

**APARTHEID
POLICING IN
PITTSBURGH:
WHY DEFUNDING
THE POLICE
CAN'T WAIT**



ABOLITIONIST LAW CENTER

DECEMBER 2020

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An in-depth review of data and information about the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police reveals a policing system that is irredeemably racist and oppressive. Black Pittsburgh residents are arrested, searched, and brutalized at rates far higher than white Pittsburghers. Black children, some younger than 10 years old, are subjected to police searches at rates even more disparate than adults. Police in Pittsburgh are not spending their time protecting the public from violence or making communities safer. And when they do focus their attention on serious crimes, they are shockingly inept at even determining who perpetrated the harm, particularly when victims are Black.

Despite staggering statistics demonstrating inexcusable and unjustifiable racial disparities in every aspect of its operations and no appreciable positive effect on community safety, the police in Pittsburgh have been lavishly rewarded for their misdeeds. In only six years under Mayor Bill Peduto, the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police budget has increased by nearly 60%. Pittsburgh police receive over \$40 million more than they did when Peduto first took office. The police budget has risen to almost one fifth of the City's total annual budget.

Defunding the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police is the first step toward a world in which police are obsolete. Pittsburgh's police budget must, at a minimum, be cut by \$40 million dollars and returned to pre-Peduto levels of funding. **The police cannot reform themselves.** Generations of public officials have promised police reform while filling the coffers of police departments. Yet, Black people are still forced to take to the streets to demand an end to police brutality and to assert that their lives matter. Money previously appropriated to the police must be redistributed to services that are generative rather than punitive; services that seek to meet the needs of communities, rather than to control and discipline communities; and services intended to undo harm, rather than inflict more.

KEY 2019 PITTSBURGH POLICING STATISTICS

More than 60% of the time the Pittsburgh Police used force, it was against Black individuals.¹

Black people made up only 23.2% of the Pittsburgh population,² and yet they made up:

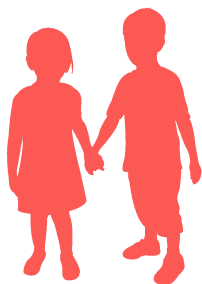
43.6% of individuals involved in traffic stops (despite that only 61% of Black residents in Pittsburgh own a motor vehicle, compared to 89% of white residents);³

71.4% of all frisks;⁴



69% of all warrantless search and seizures;⁵ and

63% of all arrests conducted by the Pittsburgh Police.⁶



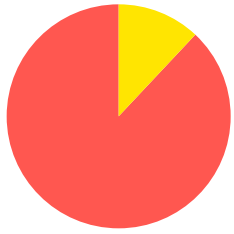
BLACK CHILDREN
ACCOUNTED FOR:

83%

of all warrantless search and seizures
for individuals ages 11-18

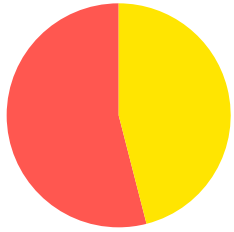
100%

of all warrantless search and seizures
of children ages 10 and under



Black people made up only 12% of Pennsylvanians, but 46% of the state prison population.

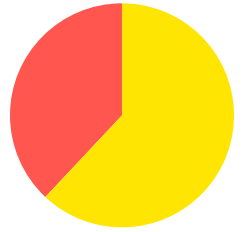
VS



Black people made up only 13% of Allegheny County, but 62% of the county jail population.



VS



Violent crime made up 6% of all crimes reported to Pittsburgh Police.⁷

Rape accounted for 0.3% of all crimes reported to Pittsburgh Police.⁸

Murder accounted for 0.1% of all crimes reported to Pittsburgh Police.⁹

There were 37 homicides in Pittsburgh in 2019.¹⁰

Of those 37, 31 of those victims were Black and 6 were white.¹¹

There were 19 arrests made in connection with these homicides: 14 Black arrestees and 5 white.¹²

DURING THE TIME BILL PEDUTO HAS BEEN IN OFFICE (2014-2020)

The Pittsburgh Police budget increased **over \$40 million** from \$72,346,870 in 2014 to \$114,787,000 in 2020 — an increase of **nearly 60%**.

The number of Pittsburgh police officers has increased by **15%**, from 857 officers to 985 officers.

There were **30 total civil claims for excessive force** brought against Pittsburgh Police, and during this time the Pittsburgh Police paid **over \$7 million** in lawsuit settlements.

RACE AND POLICING IN PITTSBURGH

While Black people account for 13.4% of the national population, they make up over 38% of the federal prison population.¹³ This disparity is greater in Pennsylvania, whose population is 12% Black, but whose prisons are 46% Black.¹⁴ Worse still, Allegheny County is 13% Black, yet its jail population is 61% Black.¹⁵ For a very brief period in April 2020, Allegheny County reduced its jail population by almost half due to concerns about the spread of COVID-19; at this time **the racial disparity in the jail grew even larger to 68% Black—where it remains today.**¹⁶ This demonstrates a truth many already know: in a society defined by structural racism, any discretion permitted in arrest, sentencing, or release invariably results in increased racial disparities.

These disparities are unsurprising when considering that unequal treatment occurs at every stage of the criminal punishment system. It is well-established that poor communities of color are disproportionately policed, even when factors such as neighborhood crime are taken into account.¹⁷ Black people are also more likely to be arrested than white people for the same crimes, and their sentences are likely to be longer than white people convicted of the same crimes.¹⁸ Pittsburgh is no exception to these national trends. **Black people made up only 23.2% of the Pittsburgh population in 2019, and yet they made up 43.6% of individuals involved in traffic stops, 71.4% of all frisks, 69% of individuals subject to warrantless search and seizures, and 63% of all arrests conducted by the Pittsburgh Police.**¹⁹



In 2019, Black people were subject to 69% of all warrantless search and seizures in Pittsburgh.



“BLACK CHILDREN ACCOUNTED FOR 83% OF ALL WARRANTLESS SEARCH AND SEIZURES FOR INDIVIDUALS

Out of these statistics, age demographics were only provided for warrantless search and seizures. While Black people were subject to 69% of all warrantless search and seizures, Black children accounted for 83% of all warrantless search and seizures of youth ages 11-18.²⁰ **There were also 3 instances in 2019 where police conducted warrantless search and seizures of children ages 10 and under—all of whom were Black children.**²¹ The trend here is clear: amongst youth, Black children, even exceptionally young ones, are far more likely to be policed than other children. This tracks with studies demonstrating this trend nationwide, describing the existence of the school-to-prison pipeline for Black youth, and the tendency amongst non-Black people to perceive Black children as older and “less innocent” than their white peers.²²



Pittsburgh Police officers also choose to use force often, unnecessarily, and unequally. There were 30 total civil claims for excessive force brought against The Pittsburgh Police from 2014-2019, many of which have been settled out of court, resolved in favor of the plaintiff, or are still open cases.²³ However, the number of claims brought do not necessarily paint a picture of the full scope of the issue. In 2018 alone—the most recent year for which use of force data was released—**Pittsburgh police reported using force 537 times, and 85 of those times the reason for using force is simply listed as “other.”**²⁴ That same year, 197 complaints were made with the Office of Municipal Investigations against police, and 43 of these were use of force complaints.²⁵

30

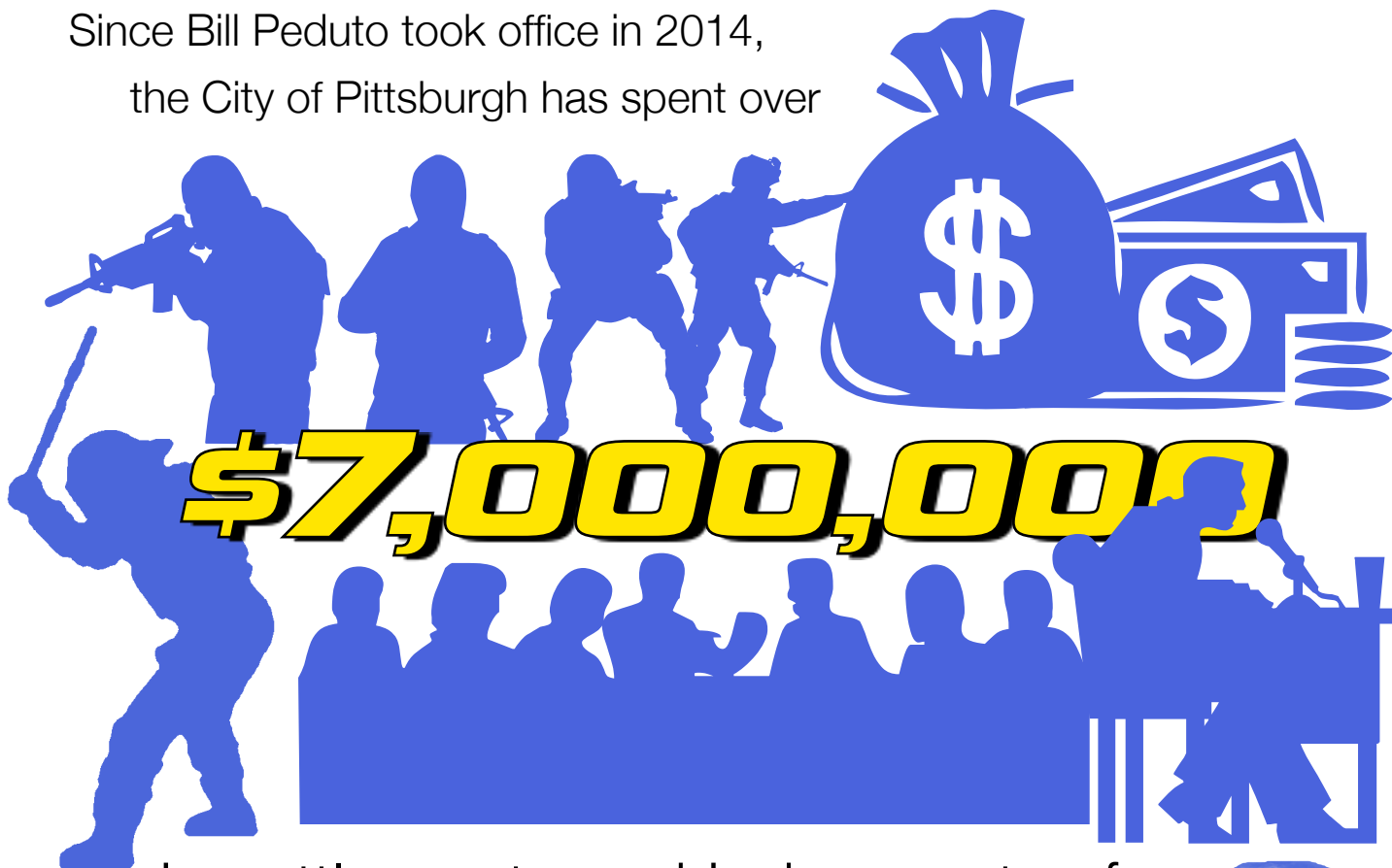
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197

*“There were also three instances in 2019 where PGH Police conducted warrantless searches and seizures **against children ages 10 and under – ALL OF WHOM WERE BLACK CHILDREN.**”*

Based on a six-year report from the city, **57% of use of force incidents from 2010-2015 were against Black people**, despite this demographic accounting for roughly a quarter of the city's population.²⁶ **In the time that Peduto has been Mayor, the city has spent over \$7 million in settlements and judgments in civil cases brought against police officers.**²⁷

Since Bill Peduto took office in 2014,
the City of Pittsburgh has spent over



in settlements and judgements of

CIVIL LAWSUITS

brought against police officers for

EXCESSIVE FORCE

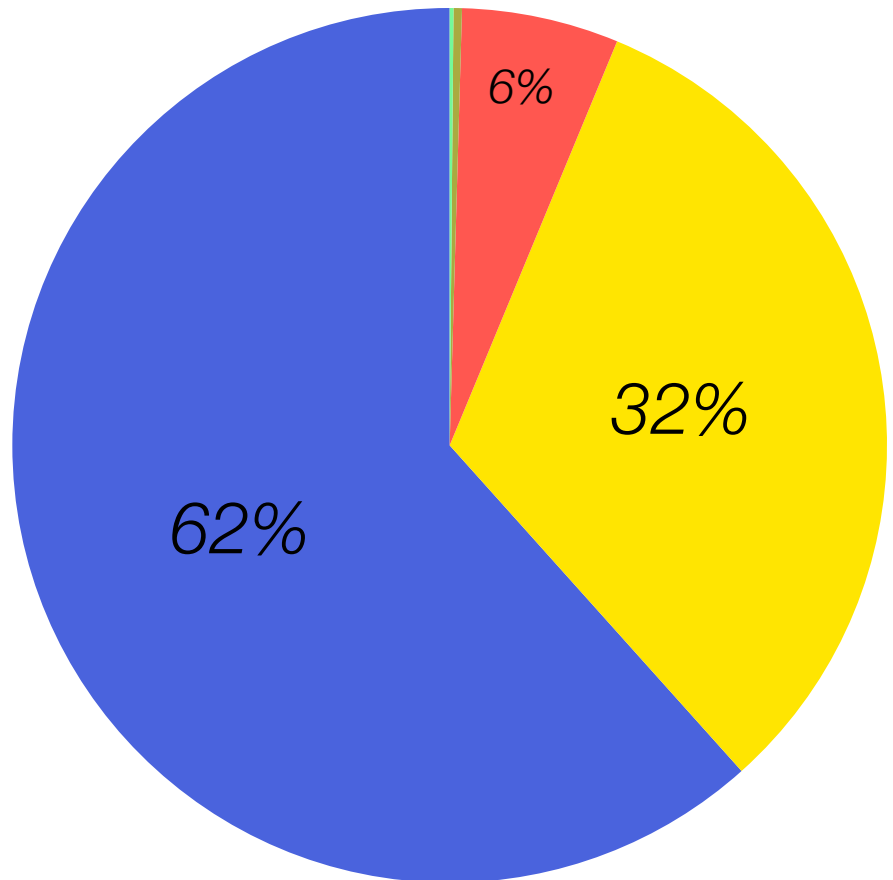


**Because of the “qualified immunity” doctrine, police are frequently shielded from excessive force liability, effectively allowing individual officers to violate the Fourth Amendment at their own discretion.*

Police presence is unnecessary to deal with most of what is labeled “criminal activity,” as the vast majority of crimes committed are nonviolent.²⁸ Recent data from a handful of cities shows that only about 1% of 911 calls are about violent crime, and that overall police spend less than 4% of their time on violent crime.²⁹ Nationally, 80% of state criminal dockets are for misdemeanors—low-level offenses.³⁰ In 2019, approximately 62% of all crimes reported in Pittsburgh were “Part II Offenses” such as forgery, fraud, embezzlement, vandalism, prostitution, drug offenses, public drunkenness, and disorderly conduct.³¹ About 32% were property crimes and only about 6% were violent crimes.³² Rape accounted for 0.3% of all crime and murder accounted for 0.1%.³³ Even in the case of the most serious crimes, which make up such a small fraction of total crime, police are not necessarily helpful. Nationally, only about 50% of serious felony crimes are reported to police, only 11% result in an arrest, and only a meager 2% result in convictions.³⁴ **In Pittsburgh, more than half of all murders went unsolved from 2010-2015 and 97% of those unsolved cases involved Black victims.³⁵ In sum, the peacekeeping role of the police is largely overstated, and—even with a massive budget—police routinely fail to protect vulnerable communities.**

**CRIMES
REPORTED
TO PGH
POLICE
IN 2019**

- Murder (0.14%)
- Rape (0.31%)
- Other Violent Crimes
- Property Crime
- All Other Crime

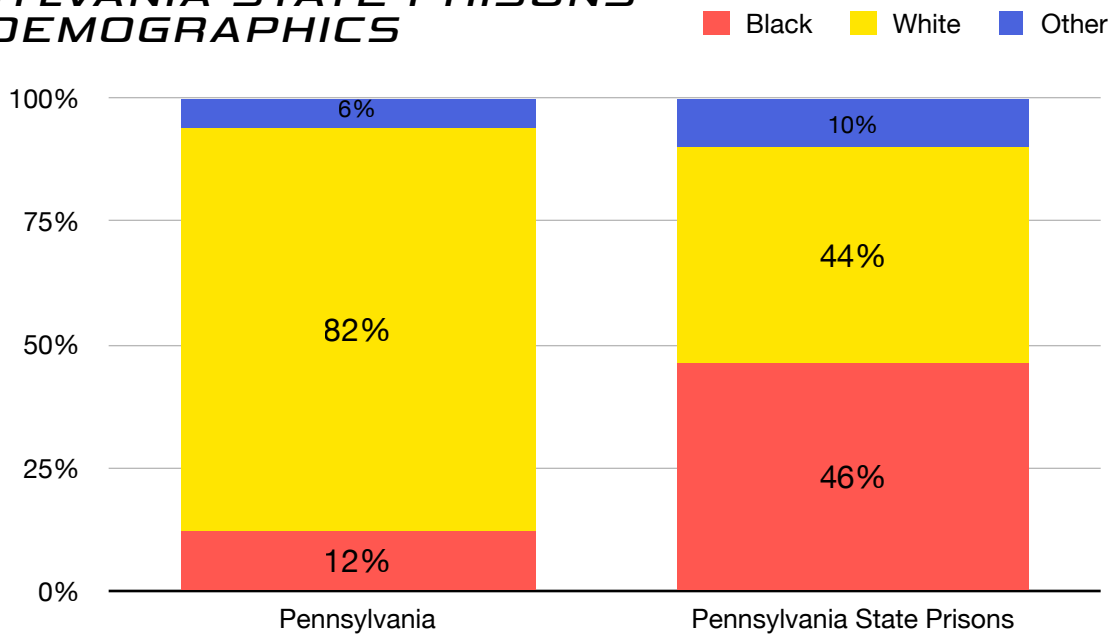


NOTE: The categories for "race" and "ethnicity" used throughout these data sets are used by the mentioned City and State agencies. We recognize they do not reflect the political or geographic nuances and multiplicities of racial and ethnic identity (i.e. Latinx vs non-white/white Hispanic vs Chicax, etc).

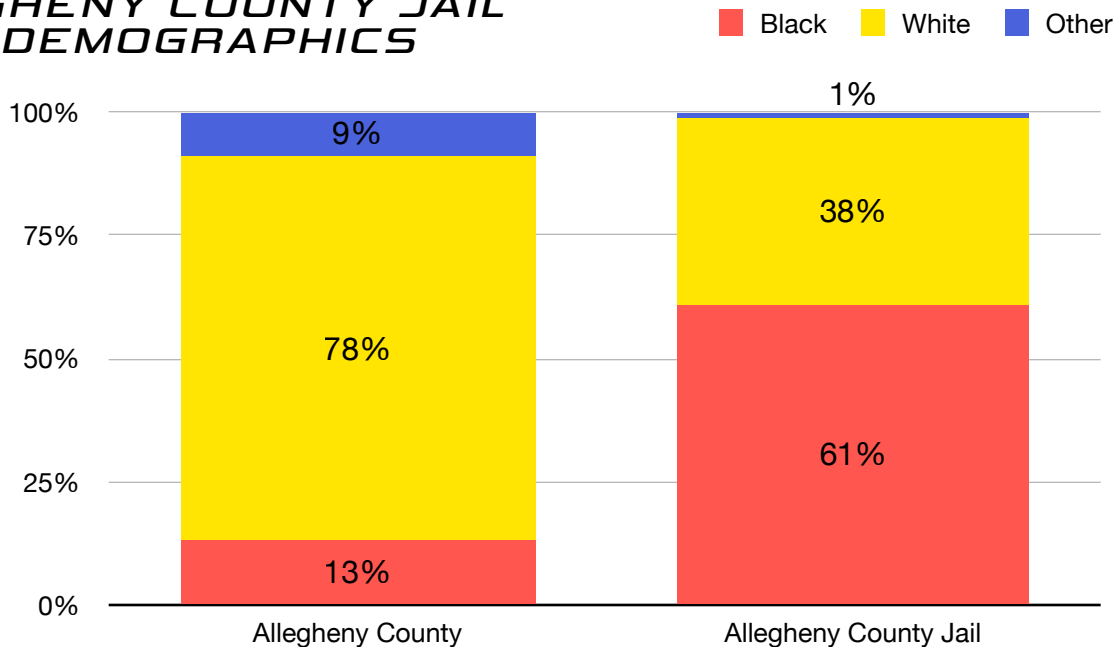
Regional and Incarcerated Populations Demographics

2019	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	Allegheny County	PA State Prisons	Allegheny County Jail
Black	23.2%	12.0%	13.4%	46.0%	62.0%
White	66.9%	81.6%	79.9%	44.0%	38.0%
Hispanic	3.1%	7.8%	2.3%	9.0%	-
Other	-	-	-	1.0%	1.0%

PENNSYLVANIA STATE PRISONS RACE DEMOGRAPHICS



ALLEGHENY COUNTY JAIL RACE DEMOGRAPHICS



Arrests

2019	Female	Male	Unknown	Total	% Total	% of PGH Population
Black	1511	4470	8	5989	63.04%	23.20%
Hispanic	7	76	0	83	0.87%	3.10%
White	919	2273	1	3193	33.61%	66.90%
American Indian or Alaskan	-	-	-	-	-	0.20%
Asian or Pacific Islander	10	31	-	41	0.43%	5.70%
Unknown	21	40	1	62	0.65%	-
Other	20	112	0	132	1.39%	-

Pittsburgh Police made 9,500 arrests in 2019.

Traffic Stops

2019	Female	Male	Total	% Total	% of PGH Population
Black	3070	5894	8965	43.60%	23.20%
Hispanic	37	204	241	1.17%	3.10%
White	3627	6477	10106	49.15%	66.90%
American Indian or Alaskan	-	-	-	-	0.20%
Asian or Pacific Islander	123	261	384	1.87%	5.70%
Unknown	59	149	218	1.06%	-
Other	114	525	639	3.11%	-
No Description	0	0	22	0.11%	-

In 2019, Pittsburgh Police made 11,718 traffic stops in the city, which involved 20,562 individuals.

Frisks

2019	Female	Male	Total	% Total	% of PGH Population
Black	132	917	1049	71.36%	23.20%
Hispanic	2	15	17	1.16%	3.10%
White	86	300	386	26.26%	66.90%
American Indian or Alaskan	-	-	-	-	0.20%
Asian or Pacific Islander	0	1	1	0.07%	5.70%
Unknown	0	4	4	0.27%	-
Other	0	13	13	0.88%	-

Police conducted 1,470 frisks in 2019.

Warrantless Search and Seizures

2019	Ages 10 and Under	Ages 11-18	% Total Ages 11-18	Total	% Total	% of PGH Population
Black	3	327	82.99%	2923	69.00%	23.20%
Hispanic	0	3	0.76%	35	0.83%	3.10%
White	0	59	14.97%	1224	28.90%	66.90%
American Indian or Alaskan	-	-	-	-	-	0.20%
Asian or Pacific Islander	0	0	0.00%	8	0.19%	5.70%
Unknown	0	1	0.25%	12	0.28%	-
Other	0	4	1.02%	28	0.66%	-
No Description	0	0	0.00%	6	0.14%	-

Police conducted 4,236 warrantless search and seizures in 2019.

Reported Crime

There were 24,787 reported crimes categorized in 2019.³⁶

Violent Crime		% Total Crime
Murder	37	0.15%
Rape	81	0.33%
Robbery	652	2.63%
Aggravated Assault	795	3.21%
Total	1565	6.31%

Property Crime		% Total Crime
Burglary	1300	5.24%
Theft	5909	23.84%
Vehicle Theft	641	2.59%
Arson	96	0.39%
Total	7946	32.06%

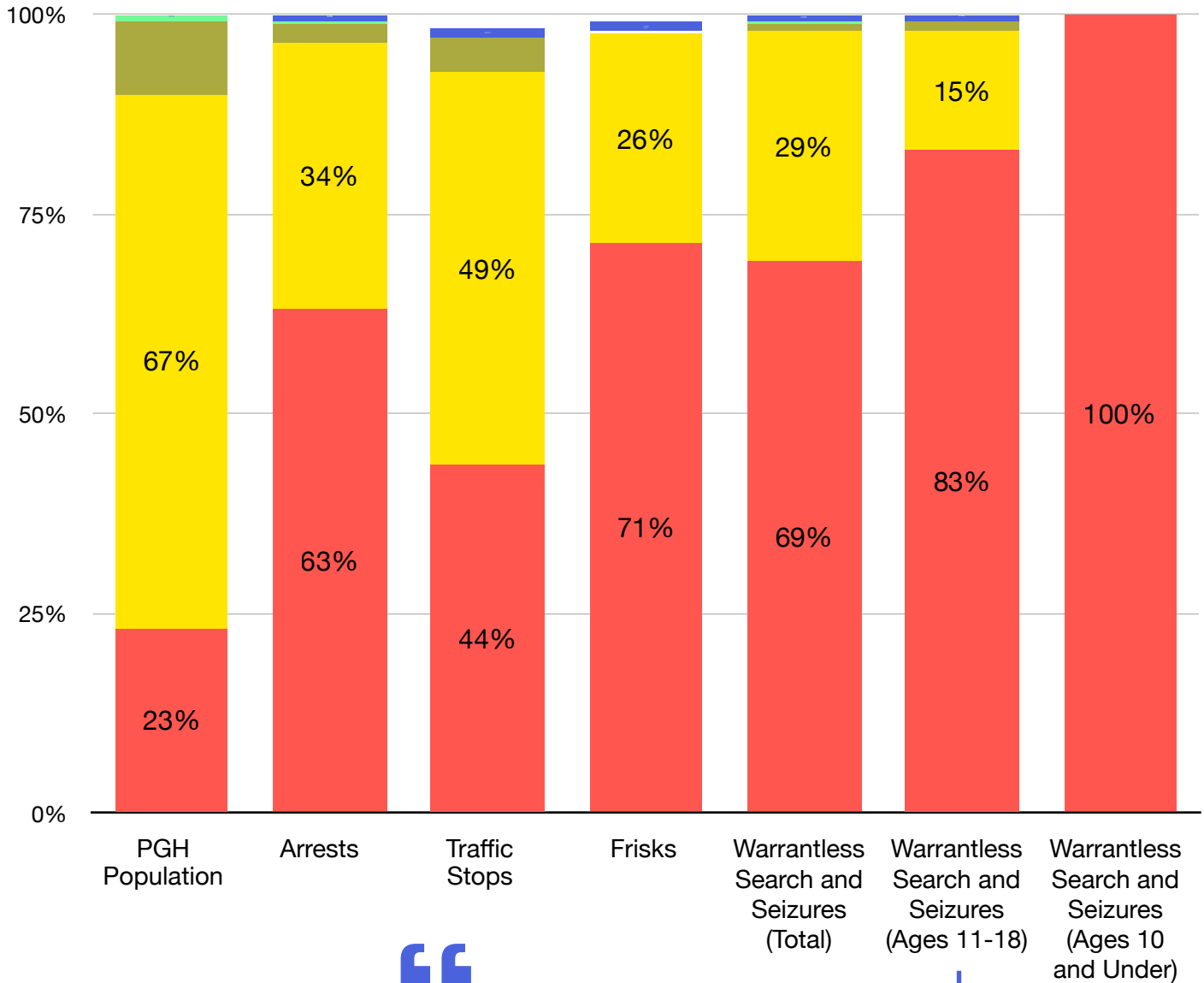
All Other Crime		% Total Crime
Forgery	334	1.35%
Simple Assault	3755	15.15%
Fraud	1372	5.54%
Embezzlement	33	0.13%
Receiving Stolen Prop	153	0.62%
Vandalism	2356	9.50%
Carry Weapon	420	1.69%
Prostitution	157	0.63%
Sex Offense	229	0.92%
Drug Offense	1538	6.20%
Endangering Children	100	0.40%
DUI	480	1.94%
Liquor Laws	197	0.79%
Public Drunkenness	639	2.58%
Disorderly Conduct	933	3.76%
Other	2580	10.41%
Total	15276	61.63%



*NATIONALLY, ONLY
1% OF 9-1-1 CALLS
ARE ACTUALLY
ABOUT VIOLENT
CRIME.²⁹*

POLICING AND RACE / ETHNICITY IN PITTSBURGH

- American Indian / Alaskan
- Hispanic
- Asian / Pacific Islander
- Unknown / Other
- White
- Black



Peduto added that this economic investment is what he thinks Pittsburghers want, rather than defunding the police. He said he knows this because he has “spent 30 years in Pittsburgh’s Black neighborhoods,” compared to some protestors who “haven’t even been on this earth for 30 years.”

Excerpt from “Peduto: Expanding, not defunding, is the future of Pittsburgh police” by Rebecca Johnson and India Krug. *The Pitt News*, October 5, 2020.

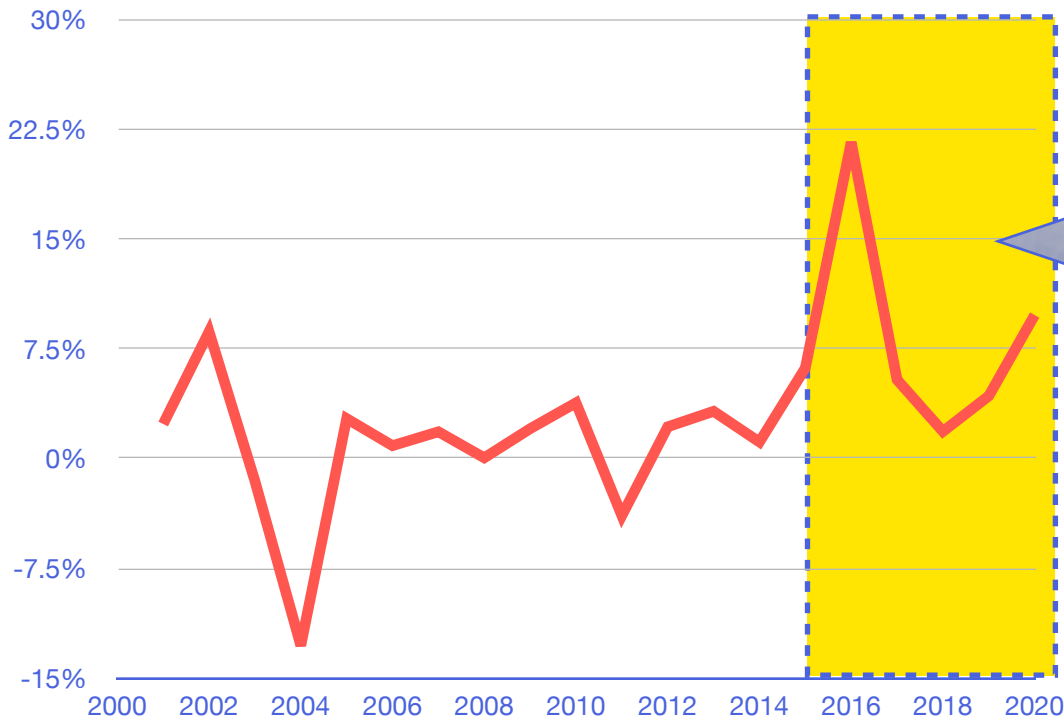
330

warrantless search and seizures of Black children and teens by Peduto’s police in 2019. *Three of out these 330 were carried out against Black children ages 10 and under.*

City of Pittsburgh Police Budget From 2000-2020

Year	Total Operating Budget	Police Budget	Percent of Total Budget	Percent Increase from Previous Year's Police Budget
2000	\$350,273,189	\$66,160,961	18.89%	-
2001	\$358,556,194	\$67,714,249	18.89%	2.35%
2002	\$364,672,304	\$73,581,093	20.18%	8.66%
2003	\$386,395,850	\$72,440,964	18.75%	-1.55%
2004	\$388,831,493	\$63,168,256	16.25%	-12.80%
2005	\$417,576,382	\$64,883,363	15.54%	2.72%
2006	\$427,501,378	\$65,450,046	15.31%	0.87%
2007	\$425,657,607	\$66,641,777	15.66%	1.82%
2008	\$423,755,325	\$66,669,518	15.73%	0.04%
2009	\$437,976,013	\$68,024,266	15.53%	2.03%
2010	\$446,530,485	\$70,606,746	15.81%	3.80%
2011	\$450,016,815	\$67,843,678	15.08%	-3.91%
2012	\$468,317,793	\$69,310,318	14.80%	2.16%
2013	\$469,513,815	\$71,543,006	15.24%	3.22%
2014	\$487,105,104	\$72,346,870	14.85%	1.12%
2015	\$507,817,535	\$76,815,050	15.13%	6.18%
2016	\$518,983,192	\$93,423,344	18.00%	21.62%
2017	\$539,193,139	\$98,453,963	18.26%	5.38%
2018	\$556,414,971	\$100,261,932	18.02%	1.84%
2019	\$574,901,207	\$104,545,326	18.18%	4.27%
2020	\$608,100,046	\$114,787,000	18.88%	9.80%

YEAR TO YEAR % INCREASE IN POLICE BUDGET (2001 - 2020)

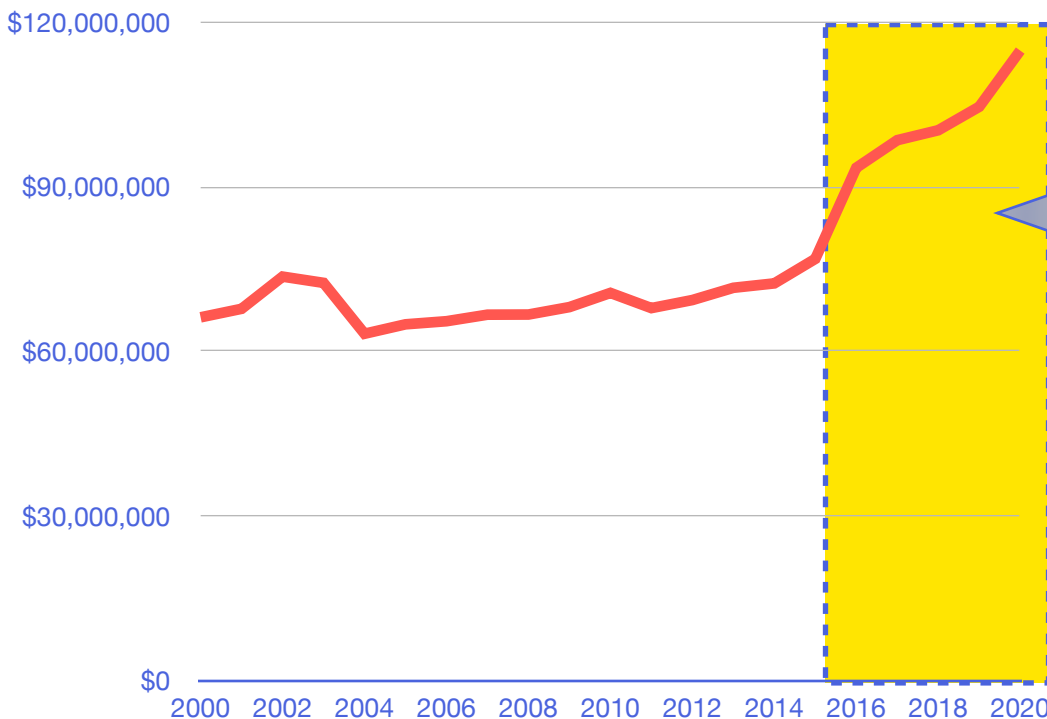


The average % increase in the PGH Police budget from year to year was 0.75% from 2000-2014, but jumped to

8.18%

from 2015-2020 under Mayor Peduto.

PITTSBURGH POLICE BUDGET (2000 - 2020)



Even though violent crime rates have been steadily decreasing since the early 1990s, Mayor Peduto has increased the police budget by **over \$42 million**, swelling the total to about **\$115 million** — an almost **60%** increase since 2014.

Emerging from this data is a clear theme of state-sanctioned racial violence in Pittsburgh. Attributing racial disparities in the criminal punishment system solely to increased criminality among certain races is a reductive and racist assumption that justifies the perpetuation of state violence against Black and Brown people. The overrepresentation of Black people within the criminal justice system has far more to do with the impact of white supremacy than anything else.³⁷ Crime and poverty are inextricably linked, and certain communities of color are disproportionately low-income as a result of decades of overt and covert oppression, ranging from explicit neighborhood segregation to modern-day practices of redlining, gentrification, housing discrimination, hiring discrimination, and overpolicing— the latter of which is accompanied by the devastating financial impact of arrest and incarceration.³⁸ It has been shown that these factors, among others, are largely to blame for the relationship among race, poverty, and crime.³⁹ Pittsburgh is no exception to this nationwide systemic racism; in fact, it is quite the opposite, having recently been branded “the worst place for Black women to live in for just about every indicator of livability.”⁴⁰

In Pittsburgh, the police budget makes up about 19% of the city’s entire operating budget. Mayor Bill Peduto took office in 2014, at which point the police budget was approximately \$72 million, and made up a little under 15% of the city’s total operating budget—a proportion that remained consistent since 2005.⁴¹ The average percent increase in the police budget from year to year was 0.75% from 2000-2014, but jumped to 8.18% from 2015-2020 under Mayor Peduto. Even though violent crime rates have been steadily decreasing since the early 1990s,⁴² Mayor Peduto has increased the police budget by over \$42 million, swelling the total to about \$115 million—an almost 60% increase since 2014. The Pittsburgh police had 857 officers when Peduto took office, but by 2019, Peduto had increased the number of officers by 15% to a total 985 officers.⁴³ Currently, about 200 of these officers are eligible to retire this year, meaning the police force could be significantly scaled back without any layoffs.⁴⁴ **Nothing in the city’s contract with the police mandates the overall staffing level of police officers.**⁴⁵

In addition to massive, unprecedented increases to the police budget, Peduto’s recent string of lies to the public regarding the actions of his police force have added further insult to injury. When police brutalized peaceful protestors supporting the Black Lives Matter movement and honoring the lives of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd, Peduto falsely denied that tear gas was used and claimed

that protestors threw rocks, water bottles, and bricks at police before police fired.⁴⁶ He also recycled the tired and disproven falsehood that protestors were largely people from out of town, and did nothing as police continued to arrest peaceful protestors, many of whom are prominent Black Lives Matter organizers in the region.⁴⁷ In fact, the Pittsburgh police only escalated their tactics shortly after this incident, including kidnapping a protester and forcing him into an unmarked vehicle, which they euphemistically described as a “low-visibility arrest.”⁴⁸ Even outside of Mayor Peduto’s own home, Pittsburgh Police indiscriminately used pepper spray, projectile weapons, and kettling—a tactic whereby police will force protestors into an area with no exits, order dispersal that is impossible, and use this “failure to disperse” as an excuse to make mass arrests.⁴⁹ The police continue to respond to protests against police brutality with increasing brutality. Peduto is clearly incapable of controlling his own police, and no amount of reform can fix this. The Pittsburgh Police must be defunded. **There is no acceptable alternative.**



Video still via @samm_bones on Twitter showing heavily armed plainclothes Pittsburgh Police kidnapping a protester who is then driven away in an unmarked van, 8/15/2020.



Mayor Bill Peduto and Pittsburgh Police held a press conference on June 2nd, 2020 following the police attacks on peaceful protestors in East Liberty, in which they denied the use of tear gas. Hours later they admitted that tear gas had in fact been deployed on community members.

News PGH City Paper August 20, 2020

Police escalate protest outside Peduto’s house with pepper spray, projectiles, and apparent kettling

By Hannah Lynn

CP photo: Jared Wickerham

A protest outside Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto’s house on Wed., Aug. 19, 2020

Last night, protestors gathered outside Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto’s house in Point Breeze for the third time this week. While it began peacefully, the night ended with chemical and projectile weapons used by police on protestors.

Pittsburgh City Paper witnessed Pittsburgh Police using apparent pepper spray on protestors at close range, and give confusing dispersal orders that included demanding that protestors leave Mellon Park in Shadyside, but then also blocking protestors and journalists from returning to their cars outside of the

The demand to defund the police is not a complex one; it requires only one step: **defunding the police**. *It does not require implementing more police training, it does not require the formation of new city offices, it does not require the creation of additional task forces, it does not require superficial restructuring of the police force, and it does not require misleading budget-matching obligations disguised as defunding.* These measures do far more for the city's public relations image than they do for reducing police violence. Trotting out these tired, ineffective solutions in place of defunding is not a noble step towards change, but a manipulative attempt to feign compliance with activists' demands while continuing to support police. We demand that Mayor Peduto immediately cut the police budget by \$40 million, which will return the police budget to just a little bit over what it was when he became Mayor of Pittsburgh in 2014. We are not asking for Mayor Peduto to take affirmative steps towards a better future for our city; we are asking him to begin undoing the harm that he has inflicted since he took office.

We additionally demand that any money taken out of the police budget is not redirected into other forms of policing, vague public safety funds, or ineffective reform measures. Instead, money should be redirected from the police budget directly into funding the services our communities need, such as education, housing, and health care. Putting money towards these essential social services will inevitably reduce crime more effectively than over-policing and incarceration, which only increase financial hardship and recidivism.⁵⁰ In the words of longtime abolitionist organizer Mariame Kaba: "We don't want to just close police departments. We want to make them obsolete."⁵¹

Defunding the police, though often framed by political leaders as a radical idea, is only the first step in a long path towards liberation. The institution of police in this country is borne from and inextricably intertwined with white supremacy and racial violence; ultimately, its complete abolition is the only way to permanently end police violence. Though funding much needed social services is an important step towards keeping our communities safe, this cannot be allowed to eclipse our calls for defunding. Reducing the size and power of the police is the first step towards abolition, and towards a world where there is no need for police or prisons. **With this ultimate goal in mind, we demand an immediate \$40 million decrease of the Pittsburgh Police Budget, reducing the budget to what it was when Mayor Peduto took office in 2014.**



¹ 2019 Statistical Report, City of Pittsburgh Bureau of Police (2019), at 42 https://apps.pittsburghpa.gov/redtail/images/9640_2019_Annual_Report_Final.pdf [hereinafter “2019 Police Report”]

² *Pittsburgh city, Pennsylvania*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (July 1, 2019), <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/pittsburghcitypennsylvania,PA/PST045219>.

³ 2019 Police Report at 36; *Pittsburgh’s Racial Demographics: Differences and Disparities*, CTR. ON RACE & SOC. PROBLEMS (June 2007), at iv, https://www.crsp.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/Demographics_Complete.pdf.

⁴ 2019 Police Report at 37.

⁵ *Id.* at 38.

⁶ *Id.* at 35.

⁷ 2019 Police Report at 61.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.* at 40.

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.* at 41.

¹³ *QuickFacts: United States*, U.S. Census (2019), <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219>; *Inmate Race*, Federal Bureau of Prisons (Aug. 1, 2020), https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_race.jsp.

¹⁴ See *supra* notes 7-8.

¹⁵ See *supra* notes 9-10

¹⁶ See *supra* note 10.

¹⁷ See generally Elizabeth Hinton, LeShae Henderson & Cindy Reed, *An Unjust Burden: The Disparate Treatment of Black Americans in the Criminal Justice System*, VERA INST. JUST. (May 2018), <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/for-the-record-unjust-burden-racial-disparities.pdf>.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ See *supra* notes 2-6.

²⁰ See *supra* note 5.

²¹ *Id.*

²² Phillip Atiba Goff et al., *The Essence of Innocence: Consequences of Dehumanizing Black Children*, 106 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 526, 539-40 (2014).

²³ See *supra* note 21.

²⁴ Pittsburgh Police Training Academy Staff, *Subject Resistance Report - 2018 Annual Review*, PITTSBURGH BUREAU OF POLICE, at 2,6, available at https://apps.pittsburghpa.gov/redtail/images/6790_Subject-Resistance-Report-Annual-Review-2018.pdf.

²⁵ *OMI Annual Report 2018 Statistics*, Off. Municipal Investigations, apps.pittsburghpa.gov/redtail/images/6710_OMI_Annual_Report_2018.pdf.

²⁶ *Use of Force in the City of Pittsburgh: Initial Report, 2010 through 2015*, CITY OF PITTSBURGH BUREAU OF POLICE (July 2016), at 25, available at https://apps.pittsburghpa.gov/dps/Use_of_Force_in_the_City_of_Pittsburgh.pdf.

²⁷ See *supra* note 21.

²⁸ Wendy Sawyer & Peter Wagner, *Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2020*, PRISON POL. INITIATIVE (Mar. 24, 2020), <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2020.html>.

²⁹ Jeff Asher & Ben Horwitz, *How Do the Police Actually Spend Their Time?*, N.Y. TIMES (June 19, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/upshot/unrest-police-time-violent-crime.html>.

³⁰ *America's Massive Misdemeanor System Deepens Inequality*, EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE (Jan. 9, 2019), <https://eji.org/news/americas-massive-misdemeanor-system-deepens-inequality/>.

³¹ 2019 Police Report at 61.

³² *Id.*

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ Shima Baughman, *Police solve just 2% of all major crimes*, CHI. REPORTER (Aug. 20, 2020), <https://www.chicagoreporter.com/police-solve-just-2-of-all-major-crimes/>.

³⁵ Jeffrey Benzing, *Pittsburgh's repeating tragedy of unsolved black homicides*, PUB. SOURCE (Jan. 16, 2016), <https://www.publicsource.org/pittsburghs-repeating-tragedy-of-unsolved-black-homicides/>.

³⁶ There were a total of 26,254 crimes reported according the city's Policing Report, but only 24,787 were categorized. 2019 Police Report at 61.

³⁷ In fact, the vast racial disparities presented here are so stark, they constitute *prima facie* evidence of racial apartheid. International human rights standards delineate the rights of all people to be free from racial discrimination—specifically the infliction of mental and physical harm, arbitrary arrest, illegal imprisonment, and murder. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles VII, IX; International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, Article II. Such actions are considered “crimes of apartheid.” These international standards also emphasize the obligations of states to end such discrimination, whether it be perpetuated by a specific group, an organization, or by the state's own laws and regulations. International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Articles II, V.

³⁸ See generally RICHARD ROTHSTEIN, *THE COLOR OF LAW: A FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF HOW OUR GOVERNMENT SEGREGATED AMERICA* (2017); Stuart P. Green, *Hard Times, Hard Time: Retributive Justice for Unjustly Disadvantaged Offenders*, 2010 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 43 (2010); Robert J. Sampson & Janet L. Lauritsen, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Crime and Criminal Justice in the United States*, 21 CRIME & JUST. 311 (1997), https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/3226952/Sampson_RacialEthnicDisparities.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y.

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ Brentin Mock, *Pittsburgh: A 'Most Livable' City, but Not for Black Women*, CITYLAB (Sep. 20, 2019), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-09-20/how-pittsburgh-fails-black-women-in-6-charts> (citing Junia Howell, Leah A. Jacobs, Dominique Branson & Liz Miller, *Pittsburgh's Inequality Across Gender and Race*, CITY OF PITTSBURGH GENDER EQUITY COMM'N (2019)).

⁴¹ *Operating Budgets*, CITY OF PITTSBURGH, <https://pittsburghpa.gov/omb/budgets-reports> (contains links to all previous city budgets).

⁴² Erin Dalton, Michael Yonas, Latoya Warren & Emily Sturman, *Violence in Allegheny County and Pittsburgh*, ALLEGHENY COUNTY DEP'T HUMAN SERVICES (2016), at 8, <https://www.alleghenycountyanalytics.us/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Violence-in-Allegheny-County-and-Pittsburgh.pdf>.

⁴³ Daniel Gilman (@danielgilman), TWITTER (Dec. 12, 2019, 2:31 PM), <https://twitter.com/danielgilman/status/1205208500504289281>.

⁴⁴ Tom Davidson, Report: Pittsburgh spends more on police than other cities, TRIB (Dec. 9, 2020), https://triblive.com/local/report-pittsburgh-spends-more-on-police-than-other-cities/?fbclid=IwAR2E7t0VVtnuZTegsK49pCvsDF0uQhXZoslpUMotM8RN1Wd3Byc_U5V1VTI.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ Hannah Lynn, *Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto admits police reports 'were wrong' about Monday's protest, calls for independent investigations*, PITTSBURGH CITY PAPER (June 4, 2020), <https://www.pghcitypaper.com/pittsburgh/pittsburgh-mayor-bill-peduto-admits-police-reports-were-wrong-about-mondays-protest-calls-for-independent-investigations/Content?oid=17403947>.

⁴⁷ *Public Safety Says Those Arrested In Downtown Riots Were From Pittsburgh Area*, CBS PITTSBURGH (May 31, 2020), <https://pittsburgh.cbslocal.com/2020/05/31/police-give-update-on-those-arrested-following-george-floyd-riots-in-pittsburgh/>; Ryan Deto, *Why does it look like PGH cops are arresting as many BLM protesters as possible?*, PA. CAPITAL-STAR (Aug. 5, 2020), <https://www.penncapital-star.com/civil-rights-social-justice/pgh-cops-have-arrested-dozens-of-blm-protesters-over-the-past-few-months-including-prominent-organizers-and-they-dont-seem-to-be-slowing-down/>.

⁴⁸ Ryan Deto, *Pittsburgh Police, Peduto respond to protest marshal arrested by rifle-carrying officers in unmarked van during Saturday protest*, PITTSBURGH CITY PAPER (Aug. 16, 2020), <https://www.pghcitypaper.com/pittsburgh/pittsburgh-police-peduto-respond-to-protest-marshal-arrested-by-rifle-carrying-officers-in-unmarked-van-during-saturday-protest/Content?oid=17828996>.

⁴⁹ Hannah Lynn, *Police escalate protest outside Peduto's house with pepper spray, projectiles, and apparent kettling*, PITTSBURGH CITY PAPER (Aug. 20, 2020), <https://www.pghcitypaper.com/pittsburgh/police-escalate-protest-outside-pedutos-house-with-pepper-spray-projectiles-and-apparent-kettling/Content?oid=17850358>.

⁵⁰ Samuel R. Bondurant, Jason M. Lindo & Isaac D. Swensen, *Substance Abuse Treatment Centers and Local Crime*, 104 J. URBAN ECON. 124 (2018); *Housing and Public Safety*, JUST. POL. INST. (Nov. 1, 2007), justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/07-11_rep_housingpublicsafety_ac-ps.pdf; Nicole D. Porter, *Ending Mass Incarceration: Social Interventions That Work*, SENTENCING PROJECT (Oct. 14, 2013), <https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/ending-mass-incarceration-social-interventions-that-work/>;

⁵¹ Mariame Kaba, *Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police*, N.Y. TIMES (June 12, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>.