

# 4.0

## CRISIS RESPONSE

Counter to dominant narratives, our research found that policing is not necessarily central to peoples' understanding of safety. In chapter 2, we presented evidence that people in heavily policed neighborhoods frequently experience the NYPD as violent, harmful and ineffective. In Chapter 3, we shared that heavily policed communities are calling for approaches to public safety that invest in a broad set of supports, services and institutions to fundamentally address the root causes of violence. In other words, many participants understand safety in relation to a broadened notion of harm occurring to them and their communities that are both acute and structural.<sup>1</sup> At the same time people are policed on an everyday basis, rents are going up, families are displaced from their neighborhoods, young people continue to be subjected to school suspensions despite the risk it carries for future arrest, graduation rates remain too low, and not enough living-wage jobs exist (to name just a few of the issues).<sup>2</sup> Yet, when it comes to promoting safety, the police are the chief public agency that policymakers utilize, invest in and prioritize.

**There is a general recognition that the police can do little to address the deeper roots of community safety,<sup>3</sup> but what about in moments of acute crisis?** Where violence exists, people want and need support. That much is obvious. However, this fact does not necessarily translate into a desire for police if other options are presented, as we will discuss in more detail throughout this chapter. Many times when people call 911, they need immediate aid that does not require police response, but the NYPD is almost always the default response option, regardless of the situation.<sup>4</sup>

In the last several decades, the NYPD has taken over a wide range of roles that are thoroughly outside its stated mandate.<sup>5</sup> It is highly present in places like schools, hospitals, community centers and government buildings where people access benefits, even public New York pools, where NYPD officers have to be present for the doors to open.<sup>6</sup> The city is using police to act in the place of counselors, mediators, mental health professionals and social workers, and in doing so, increasing the likelihood that community members will end up in jail instead of getting their needs met.<sup>7</sup> This is especially true in crisis situations where people

are often forced to turn to police for mental health, domestic violence or school-based crises instead of professionals who are better equipped to handle these urgent situations.<sup>8</sup>

The Community Safety Project asked respondents what they want and need when having an emergency or a situation that needs an urgent response, such as moments of violence, a mental health crisis, or other situations that people find unmanageable and in which they need immediate assistance.

Using similar methodological strategies as described in Chapter 3, it is clear from the research that many New Yorkers find themselves in situations where they want an urgent and immediate response from places other than the NYPD. Respondents described a range of situations in which their preferred options are well-trained and well-resourced crisis responders who are unconnected to the criminal legal system.

#### **Sections:**

**4.1 Handling a crisis without the NYPD**

**4.2 The NYPD should not be the only option for New Yorkers in crises**

**4.3 Seeking help for intimate partner violence and sexual assault**

**4.4 Removing the NYPD from mental health crisis response**

**4.5 Summary**

## 4.1 Handling a crisis without the NYPD

To begin a conversation about crisis response, it is necessary to acknowledge that communities respond to crises every day without the NYPD's help. This is not a radical notion or a future fantasy. It is happening now and needs to be centered when documenting how people understand community safety. Our research also found that many people avoid calling the NYPD in crisis situations because they fear that the NYPD will make the situation worse. Survey responses and town hall conversations indicated that people in crisis frequently want and need outside support but can feel like the right kind of support isn't available to them. In other words, our study found that the current crisis response system needs a serious overhaul to genuinely meet the needs of communities most heavily policed in New York.

Over one-third (35%) of the participants reported they were in a serious situation where they could have contacted the NYPD but decided to handle it differently without police. When asked what they did instead of calling the NYPD, respondents wrote about a range of successful strategies. Some wrote about de-escalation strategies, such as this person describing a fight where someone from the community was hit by a car: "The situation ended up getting resolved by the neighborhood. A few elders, and people walking by got involved and listened to both sides of the story, resolved the situation and both individuals went home. Problem was solved."<sup>9</sup> Others described relying on community-based programs for support: "My sibling got jumped; we called GMACC [Gangstas Making Astronomical Community Changes] instead of the police."<sup>10</sup>

### Who assisted in resolving issue(s) without the NYPD

35% reported they were in situations serious enough to contact the NYPD but decided to handle it differently without police.

When asked who assisted in resolving the issue(s) without the NYPD, respondents selected all of the following that applied to them:

42%	Themselves (respondent)
33%	It resolved itself
30%	Family
24%	Friends
23%	People from the neighborhood
16%	Elder
16%	Family of those involved
14%	Friends of those involved
13%	Leaders in the neighborhood
6%	Community advocate of organization
6%	Religious org or leader
5%	Service provider
5%	Peer mentor program
4%	Local crisis response team
4%	A trained de-escalator or mediator
4%	Teacher
3%	Elected official
3%	Violence interrupter program
3%	Restorative or transformative justice program

\*Respondents could select all that applied

“Some kids fighting in front of my house damaged my car and property. I considered calling the police to break it up but decided to talk to them myself ... They don’t deserve to die for whatever kiddie conflict they were going through.”

- Survey respondent  
(44, Latinx, man, Staten Island)

When faced with a choice to call the NYPD or not, these community members chose a nonpolice alternative that they thought would be a more effective solution. Those who assisted in resolving the crisis without the NYPD were people like elders, community members, bystanders and sometimes violence prevention organizations. Ultimately, the stories that participants conveyed are important illustrations of what is too frequently discounted — a neighborhood’s collective strength and power. However, the NYPD’s perceived inadequacy and the fear that it elicits leaves a significant civic gap that can force New Yorkers to make dangerous decisions in moments of crisis, such as putting themselves or others at great risk. For example, one person recalled:

“When my friend got shot, we went to his mom’s house instead so she can get the bullet out just because he was scared they [NYPD] was going to think he was the shooter and kill him.”

- Survey respondent  
(22, Black, woman, Brooklyn)

Another respondent commented, “I was chased into a deli on the corner, but instead of calling the cops for help, I just stepped out and faced what was coming my way.”<sup>11</sup>

These are life-and-death situations — situations that require medical attention — and yet people fear that calling the NYPD will make the situation worse or result in death. No New Yorker should ever feel that they have to risk their own life instead of calling emergency services. And yet, for many like this participant, these are worries based on direct experience: “I’m just afraid based on my past life experiences where I called them for help and I ended up getting assaulted with excessive force, lies and battery. But thank God for someone who had a video camera.”<sup>12</sup>

Over two-thirds (68%) of the survey respondents who chose not to call the police in a serious situation said the reason was because they worried about the NYPD harming them in some way, 47% said that the situation would be better handled by someone other than the NYPD, and 30% said that calling the NYPD was unnecessary because the situation would resolve itself.

When asked why they did not call the NYPD, many assumed, as this respondent put it, “The problem will come out better if I didn’t get the police involved.”<sup>13</sup> Respondents spoke about their fears that the NYPD would escalate the situation, leading to increased harm and violence and causing both short- and long-term damage to the lives of the people involved. For example, this person calculated that getting the police involved not only would fail to repair the immediate harms but would likely exacerbate them: “Domestic dispute with an intoxicated couple; turns out the gentleman was suffering from a severe mental breakdown. Had I called the police, I could’ve broken up a family and sent a man to jail who had an awful day. He lost his job and got drunk, took out the stresses on his lover.” Instead, the respondent explained that this person “Moved out and found a therapist, was diagnosed and moved right back in after

taking time to heal. We had spoke and broke it up and suggested our medical facility that offered therapy at very discounted rates. It helped so much.”<sup>14</sup> In this case, it was not the NYPD but the neighbors’ support, not only in the moment of crisis but also by connecting to the needed services, that turned the acute emergency into a sustainable solution. The reality is that being a person of color was frequently a factor in people’s decision-making about whether or not to call the NYPD. One respondent said, “I often feel that there’s a chance that when they see my height and skin, they will assume I’m the problem.”<sup>15</sup>

### Why respondents chose NOT to call the NYPD in a serious situation

**68%** of those who chose not to call the police in a serious situation said it was because they worried about being harmed by the NYPD in some way.

**More specifically:**

<b>40%</b>	NYPD might make it worse
<b>27%</b>	Afraid for own safety
<b>24%</b>	Previous negative experiences with the NYPD
<b>19%</b>	Afraid the NYPD could hurt people involved
<b>14%</b>	Thought they would get in trouble
<b>13%</b>	Contacted the NYPD previously and they never responded
<b>8%</b>	Other

\*Respondents could select all that applied so percentages do not add to 100%

“Gunshots are heard in my neighborhood regularly. I fear calling the police will lead to them shooting someone who they think may have a gun if they come here.”

- Survey respondent  
(39, white, woman, Brooklyn)

We found that people in highly policed neighborhoods are frequently concerned about the NYPD’s crisis response and are forced to make choices that nobody should be forced to make. When calling for help, no one should be worried or afraid that the people coming to help them will also harm them. In the next several sections, we explore what kind of help people want and need when in crisis.

## 4.2. The NYPD should not be the only option for New Yorkers in crises

Fifteen percent of the survey respondents reported that there was at least one time that they were in danger or having an emergency that resulted in someone in the community calling 911 or approaching the NYPD. When asked to reflect on these experiences, 38% of them reported they were satisfied with the NYPD as first responders. However, half (50%) of them, in their moment of acute danger or emergency, wished there were places and people who responded other than the NYPD. Many respondents provided specific examples of what would have been a better response in their particular situation(s). Participants spoke of needing “Trained trauma specialist,”<sup>16</sup> “a mediator,”<sup>17</sup>

“counseling,”<sup>18</sup> “social worker,”<sup>19</sup> “mental health counselor”<sup>20</sup> or “calling family or friends.”<sup>21</sup> There was an acknowledgement that police are trained to “handle things with force,”<sup>22</sup> but what people needed was support without the threat of harm or the legal system. Respondents wanted “Someone to talk to instead of facing intimidating officers,”<sup>23</sup> someone “trained in crisis situations,”<sup>24</sup> perhaps even “people in the community who know others in the community”<sup>25</sup> like a “local elder group who could be contacted free of charge and provide mediation and support.”<sup>26</sup>

**50%** of those who had previously experienced danger or an emergency resulting in police presence, wished instead that there were places and people other than the NYPD who responded.

“As someone who tried so hard after experiencing harm for so long and then being harmed by the system, it’s like so often the police don’t provide the resources or space or support that people need and, then, even when you try to live outside of the control and violence of the state and the police because you know they can cause harm, they still become involved and can cause harm in that way.”  
- Town hall attendee

And yet, on the other side of the call for help, the community frequently sees the NYPD as the only place to turn. Of those survey respondents who had previously sought the NYPD for help, 62% felt that in their situation(s), calling the police was the only viable possibility, at least that they were aware of. When asked to explain,

respondents largely felt siphoned into this single choice: “They were the only people I could call, so I had no choice, but I wasn’t sure if they were the ones to call or the ones that could do the job.”<sup>27</sup>

As previously described in Chapter 2, people most frequently see the NYPD as the very last resort, but in the severest moments, they are left with few if any other options. One respondent said, “I do try to exhaust every nonpolice option before I call them, but sometimes there are few other choices.”<sup>28</sup>

Given all this accumulated evidence, it should come as no surprise then that respondents, as these two responses indicate, “wish there were other resources”<sup>29</sup> or “think maybe other unknown sources could have been of some help, if only we knew who to call.”<sup>30</sup> In fact, as already indicated in chapter 2, 85% of all the the survey participants wished to some degree there was another place to turn in a time of need other than the NYPD, and over half (55%) indicated a strong desire for a police alternative.

### Do respondents wish there were places OTHER than the NYPD they could turn to?

**55%** strongly desired that there were places and people OTHER than the NYPD to call or approach for help in serious situations (**85%** to some degree and **8%** did not desire it at all)

**More specifically:**

Response	Percentage
Strongly desired other resources	55%
Somewhat or a little	30%
Not at all	8%
Unsure	7%

**55%** of people said a great deal or a lot  
**30%** of people said somewhat or a little  
**8%** of people said not at all  
**7%** were unsure

Also, as described in chapter 3, 61% of the respondents highly prioritized community-based, nonpolice, gun violence prevention programs like “Crisis Management Systems”<sup>31</sup> or “Advanced Peace Model”<sup>32</sup> for their neighborhoods. Indeed, people want and need publicly funded, nonpolicing support to help them effectively handle the serious challenges in their lives, including/especially moments of violence.

Evidence shows community-based violence prevention programs are equal to or more effective at preventing, deterring and responding to violence than the police.<sup>33</sup> Several programs like this exist in the city — programs that take a holistic approach to preventing, intervening and addressing violence and conflict among community members, primarily through the use of peers, violence interrupters, and extensive trauma healing and wraparound support. While the city has made some investments in these programs, it has failed to expand them so that they are readily available to all New Yorkers. The city has also failed to make sure they are robust enough to provide the kind of wraparound services that communities need. In 2022, the city reported that the city had 23 programs, each operating on small budgets approximately .00003% of the NYPD’s \$12 billion budget. Combined, the city spends only .01% of the NYPD’s total budget on these crisis management programs.<sup>34</sup>

**People in crisis want and deserve holistic, nonpolice options that are effective and reliable. To make communities safer, the city should focus efforts to increase funding and expand their reach so that many more New Yorkers can benefit from nonpolice crisis management programs.**

## 4.3. Seeking help for intimate partner violence and sexual assault

In this section, we delve into the experiences of New Yorkers who reached out to the NYPD seeking assistance in cases of domestic or intimate partner violence (IPV) and sexual assault. Our findings suggested that many respondents faced a complex web of emotions, fears and doubts when considering the involvement of law enforcement in, what were often considered, deeply personal and sensitive matters.

We found in our survey that people who sought the police for help with IPV — often women of color — said they feared calling the police would make the situation worse or that they simply did not see calling the police as a viable option. For instance, “Fear of calling for domestic violence treatment goes according to the officer’s views of the situation. Some are empathetic, and others may make you feel like what did you do to deserve it.”<sup>35</sup> Despite the fear of violence at home, there were real concerns of the potential consequences that involving the NYPD could carry. Abuse victims’ lives are often intertwined with their abusers through children, financial support, love and many other factors. It is frequently not as simple as leaving the abuser, and for many reasons, putting the abuser in jail may exacerbate the issue.<sup>36</sup> For example, one respondent said, “Father was abusing my mom, but we were scared to call the cops because my dad worked for the city, and we were afraid he would lose his job.”<sup>37</sup>



In our survey, 7% of the respondents reported the NYPD investigated an IPV case on their behalf. Of those, over half (58%) reported at least one troubling experience with the NYPD within the context of their IPV case. For example, over one-quarter (26%) said the NYPD blamed them for the violence (“I was in a domestic violence relationship for many years & the consequences I suffered & sometimes the police sided with him”<sup>38</sup> or “Being in a DV relationship made me second guess because they weren’t always on my side. Only when he beat me up badly.”<sup>39</sup>). Over one-fifth (21%) said the NYPD ignored their case (“Report of harassment and break of my order of protection was ignored by the NYPD.”<sup>40</sup>). And almost one-fifth (18%) indicated the NYPD arrested them instead (“Because I’ve called them for domestic violence on me, and they locked me up too, and I was the victim.”<sup>41</sup>).

“Police are called ... This happens a lot in my community. Nothing comes from it. There is not counseling. No help. The cycle just gets worse. And there are not resources for the people who are being abused, so they have to stay in the relationship. When community folks try to get involved, the cops get called, and they yell at community folks and tell them to back away or whatever.”

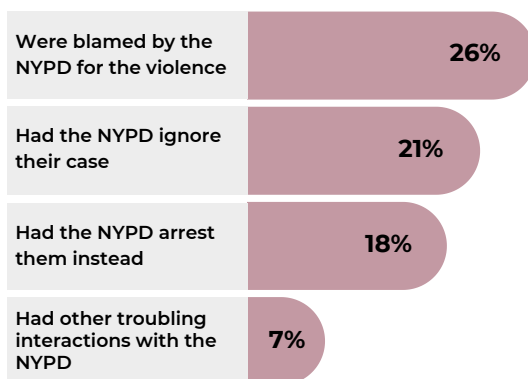
- Town hall attendee

In addition to IPV, our survey also asked about sexual assault. Similar to findings on IPV, 6% of the respondents reported that the NYPD investigated a sexual assault case on their behalf. Of them, 62% reported they had at least one troubling interaction with the NYPD within the context of their sexual assault case. For example, over one-third (35%) reported that the NYPD blamed them for their assault; over one-fifth (21%) told us the NYPD ignored their case; and 11% said the NYPD arrested them instead. Like IPV cases, we similarly heard from respondents a hesitancy to involve the NYPD because they likely would not help and could easily harm. One respondent noted, “I was sexually assaulted by someone I knew, and I didn’t call because I knew there was a really good chance [the NYPD] wouldn’t do anything and might blame me.”<sup>42</sup>

## Troubling experiences with NYPD in the context of IPV

Of those who sought the NYPD to investigate IPV, **58%** reported at least one troubling experience with the NYPD in the context of their IPV case.

### More specifically:



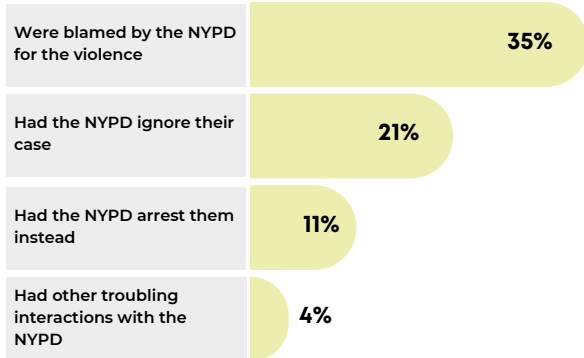
\*Respondents could select all that applied



## Troubling experiences with NYPD in the context of sexual assault

Of those who sought the NYPD to investigate sexual assault, **62%** reported they had at least one troubling interaction with the NYPD within the context of their sexual assault case.

### More specifically:



\*Respondents could select all that applied

Intimate partner violence and sexual assault are serious, complex issues that deserve to be handled with care and respect by trusted professionals. **Our survey found that too often police involvement in IPV and sexual assault decreased survivors' sense of safety and well-being and further criminalized survivors. There should be increased investments in nonpolice crisis intervention services that have trusted professionals who are capable of intervening in violence without further harming and criminalizing victims and survivors.**

## 4.4 Removing the NYPD from mental health crisis response

In 2018, the NYPD received nearly 180,000 emergency calls involving people

experiencing an emotional or mental health emergency or crisis.<sup>43</sup> The number of calls nearly doubled from 2009 to 2019. A disproportionate number of crisis calls take place in Black and Latinx working-class neighborhoods. The 10 precincts with the largest Black and Latinx populations had nearly 35,000 calls in 2018 compared to 19,000 with the largest white populations. Not all moments of crisis are related to mental or behavioral health, of course, but compared to NYPD funding, resourcing across New York communities for mental health support remains wholly insufficient.

The deployment of NYPD to crisis calls yields an increase in arrest and a higher risk for use of force, all while not effectively addressing the needs of the persons experiencing the crises. Between Jan. 2, 2015, and Aug. 28, 2023, police across America fatally shot 8,727 people, and at least 20% (1,783) of those were experiencing some form of emotional or mental health distress.<sup>44</sup> This rate has remained mostly constant nationally. Disturbingly, the rate in New York of fatal shootings by police of people experiencing a crisis is significantly higher than the national average. Thirty-six percent of the people whom the NYPD have killed since 2014 (27 of 76 people based on documented media coverage) were experiencing some form of emotional distress, substance use or mental health emergency.<sup>45</sup> All but five – or 82% – were Black or Latinx.

**Most New Yorkers living in heavily policed neighborhoods do not want the NYPD to respond to mental health 911 calls.** We learned this from the survey in various ways. Nearly one-tenth (8%) of respondents experienced a mental health crisis where someone in the community had called 911 on their behalf. Of them, some were unsure (15%), but the majority (57%) desired options other than involving the NYPD in their

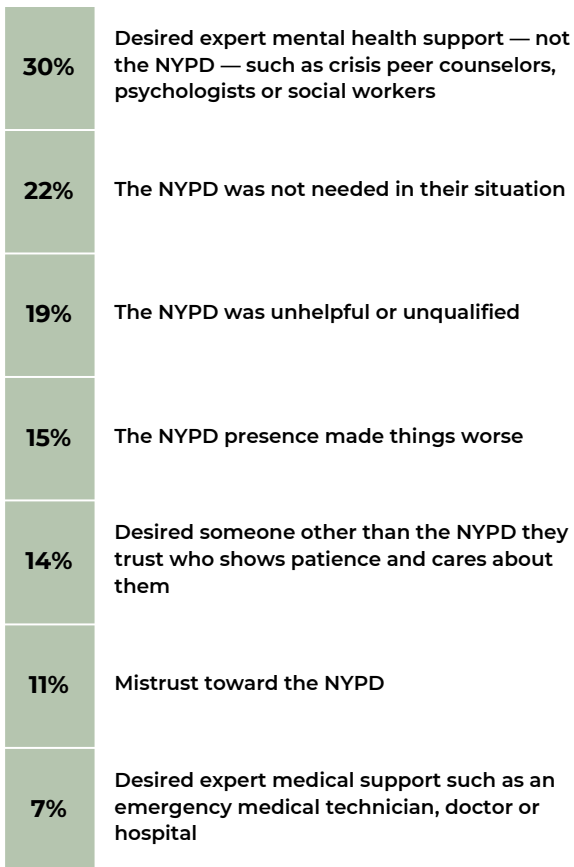
particular mental health situation(s). Sometimes it only appeared serious but was unnecessary (“I was only having a panic attack and had no need for 911 to be called”);<sup>46</sup> Others experienced the police as generally unhelpful (“Police didn’t understand what I was going through — a psychologist would have been better.”)<sup>47</sup> or unqualified (“I would have preferred someone who had more experience with dealing with someone who has mental health needs.”)<sup>48</sup>

“My mother has severe mental health problems, but the police don’t help. So, I just don’t even bother, but sometimes other people call the police.”  
 - Survey respondent (24, white, man, Brooklyn)

### Respondents’ explanations for why they did not want the NYPD involved in their mental health situation

8% personally experienced a mental health crisis where someone in the community called 911. Of them, 57% desired options other than involving the NYPD.

Their specific reasons for this were:



\*Respondents could select all that applied

In general, people understood that the “police can make it worse”<sup>49</sup> and make “a frightening experience more frightening.”<sup>50</sup> Respondents explained that “police involvement only escalates stress”<sup>51</sup> in ways that can be hurtful, violent and criminalizing. What they needed were first responders that were not the police, people who were “more approachable and empathetic”<sup>52</sup> and who showed patience, care and understanding like “dialogue with the family”<sup>53</sup> or community members. Respondents especially wanted people with mental health training such as peers, therapists or crisis counselors.

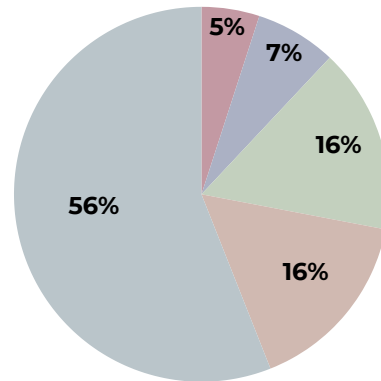
Even for those who have not personally experienced mental health calls that involved the police, most reported they desire first responders or services other than the NYPD to support moments of serious emotional crisis. Only 16% of the survey respondents disagreed with the statement that “the NYPD should be removed from mental health calls because they generally make the situation worse,” with over half (56%) agreeing and another 7% suggesting it depends. When asked whom they would most want as first responders if they or someone they loved was having a serious mental health issue that required 911, 77% of survey respondents reported they would not want the NYPD at all. The top two first responders they wanted, either alone or in combination, were medics and trained crisis counselors. Of those who desired trained crisis counselors, 75% wanted them to be from their neighborhood or community and/or to have experienced serious mental health issues themselves.

## Removing the NYPD first responders from mental health 911 calls

Participants were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement:

Many are now proposing to remove the NYPD from mental health 911 calls because they think that police too often make the situation worse. Do you agree or disagree with this proposal?

**56%** agreed with the statement above while only **16%** disagreed.



**56%** completely or strongly agree

**16%** Completely or strongly disagree

**16%** Neither agree nor disagree (indifferent)

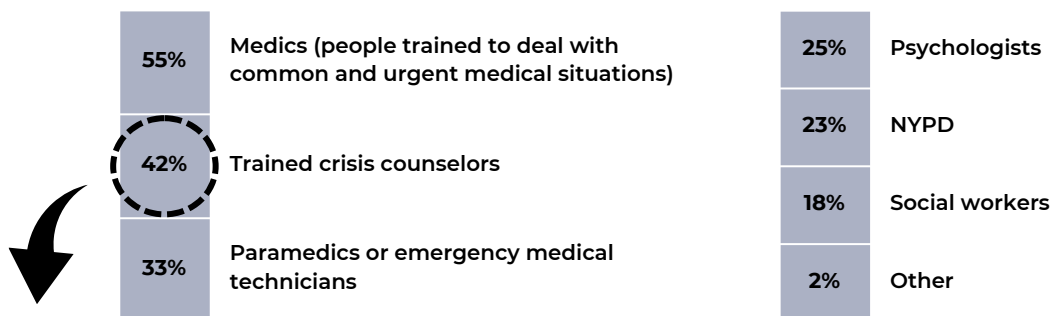
**7%** Both agree and disagree (it depends)

**5%** Unsure

## Who would you most want as first responders if you or someone you loved was having a serious mental health issue that required 911?

**77%** reported they would not want the NYPD at all as first responders if they or someone they loved was having a serious mental health issue that required 911. **Medics (55%)** and **trained crisis counselors (42%)** were the top two choices.

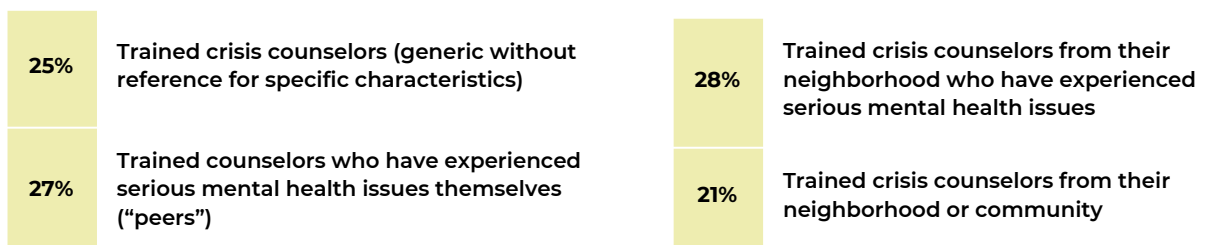
They specifically indicated:



## Trained crisis counselors

Of those who desire trained crisis counselors, **75%** want them to be from their neighborhood or community and/or to have experienced serious mental health issues themselves.

They specifically indicated:



We need to invest in a mental health crisis response system that does not involve the NYPD and instead takes a public health approach to responding to people in mental health crises. When the NYPD responds to mental health crises, it often escalates a situation by aiming to control the person in crisis because the NYPD doesn't have the expertise to understand what the person is going through. A police response can contribute to the trauma a person is experiencing and result in serious harm or death. We have seen too many times in New York and across the country police kill people in mental health crises.<sup>54</sup>

Other municipalities have removed police from being first responders in mental health crisis with much success,<sup>55</sup> and yet New York has struggled to invest in a truly nonpolice based mental health crisis response. Programs such as the Behavioral Health Emergency Assistance Response Division (B-HEARD) — a program designed to send teams of emergency medical technicians and social workers to instances where people are experiencing a mental health crisis — are touted as nonpolice response systems. Yet, the NYPD responds to over 80% of mental health calls in neighborhoods where B-HEARD is active,<sup>56</sup> and callers are not able to specifically request a response from a B-HEARD team.<sup>57</sup> Mayor Adams has continued to call for the expansion of B-HEARD<sup>58</sup> and has also doubled down on police involvement in mental health with the expansion of SCOUT teams on the subways, which are police officer led mental health teams. We need a truly nonpolice mental health crisis response. We also need to address the reason why an increasing number of New Yorkers are experiencing mental health issues, especially post-pandemic. And we need to address the lack of comprehensive mental health services that are affordable, culturally competent and center individuals' self-determination.

## 4.5 Summary

It is imperative that the perspectives of communities most impacted by policing are prioritized as New York continues to explore how to invest in nonpolice alternatives to crisis response. **Many people who participated in our study expressed fear and apprehension calling police in moments of crisis, emergency or serious need. Some shared their preference to resolve matters on their own, and most expressed a clear desire for alternative responders to crises.** We saw this trend across crises, including moments of danger, IPV, sexual assault and serious emotional distress. Rather than de-escalate and resolve matters, police response tends to escalate a crisis, and respondents expressed fear and anxiety that calling the police would deteriorate a situation and cause additional harm.

The Community Safety Project's findings mirror the growing calls and movement in support of building nonpolicing crisis care response options.<sup>59</sup> One recent nationwide poll found that 65% of likely voters in the U.S. endorse the redirection of funds from law enforcement to nonpolice first responder initiatives,<sup>60</sup> and several cities across the country are starting to build and expand nonpolice emergency response systems.<sup>61</sup> Many New Yorkers want alternative crisis management systems,<sup>62</sup> and yet New York has struggled to adequately develop and invest in alternatives that are not still heavily reliant on the NYPD as first responders. Established crisis response systems exist and offer effective alternatives to police engagement.<sup>63</sup> Investing in these models will improve all New Yorkers' safety.

# Chapter 4: Endnotes

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- 8 Andrea Ritchie and Black Lives Matter Chicago, "Epicenter: Chicago, Reclaiming a City from Neoliberalism," 2019, <https://politicalresearch.org/sites/default/files/2019-06/Epicenter%20Chicago%20-Ritchie%20- BLMChicago%206.2019.pdf>
- 9 Town hall attendee - demographics unknown
- 10 Survey respondent - 27, Black, man, Brooklyn
- 11 Survey respondent - 27, Black, man, Bronx
- 12 Survey respondent - 35, Black, woman, Brooklyn
- 13 Survey respondent - 55, Black, woman, Brooklyn
- 14 Survey respondent - 24, Black and Latinx, woman, Bronx
- 15 Survey respondent - 27, Black, woman, Staten Island
- 16 Survey respondent - 57, Black, man, Manhattan
- 17 Survey respondent - 41, Black and Latinx, man, Brooklyn
- 18 Survey respondent - 50, Black, woman, Brooklyn
- 19 Survey respondent - 73, Latin, man, Manhattan
- 20 Survey respondent - 32, Black and Latinx, woman, Manhattan
- 21 Survey respondent - 18, Latinx, woman, Bronx
- 22 Survey respondent - age unknown, race unknown, gender unknown, Staten Island
- 23 Survey respondent - 30, race unknown, gender unknown, Staten Island
- 24 Survey respondent - 28, Black, man, Brooklyn
- 25 Survey respondent - 36, Black, woman, Brooklyn
- 26 Survey respondent - 34, Asian, man, Queens
- 27 Survey respondent - 22, Latinx, trans/questioning, Staten Island
- 28 Survey respondent - 31, white, woman, Manhattan
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# Chapter 4: Endnotes

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- 35 Survey respondent - 56, Black and Latinx, gender unknown, Manhattan
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- 37 Survey respondent - 43, Latinx, woman, Brooklyn
- 38 Survey respondent - 56, white, woman, Staten Island
- 39 Survey respondent - 56, white, woman, Staten Island
- 40 Survey respondent - 41, Black and Latinx, trans/questioning, Brooklyn
- 41 Survey respondent - 53, race unknown, gender unknown, Manhattan
- 42 Survey respondent - 37, white, woman, Brooklyn
- 43 Jumaane D. Williams, "Improving New York City's Response to Individuals in Mental Health Crisis," Public Advocate for the City of New York, September 25, 2019, <https://www.pubadvocate.nyc.gov/reports/improving-new-york-citys-responses-to-individuals-in-mental-health-crisis/#3>
- 44 The Washington Post. (2023, August 28). Police shootings database. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>
- 45 The 27 people are: Calvin Peters, Denis Volchkin, Osbourne Broadie, David Felix, Jonathan Efraim, Mario Ocasio, Deborah Danner, Ariel Galarza, Garry Conrad, Rashaun Lloyd, Manuel Rosales, Erickson Brito, James Owens, Miguel Richards, Dwayne Jeune, Cornell Lockhart, Saheed Vassell, Dwayne Pritchett, Michael Hansford, Susan Muller, Faustino Dioso, Kawaski Trawick, Kwesi Ashun, George Zapantis, Rondell Goppy, Samuel Lorenzo, and Luis Manuel Vasquez Gomez.
- 46 Survey respondent - 27, white, woman, Queens
- 47 Survey respondent - 61, Black, woman, Staten Island
- 48 Survey respondent - 36, Black, woman, Brooklyn
- 49 Survey respondent - 65, race unknown, gender unknown, Staten Island
- 50 Survey respondent - 29, Black, man, Brooklyn
- 51 Survey respondent - 33, multiracial, trans/questioning, Manhattan
- 52 Survey respondent - 27, Black and Latinx, woman, Bronx
- 53 Town hall attendee - demographics unknown
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“Mutual aid makes me feel safe, neighbors caring for each other makes me feel safe. Everyone having food on their table and a roof over their head makes me feel safe.”

- Town hall attendee

