly to line items in the NYPD’s expense budget, this section also includes cuts to intra-agency expenses that other agencies pay the NYPD for (e.g. pass-through monies that aren’t directly reflected in the NYPD’s expense budget), and other costs that should be deducted from the NYPD’s expense budget (costs of police brutality judgments and settlements).

Summary of minimum areas that should be cut from the NYPD FY21 expense budget

The following areas include:

- **\$1,263,091,673 in reductions and cuts directly to NYPD FY21 expense budget**
- At least \$478,446,768 in related fringe/pension (which is not part of the NYPD expense budget)
- \$307,717,000 in funds from other agencies and/or the city’s general fund

If these cuts are made, it would **represent at least \$2,049,255,441 in total policing-related savings that can be redirected to communities.**

The information included in this section is not comprehensive – and is limited largely by the opacity and lack of transparency of the NYPD’s budget. The cuts and savings identified should

be understood as **minimum** cuts and do not represent a comprehensive list of all items that should be cut from the NYPD FY21 expense budget. These are minimum calculations, generally based on conservative numbers. We expect that the actual budget amounts for each of these items is higher than listed when accounting for overhead expenses, etc.

Hiring Freeze and Cancel Cadet Program

Reduction to NYPD FY21 expense budget: \$263,081,630

Total savings that can be redirected to communities: \$456,543,594

Many city agencies including the Department of Education and Department of Health have mandated hiring freezes for FY21, but the Mayor's executive budget does not propose an NYPD hiring freeze. An NYPD hiring freeze would free up needed financial resources that can be redirected to communities most impacted by COVID-19 and abusive policing.

- **Freeze New NYPD Hires.** At least \$208.5 million cut from the NYPD expense budget + \$152.1 million in fringe = \$360.6 Million¹³

The NYPD is projected to hire 2300¹⁴ new police officers in FY21. A hiring freeze would enable cutting the NYPD FY21 expense budget by \$208,550,200. An additional \$152,132,225 would be saved from the costs of fringe and pensions (which comes out of NYC's general fund, not the NYPD expense budget).

The total savings of \$360,682,425 should be redirected towards core services and programs for Black, Latinx and other communities of color most impacted by COVID-19 and abusive policing.

- **Cancel January 2020 and April 2020 Academy Classes.** At least \$45.2 million cut from the NYPD + \$41.3 million in fringe = \$86.5 million¹⁵

Because of COVID-19 January 2020 and April 2020 Police Academy classes were delayed and are slated to be hired in FY21. These Academy classes should be cancelled. Cancelling would cut \$45,170,250 from the NYPD expense budget resulting in an additional reduction of fringe costs by \$41,329,739 for a total of \$86,499,989.

- **Cancel the FY21 Cadet Corps.** At least \$9.3 million cut from the NYPD¹⁶

The Police Cadet program is a two-year, part-time officer-in-training program for people who hope to become police officers. We are calling for a cancellation of all new Cadet Corps for FY21.

Remove NYPD from schools and social service-related roles

Reduction to NYPD FY21 expense budget: \$96,035,529

Total savings that can be redirected to communities: At least \$449,702,847 (+unknown amount related to cost of NYPD's "youth initiative", which should be cut).

The brutal death toll of the pandemic and the economic crisis facing the city have profound implications for the future of all but the most privileged New Yorkers. Black and Latinx residents have died at twice the rate of everyone else, young people cannot attend school, and poor, immigrant, homeless, and undocumented New Yorkers have been hit hardest by the economic collapse and are receiving the least help from the federal government. We can expect that there will be at least tens of thousands of New Yorkers who will need to access city agencies for support with housing, food, education, and employment.

Policing has never been a solution to addressing societal inequalities. Instead, policing has often played the role of managing the public's perception of the depth of inequality through dangerous broken windows policing strategies that criminalize poverty and communities of color.

Police should be removed from schools and all social service roles, and related monies should be redirected to agencies that can help support the root cause of the societal inequalities that are facing New Yorkers.

- **Disband NYPD from Homeless Outreach and Subway Diversion Programs, remove police from related roles and cut the related costs from the NYPD expense budget.** At least \$12.7 million cut from the NYPD + \$7.3 million in fringe = \$20 million + Unknown

The NYPD Subway Diversion Program is referred to as the NYPD homeless "subway coercion program¹⁷" by homeless New Yorkers and advocates. The program has been highly criticized for its abuse, harassment and coercion of homeless New Yorkers. Similarly, many homeless New Yorkers and advocates consider the NYPD Homeless Outreach program to be a homeless harassment program and a gross mis-use of funds.

NYC should not continue to invest millions of dollars into programs that abusively police homeless New Yorkers and create the false impression amongst the public that services are being provided. The solution to homelessness is providing permanent, affordable housing – not policing.

Cutting these programs and removing NYPD from these roles could result in a savings of approximately \$12,795,286 from the NYPD expense budget, resulting in a reduction of fringe

costs by \$7,271,599 for a total of \$20,066,885 that City Council should redirect towards affordable and long-term housing for homeless New Yorkers.

- **Remove NYPD from mental health response. Cut Mental Health Co-Response Teams.** \$4.8 Million.¹⁸

New York City is trailing behind other cities by doubling down on outdated and discredited police-involved approaches to mental health crises. The city's misguided plans to train police to respond to emotional distress calls and pilot pairing officers with mental health workers is a backwards and failed approach.

People in emotional distress account for 25%–50% of all individuals killed by police across the country.¹⁹ Mohamed Bah, Deborah Danner, Saheed Vassell, Ariel Galarza, and Dwayne Jeune were just some of the individuals in emotional distress or with psychiatric disabilities who the NYPD has killed during Mayor de Blasio's tenure. We are demanding the removal of the NYPD from all mental health response.

The \$4.8 million that should be cut for the NYPD's co-response program should instead be redirected to the Department of Health or another agency to create and implement a model that incorporates behavioral health services, public health workers, peers and others.

- **Remove Police from Schools.** This includes cutting \$24 million from the NYPD expense budget and an additional savings of \$308 million that the DOE currently pays the NYPD = \$332 million²⁰

For years, students of color and youth organizers have been fighting the city's funding and investments in school safety agents and zero-tolerance policies that contribute to the school-to-prison pipeline and criminalize youth in NYC schools - especially for students of color who are already over-policed, criminalized, and jailed at higher rates than their peers, and for whom more police in schools hasn't meant more safety.²¹ Research shows that supportive schools with a high ratio of counselors and mental health professionals to students have fewer discipline problems²². In spite of this, the number of School Safety Division officers outnumbers counselors by a wide margin. Removing NYPD and school safety agents from schools could result in a direct re-investment of \$307,717, 000 million back into the Department of Education, since the DOE currently pays the NYPD for school safety officers. Cutting \$24,210,000 from the NYPD expense budget could also be redirected to other core services and programs for young people for a total of \$331,927,000.

Walking into school should not feel like walking into a jail or prison, and, yet, that's what many young people feel when they go through metal detectors, are being hand-wanded, or when they encounter school safety agents in their halls. Instead of School Safety Officers, this funding should be funneled towards restorative justice practices in schools, more guidance counselors, and other student supports.

Instituting a freeze on new School Safety officer hires represents savings of \$38.8 million²³ out of \$332 million, of this category. Imposing this freeze would cut \$28,328,097 from the NYPD budget and put that money back into the DOE. It would also result in a reduction of fringe costs for the city by \$10,509,020 for a total of \$38,837,117 that can go back to supporting our young people.

- **Cut 500 NYPD Transit Bureau Officers.** \$54.2 million from the NYPD expense budget + \$38.7 million from fringe = \$92.9 Million²⁴

Governor Cuomo and the MTA announced last year that the MTA would hire 500 new MTA police officers for NYC subways. We do not need more police in the trains, we need improved train service and affordable public transit. The NYPD transit bureau should be cut by at least 500 officers to offset the increase of 500 officers from the MTA. This would result in a cut of \$54,230,243 from the NYPD budget resulting in a related reduction of fringe costs by \$38,678,719 for a total savings of \$92,908,962 that should be redirected to address core transportation and other needs for communities most impacted by COVID-19 and abusive policing.

- **Cut NYPD Youth Initiative.** Unknown Amount

Earlier this year, the NYPD announced that they were launching a new “youth initiative”, including more than 300 “youth coordination officers” in each of the department’s 77 precincts. The officers are supposed to follow individual youth who are considered ‘at risk’ of criminal activity. For youth of color who are already targeted by the NYPD, further interactions with police and criminalization is misguided. The City should move these resources to other agencies to support youth development, school counselors, school social workers, and community-based youth programs instead of enabling the NYPD to continue to inappropriately expand their role.

Costs of Abusive Policing

**Note: Calculations in this section represent a minimum baseline and are under-estimates

Amount that should be deducted from NYPD FY21 expense budget for police misconduct settlements/judgments & not firing abusive officers: \$287,423,709

Total savings that can be redirected to communities: \$302,895,197

- **Pay of NYPD officers who killed New Yorkers in 10 cases, who have not been fired:** \$13,731,612²⁵ + fringe and pension costs

The NYPD is notorious for not firing officers who unjustly kill, brutalize or otherwise harm New Yorkers. In 2018, BuzzFeed found that there were hundreds of officers who were able to keep their jobs in spite of the fact that the NYPD had found them guilty of serious misconduct including police brutality, sexual assault and lying to grand juries and District Attorneys²⁶.

Families whose loved ones have been killed by NYPD officers have faced extraordinary hurdles in seeking the firing of the officers. It's incredibly rare, and often only as a result of years-long, high visibility campaigns that officers are either forced out or fired. It took over five years to force the NYPD to finally convene a disciplinary trial that resulted in the firing of Daniel Pantaleo for his killing of Eric Garner. Other officers who engaged in misconduct in the Eric Garner case have not even been served with disciplinary trials.

Members of the Justice Committee researched officers who have killed New Yorkers in a select number of cases, and calculated their pay since the time they killed individuals. NYPD officers responsible for the killings of Amadou Diallo (1999), Shantel Davis (2012), Ramarley Graham (2012), Mohamed Bah (2012), Kimani Gray (2013), Eric Garner (2014), Delrawn Small (2016), Kadeem Torres (2017), Saheed Vassell (2018) and Kawaski Trawick (2019) **are still on NYPD payroll and have cost the city \$13 million since they killed these civilians.** This amount accounts only for the above cases and not for other unjust killings.

Since the NYPD refuses to hold officers accountable for harming New Yorkers, and routinely keeps officers on payroll in spite of egregious acts of violence, the City Council and the Mayor should deduct this amount from the NYPD FY21 expense budget. The \$13 million referenced above only relates to a select number of cases.

- **Officers on Modified Duty:** At Least \$21,692,097 cut from the NYPD + \$15,471,488 in Fringe = \$37,163,585²⁷

Officer Francisco Garcia, while claiming to be enforcing social distancing in the Lower East Side earlier this year, violently attacked a bystander and knelt on his neck after throwing him to the ground. Garcia is on modified duty – which means he continues to collect his entire salary and is also eligible for overtime. He's joined by 200-300 other NYPD officers on modified duty at any given time (often for years) for a range of unprofessional behavior and/or misconduct. Given the NYPD's systemic refusal to fire officers for harming New Yorkers, we are demanding that the NYPD budget be cut by the equivalent of the cost of maintaining these officers on payroll.

The cost of 200 modified officers is approximately \$21,692,097 per year. Since the NYPD refuses to fire officers in a timely way for harming civilians, we are demanding that the NYPD expense budget be cut by this cost of enabling and supporting abusive policing.

Every year, the City pays out millions of our tax dollars to settle lawsuits against the NYPD for misconduct that includes abuse and brutalization of New Yorkers. However, this money doesn't come out of the NYPD's budget; it comes out of a central fund, giving the NYPD no economic incentive to reduce misconduct. In addition the Mayor's FY21 budget freezes hiring for the Citizen's Complaint Review Board (CCRB), the only agency charged with NYPD misconduct oversight²⁸. Following the lead of other municipalities,²⁹ we are calling for the amount the city pays out in settlements during one fiscal year, be removed from the subsequent year's NYPD budget, so that they bear the brunt of this financial burden. This is an important action that City Council can take to hold the NYPD accountable for abusive, racist, and violent policing.

- **Deduct the costs of police misconduct judgments and settlements from the NYPD**
Fy21 budget: \$252 million

Since Mayor de Blasio became Mayor, between 2014-19, New York City paid out a total of \$1,260,900,000³⁰ – averaging \$252 million/year of our tax dollars related to judgments and settlements against the NYPD. However, these monies do not come out of the NYPD budget and therefore there is no financial incentive for the NYPD to hold their officers accountable for abusive policing. In addition, certain units and precincts, are sued for misconduct more frequently and should be targeted for cuts. In order to incentivize the NYPD to discipline systemic police violence and misconduct, we call for their FY21 budget to be reduced by \$252 million.

Reduce NYPD uniform headcount to FY2014 level

Reduction to NYPD FY21 expense budget: At least \$219 million

Total savings that can be redirected to communities: At least \$375.5 million

Since Mayor de Blasio took office the NYPD's actual uniform headcount has increased by 2,021 Officers, all while crime rates have steadily gone down. This consistent upward trend is both unnecessary and concerning because we have seen that they have exceeded their budgeted headcount every year since FY 2015 (Mayor de Blasio's first full fiscal year as Mayor).

	Fiscal Year as of June 30th					
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Actual Uniform Staffing	34,440	34,618	35,990	36,254	36,643	36,461
Forecasted Uniform Staffing	34,483	34,483	35,780	35,822	36,078	36,113

We are calling for a reduction of the NYPD's uniformed force to a maximum of the headcount in 2014. Cutting these positions would result in a savings of at least \$219,198,643 from the NYPD expense budget and also resulted in a related reduction of fringe costs by \$156,339,383 for a total of \$375,538,026.³¹

Cut NYPD Budget Bloat

**Note: Calculations in this section represent a minimum baseline and are under-estimates

Reduction to NYPD FY21 expense budget: \$397,352,162

Total savings that can be redirected to communities: At least \$464,575,777

This is a non-comprehensive list of NYPD Budget Bloat, because the NYPD budget is amongst the most secretive and non-transparent of city agencies. The following are just a few examples of what should be cut.

- **Public Relations Budget:** \$3.1 Million³² + **Unknown**

A global pandemic is not the time to prioritize the NYPD's \$3.1 million dollar office of the Deputy Commissioner for Public Information budget over the life-and-death needs of New Yorkers. In addition, the public relations functions of the NYPD is largely propaganda, which harms New Yorkers in the long-run. Many other agencies have much smaller departments, including some that combine intergovernmental affairs and press functions amongst a few staff who handle press and interact with elected officials. NYPD should not enjoy special treatment in this regard – especially when their public relations functions and budget are supplemented beyond the budget of DCPI from sources including funds from the NYC Police Foundation and the additional regular media amplification by the Mayor's press team and Mayor. (The amount provided to the NYPD from the NYC Police Foundation and other private sources for strategic communications, public relations, creation and airing of propaganda advertising, videos, blogs and podcasts is unknown)

- **NYPD Officers Above Budgeted Headcount:** at least \$77,983,090 million cut from the NYPD FY21 expense budget + \$55,619,998 million in fringe = approximately \$133,603,088 million

The NYPD had 36,920 officers on the force as of January 2020; yet they only have an authorized budget for 36, 201, meaning they were over-budget by 719 officers³³ in January of 2020. This kind of budget overspending is costing us potentially millions a year that we cannot afford during an economic crisis caused by a global pandemic. We demand that all positions over the budgeted headcount be cut and that they not be allowed to regularly go over their allotted headcount.

- **Surveillance Technologies:** \$27 Million + Unknown

How much the NYPD is spending on surveillance technologies is unknown. We know that in 2018, the NYPD's brand-new fleet of 14 drones set the city back \$480,000. Add in the 29 officers to run them and you get an annual cost of approximately \$4 million dollars. This is in addition to its six bomb-seeking underwater drones (\$75,000-\$150,000 each), five helicopters, many armored vehicles, X-ray vans (\$700,000-\$800,000 each), "Stingrays" (\$100,000 each), and other undisclosed surveillance equipment and programs. These are the very definition of "non-essential in a public health crisis." We demand that the City Council demand transparency from the NYPD about surveillance equipment and operations that may infringe on civil liberties, and look for opportunities to liquidate this equipment and reduce accompanying personnel costs.

We are estimating that at least 150 Uniform Officers are required to operate this equipment and the city should cut \$16,269,073 Million from the NYPD Budget which would result in the reduction of fringe costs by \$11,603,616 for a total of \$27,872,689.

- **NYPD Overtime:** At least \$300 million

The NYPD overtime budget of \$511 million is millions more than the cost of the summer youth employment program and many other city programs combined. It's an example of the waste and over-resourcing of the NYPD, however, cutting overtime in the FY21 Budget raises questions because the NYPD has routinely overspent on overtime by upwards of \$200 million with no oversight or accountability. Past commitments on cutting overtime have been easily broken by the NYPD and will likely not make funds become available for other essential government services. However, a total of over half a billion as one budget line item is not insignificant and the City Council and the Mayor should enforce a strict overtime cap.

We are calling for at least \$300 million to be cut from NYPD FY21 overtime budget line.

Citations

¹ The upcoming fiscal year begins July 1, and is referred to as FY21 throughout this report

² On June 7, 2020, Mayor de Blasio [announced](#) four so-called “policing reforms”. One was an idea for the NYPD to hire “community ambassadors” to “serve as liaisons between officers and New Yorkers”. This is seen widely as a costly public relations stunt that will add to the NYPD’s budget while systemic lack of transparency and accountability continue.

³ Adopted budget fiscal years 2015-2020, City of New York <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/omb/downloads/pdf/erc6-19.pdf>

⁴ <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/05/Department-for-the-Aging.pdf>

⁵ <https://queenseagle.com/all/2020/5/15/nyc-plans-to-cut-celebrated-work-program-for-homeless-lgbtq-youth>

⁶ <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/omb/downloads/pdf/csp4-20.pdf>

⁷ Girls for Gender Equity June 2020 [New York City Can’t Wait: Shrink Policing in the Name of Public Health](#) report, p. 2.

⁸ <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/omb/downloads/pdf/csp4-20.pdf>

⁹ <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/omb/downloads/pdf/csp4-20.pdf>

¹⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/07/nyregion/nypd-social-distancing-race-coronavirus.html>

¹¹ Legal Aid Society’s May 2020 [Racial Disparities in NYPD’s COVID-19 Policing: Unequal Enforcement of 311 Social Distancing Calls](#) report found that while less than half of the 311 complaints analyzed occurred in majority Black and Latinx precincts, close to 80% of summonses and 74% of arrests that were COVID-related took place in majority Black and Latinx precincts.

¹² On June 7, 2020, Mayor de Blasio [announced](#) four so-called “policing reforms”. One was an idea for the NYPD to hire “community ambassadors” to “serve as liaisons between officers and New Yorkers”. This is seen widely as a costly public relations stunt that will add to the NYPD’s budget while systemic lack of transparency and accountability continue.

¹³ This estimate is conservative and is based on the average salary of an NYPD Officer in form Council Finance [Report](#) on the NYPD from March 4, 2020. If you include the fringe benefit rate of 96.45%, which is, again, a conservative amount, based on the [2015 Quadrennial Commission Report](#), (Appendix K, PDF p.138), the total cost to the city is \$360,682,424.

¹⁴ Commissioner Shea stated at the Public Safety hearing, May 14, 2020, that the NYPD expected to hire 2,300 officers in FY21. This number is corroborated by the Council Finance Division’s [report](#) on the NYPD Budget, March 4, 2020.

¹⁵ This estimate is conservative and is based on the average salary of first year NYPD Officers from publicly available City Payroll Data and assumes that there are approximately 500 officers in each of these classes.

¹⁶ According to the [FY21 April Supporting Schedules](#) there is 2.3 Million in the OTPS Budget for the Cadet Program. According to the Council Finance Division’s [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on March 4, 2020, there were a total of 434 Cadet’s who on average made \$16,270 per year.

¹⁷ See Coalition for the Homeless and Human.nyc’s Subway Coercion Program website: <https://www.diversioniscoercion.nyc/>

¹⁸ According to the Council Finance Divisions [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on May 14, 2020, the total Co-Response Team program has a budget of \$4.8 million and 68 personnel for Fiscal 2021. This accounts for the reduction in personnel due to the city-wide savings program.

¹⁹ According to Treatment Advocacy Center's December 2015 report "Overlooked in the Undercounted: The Role of Mental Illness in Fatal Law Enforcement Encounters." <https://www.treatmentadvocacycenter.org/overlooked-in-the-undercounted>

²⁰ According to the FY21 [Budget Function Analysis on April 20](#), the School Safety Budget is \$331,926,000.

²¹ The Root, 2018. [Study Shows School Resource Officers Don't Make Campuses Safer](#)

²² https://www.nyclu.org/sites/default/files/publications/nyclu_pub_criminalizing_the_classroom.pdf

²³ According to the Council Finance Division's [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on March 4, 2020, the attrition rate for civilian staff of the NYPD, including school safety agents, is 10.8 percent. With a hiring freeze, the school safety force could expect to lose 551 agents, using FY19 headcount of 5,098. Using FY19 numbers, an average school safety agent's base salary is \$39,682, plus \$10,355 in overtime, and \$1,414 in "other pay," for a total of \$51,451 net wages. Adding the average officer fringe benefits at a rate of 48.1% of base salary, one such officer costs the city an average of \$70,538 per year.

²⁴ According to the Council Finance Division's [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on March 4, 2020 an average NYPD Officer salary from FY19 was used to calculate this number.

²⁵ According to [publicly available](#) payroll data for NYC employees.

²⁶ BuzzFeed, March 5, 2018, [Secret NYPD Files: Officers Can Lie In Court Or Brutally Beat People And Still Keep Their Jobs](#)

²⁷ According to the Council Finance Division's [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on March 4, 2020, average NYPD Officer salary from FY19 was used to calculate this number.

²⁸ <https://ibo.nyc.ny.us/cgi-park2/2020/06/last-november-voters-approved-an-increase-in-civilian-complaint-review-board-staffing-does-the-mayors-budget-plan-provide-the-funds/>

²⁹ <https://theappeal.org/spending-billions-on-policing-then-millions-on-police-misconduct/>

³⁰ According to Scott Stringer Annual Claims [Report](#), for fiscal years FY13-FY18

³¹ This estimate is conservative and is based on the average salary of an NYPD Officer in form Council Finance [Report](#) on the NYPD from March 4, 2020. . If you include the fringe benefit rate of 96.45%, which is, again, a conservative amount, based on the [2015 Quadrennial Commission Report](#), (Appendix K, PDF p.138), the total cost to the city is \$375,538,026.

³² Police Commissioner Shae gave this number at the City Council Public Safety Hearing on May 14th, who's video can be found here: <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/MeetingDetail.aspx?ID=783198&GUID=6D7B527A-48AF-4000-BA17-6CA9C5400764&Options=info|&Search=>

³³ According to the Council Finance Division's [report](#) on the NYPD Budget on March 4, 2020.