

Resolution on Securing Public Safety for ALL¹

WHEREAS, the role of police in a democracy is to serve and protect *all* individuals. Everyone's right to life and liberty requires personal safety: protection against intimidation, assault, murder, rape, etc. *Securing that safety is a noble calling.*

WHEREAS, officer misconduct violates this purpose, breaks the public trust, and jeopardizes the lives of those they are sworn to protect.

WHEREAS, we support racial justice movements and efforts to end systemic racism nationwide, statewide, and here in Whatcom County;

WHEREAS, we strongly support the right to non-violent protest and the First Amendment rights of free speech, freedom of assembly, and the ability to petition government for the redress of grievances;

WHEREAS, our Platform includes planks that align with racial justice reforms and assert that homelessness, drug use, and nonviolent mental health issues should never be treated as crimes;²

WHEREAS, in Whatcom County, Black, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Hispanic people are each arrested and jailed at over three times the rate of white people after eliminating the effect of multiple bookings per individual.³ Law enforcement is disproportionately and unjustly carried out against people of color, the poor, and the homeless. *This is unacceptable.*

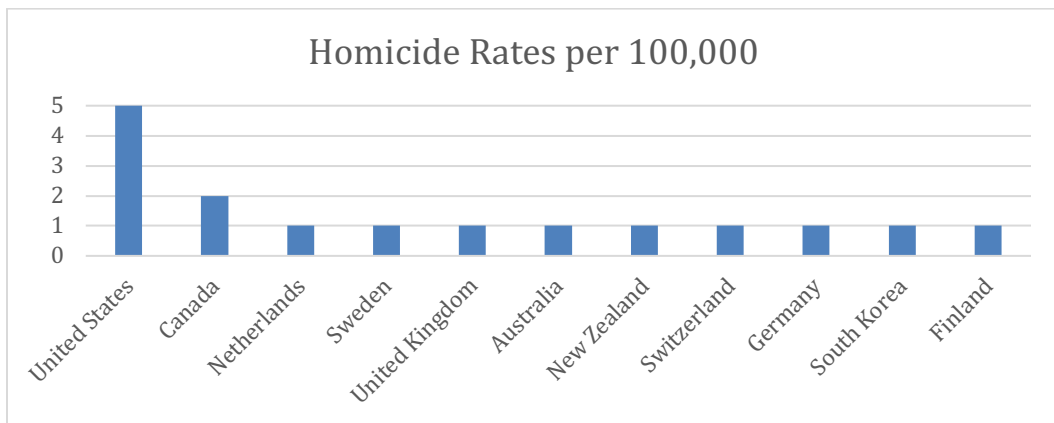
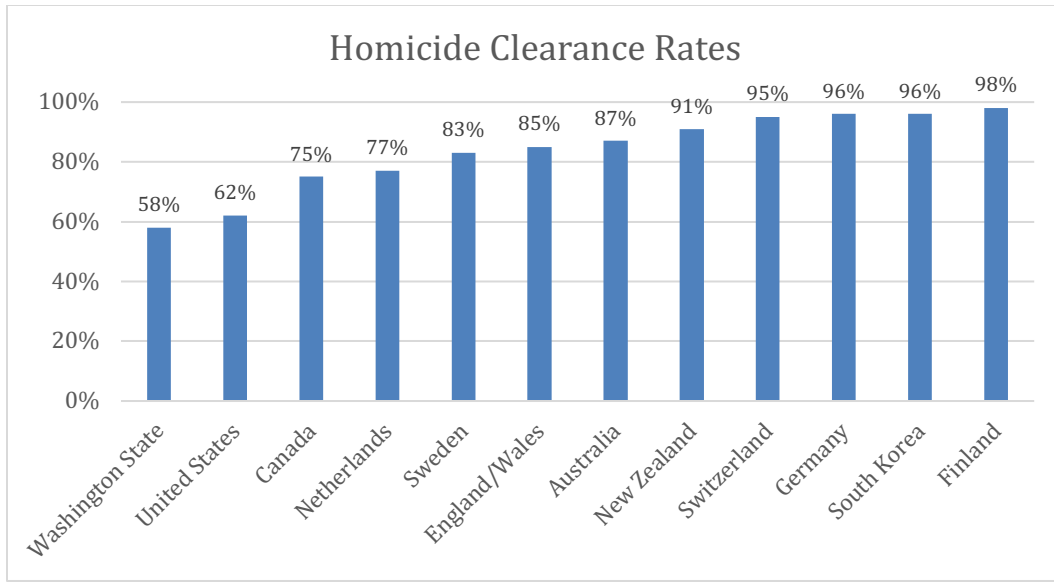
WHEREAS, our federal and state legislatures have criminalized activity that poses little or no serious threat to others. In doing so, they have burdened police with tasks that should never have been assigned to them, distracting from their core purpose of ensuring universal public safety.

WHEREAS, we commend Whatcom County Prosecutor Eric Richey for establishing the new Whatcom Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program, which allows law enforcement officers to divert persons to treatment when they're apprehended for low-level drug offenses or crimes of poverty instead of entering the criminal justice system.⁴

WHEREAS, we commend Chief David Doll for removing the Thin Blue Line flag from the Bellingham Police Department sign in response to complaints. The flag's design, a blue stripe across a blackened American flag, associates "chaos" with blackness.⁵ The "thin blue line" itself has an unfortunate history. Former Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker popularized the phrase in his speeches, where he referred to some immigrants as "not far removed from the wild tribes of Mexico" and compared Black residents to "monkeys in a zoo."⁶

WHEREAS, we support partnerships developed between local police departments and domestic violence advocates to prevent, and respond to, incidents of domestic violence. These partnerships work to hold perpetrators accountable and connect survivors to needed support and services;

WHEREAS, according to the U.S. Dept. of Justice, "The *certainty* of being caught is a vastly more powerful deterrent than the punishment." High clearance rates (percentage of crimes that result in an arrest) help reduce violent crimes by increasing that certainty.⁷



Homicide rates and clearance rates in various countries are shown above.⁸ The WA clearance rate for aggravated assault (an attack where the offender uses a weapon or displays it threateningly or the victim suffers obvious severe bodily injury) is 47%, Bellingham's is 57%, Whatcom Sheriff's is 57%. The WA clearance rate for rape is 22%, Bellingham's is 32% (avg. of 2018 and 2019), Sheriff's is 29% (avg. of 2018 and 2019).⁹

WHEREAS, according to a 2015 Department of Justice report, most police-civilian interactions happen on the road. Deploying armed officers to perform such routine tasks introduces the risk of unnecessary lethal force into many millions of encounters every year.¹⁰

WHEREAS, many police calls involve relatively minor interpersonal disputes, which could more effectively be addressed through the presence of a mediator.¹¹

WHEREAS, until fairly recently there were no permanently assigned police officers in schools (just as none are currently assigned to any other workplaces), and that still holds in other liberal democracies.

WHEREAS, even during Prohibition, alcohol use/possession was never criminalized,¹² and the vast majority of current policing is against drug use/possession. Over 85% of Washington State drug arrests in 2019 were for possession/use. Only 9.6% were for distributing/selling, 0.7% for

cultivating/manufacturing, and 0.7% for transporting/importing. Ninety-seven percent of arrests for drug paraphernalia were for possession/use.¹³ In Whatcom County, 86% of drug arrests were for possession.¹⁴

WHEREAS, we support measures to reduce risk to *both* the public and law enforcement officers, taking care that the latter not be at the expense of the former.

WHEREAS, video after video has demonstrated that standards for the use of deadly force are too lenient. Current standards do not consider whether the officer could have acted differently, if the police escalated the situation, or if it was proportional to the alleged crime a person committed.¹⁵ Moreover, RCW 9A.16.040 sets a “probable cause” criterion for judging whether deadly force may be used. But as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court, that only requires a “fair” probability, not a more-likely-than-not standard.¹⁶ Without *enforceable* standards that lead to a reasonable certainty of consequences for serious abuses, such abuses will continue.

WHEREAS, current deadly force standards, adopted in a racially-tinged “law and order” political environment,¹⁷ continue to be defended by exaggerating the actual danger to law enforcement and ignoring or discounting the large numbers of civilian deaths from deadly force, often against unarmed individuals, and disproportionately suffered by people of color (Black Americans are killed by police at over twice the per capita rate of white Americans).¹⁸ A recent study examined officer deaths from 1970 through 2016, and concluded, “the ‘war on cops’ thesis is not supported by any evidence ... The overall rate of line-of-duty deaths (per 100,000 officers) has dropped by 75%. The rate of felonious deaths has dropped by 80%, and the rate of nonfelonious deaths has declined by 69%.”¹⁹ Recognizing the inherent hazards in police work, it is noteworthy that the mortality rate for on-duty police officers is lower than that for a variety of other occupations.²⁰ Fewer than 1.5% of arrestees in WA are in possession of firearms; only one in 20 assaults on police in WA involve a firearm.²¹

WHEREAS, risk to police varies greatly within the United States. Law enforcement officers in states with the highest rates of household gun ownership are three times more likely to get shot to death than those in states with lowest household gun ownership.²²

WHEREAS, reassigning responsibility for responding to drug offences, loitering, homelessness, mental health episodes, etc., from the police to other agencies or organizations would greatly reduce the possibility of violent contact between armed officers and the public, thereby reducing risk to the public and to police officers alike.

WHEREAS, the Bellingham Police budget is \$36.6 million (39% of the 2020 general fund), reduced in the proposed 2021 budget to \$34.7 million, then rising to \$35.8 million in 2022.²³ The Whatcom County Sheriff’s budget is \$18 million.²⁴ Bellingham had 117 commissioned (“sworn”) officers in 2019, up from 115 in 2018 (roughly matching population increase); Sheriff’s Office had 84 in 2018, 89 in 2019 (a 6% increase as population rose 1.8%);²⁵ The proposed 2021-22 Bellingham police budget would freeze one unfilled position and transfer three officers to behavioral-health response, for a total of four behavioral health officers.²⁶

WHEREAS, elsewhere in the U.S. police union contracts have been identified as a prime obstacle to reform²⁷ as they “limit officer interrogations after alleged misconduct, mandate the destruction of disciplinary records, ban civilian oversight, prevent anonymous civilian complaints, indemnify officers in the event of civil suits, and limit the length of internal investigations.”²⁸ A review of Bellingham Police Guild (BPG) and Whatcom Deputy Sheriffs

Guild (WDSG) contracts²⁹ found *no bans on civilian oversight, no prohibitions on anonymous civilian complaints, and no requirement that officers be indemnified in civil suits*. It did find:

- Limits on interrogations: The WDSG contract requires a 24-hour delay before an officer can be interrogated and the BPG a 48-hour delay. For deadly force it becomes a 72-hour delay, enabling officers to coordinate their stories. The BPG is also barred from requiring a written statement within the first 72 hours. Unlike interrogations of ordinary individuals, the contracts bar the use of profane language and the offer of any inducements or rewards to answer questions.
- Mandating removal of disciplinary documents: The WDSG contract limits retention of disciplinary investigation records to 2 to 7 years, depending upon type of discipline. The BPG contract requires removal of written reprimands after 3 years, assuming no similar or related disciplinary action during that period, after which they may not be used in any subsequent disciplinary determination. These documents do not get destroyed, but get moved to the Office of Professional Standards, and can still be accessed through civil suits, public disclosure requests, and court actions.
- Limiting the length of internal investigations: For BPG, the maximum is 20 days, renewable for another 20 days. In the WDSG contract, the limit is 90 days, but the limit is suspended if it turns into a criminal investigation.

WHEREAS, both the Bellingham Police Department and the Whatcom Sheriff's Office have SWAT teams. The argument that SWAT tactics are necessary because drug dealers are increasingly well armed is untrue.³⁰ In WA in 2019, only 1.4% of drug arrestees were found to be in possession of firearms, three-quarters of which were handguns.³¹

WHEREAS, RCW 9.41.270 makes it "unlawful for any person to carry, exhibit, display, or draw any firearm ... in a manner, under circumstances, and at a time and place that either manifests an intent to intimidate another or that warrants alarm for the safety of other persons," and armed vigilante groups must never be allowed to assume functions reserved for duly-sworn law enforcement officers.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that Whatcom Democrats asks Whatcom County's mayors, police chiefs, County Council, city councils, and Sheriff to set new priorities for policing:

- Increase the focus on violent crimes against persons (e.g. homicide, assault, rape, robbery).
- Deprioritize arrests for minor offenses, such as loitering, drinking alcohol in public, disorderly conduct, public urination, etc., and establish preferences for a warning or a summons over an arrest.
- Ban pretextual³² stops and consent searches that act as common mechanisms for police to engage in racial profiling and circumvent the Fourth Amendment "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures."
- Reassign drug use, homelessness, and mental health cases to non-police professionals. Hire such specialists with the funds saved through reduction in force.

- Employ unarmed community mediators to handle minor disputes, conduct youth outreach, conflict mediation, and community patrol, and address low-level crime and disorder.³³
- Through an interlocal agreement, create a *countywide* mobile crisis response unit independent of – but cooperating with – law enforcement agencies for nonviolent incidents, modeled on CAHOOTS, which operates in Eugene and Springfield, OR, and redirects roughly one in six 911 calls – generally involving the homeless, addicted, intoxicated, or mentally ill – to a separate team of specialists extensively trained in mental health counseling, social work, and crisis de-escalation. CAHOOTS has an annual budget of \$2.1 million, and has saved the city of Eugene an estimated \$8.5 million a year in public safety spending.³⁴
- Move 911 dispatch centers outside of police departments so that 911 calls can be disseminated in a neutral manner to the appropriate first responder (police, fire, EMT, mental health professionals, mediators).
- Create a pilot program to measure the effectiveness of specialized unarmed traffic patrol officers, in distinctly marked vehicles, as with Highways UK, that are prohibited from engaging in searches and do not have the power to arrest.³⁵
- Do not require referrals to the new Whatcom Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program to come exclusively from the police. Allow direct requests for service from the community.³⁶
- Ban quotas or incentives for traffic stops and arrests.
- RCW 9A.16.040 (5)(b) authorizes law enforcement agencies to set stricter criteria for use of deadly force than the state standards. Specify that deadly force may only be used when a) all reasonable alternatives have been exhausted; b) it creates no significant risk of injury to third parties; c) it is proportional to the alleged crime a person committed; d) officers reasonably believe such use of force to be necessary. When determining whether an officer acted reasonably, officials would consider whether the person killed or injured had a weapon, if so what type of weapon, and whether the officer either heightened or attempted to deescalate the situation. Officers who witness their peers acting in an “unreasonable” manner would be required to intervene or be subject to the same punishment. Change the “probable cause” standard to a “more likely than not” standard.
- Use the least amount of force: Policies should specifically prohibit officers from, and departments should discipline officers for, using force:
 - In retaliation or against people who verbally confront officers.
 - Against people who are handcuffed or otherwise restrained.
 - To subdue people who are not breaking the law.
- Require regular training in de-escalation techniques.
- Wherever feasible, establish an external civilian oversight board with the following functions:
 - Subpoena powers;
 - A role in developing policies governing hiring and firing of police personnel;
 - A public contact mechanism to allow the public to complain about a police officer;
 - Other powers to hold the police accountable; and
 - Use independent investigators to conduct investigations of officer misconduct and officer-involved shootings.

- Oppose provisions in collective bargaining agreements with police guilds that undermine or weaken accountability or oversight.
- Reinforce in training that individuals have the right to record on-duty officers.
- During training, establish that the first priority of police officers is to protect and serve the public.
- Prohibit acquisitions of military equipment by law enforcement agencies.
- Wherever feasible, require verbal warning before use of force.
- Enforce the duty for officers to intervene when another officer abuses authority.
- Fund housing for unsheltered individuals.
- Instruct police to disperse armed vigilantes upon complaint, in keeping with RCW 9.41.270.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Whatcom Democrats asks the Washington State Legislature to:

- Strengthen the decertification process so that law enforcement officers who have a history of excessive use of force cannot work in law enforcement.³⁷ To date, Washington State has never decertified an officer for excessive use of force.³⁸
- Decriminalize minor offenses such as loitering, drinking alcohol in public, public urination, etc.
- Require that police disciplinary measures be developed with input from the public and relevant stakeholders, including minority groups most at risk of experiencing police misconduct.³⁹
- Amend RCW 9A.16.040 to specify that deadly force may only be used when a) all reasonable alternatives have been exhausted; b) it creates no significant risk of injury to third parties; c) it is proportional to the alleged crime a person committed; d) officers reasonably believe such use of force to be necessary. When determining whether an officer acted reasonably, officials would consider whether the person killed or injured had a weapon, if so what type of weapon, and whether the officer either heightened or attempted to deescalate the situation. Officers who witness their peers acting in an “unreasonable” manner would be required to intervene or be subject to the same punishment. Change the “probable cause” standard to a “more likely than not” standard.
- To reduce risk to police officers and the general public, we support sensible gun control actions, identified in the Whatcom Democrats Platform: Require background checks for *all* firearm purchases, *without exception*, and limit the number of rounds allowed per magazine for semiautomatic guns to no more than ten.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Whatcom Democrats asks the County Executive, Mayors, Sheriff, County Council, City Councils that, as badged police officers are returned to traditional police functions, and unarmed non-police professionals assume responsibility for other, low-risk, functions, local government budgets be allocated accordingly.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Whatcom Democrats asks Whatcom County’s School Districts to discontinue the use of police “school resource officers,” reassign funding to hiring non-police social workers and counselors, and reevaluate any discretionary programs that involve the presence of police officers on school grounds in nonemergency situations.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Whatcom Democrats asks the Washington State Legislature, Sheriff, and City Councils to reform the use of SWAT teams:

- Restrict use to those limited, rare emergencies in which there is an imminent threat to public safety (e.g., not for drugs, gambling, etc.).⁴⁰
- Prohibit forced entries into homes based on the uncorroborated word of an informant.⁴¹ Informants are notoriously unreliable.⁴²
- Require that records of informants be made available to defense attorneys and attorneys in civil suits relating to police conduct, with the stipulation that any identifying information be redacted (Informants' records could simply be a set of numbers indicating their success rate).⁴³
- Prohibit non-disclosure agreements in police misconduct settlements.
- Clearly establish an individual's right to record on-duty officers, with an enforcement mechanism so that persons wrongly and illegally arrested have a course of action.⁴⁴
- Require that all forced entry police raids be recorded in a tamper-proof format, with the videos made available to the public through a simple open records request.⁴⁵
- Require police departments to create a database, accessible to civilian review boards, defense attorneys, judges, and the media (acknowledging that the identities of confidential informants need not be revealed) that:
 - Tracks warrants from the time they're obtained to the time they're executed, but only made public afterwards.
 - Documents botched raids, including warrants served on the wrong address, warrants based on bad tips from informants, and/or warrants that resulted in the death or injury of an officer, a suspect, or a bystander.
 - Documents how many warrants are executed with no-knock entry versus knock-and-announce entry, how many required a forced entry, how many required the deployment of a SWAT team or other paramilitary unit, or used diversionary devices like flash-bang grenades.
 - Records the results of all raids.⁴⁶
- Mandate easy-to-find, publicly accessible records of judges and search warrants (and where applicable, prosecutors). The public deserves to know if all the narcotics officers in each area are going to the same judge or magistrate with their narcotics warrants.

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Whatcom Democrats asks the U.S. Congress to:

- Pass the *Preventing Authoritarian Policing Tactics on America's Streets Act*, which would require individual and agency identification on uniforms of federal officers and prevent unmarked vehicles from being used in arrests, limit federal agents' crowd control activities to federal property and its immediate vicinity, unless their presence is specifically requested by both the mayor and governor, and make arrests in violation of these rules unlawful.
- End qualified immunity by restoring the full authority of the Civil Rights Act of 1871, which gave Americans the right to sue public officials who violate their rights.⁴⁷
- End grant program funding, such as that contained in the Edward Byrne Memorial program, that incentivizes arrests and drug seizures.

- Develop a national database to prevent police officers with a history of substantiated misconduct from jumping departments.

Resolution adopted at the November 28, 2020 General Membership Meeting of the Whatcom County Democratic Central Committee.

¹ Ideas in this resolution draw heavily from a [police reform toolkit recommended by Barack Obama](#) from the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, based on the work of the Task Force on 21st Century Policing that he formed when he was in the White House. It also borrows from ACLU recommendations, and Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop* (PublicAffairs 2013).

² “Use of excessive force is incompatible with democracy, human rights, and morality. Police shootings of unarmed persons must end”; “The United States has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, and incarceration disproportionately impacts impoverished people and communities of color”; “Decriminalize possession and use of personal quantities of psychoactive drugs, reserving criminal penalties for the illegal sale of controlled substances”; “Demilitarize police departments,” “Base asset seizures on court conviction rather than mere arrest or presumption of guilt”; “Ensure accountability in law enforcement through independent review, including meaningful citizen participation.”

³ Removing bookings made by Lummi Nation Police Department, indigenous persons are still booked at well over twice the rate of white persons. Vera Institute of Justice, *Report to Whatcom County Stakeholders on Jail Reduction Strategies*, November, 2017, 15-17, in Incarceration Prevention and Reduction Task Force Final Phase III [Report](#), December 2017.

⁴ David Rasbach, [“Whatcom prosecutor hopes new program helps divert strain from criminal justice system,”](#) Bellingham Herald, October 7, 2019; King County Dept. of Community and Human services, [“Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion \(LEAD\).”](#)

⁵ Jeff Sharlet, [“A Flag for Trump’s America,”](#) *Harper’s Magazine*, July 2018, 58-59.

⁶ Maurice Chammah and Cary Aspinwall, [“The Short, Fraught History of the ‘Thin Blue Line’ American Flag,”](#) *Politico*, June 9, 2020.

⁷ National Institute of Justice, [“Five Things About Deterrence,”](#) June 5, 2016.

⁸ Ryan Cooper, [“What America can learn from Nordic police,”](#) *The Week*, June 5, 2020. FBI, “Clearances,” Crime in the U.S. 2018, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/clearances>; Crime in Washington 2019, 46; Marieke Liam et al., “Homicide clearance in Western Europe,” *European Journal of Criminology*, 2019, Vol. 16(1), 82, 89; Associated Press, [“Germany reports drop in crime, 96% of homicide cases cleared,”](#) April 2, 2019; UN Office on Drugs and Crime’s International Homicide Statistics database, [“Intentional Homicides \(per 100,000 people\).”](#)

⁹ *Crime in Washington* 2019, 13, 509, 511; *Crime in Washington* 2018, 503, 505.

¹⁰ Experts “question whether the basic requirements for getting a badge and a gun in the United States are sufficient. It takes more than three years to become a police officer in countries like Finland and Norway, but in some states, someone can complete basic training in as little as 11 weeks. ... Most states require fewer minimum training hours to become licensed as a police officer than they do for barbers or cosmetologists.” John Eligon and Dan Levin, *New York Times*, [“In Minneapolis, Looking for Police Recruits Who Can Resist Warrior Culture,”](#) June 19, 2020.

¹¹ Roge Karma, VOX, [“4 ideas to replace traditional police officers,”](#) June 24, 2020: “a police officer’s role frequently bleeds over from mediation into social work, usually involving those who are homeless, intoxicated, substance abusers, or suffering from mental illness. A massively disproportionate number of police calls and arrests in cities across the country involve homeless populations. In Portland, Oregon, the city’s homeless population made up 52 percent of the city’s arrests in 2017 even though they comprise less than 3 percent of Portland’s population. Around a quarter of fatal encounters with law enforcement involve someone with a mental health condition.”

¹² <https://www.history.com/news/10-things-you-should-know-about-prohibition>

¹³ *Crime in Washington* 2019, 51, 50.

¹⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program: Arrest Data,” 2019. Selections: Bellingham Police Department, Blaine Police Department, Everson Police Department, Ferndale Police Department, Sumas Police Department, Western Washington University Police Department, Whatcom County Sheriff’s Office.

¹⁵ Kelan Lyons, [“Lawmakers propose cracking down on police use of deadly force,”](#) *CT Mirror*, July 9, 2020.

¹⁶ Alameda County District Attorney’s Office, “Principles of Probable Cause and Reasonable Suspicion,” *Point of View*, Spring-Summer 2014, 2.

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- ¹⁷ Beth Schwartzapfel, [“What Trump Really Means When He Tweets ‘LAW & ORDER!!!’: A brief history of a political dog whistle,”](#) The Marshall Project, October 7, 2020.
- ¹⁸ The *Washington Post* database shows 999 persons were shot to death by police in 1999, 401 of whom did not have a gun, 229 of whom did not have a knife either. [“Fatal Force,”](#) *Washington Post* Police Shootings Database.
- ¹⁹ Michael D. White et al., “Assessing Dangerousness in Policing: An Analysis of Officer Deaths in the United States, 1970–2016,” *Criminology & Public Policy*, vol. 18 no. 1 (2019).
- ²⁰ Per 100,000 equivalent full-time workers, 14 police officers died on the job (from all causes) in 2018, compared to 25 farmers, 26 truck drivers, 44 refuse collectors, 51 roofers, 59 aircraft pilots, 77 fishers, and 98 loggers. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries (CFOI) - Current and Revised Data,” Fatal Injury Rates, [Hours-based fatal injury rates by industry, occupation, and selected demographic characteristics](#), 2018.
- ²¹ Washington Association of Sheriffs & Police Chiefs, [Crime in Washington 2019](#), 58, 83, 54, 19, 15.
- ²² David I. Swedler et al., “Firearm Prevalence and Homicides of Law Enforcement Officers in the United States,” *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 105, no. 10 (2015), 2042-2047.
- ²³ Robert Mittendorf, [“Bellingham Police budget changes don’t go far enough, residents tell City Council,”](#) *Bellingham Herald*, November 10, 2020.
- ²⁴ [Whatcom County 2019-2020 Final Budget](#), 157.
- ²⁵ *Crime in Washington 2018*, 566, *Crime in Washington 2019*, 567; David Rasbach, [“Bellingham drops a spot among state’s biggest cities in latest U.S. Census estimates,”](#) *Bellingham Herald*, May 26, 2020.
- ²⁶ Robert Mittendorf, [“Bellingham Police budget changes don’t go far enough, residents tell City Council,”](#) *Bellingham Herald*, November 10, 2020.
- ²⁷ Jill McCorkel, [“Police unions are one of the biggest obstacles to transforming policing,”](#) *The Conversation*, June 12, 2020. Seattle Police Officers Guild president Mike Solan praised the use of unidentified federal agents with unmarked vehicles in Portland and suggested doing the same in Seattle. Rich Smith, [“SPOG President Repeatedly Says It ‘Might’ Be Time for Trump to Send Feds to Seattle,”](#) *The Stranger*, July 21, 2020.
- ²⁸ Stephen Rushin, “Police Union Contracts,” *Duke Law Journal*, vol. 66, no. 6 (March 2017), 1192.
- ²⁹ Whatcom County [Collective Bargaining Agreements](#); City of Bellingham [Labor Agreements](#).
- ³⁰ David Doddridge, retired narcotics cop and LAPD veteran: “It just isn’t true. In twenty-one years at LAPD, I never once saw any assault weapons on a drug raid. Drug dealers prefer handguns, which are easier to conceal. Occasionally you’ll find a shotgun. But having a bunch of high-powered weaponry around is just too much trouble for them. It’s too much for them to worry about.” Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop* (PublicAffairs 2013), 270.
- ³¹ *Crime in Washington 2019*, 58.
- ³² Pretextual: US Law – “denoting or relating to a minor offense that enables authorities to detain a suspect for investigation of other matters,” e.g. stopping a car for a burnt-out tail light then doing a drug search.
- ³³ “Without a mediator present, it is possible that what starts out as a minor dispute can escalate to violence. But there is no particular reason the job of mediation has to be assigned to armed police officers; if anything, traditional police tend to unnecessarily escalate these situations, resulting in arrests or worse. That’s why a number of countries such as the UK, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and South Africa have created a distinct class of what can be broadly called “community safety professionals.” They are unarmed, lack most formal policing powers, and perform responsibilities like youth outreach, conflict mediation, community patrol, and addressing low-level crime and disorder.” Roge Karma, VOX, [“4 ideas to replace traditional police officers,”](#) June 24, 2020.
- ³⁴ White Bird Clinic, [“What is CAHOOTS?”](#), October 29, 2020; Roge Karma, VOX, [“4 ideas to replace traditional police officers,”](#) June 24, 2020.
- ³⁵ “Highways England in the UK employs unarmed traffic officers who drive around in distinct vehicles, and many other of the country’s traffic duties are left up to “community support officers” who can give out citations but are both unarmed and lack arrest power.” Roge Karma, VOX, [“4 ideas to replace traditional police officers,”](#) June 24, 2020.
- ³⁶ David Kroman, [“Seattle’s arrest alternative, LEAD, moves beyond police,”](#) *Crosscut*, July 17, 2020.
- ³⁷ State Senators Joe Nguyen and Jamie Pedersen, [“Our Police Are Civil Servants and Guardians, Not Warriors,”](#) *The Stranger*, June 10, 2020.
- ³⁸ Mike Reicher, [“Police reform bill could bring Washington to forefront of accountability movement,”](#) *Seattle Times*, October 6, 2020.
- ³⁹ Stephen Rushin, “Police Union Contracts,” *Duke Law Journal*, vol. 66, no. 6 (March 2017), 1244-45.
- ⁴⁰ Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop* (PublicAffairs 2013), 322.
- ⁴¹ Balko 322.
- ⁴² Katie Zavanski and Moiz Syed, [“30 Years of Jailhouse Snitch Scandals,”](#) *ProPublica*, December 4, 2019. Alexandra Natapoff, “Beyond Unreliable: How Snitches Contribute to Wrongful Convictions,” *Golden Gate*

University Law Review, vol 37, no 1, January 2006: “lying hardly distinguishes informants from other sorts of witnesses. Rather, it is how and why they lie, and how the government depends on lying informants, that makes snitching a troubling distortion of the truth-seeking process. Informants lie primarily in exchange for lenience for their own crimes, although sometimes they lie for money. In order to obtain the benefit of these lies, informants must persuade the government that their lies are true. Police and prosecutors, in turn, often do not and cannot check these lies because the snitch’s information may be all the government has. Additionally, police and prosecutors are heavily invested in using informants to conduct investigations and to make their cases. As a result, they often lack the objectivity and the information that would permit them to discern when informants are lying. This gives rise to a disturbing marriage of convenience: both snitches and the government benefit from inculpatory information while neither has a strong incentive to challenge it.”

⁴³ Balko 322.

⁴⁴ Balko 323.

⁴⁵ Balko 323.

⁴⁶ Balko 324.

⁴⁷ Gene Demby, “[An Immune System](#),” NPR, July 8, 2020.