

Index for Journalists to [No More Police: A Case for Abolition](#) by Mariame Kaba and Andrea J. Ritchie

This index by Interrupting Criminalization Movement Journalism Fellow Lewis Raven Wallace is intended as a guide for journalists and researchers to facilitate using the book as a resource. Please email feedback to ravenjournalist@gmail.com. For media inquiries, contact andrea.ritchie@gmail.com

What you're looking for (alphabetical)	Pages	Notes on what you'll find there (in order by page)
Abolition: What does that mean? How does it work when people don't want to change or be accountable?	14-39; 177-201; 255-264	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connection between defund demand and abolition of the Prison-Industrial Complex (PIC) • Abolition movement rooted in Black radical tradition (14-15) • INCITE! and Critical Resistance as organizations building the abolition movement (24) • Abolition as a response to racial capitalism and neoliberalism, organized abandonment and divestment (26-32) • Abolition FAQs (34-38) • Breaking the equation of safety = policing (178, 180-182) • Accountability rather than punishment (179) • Principles for transformative justice (257-258) • Accountability versus punishment (259)
"Crime": What is it? What do abolitionists propose to do about it?	29-30; 45-49; 87; 142-169	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminalization is a social, racial, gendered process (29-30) • What states decide to punish - and how - shifts over time based on the political, social, and economic interests of those in power (45) • Wage theft not criminalized while individual theft (far less costly) is (45) • Marijuana as a case study (48-49) • "Soft policing" and criminalization of drug users, youth, welfare recipients, people with disabilities, sex workers (142-169)
Community safety : What do abolitionists think "safety" looks like? What kinds of responses are proven to create more safety?	13, 17; 64-70; 99-106; 148-176; 187-201; 218-225; 240-269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of community non-profits reduces homicide rates (65-66) • Effectiveness of violence interrupter programs (66-68) • Effects of quality housing, green space, remediation on violence (68-69) • Community-driven responses to gendered violence (99-106) • Task forces established in multiple cities (13, 218-219) • "Soft policing" and unarmed responders, crisis teams (149) • Frameworks for safety for abolitionists (187-201) • Community safety directories, "Harm-free zones" (199-200) • BREATHE Act and People's Response Act (220)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visioning and community surveys about safety (248-250) • People’s Assemblies and participatory budgeting (250-251) • Mutual Aid and community safety (252-255)
Copaganda: How do pro-police narratives permeate popular culture and media? How do we recognize police narratives and avoid reinforcing them?	58-64; 120; 182-187; 225-230	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police rhetoric of overwhelming violence in 2020-2021, police blaming protests and “defunding” with no evidence (59, 63) • Police refer to chokehold bans as “anti-police policy” (120) • Use of the term “officer-involved shooting” (183) • Cop shows and toys, copaganda in popular culture (183-184) • Popular fiction and film - <i>Lord of the Flies</i> - as copaganda (184) • “Copspeak” such as “gang member,” “suspect,” “crime fighting”; “positional restraint” etc. - centers police perspective, sanitizes everyday violence of policing (185) • Police fraternal associations and copaganda campaigns (225-230)
“Crime” statistics	12; 17; 29-30; 33; 41-64; 75-80	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasons for the 2020 rise in homicides were misreported (12, 61-62) • Police make over 10 million arrests a year (17) • Criminality as a political construct (29-30, 49-53) • Four percent (4%) of police calls are about violent crimes (33, 41) • Police solve fewer than half of homicides or violent crimes (33) • U.S. violent crime higher than most wealthy nations (42) • Police manufacture and manipulate “crime” data (43-44, 49-53) • Most violence is not reported and most reported criminalized violence doesn’t result in arrests or convictions (44, 53) • Wage theft costs \$50 to \$100 billion a year (45) • Cops don’t stop violence (53-58) • Biden’s political use of “crime” statistics in 2021 (59-60) • Statistics on sexual assault and prevalence of sexual violence, most of which is not reported to police (75-77)
Criminalization of survivors: What about sexual and domestic violence?	11; 71-85; 90-101	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership of defund movement made up of survivors (11, 71-73) • Most sexual assault and domestic violence is not reported to police (75-77) • Self-defense for Black and Brown survivors is criminalized (78) • Survivors likely to face other punishment due to contact with police (79) • Development of police abolition out of organizations including Santa Cruz Women Against Rape, Young Women’s Action Team, and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (90-99)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survived and Punished Campaigns (100-101) • Response of anti-violence movement to 2020 uprisings (99-100)
Defund movement: What is defund? Where did the demand come from? Is it something people really want?	xvii; 8-17; 22-32; 109-112	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Defund is a clear ask, it is not the destination but a step on the path to abolition.” (xvii) • Community safety movements demanded defunding in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Contra Costa County, Detroit, Houston, L.A., Minneapolis, New York, Oakland and Orlando (8); Philadelphia, Raleigh, Durham, Miami, Louisville, Nashville, Dallas, Salt Lake City, Seattle (12) • Emergence of defund from directly affected communities (10-11) • Calls to divest from police go back to the Black Panther Party 1962 (22) • Defund as a demand of the Movement for Black Lives (25) • Local and national reform efforts in 2020-2021 (107-112)
Defund movement: Is it dead?	225; 248-269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defund movement declared “dead” in 2021 (225) • “Experiment and Build” section on current mutual aid, transformative justice, and non-police safety and care efforts (248-269)
History of defund movement in Minneapolis	xi-xx; 4-8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Back story on the 2020 Uprisings by Miski Noor and Kandace Montgomery of Black Visions in the foreword includes how Black Visions and Reclaim the Block spent \$30 million that came into their organizations (xvii) • Back story on defund demands in MN going back to 2018 (xix) • University of Minnesota, Minneapolis School Board and Minneapolis Parks District ended contracts with Minneapolis Police Department in 2020 (p5-6)
Police budgets + defund statistics: Were police defunded? How much? When?	8-9; 12-13; 42, 59; 221	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National police budgets total over \$100 billion yearly (8) • Defund organizers cut over \$850 million from dozens of police budgets in 2020 (or less than 1 percent of police spending) (9, 59) • Cuts to police budgets were minimal and in some cases overturned in 2021; even fewer cuts to police positions (12) • Police budgets have increased for 50 years (42) • Pandemic relief funds that went to police in 2021 (59) • Millions in federal funds to hire more police in 2021 (221)
Police killings, police assaults and state-sanctioned: statistics	2-3; 17; 85-89	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police are up to four times more likely to shoot Black people than white people (2) • Police set a new record in 2021 for the number of people they killed (2)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numbers of police killings are underreported (3) • More than three people killed by police per day since 2020 (3) • Cops kill over 1,000 people a year (17) • Data on police sexual assault and domestic violence (86) • State violence as gender-based violence (85-89) • Allegations of assault in prisons and jails (88-89)
Reform efforts: Why can't we just reform the police? Can defund and reform efforts exist side-by-side?	107-131	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why can't we do both? (reform and defund) (107-112) • Reforms have been tried for 100+ years (113) • Racism in policing and stop and frisk history (114-115) • DOJ consent decrees, history and costs (115-116) • Use of force rules don't work (118-120) • Over 2000 police reform bills introduced in 2021 (121) • Costs and effects of new technologies such as body cameras, traffic cameras, ShotSpotter (122-124) • Questions to ask in reporting on proposed reforms – such as who benefits? does this proposal expand or legitimize policing? (132-133)
“Soft policing” and social policy: How does policing show up in non-police institutions? What's the problem with “alternatives to policing”?	141-176	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Treatment not Trauma,” “Counselors not Cops” - why advocating for medical or social work intervention may reproduce policing in new forms (142) • Link between the concept of “policy” and “policing” in history (143) • Early public health policy as policing (144) • Policing of poverty and social welfare systems (145-148) • Policing in schools (151-153) • Policing in treatment programs for drugs, sex work, mental health, disability (153-168) • Policing in family regulation systems (169-174) • Public health approaches to policing (174-176)
Solutions: If not police, then what?	177-180; 187-201; 240-269	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police get in the way of a safer future (177-178) • Eliminating police doesn't mean there are no consequences for violence (179) • What safety means depends on context and community (187-195) • Dismantle/Change/Build framework (197-198) • Small-scale community-based examples (199-201) • “Experiment and Build”: chapter on abolitionist solutions ranging from collective reimagining of safety (248) to mutual aid (252) to transformative justice (255) to collective care efforts (265)

Key Quotations:

“Abolition is about presence, not absence. It’s about building life-affirming institutions.” -Ruth Wilson Gilmore (xvi)

“Defunding police is neither the beginning nor the end of the story. It is simply a step toward a longer-term abolitionist horizon of dismantling police departments and abolishing policing, the prison-industrial complex (PIC) that requires it, the economic system that produced it, and the social order it fabricates, while rebuilding a society organized around meeting our individual and collective needs, as well as the needs of the planet. The demand to defund is just the basement floor, abolition is the sky we are reaching for.” (14)

“Practically speaking, abolition necessarily means that our social and economic relationships must be transformed.” (16)

“Everyone wants safety for someone, somewhere. Abolitionists want safety for everyone, everywhere.” -Erin Miles Cloud (17)

“Police don’t promote safety, they prevent it.” (17)

“Our argument for police abolition has three central elements: First, and foremost, police don’t promote safety, they prevent it. We are abolitionists because we want more safety, not less...We call for abolition of police because, despite all of the power, resources, and legitimacy we pour into them, they cannot and will not deliver safety...The second element of our case is that the violence of policing cannot be reformed - because violence is inherent to the institution itself...The third and final element of our case is that we can create safety beyond policing.” (pp. 17, 18).

“Yet by consuming a majority of our collective resources and colonizing our imaginations with the narrative that policing is the only path to safety, police stand in the way of efforts to create greater safety.” (p. 18).

“Abolition is about creating real solutions to the violence produced by organized abandonment and organized violence through a multitude of resources and services, rather than a single response designed to contain, control and kill.” (p. 35)

“Police manufacture and manipulate data about ‘violence’ and ‘crime,’ and conscript the media to produce a narrative of crisis to which policing is the only legitimate response.” (p. 43).

“What states decide to punish - and how - shifts over time based on the political, social, and economic interests of those in power.” (p. 45)

“Policing is functioning as it is intended: to contain, control, and criminalize Black and Brown communities while creating conditions for capital to flourish.” (70)

“Reliance on policing and punishment doesn’t just leave behind most survivors, it fails to reach the majority of people who engage in violence” (p. 84).

“Calls for police reform misapprehend the central purpose of police, which inevitably dooms them to failure.” (p. 108)

“Reforms have both shielded and field ongoing police violence, giving the illusion of change while legitimizing police and funneling more resources and power to them under the pretext of addressing the problem.” (p. 117)

“We have over a century’s worth of evidence demonstrating that attempts to re-form police don’t produce different results - whether it’s a reduction in police violence or a reduction of violence in communities.” (p. 138)

“We need to break the equation of policing with public safety in our imaginations.” (178)

“The purpose of a system is what it does” -Stafford Beer (117)