

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR

# Transforming Public Safety

IN DENVER

MAY 2021



# Table of Contents

<b>SECTION I: INTRODUCTION</b>	2
Letter from Coordinator	3
Acknowledgments	5
Executive Summary	7
Strategies to Reimagine Policing & Public Safety	8
<b>SECTION II: RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	9
Strategies and Core Recommendations	10
Strategy 1	10
Strategy 2	14
Strategy 3	18
Strategy 4	20
Strategy 5	23
<b>SECTION III: OVERVIEW OF TASK FORCE</b>	27
Demographics of Task Force	28
Background	29
Process	30
Subgroups	30
<b>SECTION IV: NEXT STEPS</b>	32
<b>SECTION V: RECOMMENDATIONS BY KEY CHANGE ENTITY</b>	34
Recommendations for the Executive Branch:	
– Mayor & Department of Safety	36
Recommendations for the Legislative Branch:	
– Denver City Council	43
Recommendations for the Judicial Branch:	
– Denver Courts & Denver District Attorney	45
Recommendations for the Denver Human Services	46
Recommendations for the Denver Department of Housing Stability	46
Recommendations for the Denver Auditor	46
Recommendations for the Department of Transportation and Infrastructure	47
Recommendations for the Denver’s Community Organizations	47
<b>SECTION VI: GLOSSARY   ENDNOTES</b>	48
Glossary	49
Endnotes	52

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**Introduction**

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## Residents of Denver:

**What is public safety? This is the fundamental question these 112 recommendations attempt to answer.** Our definition: Public safety ensures that all members of the community decide how to organize a social environment that provides the freedom to live and thrive with the protection and support of social, physical, mental and economic well-being. Safety is not a function of armed paramilitary forces with a proven track record of racism and violence. Public safety prevents, reduces, and heals harm.

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**The Task Force to Reimagine Policing and Public Safety** is a team of over 40 different community organizations along with elected officials, faith leaders and youth coming together, over the course of several months to build relationships, have effective dialog, and create solutions surrounding policing and public safety in our city. This was an inclusive coalition, including African American, Latino, Asian, indigenous American, Jewish, Caucasian, LGBTQ+, individuals with disabilities, and those with lived experiences with the criminal legal system. Members come from a variety of organizational backgrounds, including civil rights organizations, community activists, direct service providers, faith-based organizations, policy advocacy organizations, and youth serving organizations. To date, this is the largest, most diverse community-led public safety initiative in the nation.

The Task Force greatly benefited from the participation of Denver's youth. Due to the fact that many of us have had negative experiences with public safety, especially youth, this was urgent work. We created an innovative process that not only gave the community a voice in policies that affects us directly, but also enabled a foot in the door for our community when it comes to engaging with city council.

The recommendations before you offer key perspectives from each community member in the coalition including the essential advocacy of black youth who have direct experiences with the systems we are aiming to improve. In an effort to reduce harm, the youth developed a rubric that graded these recommendations on their ability to promote healing. As a result, this recommendation report became our vision on re-imagining policing and public safety as a whole in Denver.

All over the nation, in light of not only recent events but deep-rooted problems within our past, folks are beginning to see the problems that exist within our current policing model. As we grow up we often overlook these issues or are sheltered from the world, but at a certain point, we can no longer choose to ignore them

**“The only genuine, long-range solution... lies in an attack—mounted at every level—upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions—not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America.”**

**– Lyndon Baines Johnson, June 27, 1967**

or be complacent. It is for that reason that we all are no longer asking for change, but as youth inheriting this system, we hereby demand it. We demand fundamental change, especially in terms of our policing concepts. It is our goal to have safe, equitable, and truly just public safety policies. As people who have our whole lives ahead of us, the children of Black men and women, grandchildren of immigrants, we recognize that the world is not as they hoped it would be for us. However, these changes will help quell the fears of our ancestors, our parents, our family, our friends, and even our own. For that to happen, however, we have to center the measurements for what defines community healing and community harm, and their fine line.

Simply discussing and debating the need for change is no longer an option, more so our only option. Stop talking and start doing. For this reason, we are informing you that it is time to make these changes. These policies need to be considered and implemented.

**Thank you,**

*The youth of the Community Healing Subgroup*

*The Task Force To Reimagine Policing and Public Safety*

# Acknowledgments

## Participating Community Groups & Members:

ACLU Colorado, Afro Liberation Front	Harm Reduction Action Center
American Friends Service Committee	Heart and Hand Center
Atlantis Community Inc.	Interfaith Alliance of Colorado
Center for Trauma Resilience	JEWISHcolorado
CO Youth Congress	Mental Health Center of Denver
Colorado Coalition for the Homeless	NAACP
Colorado Freedom Fund	Padres y Jovenes Unidos
Colorado Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC)	Police Union
Colorado Latino Forum	Presbyterian St. Luke's Medical Center
Colorado Public Health Association	Project VOYCE
Democratic Socialist of America	Reclaiming the Block
Denver Alliance for Street Health Response (DASHR)	Rose Andom Center
Denver Creative Industries Alliance	Showing Up for Racial Justice
Denver Homeless Out Loud	Spirit of the Sun
Denver Indian Center	The Center on Colfax
Denver Justice Project	The Conflict Center
Denver Street Partnership	Urban Peak
Four Winds	Young Aspiring Americans for Social and Political Activism (YAASPA)
Greater Metro Denver Ministerial Alliance	

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### Collaborating Partners:

Center for Policing Equity  
Vera Institute of Justice  
Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition  
JusticeLA  
Dignity & Power Now  
Fraternal Order of Police

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Caring 4 Denver

# Executive Summary

**The Denver Task Force to Reimagine Policing and Public Safety formed in response to the George Floyd protests as a community-led initiative to develop a comprehensive and sustainable community-based approach to policing and public safety.** The process of convening the Task Force began in a June 4 meeting between Mayor Hancock and representatives from the Greater Metro Denver Ministerial Alliance and was launched with the full support and cooperation of Mayor Hancock, Denver City Council, and the Denver Department of Public Safety. The Task Force was convened for the purpose of providing to the Denver city government and the Department of Public Safety a series of salutary recommendations and proposals that are informed, actionable, and sustainable.

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Over the last eight months, the Task Force has collaborated with experts, activists, and city officials to develop **112 recommendations** in the spirit of reimagining a public safety model that fundamentally prevents, reduces, and heals harm. The purpose of this report is to deliver these salutary recommendations to the City of Denver in the hope and expectation that the Task Force continue to advise on implementation and additional recommendations in future.

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The strategies and recommendations were ratified by a diverse group of individuals from across the city who worked tirelessly over the last several months to guarantee this list be community centered and driven. The recommendations serve as a starting point for the active tasks of reimagining public safety in Denver.

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The **112 recommendations** are organized into five overarching strategies that reflect the public safety priorities of Denver residents, as identified in two virtual town hall meetings, the July 2020 Task Force Questionnaire survey, and collaboration with experts and advocacy groups on the Task Force. This executive summary presents these five strategies for improving public safety.

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# Strategies to Reimagine Policing & Public Safety

STRATEGY

1

**Empower the community with resources** to adequately address socioeconomic needs and provide for their own public safety.

STRATEGY

2

**Minimize unnecessary interaction** of law enforcement and the criminal legal system with the community.

STRATEGY

3

**Support successful community reentry** of formerly incarcerated people and remove systemic barriers to reintegration.

STRATEGY

4

**Heal the community from harm** created by policing and the criminal legal system.

STRATEGY

5

**Expand the role of the community** in establishing meaningful independent oversight, improving accountability, training law enforcement, and creating public safety policy.

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**Recommendations**

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# Strategies and Core Recommendations

The Task Force has endeavored to faithfully represent the interests of the Denver community in developing the 112 recommendations in this report. Below, these recommendations are organized into five overarching strategies that reflect the public safety priorities of Denver residents<sup>1</sup>.

## STRATEGY

**Empower the community with resources to adequately address socioeconomic needs and provide for their own public safety.**

Community-based solutions offer a more granular approach to public safety that can be tailored to the unique needs of different communities. Whereas law enforcement occupy a highly circumscribed position within a fundamentally reactive criminal legal system, community-based initiatives have room for innovation in approach and implementation.<sup>2,3</sup> Many of the issues and unmet needs that cause suffering and drive offending can be proactively addressed by universal approaches to safe and affordable housing, accessible healthcare (including treatment and education on mental health and substance abuse), and trauma-informed services. Various point-of-contact interventions, like Denver's STAR and co-responder programs, provide a bridge to needed care and services for individuals

in crisis while smaller, more responsive community-based programs offer justice-involved persons a greater chance for success than custodial sentences<sup>4</sup>.

For all their promise, community-based alternatives are universally underfunded in Denver and nationally; programs require buy-in from the City to be successful, but officials are reluctant to invest fully in “unproven” programs. While there is a decided lack of high quality independent impact evaluations for community-based interventions, this is due to paucity of funding rather than scarcity of viable programming.

This was the case with Denver’s pilot implementation of the STAR program, which is based on the CAHOOTS program of Eugene, Oregon and sends trained mental health responders to crisis calls in lieu of dispatching law enforcement. The pilot received funding from the Caring for Denver Foundation sufficient for six months of operation limited to a small geographic area during weekday business hours. The program was implemented by DPD and evaluated at six months by an in-house team, a decision framed as a cost-saving measure for the department. The six-month evaluation fails to meet even the most basic standards of prevention science. The program was popular and unquestionably successful at avoiding unnecessary police involvement, but officials cite the overall low call count and superficial impact analysis – both valid but self-imposed considerations – in their reluctance to make major shifts in operations or budget allocations, thereby returning to the start of the underfunding cycle.

Recent investments in point-of-contact interventions like STAR represent considerable progress for Denver, but a superficial evaluation and funding volatility create uncertainty in its future.

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **1** Create an autonomous community-led, non-law enforcement institution that will serve as a platform for public funding of community-based public safety programming.

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- » **2** Create permanent mechanisms with institutionally-stable decision-making roles for community, including disproportionately affected communities, and Department of Public Safety to collaborate in defining, understanding and producing public safety policies, procedures, rules and practices.

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- » **3** Create and fund community workshops led by people with lived experience in the criminal enforcement system that will solicit feedback on City systems that one must engage with for support.

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- » **4** Decentralize trauma-informed referral sources to enable community to help each other rather than having to call police or wait for business hours of a single entity (e.g. motel vouchers, etc.)

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- » **5** Create online trainings and an education resource bank for families and neighbors to learn how to support people with various mental health and/or behavioral health issues.

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- » **6** Broaden free and accessible community-based harm reduction strategies for mental health and substance abuse.

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- » **7** Include effective faith-based community services in the overall public safety plan.

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- » **8** Ensure funding of community-based public safety through set-asides for reconciliation, not just prospective change.

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- » **9** Increase city funding potential for qualified community-based organizations that prioritize community care by streamlining and removing cumbersome barriers to Request for Proposal and Request for Qualifications contracting/granting processes.

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- » **10** Create, expand and publicly promote crisis mediation and violence prevention and interruption through transformative justice principles and processes.

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- » **11** Prevent and eliminate homelessness through a centralized, city-run coordination system across the spectrum of housing needs that reflects real-time data about unit availability and instant ability to pinpoint tailored solutions.

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- » **12** Develop a multi-lingual comprehensive health, wellness, safety, and re-entry map of services and programs that includes eligibility criteria, agency and division contacts and application links.

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- » **13** Ensure that any initial public safety intervention with unhoused people includes a meaningful attempt to house the individual, with verification filed through the city’s coordination system.

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- » **14** Guarantee Department of Safety coordination with housing providers to support long term housing of anyone and everyone involved in the criminal enforcement system.

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- » **15** Devote substantial housing funding that targets historically marginalized people and enables them to live in any and all communities and configurations.

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- » **16** Promote and create permanently affordable housing options supplementary to Denver Housing Authority Housing units.

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- » **17** Eliminate housing barriers caused by racist zoning laws and under no circumstances allow use of law enforcement to address zoning code violation complaints.

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- » **18** Cease all city-sanctioned sweeps, cleanups, or any other variation of forced removal of homeless encampments from public property and invest all cost-savings into Safe Outdoor Spaces, trash pick up, portable toilets, case management, and other harm reduction strategies.

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- » **19** Build interagency collaboration teams between Criminal Justice, Social Work, Human Services, Education, Housing and for-profit/not-for-profit business sectors to ensure measurably improved delivery of services.

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- » **20** Track race, ethnicity, color, gender, economic status, and disability status in police-initiated searches, arrests, incarceration, recidivism, and homelessness to study, share with the public, and correct disproportionate impacts.

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- » **21** Adopt the Task Force’s definition of “public safety” and “public health & well-being” in relevant source documents including but not limited to charter and legislation.

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- » **22** Guarantee language access in an individual’s native language, including American Sign Language, for all individuals interacting with the Department of Safety or any department or division within. Adopt procedures requiring police use of official, Americans with Disabilities Act compliant language access services when taking enforcement action.

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- » **23** Develop a grant-making division within the Department of Safety that includes community decision-making via a participatory budgeting model to re-allocate any dollars diverted from police budgets or jail bed reductions. This could mirror the Crime Prevention & Control Commission with more community representation rather than the status quo of heavy City agency representation.

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- » **24** Dedicate Community Engagement budgets in all Department of Safety entities to public awareness campaigns about alternative emergency responses (e.g., STAR, Colorado Crisis System, Suicide Prevention, etc.) and streamline emergency triaging of calls by 911 operators to appropriate first responders.

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- » **25** Provide aligned or joint trainings to community-based, City-based and state-based emergency responders and victim's services responder teams that connect and build cross-entity capacity to minimize and/or eliminate a child's trauma and family separation; and connect caregivers to community-based support services in child protection and immigration cases.

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- » **26** Increase the number of co-responder and STAR teams citywide based on demand and eligibility of citizen-initiated requests for service as indicated by historical 911 and crime type data.

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- » **27** Strengthen protections for immigrants from any nexus between Denver Police Department and federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

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- » **28** Determine "authorized strength" and Department of Safety needs by annually conducting Public Safety, Health & Well-being assessment which will include an independent, statistically valid survey of community members and frontline police officers in each police precinct about community needs, community satisfaction and overall safety, health and well-being perceptions. Survey will gauge public perceptions based on newly adopted definition of public safety & well-being.

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- » **29** Decentralize and fund courts embedded in communities that are based in restorative practices, transformative justice, and conflict resolution, with community input into judicial assignments through evaluations of procedural justice.

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- » **30** Ensure sufficient investment in both inpatient and outpatient treatment and services for mental health and substance abuse disorders.

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- » **31** Remove limits to long term health, mental health and substance abuse services.

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- » **32** Expand employment opportunities for mental health, substance abuse, and co-occurring clients.

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- » **33** Incubate employment programs for people with disabilities, including programs for those with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

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- » **34** Require that behavioral health and primary-care physicians, and mental health clinicians, complete trainings on serving people who identify as BIPOC, LGBTQIA, and TGI.\*

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- » **35** Conduct a study that measures demographic disparities in provision of social services over the last 10 years of our City's peak growth.

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## STRATEGY

# 2

### **Minimize unnecessary interaction of law enforcement and the criminal legal system with the community.**

Denver residents reimagined a model of public safety that minimizes unnecessary police and CLS involvement through two main avenues of action: 1) decriminalizing offenses that post no threat to public safety; and 2) implementing alternative emergency response options for situations where an armed police response does more harm than good. Support for this strategy among Denver community members was universally emphatic, though statements from respondents with clearly positive attitudes towards law enforcement tended to express concern over the burden on police while those from respondents with more negative attitudes typically cited the harms caused by the misapplication of police.

Research increasingly suggests that the simplest and swiftest way to minimize this unnecessary contact is to decriminalize certain offenses that pose no threat to the safety of the public<sup>5</sup>. Often called survival crimes or quality of life crimes, these include offenses like fare evasion, drug use and possession, public intoxication, and other low-level victimless crimes. Many such offenses were criminalized only in recent decades, as the ineffective War on Drugs and concomitant “tough on crime” rhetoric led to the rapid criminalization of behaviors that were disruptive – or “undesirable” – rather than dangerous.

Police are trained for extremely specific circumstances (i.e., to respond to dangerous behavior), but as the list of criminal offenses has expanded, so too have the expectations upon them. Even with supplemental training in de-escalation tactics, the presence of armed police officers inherently escalates interactions that can and should be resolved peacefully and without arrest.

Developing new alternatives to emergency police response – and expanding those currently in place – will protect the community from harm, reduce the administrative burden on the CLS, and free up law enforcement to tackle truly dangerous situations.

It should also be noted that this strategy strictly targets unnecessary interactions and in no way restricts access or availability of emergency services.

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **36** Create and adequately support unarmed community-based non-law enforcement response teams to complement LEAD, STAR and co-responders.

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- » **37** Decriminalize sex workers who are victims of human trafficking. Deprioritize enforcement against all sex workers and ensure access to necessary services.

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- » **38** Develop, expand and fully fund pre-arrest and pre-booking diversion programs in coordination with law enforcement and community providers, using decentralized, cross-functional teams to coordinate behavioral health assessments and connections to community-based systems of care as well as offering restorative practices and transformative justice options.

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- » **39** Decriminalize quality-of-life offenses, survival crimes, and other petty infractions such as drug use, and public intoxication.

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- » **40** Decriminalize traffic offenses often used for pretextual stops.

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- » **41** Prohibit Denver Police from conducting searches in relation to petty offenses or traffic violations.

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- » **42** Remove police officers from routine traffic stops and crash reporting and explore non-police alternatives that incentivize behavior change to eliminate traffic fatalities.

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- » **43** Eliminate the need for traffic enforcement by auditing and investing in the built environment to promote safe travel behavior.

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- » **44** End the school to prison pipeline by eliminating all school-based public safety contracts, diverting budget savings to social and emotional learning, behavioral monitoring and reinforcement, counseling, and peace-able schools programs.

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- » **45** Create regular amnesty events to clear warrants for failures to appear or unpaid fines, and expungement clinics for eligible offenses.

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- » **46** Automatically expunge past convictions for actions that are no longer illegal and automatically seal records for certain misdemeanors and low-level felonies.

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- » **47** Use data to prevent gentrification-driven displacement and reduce criminal enforcement against displaced people through cross-agency collaboration.

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- » **48** Create an ordinance making it illegal to contact law enforcement solely to discriminate against a person for any illegitimate purpose, including a person's race, ethnicity, disability, religious affiliation, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity.

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- » **49** Enable and increase ambulatory contracts with Denver Fire and Denver Health to improve response times and allow dispatch of ambulances to STAR calls without police.

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- » **50** Create an app to access alternatives for behavioral health crises.

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- » **51** Measure the proficiency of all law enforcement personnel (including relevant civilian personnel) as well as 911 dispatchers in the Denver Metro Area to ensure that Crisis Intervention Team training is effective.

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- » **52** Invest in a community-based, community-led violence prevention strategic plan that includes but is not limited to traffic stop violence and government sanctioned violence.

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- » **53** Remove electronic surveillance absent an active investigation, and prohibit future investments in electronic surveillance in overpoliced communities.

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- » **54** Enforce the ban on police preventing civilians from videorecording police activity.

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- » **55** Bar the Denver Police Department from entering into blanket contracts with entities to obtain access to surveillance footage and instead require an individualized request to the person who owns the surveillance device.

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- » **56** Prohibit the use of facial recognition technology by Denver law enforcement.

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- » **57** Require body-worn cameras to automatically activate at a time that captures law enforcement interactions in their entirety.

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- » **58** Permit safe injection sites in the City and County of Denver.

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- » **59** End cash bail for all defendants accused of serious crimes unless it is proven by clear and convincing evidence that the defendant is a flight risk or violent threat to the community. Maintain pretrial jail population at lower levels attained during the pandemic.

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- » **60** Improve return-to-court support services and eliminate jail for those who voluntarily make the effort to clear a warrant.

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- » **61** Use text messages to notify individuals of deadlines for court and make court appearances possible via free virtual platform.

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- » **62** Reduce supervision and probation check-ins for nonviolent crimes and eliminate technical violations and bench warrants that result in more jail or prison time.

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- » **63** Create a community-led committee, comprised of those with lived experiences and individuals from most impacted communities, along with the Public Defenders office to review all municipal criminal ordinances to determine which ordinances are antiquated, ambiguous, and unnecessary to public safety, in order to minimize citizens' interaction with law enforcement and the criminal courts.

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## STRATEGY

# 3

### **Support successful community reentry of formerly incarcerated people and remove systemic barriers to reintegration.**

Formerly incarcerated people face a host of secondary or collateral consequences (e.g., disenfranchisement, social stigma, discrimination in employment, disqualification from federal aid programs) that jeopardize the chances of successful reintegration after serving a carceral sentence. The deleterious effects of these collateral consequences extend beyond the putative end of punishment to cause undue suffering for individuals and families, devastate already disadvantaged communities, and ultimately increase the likelihood of recidivism and subsequent reincarceration<sup>6</sup>.

Colorado jails are disproportionately populated by POC and other vulnerable or historically disadvantaged groups for whom these post-carceral challenges are often compounded by a lifetime of systemic inequality and concomitant barriers related to generational poverty, substandard educational systems, trauma exposure, untreated mental illness, and inadequate housing.

The eleven items below are intended to address these issues broadly; for a more granular approach to recommendations on reentry in Colorado, please see the special report released last month by our collaborating partners at the Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition (CCJRC).<sup>7</sup>

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **64** Create outreach campaigns in collaboration with the communities most impacted by incarceration to prevent trauma, affirm gender identity and queerness and promote social support networks for LGBTQ+ TGI persons who are incarcerated or re-entering society.

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- » **65** Remove barriers to reentry that bar formerly incarcerated individuals from obtaining professional certifications, government employment opportunities, public housing, financial aid, and public benefits.

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- » **66** Create a funded reentry department by ordinance or executive order for community-based, culturally and gender responsive, trauma informed and survivor initiated transformative justice practices involving both adult and youth justice-involved populations for all crimes.

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- » **67** Provide post-conviction free legal and financial assistance to mitigate collateral consequences (e.g. licensing restrictions, record sealing, criminal system debt) and obtain orders of relief and fee waivers to enhance employment opportunities, increase compliance with court requirements and reduce judicial order variation.

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- » **68** Connect justice-involved persons with county-funded formerly justice involved community-based advocates that are reflective of the diversity of the reentering population to navigate the judicial system including diversion opportunities.

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- » **69** Guarantee non-coercive, equal access to all treatment resources for justice-involved individuals, both in or out of custody regardless of ability to pay. Streamline points of entry within courts, jails and prisons for mental health and substance use disorder services.

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- » **70** Create a centralized secure mental health facility for assessments, treatment, and management by psychiatric staff of mentally ill people within 24 hours after incarceration.

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- » **71** Provide pre-release services to stabilize people with mental illness before transitioning them to wrap-around community-based care.

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- » **72** Create community-based treatment facilities to accept patients from jail who have clinical mental health needs, substance use disorders, and/or co-occurring disorders by leveraging HOME Investment Partnership Funds and Medicaid.

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- » **73** Assess the entire Denver Community Corrections continuum including probation terms, conditions, and length of supervision to measure the effectiveness in promoting public safety and successful reentry. Invest in ownership and control of county-owned facilities.

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- » **74** Prioritize permanent supportive housing, prior to release, for chronically homeless re-entering adults with co-occurring disorders.

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# STRATEGY

# 4

## Heal the community from harm created by policing and the criminal legal system.

It is no secret that the trust between DPD and the community has fractured<sup>9</sup>. The relationship was already fraught when the George Floyd Protests (GFP) began last May; by responding aggressively to demonstrations against police brutality, DPD further undermined their credibility and caused untold damage to the community they are charged to protect<sup>9</sup>. Notably, the word “untold” is in no way hyperbolic; the exceptionally thorough report on the OIM investigation into the first five days of the GFP ultimately concluded that it was impossible to determine the true extent of civilian injuries inflicted by DPD and the external paramilitary forces called in as mutual aid.<sup>10</sup>

Safety and DPD leadership are aware of the current tensions and have indicated a desire and willingness to heal the damage<sup>11</sup>. But healing the harms caused by past and current forms of policing necessitates a foundation of trust. How do we begin to build that foundation?

According to 21st Century Policing, it is vital for law enforcement to begin rebuilding trust with their community by first acknowledging and addressing the past harms and injustices for which police were responsible<sup>12</sup>. And the United States police institution has an extremely well-documented history of race-based injustices and discriminatory practices<sup>13</sup>. The pernicious effects of problematic policing practices endure not only in the material and symbolic consequences that disproportionately impact the lives of POC, and BIPOC in particular, but also in the traumas they engender.

It is critical that law enforcement understand their role in producing and perpetuating different forms of trauma: interpersonal trauma from singular or repeated direct exposure to incidents of race-based discrimination and police harassment; complex trauma from chronic and pervasive exposure to police violence against racial and ethnic minorities; and intergenerational or historical trauma inherited through collective memory of past brutality and oppression<sup>14</sup>. Trauma is associated with myriad adverse health outcomes and psychosocial problems (e.g., depression, panic disorder, substance use) that, along with collective memory, play a significant role in shaping negative orientations towards police, which are further reinforced by each new exposure to incidents of police harassment or violence<sup>15</sup>.

Changing these negative orientations requires disrupting this process and adopting a trauma-informed approach to community healing that centers the complexities of trauma to protect survivors and prevent additional harm. To that end, DPD can most effectively build trust and promote healing through radical transparency and a sincere commitment to changing the problematic aspects of police culture that produce and perpetuate trauma.

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **75** Implement new standards for DPD interaction with community members that are determined by community members via an open transparent and collaborative process in partnership with the Office of the Independent Monitor, Citizen Oversight Board, Civil Service Commission and Re-Imagining Policing Community Taskforce.

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- » **76** Provide culturally competent and mandatory (as a condition of employment) routine mental health supports for officers to address the trauma associated with witnessing and intervening in violence.

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- » **77** Change the DPD internal investigation process and ensure internal procedural justice and accountability for officers who experience discrimination, targeting, bullying or silencing for speaking against injustice. This requires the Internal Affairs Bureau and Public Integrity Division be hired, fired and supervised NOT by Denver Police Department nor Sheriff's but instead the Manager of Safety.

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- » **78** Fund the District Attorney and Municipal Public Defender's Office equitably to ensure caseload, facility and job classification parity.

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- » **79** Implement mandatory annual training for every DPD officer on anti-racism and asset-based community development led by external BIPOC diversity and inclusion experts and allow community participation or monitoring to ensure quality.

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- » **80** Prohibit the use of handcuffs, pepper spray, or physical restraints of any kind on minors.

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- » **81** Prohibit the use of Denver Police Department Gang Unit and all militarized responses and “mutual aid” from surrounding municipalities in Denver-based protests and riots if there has not been documented proof of cross training of officers on Denver policies, procedures and ordinances. In the event that mutual aid ever occurs, every single officer assisting must be identifiable to the public by badge or nametag and some unique municipality identifier and Denver Police Department must log every name and post of every officer assisting and a commanding officer in DPD must assume all liability for anyone assisting.

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- » **82** Prioritize family unification for children separated from parents/guardians by allowing persons-involved to choose whose care they are placed in.

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- » **83** Mandatory cross-agency training for law enforcement inclusive of but not limited to: public health, human services, community engagement and housing approaches.

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# STRATEGY

# 5

**Expand the role of the community** in establishing meaningful independent oversight, improving accountability, training law enforcement, and creating public safety policy.

Denver has been debating the role and reach of civilian oversight for years<sup>16</sup>. Both the Citizen's Oversight Board (COB) and Office of the Independent Monitor (OIM) originated in the 2004 Mayoral Task Force, but the proposals adopted were those drafted by law enforcement and not endorsed by the group as a whole. Members of the 2004 task force, which had split into factions after DPD and PPA representatives walked out in protest of negotiations regarding strengthening civilian oversight, produced parallel sets of recommendations that diverged on the topic of civilian oversight offices. Community leaders at the time opposed the offices outlined in the law enforcement proposal as insufficient, citing additional concerns that COB would effectively rename the extant volunteer oversight group without expanding its authority.

The offices of COB and OIM remain the creation of Denver law enforcement. The COB is unable to independently advance discipline and cannot compel DPD to adhere to any recommendations for disciplinary action. The initiation and scope of OIM investigations are subject to mayoral control that extends to veto power over potential investigations concerning department leaders appointed by the mayor<sup>17</sup>. The office also has limited authority to compel DPD to cooperate with evidence collection in active investigations, such as when DPD refused OIM direct access to body worn camera (BWC) recordings during the GFP investigation last year. All BWC evidence in the investigation was screened by DPD personnel before being delivered to OIM<sup>18</sup>.

Meaningful community oversight is not an attack on police; it is a fundamental part of establishing trust and building credibility between law enforcement and the communities they serve<sup>19</sup>. It is imperative that the City reconsider the present limitations to oversight and prioritize community involvement in developing and revising DPD procedures in future.

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **84** All law enforcement initiatives need to be evaluated by a neutral outside party (selected by the Crime Control & Prevention Commission) for effectiveness.

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- » **85** Make the Office of the Independent Monitor independent by changing appointment authority to City Council and the Citizen Oversight Board and implement a four-year term.

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- » **86** Guarantee subpoena power and allow Office of Independent Monitor unfettered access to all departmental documents and systems.

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- » **87** Create an independent nomination and selection commission for both the City Attorney and Independent Monitor.

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- » **88** Ensure appropriate resourcing for the Office of the Independent Monitor by guaranteeing an annual budget appropriation that is proportionate to the entities the Monitor investigates at a minimum of 2% of their total budgets.

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- » **89** Protect the integrity of investigations by guaranteeing Career Service status of Office of the Independent Monitor non-managerial staff.

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- » **90** Establish clear documentation and discipline processes when there are violations for homophobic, transphobic, and/or misogynistic harassment or assaults by law enforcement. All allegations of mistreatment of the LGBTQ+/TGI community and women by law enforcement must be escalated and investigated by an independent body and consequences determined outside of the both the DPD and DSD.

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- » **91** Create predictable disciplinary measures in violations of use of force policies including automatic termination in cases where life is lost at the hands of law enforcement where the victim was unarmed.

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- » **92** Create a sanctity of life statement as a part of the Denver Use of Force policy.

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- » **93** Mandate “duty to intervene” & report in all Use of Force cases that extends liability to law enforcement who fail to intervene.

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- » **94** Remove the civil service commission from the disciplinary process of law enforcement in Denver and replace with a Civilian Review Commission.

---

- » **95** Conduct deeper background checks of law enforcement applicants in Denver to eliminate those with known histories of racism and discrimination. If any history of racism or discrimination is found (including racist body markings) the applicant will be disqualified.

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- » **96** Investigate and mandate that all current law enforcement officers with racist body markings, paraphernalia (masks), etc are subject to termination especially if there have ever been allegations of racial discrimination.

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- » **97** All emergency response training procedures should be developed with community involvement. Stakeholder groups should include those with lived experience of the policy being addressed.

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- » **98** Prohibit use of riot gear, weapons and militarized approaches or responses during peaceful protests or demonstrations.

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- » **99** Require public hearings prior to acquisition of retired military weapons, the purchase of which must be approved by City Council.

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- » **100** Require and publicize an annual, full inventory of all DPD weapons, munitions, chemicals, SWAT gear, body cams, tanks, vehicles.

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- » **101** Establish a local licensing board and certification standards (in addition to POST certification) for Denver law enforcement officers as well as a process for revoking certification and a publicly searchable database of every DPD officer and their trainings and certifications as well as complaints against them.

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- » **102** Bring full transparency to the DPD budget both the process for determining the budget and granular detail of the money spent.

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- » **103** Conduct full and regular independent audits by the Denver Auditor of the DPD’s data and inventory including but not limited to: body camera technology, ticket cameras/wagons, speed detectors, surveillance technology, weapons and programs and policies.

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- » **104** Identify and eliminate financial incentives for overtime and/or double-dipping as a DPD officer on city contracts.

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- » **105** Collect data on deterrent function and crime resolution functions of surveillance.

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- » **106** Ensure that surveillance appropriately deployed only in areas where there has been a proven impact on crime resolution.

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- » **107** End Civil Asset forfeiture in Denver without due process.  
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- » **108** Create a Civilian Review Commission with disciplinary power to replace the Civil Service Commission to work in partnership with the Office of the Independent Monitor, Citizens Oversight Board, Internal Affairs Bureau and Public Integrity Division.  
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- » **109** End no-knock warrants.  
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- » **110** Require police and Sheriff departments pay for abuse and misconduct claims or settlements beyond the statewide cap of \$25,000 with personal insurance rather than from the city general fund.  
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- » **111** Require all law enforcement officers to carry personal liability insurance as a condition of employment.  
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- » **112** Remove the Internal Affairs Bureau from within the Denver Police Department and merge it with the Public Integrity Division responsible for investigations of both police and sheriffs.  
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**Overview of Task Force**

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# Overview of Task Force

The Denver Task Force to Reimagine Policing and Public Safety is a community-led initiative dedicated to identifying solutions that empower communities, minimize unnecessary police contact with vulnerable populations, and heal the wounds of generations of injustice and systemic oppression.

“Denver is reimagining policing and public safety from the bottom up.”

The Task Force convened last year amidst global demonstrations sparked as the murder of George Floyd, a Black man, by Minneapolis police officers focused international attention on problematic policing practices and the systemic injustices of the criminal legal system. In Denver, the aggressive police response to the George Floyd Protests drew national media coverage, became the subject of investigation by the Office of the Independent Monitor, and prompted the formation of this Task Force.

Over the last eight months, the Task Force has collaborated with experts, activists, and city officials to develop 112 recommendations in the spirit of reimagining a public safety model that fundamentally prevents, reduces, and heals harm. The purpose of this report is to deliver these salutary recommendations to the City of Denver in the hope and expectation that the Task Force continue to advise on implementation and additional recommendations in future.

The recommendations in this report represent a collaborative effort to address the needs of the Denver community. Recommendations are presented two different ways to maximize ease of use and translation into action. **Section II** presents recommendations within five overarching strategies for transforming policing and public safety in Denver. These strategies are intended to directly reflect the needs and priorities identified by the Denver community. In **Section V**, recommendations are packaged by intended recipient department(s) (e.g., City Council, Denver Police Department, Department of Safety, Caring for Denver Foundation, etc.).

## Demographics of Task Force

The representation of the Task Force centers the voices of those who have been most impacted by systemic injustices resulting from criminal justice policies and practices that fueled hyper-criminalization and mass incarceration of communities of color for generations. Specifically, the Task Force is an inclusive coalition comprised of 43 community organizations and government agencies.

Members represent a diversity of communities, including African American, Latino, Asian, indigenous American, Jewish, Caucasian, LGBTQ+, individuals with disabilities, and those with lived experiences with the criminal legal system. Members come from a variety of organizational backgrounds, including civil rights organizations, community activists, direct service providers, faith-based organizations, policy advocacy organizations, and youth serving organizations. Additionally, the Task Force has had consistent representation from Denver City Council, the District Attorney’s Office, the Public Defender’s Office, and Colorado State Public Defender.

## Background

Looking back to the last 20 years, this is Denver's fourth coalition of community activists, law enforcement, and city officials working together to improve policing and public safety in the city. The earliest of these coalitions occurred before records were commonly digitized; while records concerning these initiatives are nominally public, they are not easily accessible. As context for the present Task Force, and for the sake of posterity, this report presents a concise history of these initiatives.

In January 2004, then-Mayor Hickenlooper announced a task force to investigate DPD Use of Force policy and citizen-review procedures amidst public outrage in the death of Paul Childs, a developmentally disabled minor who was shot and killed by DPD in July 2003. Both the Citizen's Oversight Board (COB) and Office of the Independent Monitor (OIM) originated in the *2004 Mayoral Task Force*, but the proposals adopted were those drafted by law enforcement and not endorsed by the group as a whole. Members of the 2004 task force, which had split into factions after DPD and PPA representatives walked out in protest of negotiations regarding strengthening civilian oversight, produced parallel sets of recommendations that diverged on the topic of civilian oversight offices. Community leaders at the time opposed the offices outlined in the law enforcement proposal as insufficient, but Hickenlooper ultimately chose to take the police-backed proposal to City Council and the ballot<sup>20</sup>.

The coalition that became known as the *Manager of Safety's Disciplinary Advisory Committee* formed in late 2004 and remained actively engaged in revising DPD disciplinary procedures for more than three years before unveiling the disciplinary matrix that remains the department standard. Led by the Safety department, the 80-member group is the only one in recent history that convened wholly in response to internal pressure. Note that the activities and composition of this earlier group distinguish it from the present incarnation of the similarly titled *Executive Director of Safety's Disciplinary Advisory Group Standing Committee*.

Denver Police Chief Robert White announced in late 2016 his intentions to revise the department's Use of Force policy without involving OIM or the community. In January 2017, the brief list of revisions drew criticism for being vague, inadequate, and contradictory<sup>21</sup>. Critics immediately called for DPD to form a collaborative coalition to advise on the policy. Chief White remained resistant to the idea, weathering weeks of public dissatisfaction and pressure from City Council without wavering,<sup>22</sup> before abruptly changing his mind in late February<sup>23</sup>. Created under the leadership of DPD, the *Use of Force Advisory Committee* began meeting in April 2017.<sup>24</sup> Early meetings were contentious – all law enforcement participants had withdrawn by August<sup>25</sup> – but the committee ultimately delivered its report and recommendations in October 2017.

The proposal to convene this Task Force was brought to Mayor Hancock in a June 4, 2020 meeting with representatives from the Greater Metro Denver Ministerial Alliance. Shortly thereafter, the initiative was launched with the full support and cooperation of Mayor Hancock, Denver City Council, and the Denver Department of Public Safety. In January 2021, the Department of Public Safety discontinued its participation in the Task Force. This withdrawal was explicitly issued in response to a January 7, 2021 Task Force meeting from which three official DOS representatives were asked to abstain in the interest of allowing other Task Force members to more openly discuss their concerns of retaliation from the Denver Police Department and/or the Department of Public Safety. Whether these concerns were unfounded was not addressed in Executive Director Robinson's email formally withdrawing the support, cooperation, and participation of his department.

## Process

In June and July, the Task Force collected data on community concerns and priorities through two virtual town hall meetings and an open-response Web survey. These data were instrumental in defining the Task Force objectives and the overarching strategies presented in this report. The virtual town hall meetings were held on June 30 and July 21, 2020 and were hosted in collaboration with the Greater Metro Denver Ministerial Alliance, Interfaith Alliance of Colorado, Together Colorado, Conflict Center, and Project VOYCE. The Task Force Questionnaire (TFQ) was implemented throughout Denver via multiple media platforms between June 30 and July 31, 2020.

The first Task Force meeting convened September 3, 2020. Meetings were held weekly and, in the interest of transparency, were streamed live on Facebook and subsequently archived on the Task Force website<sup>26</sup>. Through the end of October, these meetings were primarily concerned with hearing from subject matter experts and creating a shared foundation of knowledge regarding the history of policing practices in Denver and innovations in community policing practices more broadly.

Towards the end of October, these full-roster meetings transitioned to smaller, more tightly focused working subgroups: Internal DPD Policy Reform; Hiring, Oversight, and Accountability; Alternatives to Emergency Response through Community Based Models; Community Healing; Alternative Approaches to Public Health; Funding and Community Reinvestment; and Judicial System Transformations. Members were organized into these seven subgroups according to their area of expertise, with one member of the leadership team acting as a facilitator in each group. Facilitators met weekly to maintain communication across subgroups. Based on guidance from the Center for Policing Equity, each group created a “Reimagination Roadmap<sup>27</sup>” to set goals, identify priorities, clarify member roles, and prepare action items, but the work of each team was otherwise self-determined.

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## Subgroups

### » Internal DPD Policy Reform

The subgroup on Internal DPD Policy Reform focused on topics including education of police officers, policies around use of force and use of military grade weapons on civilians, and police reflecting the communities that they serve.

### » Hiring, Oversight, and Accountability

The subgroup on Hiring, Oversight, and Accountability focused on topics including investigations of police misconduct and oversight, public policy, and diverse and inclusive citizen oversight models.

### » Alternatives to Emergency Response

The subgroup on Alternatives to Emergency Response through Community Based Models focused on topics including response teams, crime prevention, innovative public safety interventions, and alternative approaches to community violence.

### » Community Healing

The subgroup on Community Healing focused on topics including healing those most impacted by police, restorative/transformational justice for those who have experienced systematic harm, and the roles of police in our community.

### » **Alternative Approaches to Public Health (Mental Health, Housing, Substance Use)**

The subgroup on Alternative Approaches to Public Health (Mental Health, Housing, and Substance Use) focused on topics including appropriate housing options, alternatives for mental health crises, substance abuse treatment and prevention, and harm reduction.

### » **Funding and Community Reinvestment**

The subgroup on Funding and Community Reinvestment focused on topics including community reinvestment models, funding sources and allocation, a budget for safety, and policing budgets.

### » **Judicial System Transformations**

The subgroup on Judicial System Transformations focused on topics including reforming Pre-Trial processes, alternatives to monetary bond, alternatives to incarceration, decarceration models, and restorative/transformational justice for criminal offenses.

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Through the end of 2020, subgroups variously met with Denver city officials, met with additional subject matter experts, and hosted guest speakers for more specialized presentations. Subgroups also began drafting their own recommendations, a process that was aided considerably by building on the recent work of similar initiatives<sup>28</sup> across the country.

By January, subgroups had collectively compiled a preliminary list of 127 recommendations and began a multi-step screening and editing process. The first stage lasted through the end of February, as all preliminary recommendations were screened for advancement to the policy and editing teams using several filter questions demonstrating for each prospective recommendation an expected positive impact on quality of life in Denver, applicability to one or more Task Force objectives, and feasibility in practice. Recommendations were also marked with all applicable recipient departments or organizations.

In March, subgroup and full-roster meetings were suspended to enable the leadership team and a subsection of members with policy experience to focus on the intensive writing and editing process. This group conducted a second review of each recommendation regarding its applicability to overarching strategies and consolidated thematically similar items as appropriate. A six-person editing team led by a representative from Vera Institute of Justice then reviewed these recommendations for consistency and clarity of language; all edited recommendations were compared to original submissions to ensure that the spirit and intent of the originals had been maintained.

Edited recommendations were then assessed for any unintended policy implications using a rubric created by Project VOYCE (see full rubric in appendix). The rubric was designed to evaluate policy recommendations for the potential to promote community healing or cause community harm<sup>29</sup>. Recommendations flagged during this process were returned to the policy group for revision. All final recommendations in this report received a score indicating they will promote healing in the Denver community.

At the end of the editing and evaluation process the revised list of recommendations were returned to the full Task Force for review and discussion. A few minor changes were made to reflect updated information or to use more intentionally inclusive language.

The Task Force unanimously ratified the final list of 112 recommendations on May 11, 2021.

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**Next Steps**

**IV**

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# Next Steps

This report does not conclude the work of the Task Force. The Task Force continues to be a community-led initiative dedicated to identifying solutions that empower communities, minimize unnecessary police contact with vulnerable populations, and heal the wounds of generations of injustice and systemic oppression.

There are other public safety issues that can only be addressed through continued community collaboration. The Task Force will meet regularly to accomplish **four** key objectives:

- » **1** Identify gaps and develop additional recommendations. Identify important issues that are not represented in this recommendations report, and find groups that can advocate around issues.

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- » **2** Work to have recommendations implemented. Work with city officials and agencies to develop community-based implementation strategies. Lobby for public safety policy changes based on the continued work of the Task Force. Coordinate advocacy strategies for recommendations. Organize community support to have policies adopted and implemented.

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- » **3** Expand Task Force participation and engage the community in the change process. Identify and recruit additional community groups that are missing to amplify and push the current recommendations. Identify and recruit groups to address issues that impact specific people groups that this first round of recommendations may have missed. Organize public forums/town halls to allow feedback from community.

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- » **4** Expand scope of Task Force work. Coordinate community outreach efforts around mental health and wellness, with a focus on cultural sensitivity. Continue to lead initiative to rethink public safety from a bottom up approach: prevention and rehabilitation. Coordinate mutual aid efforts between community organizations

An example of the type of issues the Task Force will continue to address is represented in this statement from the Harm Reduction Action Center.

“To reduce the involvement between law enforcement and people who use drugs, we recommend the implementation of Overdose Prevention Sites in our community. The COVID-19 pandemic and rising rates of fentanyl in the unregulated drug supply have exacerbated drug overdose deaths in Colorado and throughout the United States<sup>30</sup>. This trend is predicted to continue in 2021. Overdose Prevention Sites have been implemented in other countries for decades, and evaluations of those sites as well as an unsanctioned Overdose Prevention Site in the United States show that they reduce drug overdose deaths without increasing crime or other social harms<sup>31,32</sup>.

“Further, we believe Overdose Prevention Sites will help to advance racial equity in our country’s approach to drug policy reform, as communities of color have historically and intentionally been left out of conversations on reducing overdose deaths, despite being the most impacted. We look forward to a future of collaboratively reducing drug overdose deaths in Colorado, with a commitment to Black, Indigenous, and People of Color who use drugs.”

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**Recommendations by Key Change Entity**

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# Recommendations by Key Change Entity

Recommendations in this section are packaged by intended recipient department(s) (e.g., City Council, Denver Police Department, Caring for Denver Foundation). Some recommendations fall under the purview of more than one organization; these recommendations have been marked and listed under all applicable departments. This section lists recipient departments in descending order according to overall volume of recommendations.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR:

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### The Executive Branch:

- Mayor & Department of Safety
- 

### The Legislative Branch:

- Denver City Council
- 

### The Judicial Branch:

- Denver Courts & Denver District Attorney
- 

### The Denver Human Services

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### The Denver Department of Housing Stability

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### The Denver Auditor

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### The Department of Transportation and Infrastructure

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### The Denver's Community Organizations

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# Recommendations for the Executive Branch:

## – Mayor & Department of Safety

### STRATEGY 1

Empower the community with resources to adequately address socioeconomic needs and provide for their own public safety.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **2** Create permanent mechanisms with institutionally-stable decision-making roles for community, including disproportionately affected communities, and Department of Public Safety to collaborate in defining, understanding and producing public safety policies, procedures, rules and practices.
- » **3** Create and fund community workshops led by people with lived experience in the criminal enforcement system that will solicit feedback on City systems that one must engage with for support.
- » **4** Decentralize trauma-informed referral sources to enable community to help each other rather than having to call police or wait for business hours of a single entity (e.g. motel vouchers, etc.)
- » **5** Create online trainings and an education resource bank for families and neighbors to learn how to support people with various mental health and/or behavioral health issues.
- » **6** Broaden free and accessible community-based harm reduction strategies for mental health and substance abuse.
- » **7** Include effective faith-based community services in the overall public safety plan.
- » **8** Ensure funding of community-based public safety through set-asides for reconciliation, not just prospective change.
- » **9** Increase city funding potential for qualified community-based organizations that prioritize community care by streamlining and removing cumbersome barriers to Request for Proposal and Request for Qualifications contracting/granting processes.
- » **10** Create, expand and publicly promote crisis mediation and violence prevention and interruption through transformative justice principles and processes.
- » **12** Develop a multi-lingual comprehensive health, wellness, safety, and re-entry map of services and programs that includes eligibility criteria, agency and division contacts and application links.
- » **13** Ensure that any initial public safety intervention with unhoused people includes a meaningful attempt to house the individual, with verification filed through the city’s coordination system.
- » **14** Guarantee Department of Safety coordination with housing providers to support long term housing of anyone and everyone involved in the criminal enforcement system.

- » **17** Eliminate housing barriers caused by racist zoning laws and under no circumstances allow use of law enforcement to address zoning code violation complaints.

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- » **19** Build interagency collaboration teams between Criminal Justice, Social Work, Human Services, Education, Housing and for-profit/not-for-profit business sectors to ensure measurably improved delivery of services.

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- » **20** Track race, ethnicity, color, gender, economic status, and disability status in police-initiated searches, arrests, incarceration, recidivism, and homelessness to study, share with the public, and correct disproportionate impacts.

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- » **21** Adopt the Task Force’s definition of “public safety” and “public health & well-being” in relevant source documents including but not limited to charter and legislation.

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- » **22** Guarantee language access in an individual’s native language, including American Sign Language, for all individuals interacting with the Department of Safety or any department or division within. Adopt procedures requiring police use of official, Americans with Disabilities Act compliant language access services when taking enforcement action.

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- » **23** Develop a grant-making division within the Department of Safety that includes community decision-making via a participatory budgeting model to re-allocate any dollars diverted from police budgets or jail bed reductions. This could mirror the Crime Prevention & Control Commission with more community representation rather than the status quo of heavy City agency representation.

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- » **24** Dedicate Community Engagement budgets in all Department of Safety entities to public awareness campaigns about alternative emergency responses (e.g., STAR, Colorado Crisis System, Suicide Prevention, etc.) and streamline emergency triaging of calls by 911 operators to appropriate first responders.

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- » **25** Provide aligned or joint trainings to community-based, City-based and state-based emergency responders and victim’s services responder teams that connect and build cross-entity capacity to minimize and/or eliminate a child’s trauma and family separation; and connect caregivers to community-based support services in child protection and immigration cases.

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- » **26** Increase the number of co-responder and STAR teams citywide based on demand and eligibility of citizen-initiated requests for service as indicated by historical 911 and crime type data.

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- » **27** Strengthen protections for immigrants from any nexus between Denver Police Department and federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

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- » **28** Determine “authorized strength” and Department of Safety needs by annually conducting Public Safety, Health & Well-being assessment which will include an independent, statistically valid survey of community members and frontline police officers in each police precinct about community needs, community satisfaction and overall safety, health and well-being perceptions. Survey will gauge public perceptions based on newly adopted definition of public safety & well-being.

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- » **34** Require that behavioral health and primary-care physicians, and mental health clinicians, complete trainings on serving people who identify as BIPOC, LGBTQIA, and TGI.\*

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## STRATEGY 2

### Minimize unnecessary interaction of law enforcement and the criminal legal system with the community.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **36** Create and adequately support unarmed community-based non-law enforcement response teams to complement LEAD, STAR and co-responders.
- » **38** Develop, expand and fully fund pre-arrest and pre-booking diversion programs in coordination with law enforcement and community providers, using decentralized, cross-functional teams to coordinate behavioral health assessments and connections to community-based systems of care as well as offering restorative practices and transformative justice options.
- » **42** Remove police officers from routine traffic stops and crash reporting and explore non-police alternatives that incentivize behavior change to eliminate traffic fatalities.
- » **47** Use data to prevent gentrification-driven displacement and reduce criminal enforcement against displaced people through cross-agency collaboration.
- » **49** Enable and increase ambulatory contracts with Denver Fire and Denver Health to improve response times and allow dispatch of ambulances to STAR calls without police.
- » **51** Measure the proficiency of all law enforcement personnel (including relevant civilian personnel) as well as 911 dispatchers in the Denver Metro Area to ensure that Crisis Intervention Team training is effective.
- » **52** Invest in a community-based, community-led violence prevention strategic plan that includes but is not limited to traffic stop violence and government sanctioned violence.
- » **53** Remove electronic surveillance absent an active investigation, and prohibit future investments in electronic surveillance in overpoliced communities.
- » **54** Enforce the ban on police preventing civilians from videorecording police activity.
- » **55** Bar the Denver Police Department from entering into blanket contracts with entities to obtain access to surveillance footage and instead require an individualized request to the person who owns the surveillance device.
- » **56** Prohibit the use of facial recognition technology by Denver law enforcement.
- » **57** Require body-worn cameras to automatically activate at a time that captures law enforcement interactions in their entirety.
- » **60** Improve return-to-court support services and eliminate jail for those who voluntarily make the effort to clear a warrant.

## STRATEGY 3

### Support successful community reentry of formerly incarcerated people and remove systemic barriers to reintegration.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **64** Create outreach campaigns in collaboration with the communities most impacted by incarceration to prevent trauma, affirm gender identity and queerness and promote social support networks for LGBTQ+/TGI persons who are incarcerated or re-entering society.

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- » **65** Remove barriers to reentry that bar formerly incarcerated individuals from obtaining professional certifications, government employment opportunities, public housing, financial aid, and public benefits.

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- » **66** Create a funded reentry department by ordinance or executive order for community-based, culturally and gender responsive, trauma informed and survivor initiated transformative justice practices involving both adult and youth justice-involved populations for all crimes.

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- » **67** Provide post-conviction free legal and financial assistance to mitigate collateral consequences (e.g. licensing restrictions, record sealing, criminal system debt) and obtain orders of relief and fee waivers to enhance employment opportunities, increase compliance with court requirements and reduce judicial order variation.

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- » **68** Connect justice-involved persons with county-funded formerly justice involved community-based advocates that are reflective of the diversity of the reentering population to navigate the judicial system including diversion opportunities.

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- » **69** Guarantee non-coercive, equal access to all treatment resources for justice-involved individuals, both in or out of custody regardless of ability to pay. Streamline points of entry within courts, jails and prisons for mental health and substance use disorder services.

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- » **70** Create a centralized secure mental health facility for assessments, treatment, and management by psychiatric staff of mentally ill people within 24 hours after incarceration.

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- » **71** Provide pre-release services to stabilize people with mental illness before transitioning them to wrap-around community-based care.

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- » **72** Create community-based treatment facilities to accept patients from jail who have clinical mental health needs, substance use disorders, and/or co-occurring disorders by leveraging HOME Investment Partnership Funds and Medicaid.

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- » **73** Assess the entire Denver Community Corrections continuum including probation terms, conditions, and length of supervision to measure the effectiveness in promoting public safety and successful reentry. Invest in ownership and control of county-owned facilities.

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## **STRATEGY 4** Heal the community from harm created by policing and the criminal legal system.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **75** Implement new standards for DPD interaction with community members that are determined by community members via an open transparent and collaborative process in partnership with the Office of the Independent Monitor, Citizen Oversight Board, Civil Service Commission and Re-Imagining Policing Community Taskforce.

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- » **76** Provide culturally competent and mandatory (as a condition of employment) routine mental health supports for officers to address the trauma associated with witnessing and intervening in violence.

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- » **77** Change the DPD internal investigation process and ensure internal procedural justice and accountability for officers who experience discrimination, targeting, bullying or silencing for speaking against injustice. This requires the Internal Affairs Bureau and Public Integrity Division be hired, fired and supervised NOT by Denver Police Department nor Sheriff's but instead the Manager of Safety.

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- » **79** Implement mandatory annual training for every DPD officer on anti-racism and asset-based community development led by external BIPOC diversity and inclusion experts and allow community participation or monitoring to ensure quality.

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- » **80** Prohibit the use of handcuffs, pepper spray, or physical restraints of any kind on minors.

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- » **81** Prohibit the use of Denver Police Department Gang Unit and all militarized responses and “mutual aid” from surrounding municipalities in Denver-based protests and riots if there has not been documented proof of cross training of officers on Denver policies, procedures and ordinances. In the event that mutual aid ever occurs, every single officer assisting must be identifiable to the public by badge or nametag and some unique municipality identifier and Denver Police Department must log every name and post of every officer assisting and a commanding officer in DPD must assume all liability for anyone assisting.

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- » **82** Prioritize family unification for children separated from parents/guardians by allowing persons-involved to choose whose care they are placed in.

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- » **83** Mandatory cross-agency training for law enforcement inclusive of but not limited to: public health, human services, community engagement and housing approaches.

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## **STRATEGY 5** Expand the role of the community in establishing meaningful independent oversight, improving accountability, training law enforcement, and creating public safety policy.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **84** All law enforcement initiatives need to be evaluated by a neutral outside party (selected by the Crime Control & Prevention Commission) for effectiveness.

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- » **90** Establish clear documentation and discipline processes when there are violations for homophobic, transphobic, and/or misogynistic harassment or assaults by law enforcement. All allegations of mistreatment of the LGBTQ+/TGI community and women by law enforcement must be escalated and investigated by an independent body and consequences determined outside of the both the DPD and DSD.

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- » **91** Create predictable disciplinary measures in violations of use of force policies including automatic termination in cases where life is lost at the hands of law enforcement where the victim was unarmed.

---

- » **92** Create a sanctity of life statement as a part of the Denver Use of Force policy.

---

- » **93** Mandate “duty to intervene” & report in all Use of Force cases that extends liability to law enforcement who fail to intervene.

---

- » **95** Conduct deeper background checks of law enforcement applicants in Denver to eliminate those with known histories of racism and discrimination. If any history of racism or discrimination is found (including racist body markings) the applicant will be disqualified.

---

- » **96** Investigate and mandate that all current law enforcement officers with racist body markings, paraphernalia (masks), etc are subject to termination especially if there have ever been allegations of racial discrimination.

---

- » **97** All emergency response training procedures should be developed with community involvement. Stakeholder groups should include those with lived experience of the policy being addressed.

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- » **98** Prohibit use of riot gear, weapons and militarized approaches or responses during peaceful protests or demonstrations.

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- » **99** Require public hearings prior to acquisition of retired military weapons, the purchase of which must be approved by City Council.

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- » **100** Require and publicize an annual, full inventory of all DPD weapons, munitions, chemicals, SWAT gear, body cams, tanks, vehicles.

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- » **101** Establish a local licensing board and certification standards (in addition to POST certification) for Denver law enforcement officers as well as a process for revoking certification and a publicly searchable database of every DPD officer and their trainings and certifications as well as complaints against them.

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- » **102** Bring full transparency to the DPD budget both the process for determining the budget and granular detail of the money spent.

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- » **104** Identify and eliminate financial incentives for overtime and/or double-dipping as a DPD officer on city contracts.

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- » **105** Collect data on deterrent function and crime resolution functions of surveillance.

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- » **106** Ensure that surveillance appropriately deployed only in areas where there has been a proven impact on crime resolution.

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- » **107** End Civil Asset forfeiture in Denver without due process.

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- » **108** Create a Civilian Review Commission with disciplinary power to replace the Civil Service Commission to work in partnership with the Office of the Independent Monitor, Citizens Oversight Board, Internal Affairs Bureau and Public Integrity Division.

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- » **109** End no-knock warrants.

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- » **110** Require police and Sheriff departments pay for abuse and misconduct claims or settlements beyond the statewide cap of \$25,000 with personal insurance rather than from the city general fund.

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- » **111** Require all law enforcement officers to carry personal liability insurance as a condition of employment.

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- » **112** Remove the Internal Affairs Bureau from within the Denver Police Department and merge it with the Public Integrity Division responsible for investigations of both police and sheriffs.

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# Recommendations for the Legislative Branch:

## – Denver City Council

### STRATEGY 1

**Empower the community with resources to adequately address socioeconomic needs and provide for their own public safety.**

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **18** Cease all city-sanctioned sweeps, cleanups, or any other variation of forced removal of homeless encampments from public property and invest all cost-savings into Safe Outdoor Spaces, trash pick up, portable toilets, case management, and other harm reduction strategies.
- » **35** Conduct a study that measures demographic disparities in provision of social services over the last 10 years of our City's peak growth.

### STRATEGY 2

**Minimize unnecessary interaction of law enforcement and the criminal legal system with the community.**

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **37** Decriminalize sex workers who are victims of human trafficking. Deprioritize enforcement against all sex workers and ensure access to necessary services.
- » **39** Decriminalize quality-of-life offenses, survival crimes, and other petty infractions such as drug use, and public intoxication.
- » **40** Decriminalize traffic offenses often used for pretextual stops.
- » **41** Prohibit Denver Police from conducting searches in relation to petty offenses or traffic violations.
- » **44** End the school to prison pipeline by eliminating all school-based public safety contracts, diverting budget savings to social and emotional learning, behavioral monitoring and reinforcement, counseling, and peace-able schools programs.
- » **48** Create an ordinance making it illegal to contact law enforcement solely to discriminate against a person for any illegitimate purpose, including a person's race, ethnicity, disability, religious affiliation, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity.
- » **58** Permit safe injection sites in the City and County of Denver.
- » **63** Create a community-led committee, comprised of those with lived experiences and individuals from most impacted communities, along with the Public Defenders office to review all municipal criminal ordinances to determine which ordinances are antiquated, ambiguous, and unnecessary to public safety, in order to minimize citizens' interaction with law enforcement and the criminal courts.

## **STRATEGY 4** Heal the community from harm created by policing and the criminal legal system.

### RECOMMENDATION:

- » **78** Fund the District Attorney and Municipal Public Defender's Office equitably to ensure caseload, facility and job classification parity.
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## **STRATEGY 5** Expand the role of the community in establishing meaningful independent oversight, improving accountability, training law enforcement, and creating public safety policy.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **85** Make the Office of the Independent Monitor independent by changing appointment authority to City Council and the Citizen Oversight Board and implement a four-year term.
  - » **86** Guarantee subpoena power and allow Office of Independent Monitor unfettered access to all departmental documents and systems.
  - » **87** Create an independent nomination and selection commission for both the City Attorney and Independent Monitor.
  - » **88** Ensure appropriate resourcing for the Office of the Independent Monitor by guaranteeing an annual budget appropriation that is proportionate to the entities the Monitor investigates at a minimum of 2% of their total budgets.
  - » **89** Protect the integrity of investigations by guaranteeing Career Service status of Office of the Independent Monitor non-managerial staff.
  - » **94** Remove the civil service commission from the disciplinary process of law enforcement in Denver and replace with a Civilian Review Commission.
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# Recommendations for the Judicial Branch:

## – Denver Courts & Denver District Attorney

### STRATEGY 1

Empower the community with resources to adequately address socioeconomic needs and provide for their own public safety.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

- » **29** Decentralize and fund courts embedded in communities that are based in restorative practices, transformative justice, and conflict resolution, with community input into judicial assignments through evaluations of procedural justice.
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### STRATEGY 2

Minimize unnecessary interaction of law enforcement and the criminal legal system with the community.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **45** Create regular amnesty events to clear warrants for failures to appear or unpaid fines, and expungement clinics for eligible offenses.

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- » **46** Automatically expunge past convictions for actions that are no longer illegal and automatically seal records for certain misdemeanors and low-level felonies.

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- » **59** End cash bail for all defendants accused of serious crimes unless it is proven by clear and convincing evidence that the defendant is a flight risk or violent threat to the community. Maintain pretrial jail population at lower levels attained during the pandemic.

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- » **61** Use text messages to notify individuals of deadlines for court and make court appearances possible via free virtual platform.

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- » **62** Reduce supervision and probation check-ins for nonviolent crimes and eliminate technical violations and bench warrants that result in more jail or prison time.

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# Recommendations for the Denver Human Services

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **30** Ensure sufficient investment in both inpatient and outpatient treatment and services for mental health and substance abuse disorders.

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- » **31** Remove limits to long term health, mental health and substance abuse services.

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- » **33** Incubate employment programs for people with disabilities, including programs for those with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

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# Recommendations for the Denver Department of Housing Stability

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **11** Prevent and eliminate homelessness through a centralized, city-run coordination system across the spectrum of housing needs that reflects real-time data about unit availability and instant ability to pinpoint tailored solutions.

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- » **15** Devote substantial housing funding that targets historically marginalized people and enables them to live in any and all communities and configurations.

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- » **16** Promote and create permanently affordable housing options supplementary to Denver Housing Authority Housing units.

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- » **74** Prioritize permanent supportive housing, prior to release, for chronically homeless re-entering adults with co-occurring disorders.

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# Recommendations for the Denver Auditor

## RECOMMENDATION:

- » **103** Conduct full and regular independent audits by the Denver Auditor of the DPD's data and inventory including but not limited to: body camera technology, ticket cameras/wagons, speed detectors, surveillance technology, weapons and programs and policies.

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# Recommendations for the Department of Transportation and Infrastructure

## RECOMMENDATION:

- » **43** Eliminate the need for traffic enforcement by auditing and investing in the built environment to promote safe travel behavior.
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# Recommendations for the Denver's Community Organizations

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

- » **1** Create an autonomous community-led, non-law enforcement institution that will serve as a platform for public funding of community-based public safety programming.

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  - » **32** Expand employment opportunities for mental health, substance abuse, and co-occurring clients.

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  - » **50** Create an app to access alternatives for behavioral health crises.

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  - » **63** Create a community-led committee, comprised of those with lived experiences and individuals from most impacted communities, along with the Public Defenders office to review all municipal criminal ordinances to determine which ordinances are antiquated, ambiguous, and unnecessary to public safety, in order to minimize citizens' interaction with law enforcement and the criminal courts.
-

TRANSPARENCY  
ACCOUNTABILITY  
KNOWLEDGE  
TRUST  
ACCESS

**Appendices: Glossary | Endnotes**

RESTORE  
EMPOWER  
UNIFY  
SUPPORT  
HEAL

# Glossary

**Public Safety:** Public safety ensures that all members of the community decide how to organize a social environment that provides the freedom to live and thrive with the protection and support of social, physical, mental and economic well-being. Safety is not a function of armed paramilitary forces with a proven track record of racism and violence. Public safety prevents, reduces, and heals harm.

**Transformative Justice:** An approach that centers issues of oppression, injustice, and social inequity

**Restorative Justice:** An approach to conflict that focuses on healing the damage between two parties rather than simply punishing the offender

**Trauma-informed:** A system or set of practices designed to understand the effects of trauma and accommodate the vulnerabilities of trauma survivors

**Community-based:** Programs and initiatives that are provided by non-governmental community organizations.

**Community-led:** A philosophical approach in which communities have a the lead decision-making roles in identifying, assessing and solving the issues that matter to them and impact hem. Community-led is also used interchangeably with community-based.

**Harm Reduction:** A set of ideas and interventions that seek to reduce the harms associated with both drug use and ineffective, racialized drug policies and in contrast to a punitive approach to problematic drug use, it is acknowledges the dignity and humanity of people who use drugs and bringing them into a community of care in order to minimize negative consequences and promote optimal health and social inclusion.

**Institutionally Stable:** Not vulnerable to changing with each administrative shift

**Request for Proposal:** A business document that announces a project, describes it, and solicits bids from qualified contractors to complete it.

**Request for Qualifications:** A qualifications-based selection process that is not a bid. It is a request for firms to submit their qualifications to be considered for a project. It is applicable for professional services (similar to legal services) where a city or county is not required to take competitive bids.

**Criminal Enforcement System:** This is terminology used instead of Criminal Justice System so not to imply “justice” as a core function and instead identify the system more accurately as is an organization that exists to enforce legal code. There are three branches of the U.S. criminal enforcement system: the police, the courts, and the corrections system. This term is also used interchangeably with Criminal Legal System.

**Conflict Resolution:** A peacemaking approach to interpersonal conflicts

**Accountability Processes:** An informal process by which members of a community attempt to resolve conflict or deliver justice outside of the criminal justice system.

**Community Courts:** Community-based courts that hear low-level offenses and provide sentencing alternatives to imprisonment

**Language Access:** Institutional steps to communicate with individuals with limited English proficiency in their native or preferred language

**Procedural Justice:** Fairness in the way law enforcement interacts with the public

**Community Court:** De-centralized courts embedded in neighborhoods that have a philosophy of restoration rather than punishment. Community courts use the authority of the Criminal Enforcement System to address quality-of-life problems and encourage greater citizen trust and involvement, asking local residents and businesses to identify neighborhood challenges, prioritize collaboratively, loop in new partners (doctors, teachers, employment specialists, etc.) to address the root causes of crime with real non-punitive solutions.

## Glossary Continued

**BIPOC:** Acronym umbrella term used to reference all people of color (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) — anyone who isn't white-- calling specific attention to Black and Indigenous people who experience the most egregious racialized harms committed against non-white people in the Criminal Enforcement System, specifically at the hands of police.

**LGBTQIA+:** Acronym umbrella term used to reference people who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Queer/ Questioning, Intersexed, Asexual/Ally and the "+" is inclusive of other non-normative gender identities or sexual orientations.

**TGI:** Acronym umbrella term used to be slightly more specific than LGBTQIA+ in referencing specifically the gender aspects of identity calling out Transgender, Gender-Variant and Intersex individuals.

**Sex Work:** Sexual services of any kind including but not limited to fellatio, cunnilingus, masturbation, anal intercourse, erotic performances, massage, with any person in exchange for money or other thing of value.

**Sex Workers:** Adults who have not been coerced or trafficked who receive money or goods in exchange for consensual sexual services or erotic performances, either regularly or occasionally.

**LEAD:** Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion

**Clear and convincing evidence:** A legal standard that means that the evidence being presented must be "highly" and substantially more probable to be true rather than untrue. This standard is also known by other names, including: "Clear, convincing, and satisfactory evidence"; "Clear, unequivocal, satisfactory, and convincing evidence"; and "Clear, cognizant, and convincing evidence. It is used in civil cases where civil liberty interests are at issue or where equitable remedies are involved. The standard is also used in some criminal cases.

**Justice Involved Persons:** Individuals interacting with the enforcement or punitive aspects of the criminal legal system, commonly the judicial or carceral systems.

**Militarized:** Describing the use of weapons, equipment, training, and tactics of war for routine police work

**Peaceful Protest:** Also known as nonviolent resistance or nonviolent action, is the act of expressing disapproval through actions such as marches, gathering, boycotts, handing out flyers, or sit-ins at public places without the use of violence.

**Pretextual Stops:** Contact initiated by law enforcement for the purpose of justifying a search of an individual or vehicle

**Moving and Traffic infractions:** Offenses such as jaywalking, riding non-motorized bicycles on sidewalks, riding scooters on sidewalks, driving without a license, not stopping at a stop sign on a bike and other moving infractions.

**Survival /Quality of life crimes:** Criminal code offenses like fare evasion, drug use and possession, public intoxication, and other low-level victimless crimes. The criminalization of behaviors that are disruptive – or "undesirable" – rather than dangerous.

**Crisis Intervention Team:** Partnership between law enforcement and mental health professionals intended to connect individuals in crisis to appropriate services

**Cross-functional teams:** Also known as multidisciplinary teams are individuals from different agencies and disciplines with varied backgrounds and interpretive schemes, who work together to analyze and address behavioral health problems.

**HOME Investment Partnership Funds:** Funds distributed to community organizations for projects that provide decent housing, strengthening the ability of local governments and non-profits to provide housing.

**Peace-able schools program:** A conflict resolution program intended for upper elementary and middle school students

**Institution:** An established organization or corporation especially of a public character.

**Community:** The people with common interests living in a particular area. (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 11th)

## Glossary Continued

**Disproportionately (disproportionate):** Being out of proportion.

**Grassroots:** The basic level of society or of an organization esp. as viewed in relation to higher or more centralized positions of power.

**Lived-experience:** Personal knowledge about the world gained through direct, first-hand involvement in everyday events rather than through representations constructed by other people. (Oxford Reference)

**Faith-based:** Affiliated with, supported by, or based on a religion or religious group.

**Set aside:** Something (as a portion of receipts or production) that is set aside for a specific purpose.

**Reconciliation:** To restore to friendship or harmony. To make consistent or congruous.

**Re-entry:** Release from incarceration.

**Sweep:** Colloquial term describing the process by which law enforcement personnel forcibly disperse homeless encampments and confiscate the occupants' personal belongings. (ACLU Washington) Replaced "occupants" for "their"

**Public property:** State- or community-owned property not restricted to any one individual's use or possession.

**Decision-making:** The act or process of deciding something especially with a group of people —often used before another noun.

**STAR:** The Support Team Assistance Response (STAR) team is a community program that redirects some 911 calls to a Mental Health Center of Denver social worker and a Denver Health paramedic. (mhcd.org) The program was first implemented in June 2020.

**Authorized Strength:** A term that is used to define the size or capacity of a law enforcement entity's staffing levels for budget purposes based on results from the National Citizen Survey.

**Restorative:** \*row 4

**Transformative:** \*row 3

**Amnesty events:** Events set up to grant official pardons for qualified offenses.

# Endnotes

- 1 For detail on data collection and analysis please see <http://www.denvertaskforce.org/reports.html>
- 2 Sakala, L., & La Vigne, N. (2019). Community-driven models for safety and justice. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 16(1), 253-266.
- 3 See <https://www.courtinnovation.org/programs>
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- 5 See e.g., Leonard, E. B. (2015). *Crime, inequality and power*. Routledge.
- 6 See e.g., Clear, T. R. (2009). *Imprisoning communities: How mass incarceration makes disadvantaged neighborhoods worse*. Oxford University Press.
- 7 [https://www.cjrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/CCJRC\\_Community\\_Corrections\\_Report\\_April2021-1.pdf](https://www.cjrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/CCJRC_Community_Corrections_Report_April2021-1.pdf)
- 8 Please see December 3 2020 (timestamp 1:05:20) <http://www.denvertaskforce.org/meeting-recordings.html>
- 9 See e.g., Lumsden, E. (2017). How much is police brutality costing America. *U. Haw. L. Rev.*, 40, 141.
- 10 Mitchell, N. (2020). The police response to the 2020 George Floyd Protests in Denver, an independent review. Denver Office of the Independent Monitor.
- 11 Ibid.
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- 19 President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
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- 21 Phillips, N. (2017, January 24). Denver police listen to community's input during first public airing of new use-of-force policy. *Denver Post, The: Web Edition Articles (CO)*.
- 22 Phillips, N. (2017, February 16). Denver council pushes police chief on policy. *Denver Post, The (CO)*, p. 3A. A
- 23 Phillips, N. (2017, February 27). Denver police chief reverses course, plans to invite outside voices to finalize new use-of-force policy - Police Chief Robert White says the Denver City Council will be involved in the process. *Denver Post, The: Web Edition Articles (CO)*. A
- 24 Phillips, N. (2017, April 14). Denver Police Chief Robert White is inviting a few community members to advise him about use of force. Here's who he asked. - Denver Police Chief Robert White invites community members to join board to help department rewrite use-of-force policy. *Denver Post, The: Web Edition Articles (CO)*.
- 25 Phillips; Noelle Phillips, N. (2017, July 3). Rough start for Denver board. *Denver Post, The (CO)*, p. 6A.
- 26 <http://www.denvertaskforce.org/meeting-recordings.html>
- 27 <https://policingequity.org/what-we-do/research/toolkit-for-equitable-public-safety>
- 28 Alternatives to Incarceration (2020); Strengthening Public Safety in New York City (2021); National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) Reimagining Public Safety Task Force (2021)
- 29 See appendix
- 30 Press Release, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Overdose Deaths Accelerating During COVID-19 (Dec. 17, 2020).
- 31 See, e.g., Chloé Potier et al., Supervised injection services: what has been demonstrated? A systematic literature review, *Drug Alcohol Depend*, 145: 48-68 (2014).
- 32 Alex H. Kral et al., Evaluation of an Unsanctioned Safe Consumption Site in the United States, *383 New Eng. J. Med.* 589-90 (2020).