



THE PUEBLO'S BUDGET





This report is dedicated to all the people who have been stolen from our community by police violence and by the City of Phoenix’s refusal to fund our neighborhoods with the resources we need to thrive.

We carry you with us in our fight to build a world where we can live long, healthy, joyful lives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

4 Why The Pueblo's Budget Campaign?

- 4 Organized Abandonment
- 6 Police Funding is Not the Answer
- 8 Fighting for the Future
- 8 Council's Resistance to Funding Critical Community Needs
- 9 A Pueblo's Budget

10 Creating The Pueblo's Budget

- 10 Phase 1: Building Trust in Community
- 11 Phase 2: Community-led Meetings
- 20 Phase 3: Pueblo's Budget Convening

23 The Pueblo's Budget

- 24 Community Infrastructure
- 25 Housing and Homelessness
- 26 Labor
- 27 Mental Health, Substance Use, and Wellbeing
- 29 Parks and Recreation
- 30 Youth and Families

34 Implementing The Pueblo's Budget

- 34 Government and Elected Officials
- 35 Institutions
- 36 Personal Commitments

38 References

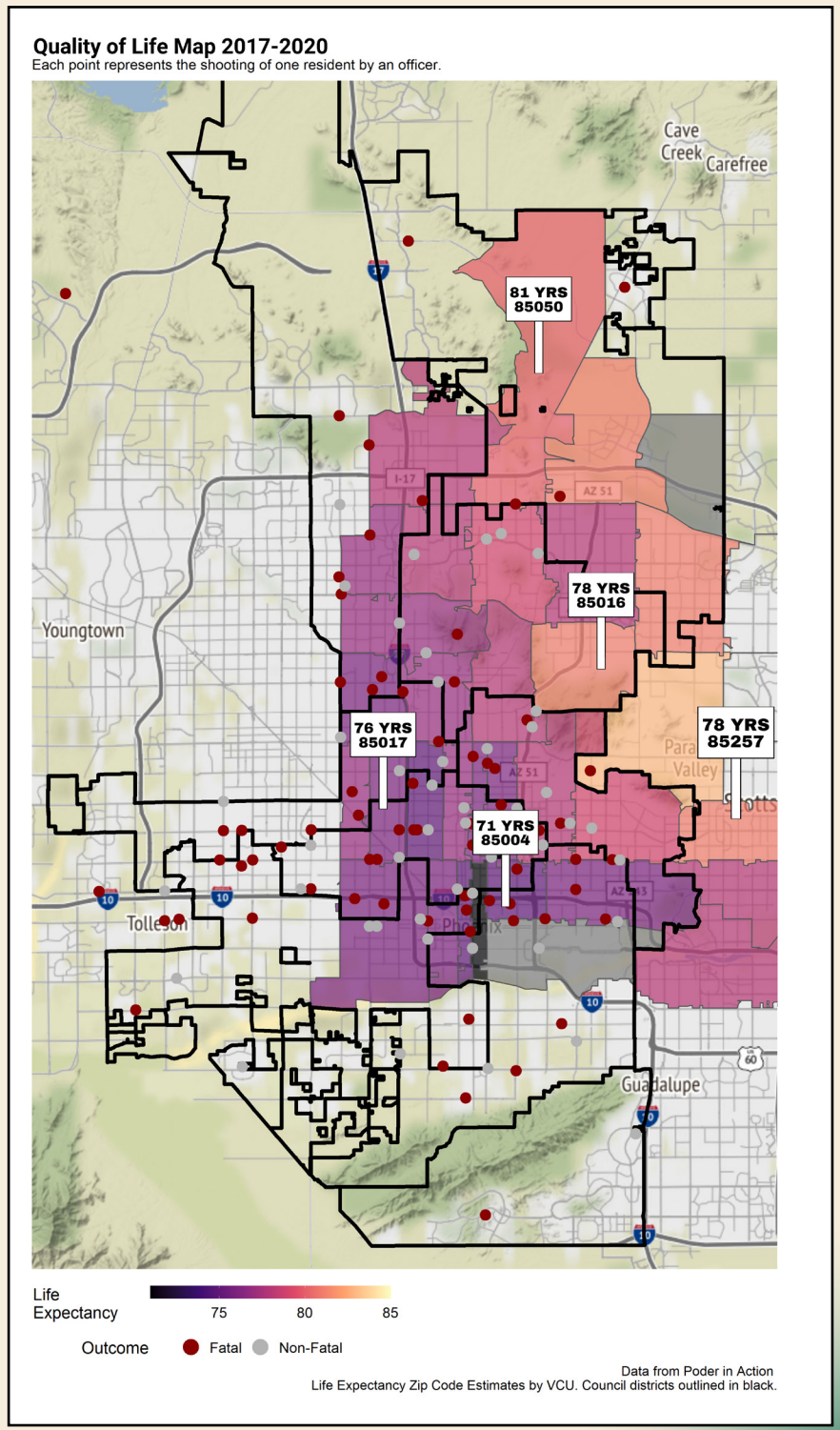
WHY THE PUEBLO'S BUDGET

CAMPAIGN?

Organized Abandonment

In Maryvale, youth are literally playing, living, and learning on toxic contamination sites. Residents here have been plagued by high rates of cancer¹, diabetes², and COVID-19³. Our parks and streets have been crumbling for years. Six of the ten most dangerous intersections in the Valley are in Maryvale⁴. There are long wait times for buses and many of the bus stops do not have shade or places to sit. Grocery stores with high-quality, fresh produce are few and far between and we are being pushed out of our homes by rising rents⁵ and gentrification.

Our people hold back-breaking jobs in 120 degree heat and work in street economies because living wage jobs are scarce and racist policy prohibits many of us from participating in mainstream economies. Immigrant community members were abandoned by the City of Phoenix in the heights of COVID-19 when relief funds came from the federal government⁶. Our loved ones are killed on our



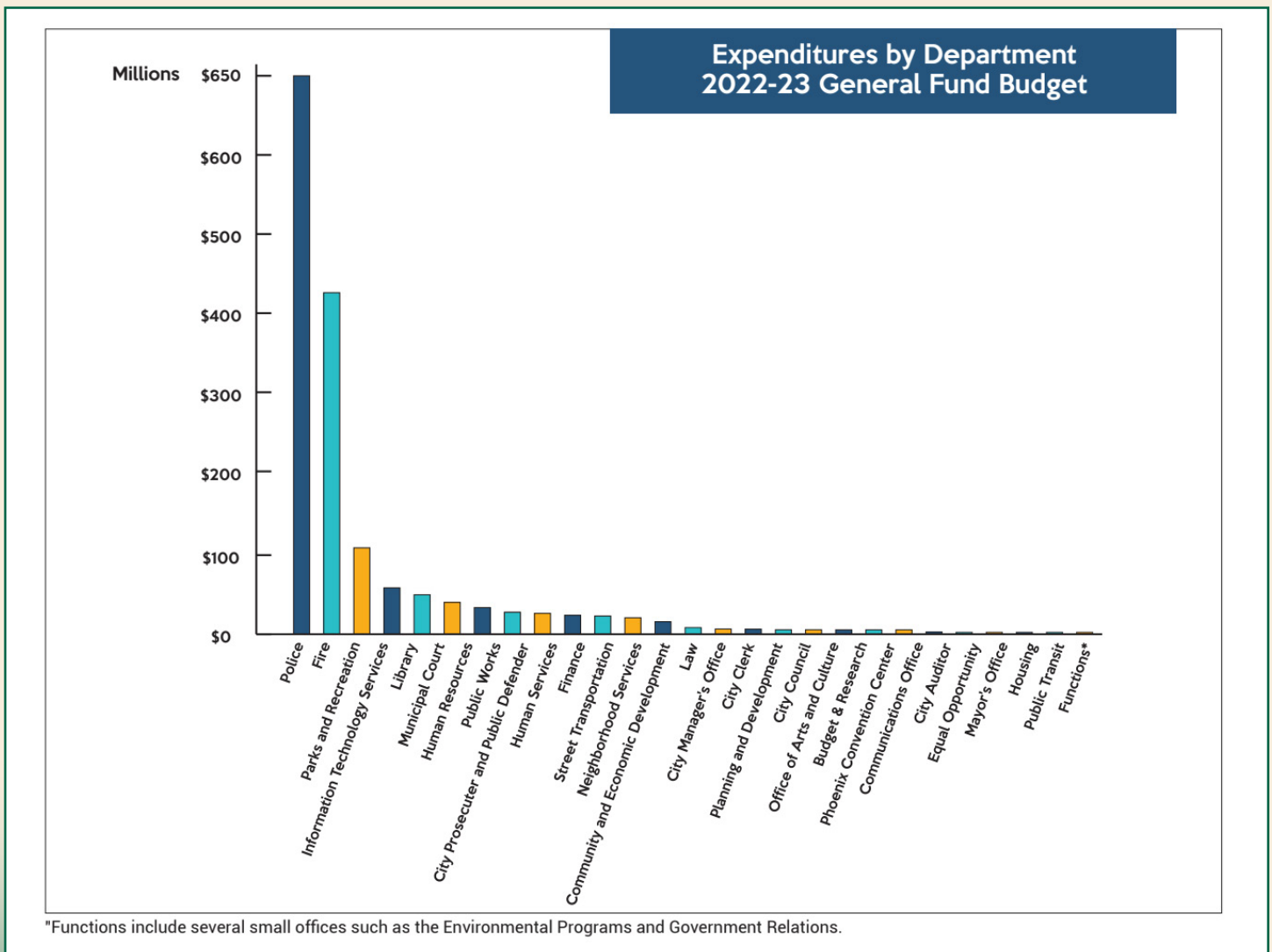
Why The Pueblo's Budget Campaign?

streets by Phoenix Police—one of the deadliest departments in the country. Overall, residents in Blacker, Browner, poorer South and West Phoenix are anticipated to live 10-14 years less than residents in whiter, wealthier North Phoenix⁷.

Neighborhoods do not develop like this overnight.

It happens through decades of strategic

decisions by elected officials, city and county planners, and those in powerful city management positions. It happens through a tangle of lobbying and pressure from corporations, wealthy white residents, police associations, and others with a stake in keeping things the way they are. Years of this organized abandonment*—the process of purposefully and strategically neglecting or removing resources from vulnerable communities while also



* Our use of the term "organized abandonment" comes from the work of Dr. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, a Black abolitionist, author, professor, and co-founder of Critical Resistance.

criminalizing the impacts of that neglect—by the City of Phoenix has significantly compromised the quality of life in neighborhoods that are majority poor, Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC)—neighborhoods like Maryvale. These years of organized abandonment have created the conditions for the multitude of colliding crises BIPOC and poor communities in Phoenix now face. A spike in overdoses, an affordable housing shortage, unsheltered people dying in our streets from heat, imminent water scarcity, a severe lack of accessible mental health and harm reduction* resources, high incarceration rates, and a police violence endemic** are just some of the crises with which our people are now dealing. For BIPOC neighborhoods in Phoenix, these deadly crises are the direct result of two things: a massive underinvestment in critical community resources and a massive investment in policing.

Police Funding is Not the Answer

Annually, the Phoenix Police gets an average of 40% of all the City's discretionary funds***, while essential community infrastructure such as parks receives about 7% and housing gets less than 1%. Since 2018, Phoenix City Council

members have chosen to increase the police budget nearly 25%, an increase of \$162 million in five years, despite thousands of people protesting and making public comments opposing the police budget. This increase brought the total annual police budget for fiscal year 2023 to \$849,795,000, approximately \$2.3 million every single day, with no end in sight to this unchecked growth.

For years, Phoenix Police have been one of the deadliest departments in the U.S.

- Four times in the past 10 years they have killed more people than any other department in the country—stealing the lives of over 150 of our community members since 2013⁸.
- They use force against Black and Latinx community members at five and 3.5 times the rate of white community members, respectively⁹.
- From 2010-2019, 68% of shootings by Phoenix Police occurred in neighborhoods that are majority people of color and 62% of shootings were in neighborhoods where the median family income was less than \$50,000 per year¹⁰.

Each year council members have a choice: keep funding this failed public safety strategy

* The National Harm Reduction Coalition defines harm reduction as a set of practical strategies and ideas aimed at reducing negative consequences associated with drug use. Harm Reduction is also a movement for social justice built on a belief in, and respect for, the rights of people who use drugs.

** "Endemic" is a public health term used to describe a disease that regularly occurs within a specific area or community. Similarly, Poder In Action is using "endemic" to describe police violence as a regularly occurring affliction in Phoenix with serious consequences to public health.

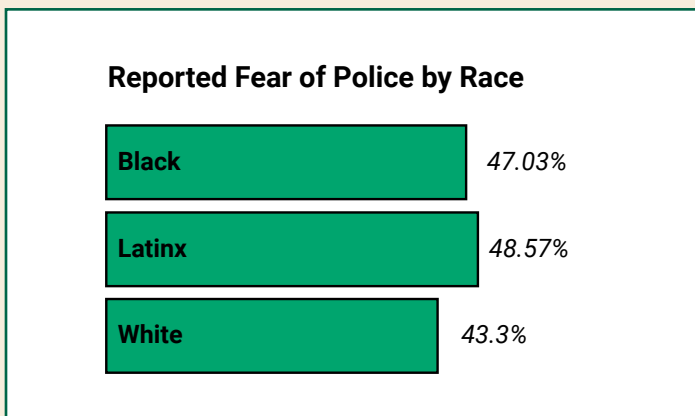
*** The City's discretionary funds, also known as the General Fund, are taxpayer dollars that City Council can spend how they choose.

Why The Pueblo's Budget Campaign?

of policing and incarceration, or fund critical resources in our communities. They choose the Phoenix Police Department every time.

In 2018, as Poder In Action, we surveyed over 12,000 people about their experiences with police in Phoenix¹¹. Nearly 50% of respondents reported feeling scared, anxious, nervous, and/or intimidated when they see a police officer. Less than 5% said they feel safe. But policing does not just impact how people feel, it has documented impacts on our physical health as well. The American Public Health Association identified police violence as a “critical public health issue,” with aggressive policing being a “threat to physical and mental health¹².” Discriminatory policing and use of force by police is linked to depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, increased risk of diabetes and other chronic diseases, and premature death, among other negative mental and physical health impacts.

In particular, the intersection of anti-immigrant sentiment from police and racist laws in Arizona has led to a significant decrease in quality of life for immigrants and Latinx community members.



Legalized racial profiling by police¹³, workplace raids¹⁴, and police stationed in schools¹⁵ have terrorized immigrant communities for years, impacting residents’ ability to do essential things like work, pay rent, take their kids to school, and go to the doctor for preventative care.

The cost of policing touches every aspect of life in BIPOC communities, from our physical and mental health to the way we live, move, learn, work, and play. There is a cyclical relationship between heavy police presence in a neighborhood, the racial/ethnic makeup of a neighborhood, and the neighborhood’s resources and infrastructure¹⁶. These communities are labeled “high-crime” to justify placement of police officers on their streets¹⁷. More cops means more people coming into contact with police. With increased police contact, there is increased criminalization, leading to more arrests and citations*, fulfilling the prophecy of

* It is expensive to be criminalized. Poor people who are highly criminalized are burdened with legal fines and fees that can create a vicious cycle binding them to poverty and the criminal injustice system.

“high crime” and perpetuating the cycle of ever-increasing investment in police to surveil, control, and impoverish our neighborhoods. Every dollar spent on policing is a dollar stolen from the health of our neighborhoods and our people.

Fighting for the Future

It does not have to be like this.

This reality has driven Poder In Action to spend the past five years fighting for a city budget that prioritizes the health, wellbeing, and joy of communities that have been strategically abandoned by the City for decades. We have attended dozens of city budget meetings,

mobilized hundreds of community members to give feedback, met with nearly every council member, and educated thousands of people about the city budget process and the way our tax dollars make this city function.

Our fight has been held down by youth, Spanish-speaking immigrant parents, queer people, women, and Latinx people who are committed to making sure Phoenix City Council provides what our people need to thrive. We have fought in partnership with Black, transgender, and unsheltered led groups, and others who have a stake in ending police violence and systemic oppression.

Phoenix City Council meets at dates and times that exclude working families, they have terrible Spanish language interpretation, and elected officials say they care about people but vote in ways that prove they do not. Despite all of this, we have continued to show up and demand investment in our neighborhoods.

Council's Resistance to Funding Critical Community Needs

Two critical votes by Phoenix City Council made it more clear than ever that as long as we kept doing things the City's way, Council was going to resist funding critical community needs. They would keep funding police at the expense of the health and wellness of BIPOC communities, youth, unsheltered, queer, and disabled people.



Why The Pueblo's Budget Campaign?

- In May of 2021, Mayor Kate Gallego was the deciding vote to provide funding for 75 vacant police positions, rather than \$3 million to after school programs for youth.
- In June 2022, with our city in the midst of various colliding humanitarian crises, all council members but one chose \$20 million in pay raises for police officers. This was \$20 million that could have been used for critical community resources and to give pay raises to city workers who can actually help alleviate suffering and keep our people alive. Additionally, these massive pay raises to police were given while the Phoenix Police Department was under investigation by the Department of Justice for extensive civil rights violations.

These votes, and hundreds of budget votes before them, lay bare not only the values and priorities of current City leadership, but the decades of systemic racism and organized abandonment experienced by BIPOC communities in Phoenix. We have seen over and over again that an institution rooted in anti-Black, anti-immigrant, anti-poor white supremacy and racial capitalism will continue to prioritize the health, property, and comfort of wealthier, whiter communities. This is why we must take the city budget into our own hands.



A Pueblo's Budget

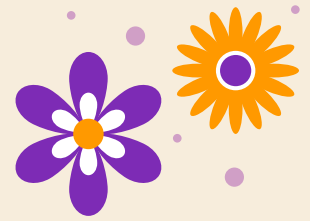
We need a budget that will prioritize the health, wellbeing, and joy of BIPOC, immigrant, queer, disabled, and poor people, after decades of us being left behind. So Poder is creating a budget built for us, by us. We are going directly to our people to find out what they need to thrive and we are not waiting for the City to tell us what they think our communities deserve. We are not going to fight any longer over the crumbs the city gives us, we are coming for our money. And we are doing this grounded in the knowledge that when we center the needs of those abandoned by the City, our whole city gets stronger and healthier, and all of us get freer to exist as our whole selves.

It is time for a budget that prioritizes people, not police. It is time for us to get what is ours.

It is time for the Pueblo's* Budget!

* "Pueblo" is a Spanish word with multiple meanings. Literally, it translates to "town," but it is also used as a popular term for "the people" or to refer to the general population. Translated completely to English, "The Pueblo's Budget" is "The People's Budget." Poder In Action chose the combined Spanish-English name for the campaign to represent the bilingual culture of the community Poder organizes.

CREATING THE PUEBLO'S BUDGET



Building Trust in
Community

Community-led
Meetings

Pueblo's Budget
Convening

What does it take to create a Pueblo's Budget? Since 2018, Poder In Action has leveraged the power of community organizing to conduct community-based research and talk to thousands of Phoenix residents about the issues impacting their families and neighborhoods.

Phase 1: Building Trust in Community

The Pueblo's Budget has taken over four years to develop. We quickly learned we had to meet our people where they were at, and that data collection always has to occur at the same time as building trust and meaningful relationships with people who are directly impacted by organized abandonment. Throughout we have

seen that people have a very challenging time answering questions related to what they need in their neighborhoods to be safe, healthy, and happy. It is even harder for folks to imagine a city without policing or surveillance, or what it means for their neighborhoods to be fully funded. We have realized it is difficult, arguably burdensome, to imagine a liberated world when not even your basic needs are being met.

Poor, BIPOC people have rarely, if ever, been asked in a meaningful way what they need to be safe, healthy, and happy, especially not by the City of Phoenix. Our people were caught off guard by these questions. After decades of organized abandonment by the City of Phoenix, coupled with the effects of white supremacy, our people had internalized the belief that their realities cannot be changed, with some even believing they deserved to live in underinvested neighborhoods. It was also clear that people believed police were the only option for safety, even when they were afraid of, harmed by, or had loved ones killed by cops.

We listened to people's stories as they filled out our surveys, we presented our findings at community events to get feedback, we developed stronger survey questions to continue building our knowledge of the needs,



strengths, and impacts of police violence and organized abandonment throughout Phoenix neighborhoods.

We conducted hundreds of hours of political education on police violence in Phoenix and the city budget. We were recruiting more and more community members to our base, and developing community leaders who understood the city budget, believed that they deserved more than the crumbs that the City provides, and were ready to fight for all the money—and to take from the police.

Identifying the Most Pressing Challenges

In doing the work of centering relationships and building trust, our people began to feel safe and motivated to open up. They began to give us more honest, more informed, and more complex answers about what they needed to be safe, healthy, and happy. After four years of organizing, political education, and community-based research, we landed on four very specific themes representing the most pressing challenges and struggles that poor, BIPOC Phoenix residents experience.

- Increase access to mental health and substance use resources for BIPOC residents
- Increase affordable housing, supportive services, and low barrier shelter
- Increase resources for parents and caregivers of children
- Increase resources for BIPOC youth ages 14-24

The four themes also represent the opportunities that the City of Phoenix has to re-imagine what health, wellbeing, and safety can look like if funding is sufficiently and fairly distributed to meet the urgent needs of the people directly impacted by organized abandonment. They served as a guiding structure as Poder moved to the next step in its organizing and research for the 2022-2023 city budget season.

Phase 2: Community-led Meetings

By the summer of 2022, we had a collection of ideas related to the four themes. We had developed the research skills to transition from individual-level, closed-ended surveys to community-level, open-ended dialogue. We were ready to elevate our discussions with residents to a deeper and more nuanced level, to bring people together to assess and prioritize those



ideas to develop more concretely the Pueblo's Budget. We also wanted to engage our people in a participatory budget process, which, again, no one had ever done, including the City, with poor BIPOC folks in Phoenix. We engaged in what was coined the Promotores* Tactic which had the following goals:

1. Identify and prioritize specific types of community investments to include in our Pueblo's Budget, based on community feedback and decision-making
2. Build community support for the Pueblo's Budget Campaign
3. Develop leadership skills in facilitation, note taking, and public speaking for the Pueblo's Budget Campaign

Promotores Tactic

The Promotores Tactic helped us build our Pueblo's Budget while giving community members directly impacted by organized abandonment the opportunity to be leaders in the fight for a healthy, safe, and joyful city.

The Promotores Tactic consisted of a series of community meetings hosted and facilitated by trained Promotores, who were Poder organizers, team leads, volunteers, and other community members. The meetings included a political education component about the campaign, the city budget, and policing in Phoenix, followed

by a guided discussion with participants as they responded to predetermined questions. The predetermined questions sparked deeper conversations about the types of investments that would have the greatest impact on participants' neighborhoods, in regards to the four themes.

Poder decided to hold at least 30 community meetings, with the intention of talking to a minimum of 200 community members.

Recruiting Our Promotores

Poder used both relational and community organizing to recruit Promotores. In August 2022, Poder organizers began to outreach to friends, family, other personal contacts, and community members from their organizing lists who they thought would be interested in becoming a Promotorx. Organizers also outreached to partner movement organizations and groups, such as Fund for Empowerment, Puente, Trans Queer Pueblo, and White People Against White Supremacy, to ask if their staff, volunteers, or members would be interested in either becoming a Promotorx or offering space to host a meeting.

After three weeks of outreach, a total of 43 people agreed to participate in an orientation to learn more about the Promotores Tactic. These folks were a diverse group that included Spanish-speaking immigrant parents, youth of color,

* We borrowed this term from Spanish-speaking community health workers who refer to themselves as Promotores de Salud (Promoters of Health). The Pueblo's Budget Campaign chose the name Promotores because this campaign is rooted in our right to healthy, vibrant neighborhoods.

queer and transgender folks, and people who have had a loved one killed by Phoenix Police. Many were residents of west Phoenix.

Training

The 43 potential Promotores were invited to a one-hour orientation to learn about the Pueblo's Budget Campaign and the Promotores Tactic. There was an orientation in English and one in Spanish. At the end of the orientation, folks were asked if they wanted to commit to becoming a Promotorx. Of the 43 people who attended the orientations, 36 committed to becoming Promotores (83.7% retention rate).

The 36 people who committed to becoming Promotores were asked to attend a four-hour training to learn the knowledge and skills necessary to successfully plan and hold the community meetings. The training covered the Promotorx role and expectation of hosting a meeting with at least seven people in attendance. Promotores learned and practiced the political education that would be presented at their meetings and that covered the following topics: the City of Phoenix budget and budget process, how the City spends tax dollars, the Phoenix Police Department, the rationale for building a Pueblo's Budget, and the campaign. They learned how to facilitate an agenda, take meeting notes, and answer frequently asked questions about the city budget, Phoenix Police Department, and the Pueblo's Budget Campaign. Finally, Promotores learned how to successfully plan their meetings with a highly structured event planning guide.



In order to accommodate the schedules and accessibility needs of the 36 Promotores, Poder delivered four separate trainings in August and September. Two trainings were in English and two in Spanish. Three trainings were in person, and one English training was done over video conference call. Of the 36 Promotores who attended the training, 31 facilitated meetings (86.1% implementation rate).

Promotores were compensated for their time, and also given a budget to cover the cost of food, childcare, supplies, and other meeting-related expenses. Each Promotorx was also assigned to a Poder organizer who checked in regularly and offered support with participant recruitment, meeting planning and logistics, facilitation preparation, and budgeting.

Promotores used primarily relational organizing tactics to recruit meeting participants, reaching out to their friends, families, and neighbors. Promotores also had access to Poder's organizing lists if they needed additional contacts to reach their minimum goal of seven participants.

Participants were provided childcare if needed, and also compensated for their time with either a \$10 gift card, or a \$50 gift card that was raffled at the end of the meetings.

Meeting Process

Meetings were held in September and October over the course of six weeks. Meetings were concentrated in west Phoenix, with several happening in other parts of the Phoenix metropolitan area. Meetings were two hours long, and were scheduled on all days of the week, at various times of the day. Most meetings happened in people's homes, with others taking place in community spaces such as the Poder office and high school classrooms.

Before their meeting, Promotores got a materials box with everything necessary to have a successful meeting, such as sign-in sheets, the meeting agenda (which included the political education script and group discussion questions), frequently asked questions guide, data collection tools, and posters to use during the political education presentation.

During the meeting, Promotores followed a scripted agenda that included establishing group norms, presenting the political education, and facilitating a group discussion as participants collectively answered the discussion questions.

Two paper data collection tools were used during the meetings: the note-taker worksheet and the participant worksheet. The note-taker worksheet

was completed by another Promotorx who was present at the meeting to support with taking hand-written notes. The note-taker worksheet captured discussion points that stood out, ideas that people were excited about, and things that happened during the meeting that would not get captured otherwise.

The participant worksheet captured participants' individual responses to the group discussion questions, ensuring a thorough collection of participants' ideas and experiences in case they were not voiced aloud during the discussion. The participant worksheet also collected demographic information. Participants completed the demographic questions at the beginning of the meeting, and individually filled



out the remaining questions, one by one, before they discussed them as a group during the meeting.

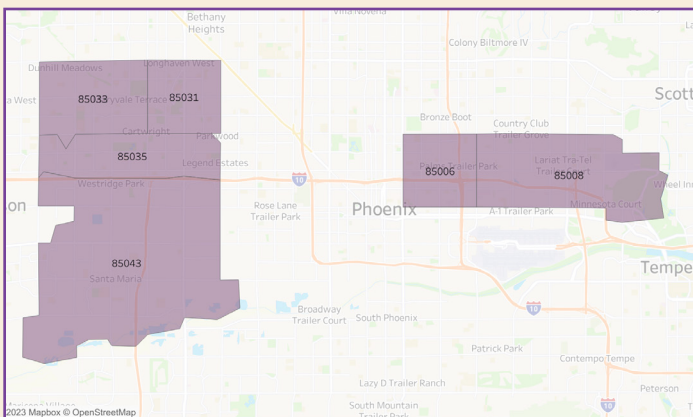
By the end of October, a total of 32 meetings had been held (one Promotorx facilitated two meetings) with a total of 335 community participants (average of 10 participants per meeting).

Meeting Participants

The following paragraphs describe the demographics and characteristics of participants who attended the meetings.

Geography

Participants reported living across a total of 58 zip codes spanning the Phoenix metropolitan area and outskirt municipalities, from Buckeye to the west, Apache Junction to the east, Laveen to the south, and Deer Valley to the north. The majority of participants, however, were concentrated in west and central Phoenix, with



43% of participants living in one of the following zip codes: 85035, 85033, 85043, 85008, 85006, and 85031

43% of participants living in one of the following zip codes: 85035, 85033, 85043, 85008, 85006, and 85031. About a quarter (25.92%) of participants live in Maryvale (zip codes 85031, 85033, 85035).

Age

Participants were a young bunch, with 79.20% being under the age of 44. Promotores were particularly effective at engaging youth and young adults, with nearly 40% (39.42%) of participants being between the ages of 11-24. In terms of age, youth 11-17 years of age were the largest group of participants who attended a Promotorx meeting (24.16%). The second largest group (21.10%) were folks between the ages of 35-44.

Income

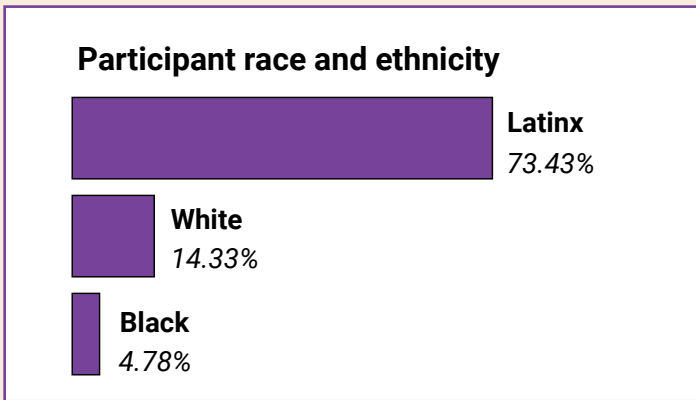
The participant worksheet asked about annual income, which we have never asked from our people. We were not surprised to find that 30.84% of participants either did not answer or chose the option, "Prefer Not To Say." Nearly half (49.71%) of participants reported their estimated annual income is less than \$50,000, much higher than the 37% of Phoenix residents within that income range¹⁸. Nearly 40% (39.53%) reported earning less than \$35,000 a year.



Race and Ethnicity

Regarding race and ethnicity, the majority of participants (73.43%) identified as Latinx, which aligns with the ethnic composition of

Poder's base generally. It is important for us to transparently note that 14.33% of participants were White, while only 4.78% identified as Black. This is concerning when considering that seven percent of Phoenix residents¹⁹, and nine percent of Maryvale residents²⁰, where Poder focuses its organizing, are Black. Black participants were critically underrepresented in proportion to the Black population in Maryvale and City of Phoenix, pointing to the fact that we did not actively recruit Black Promotores or outreach to potential Black meeting participants.

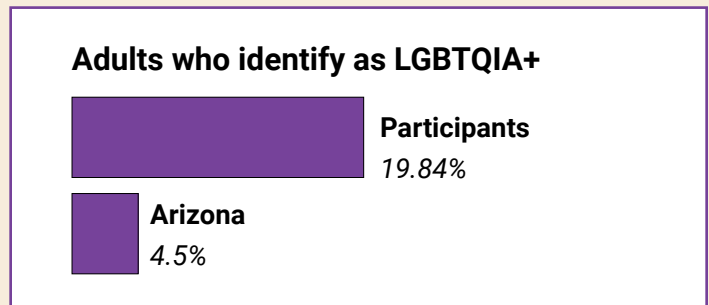


As a Brown movement organization fighting against anti-Blackness, white supremacy, and police violence, we need to openly acknowledge and take ownership of this. Poder has historically organized Spanish-speaking immigrant folks and their families. However, by engaging only a small number of Black folks, Poder is severely undermining its own work of building solidarity, trust, and relationship with Black communities, and of confronting anti-Blackness within the Latinx community and the harmful power dynamics between Latinx and Black people in Phoenix. This division between Black and Brown

communities has been reinforced by decades of organized abandonment by the City and scarcity mentality stemming from years of neglect. Poder believes that none of us will be truly free until Black people are free. In order to build a world where we can all thrive, we must do better in centering the voices and experiences of Black folks.

Gender and Sexuality

In terms of gender and sexuality, about half (49.70%) of participants identified as cisgender women, and nearly 60% (57.78%) identified as heterosexual. Only 19.76% of participants were cisgender men, which may be an undercount if folks were not familiar with the term "cisgender," and instead left the question blank (8.68%), chose the option, "Prefer Not To Say" (8.68%), or chose "Other" (7.49%). These findings indicate the importance of continuing to do intentional political education on gender and gender pronouns, and providing the language and options for our people to identify themselves in the ways that they deem the most validating and true.



Despite the potential undercount, there was a notably high percentage of participants who

identified as non-binary, transgender, and queer, in comparison to past research efforts and in proportion to Arizona's LGBTQIA+ population. Nearly six percent (5.59%) of participants identified as non-binary or transgender, and many (17.66%), across all ages, identified as LGBTQIA+. When looking at participants 18 years of age and older only, 19.84% identified as LGBTQIA+, compared to 4.50% of adults 18 and over in Arizona²¹.

Disability

We also asked participants if they identify as having a disability, with a majority 83.28% indicating that they do not, and 8.06% answering "Yes." The Promotores Tactic was only the second time in our data collection history that we have asked for disability status, and although we saw an increase in the percentage of folks who identified as disabled, this may still be an undercount as folks may not have felt safe or supported enough to answer openly. Again, Poder has work to do to talk to, learn from, and center disabled people in Phoenix. We affirm our commitment to incorporating a racial, gender, and disability justice approach to our organizing and participatory budgeting process within the Pueblo's Budget Campaign, thereby ensuring that Black, transgender, queer, and disabled people, who are the groups most directly impacted by organized abandonment and police violence in Phoenix, receive the investments they need to recover and flourish²².

In summary, participants were youth, young and middle-aged adults, lower income, Latinx, cisgender women, and queer people living in

west and central Phoenix. In addition, we know that a majority of participants were monolingual Spanish-speakers due to the fact that most of the participant worksheets were completed in Spanish (we did not ask for primary language on the worksheet). These populations have been devalued, ignored, and invisibilized by the City, who does not make any meaningful effort to outreach to and include directly impacted people in decision-making regarding funding and resources. In contrast, our Pueblo's Budget was created by people who have experienced the effects of organized abandonment, and who are ready to show up to fight for our money—making it clearer than ever that the City does not engage with us simply because City leaders do not want to.

Themes from the Meetings

As mentioned before, Promotores facilitated a discussion with participants about the resources in their neighborhoods. The discussion was based on the following questions: 1) Are there any resources that you love or use often in your neighborhood; 2) What are resources in your neighborhood that you have tried using or want to use, but cannot because they are broken, unreliable, or hard to access; 3) What resources do you want or need in your neighborhood, but to your knowledge they are not available.

During both the meeting and when completing the participant worksheet, participants had a lot to say in response to each question, copiously providing informative details that paint a picture of the state of their neighborhoods and what it is

like to live in their communities.

Valuable Resources

For the first question, *Are there any resources that you love or use often in your neighborhood*, nearly 60% of participants (57.91%) included parks in their response. Participants mentioned

“*The resources I use on the daily would be the parks, school, skateparks, and public transport.*”

activities that they do at their local parks, such as spending time with friends and family, walking, exercising, playing sports, and taking their children out to play. Parks were often discussed in tandem with other related resources, such as the pools, community centers, hiking trails, and sports amenities (e.g., basketball courts, fields). It became clear that parks are an essential component to many participants' neighborhoods and lifestyles, serving as hubs for socialization, movement, play, education, fun, and community-building. Other frequently used resources included libraries and the buses. Interestingly, 10.75% of participants reported using no resources in their neighborhoods.

“*I use the parks in the afternoon to walk with my grandchildren and the centers where there are after school programs*”



Inaccessible Resources

When asked, *What are resources in your neighborhood that you have tried using or want to use, but cannot because they are broken, unreliable, or hard to access*, parks were once again the most talked about

“*I want to use a pool, basketball court, and a gym but there is nothing to use where I live.*”

topic. Participants shared rich details about the worrisome conditions of their local parks, and enthusiastically offered pointed recommendations for improvement, such as installing more lighting and trash bins, ensuring that the bathrooms are open at all times, repairing playground equipment, cleaning the parks more frequently, installing exercise equipment, offering structured recreational activities at the parks, and keeping the parks open and accessible to community members at all hours of the day, every day of the week. Another frequently discussed resource were

“*The bus stop is in bad condition, there are no pools, and rental assistance doesn't exist if they exist they are hard to apply to if your a migrant or undocumented. There is no mental health for migrants because it is expensive and not everyone can afford to pay for it. It is clear it is not invested in even if we pay taxes. we need more money to cover the necessary priorities for our health.*”

the pools, which participants repeatedly mentioned were also under sorry conditions, with severely restricted hours and closed a significant portion of the year, a lamentable (and somewhat embarrassing) fact considering that Phoenix enjoys about 300 days of sunshine a year. Other inaccessible, broken, or unreliable resources included the buses and housing. It appears that participants are using the publicly available services in their neighborhoods while simultaneously being kept from fully benefiting from these resources.

“*Resources that I've tried to use but couldn't due to being unreliable were public pools, bathrooms at parks, and buses overheating.*”

Desired Resources

For the third question, *What resources do you want or need in your neighborhood, but to your knowledge they are not available*, housing

was overwhelmingly the topic of discussion. Participants mentioned the surging cost of housing, for both renters and home-owners, and agreed that there is a scarcity of affordable housing options in their neighborhoods. Other

“*I would like to see more daycares that are affordable for people who don't have a high budget and need a place where their children can be taken care of and feel safe to leave them.*”

barriers and issues included delapidated housing and miserable neighborhood conditions (e.g., broken air conditioning units, dirty and unkept streets and alleyways), neglectful landlords, tenant rights violations, no eviction prevention

“*Mental health clinics that are free of cost. Counselors for families in phoenix that are at no cost. Health clinics that are free.*”

services, and a lack of public assistance to help pay for rent/mortgage, utilities, or home repairs. Housing was frequently discussed within the context of homelessness, with participants

“*CLEAN public restrooms & showers*”

urgently calling for more shelters and permanent housing options for people without homes. Other unavailable resources included affordable mental health services, particularly for youth and people who use alcohol and substances, free or low-cost childcare and after-school programs, and educational and work-force development programs for youth and adults.

“ *More crosswalks & walking spaces for just walking & exercising, more trees & garbage cans!!* ”

Need for Improved Infrastructure

Across all three questions, participants mentioned over and over again the need for improved infrastructure in their neighborhoods. Participants wanted more grocery stores and improved public transportation. Neighborhood maintenance, such as cleaning and repairing streets, putting up more lighting in public spaces, installing more crosswalks and bathrooms, and placing trash and recycle bins throughout the city, was a riding theme at the meetings. Participants were not insisting on luxurious things—they wanted the building blocks of any healthy community. Participants mentioned those resources that make it easier for them to meet their basic needs and desires for health, socialization, housing, employment, nutrition, education, recreation, movement, and joy. These things are what keep a community safe, and establish a sustainable foundation for ongoing investment.

Phase 3: Pueblo's Budget Convening

Participants had so much to say. They highlighted the strengths of their neighborhoods and offered a plethora of ideas and recommendations for making Phoenix a better place to live for people directly impacted by organized abandonment. We were getting closer and closer to creating our Pueblo's Budget. The next step was to find out which resources needed to be funded most urgently and that we would fight for as part of the Pueblo's Budget Campaign in the coming years.

To do this, Poder held a Pueblo's Budget Convening at the end of October with community members, after all the Promotores meetings had taken place. During the Convening, Poder organizers and volunteers facilitated a prioritization activity in which community members voted on what they deemed priority investments for the Pueblo's Budget Campaign. Priority investments were defined as the services, programs, and resources that community members determined would be the most beneficial for their neighborhoods. The Convening also provided an opportunity to share learnings from the Promotores meetings and celebrate the work of the campaign so far.

Together with the Promotores meetings, the prioritization activity guaranteed that the Pueblo's Budget is representative of the needs and voices of directly-impacted communities,

and that the campaign is strategically advocating for the most important and urgently needed investments for poor, BIPOC neighborhoods. The Convening also focused on continuing to recruit, politicize, and activate community members into the Pueblo's Budget Campaign, while developing leadership skills in facilitation and public speaking.

Convening Participants

All participants who had attended a Promotorx meeting were invited to the Convening, as well as folks from Poder's base. Convening community members included monolingual Spanish-speakers, immigrants, Latinx folks, parents, and youth. The majority were residents of west Phoenix.

Convening Preparation

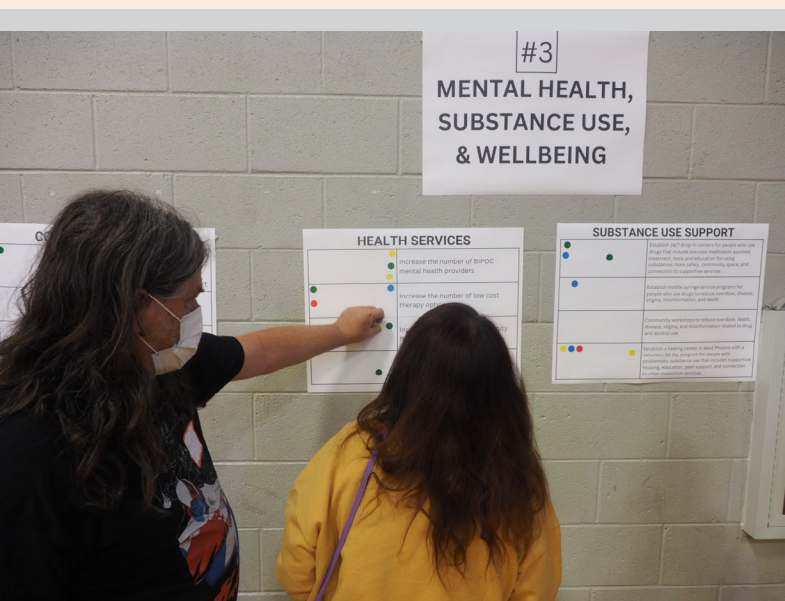
To prepare for the Convening, we needed to convert participants' aggregate responses from the participant worksheets into one-phrase

investment options that community members can quickly read, understand, and vote on (and that would ultimately become the line-items for our Pueblo's Budget). To do this, two team members dedicated the month of October to digitally inputting all responses collected from the participant worksheets. A qualitative analysis was then done in which similar or repeated participant responses were grouped together into categories. Responses then underwent multiple rounds of synthesis to uncover major themes regarding participants' ideas for investments. By the end of the analysis, all participant responses had been synthesized into 62 specific investment options that fell into the following categories:

- Community Infrastructure
- Housing and Homelessness
- Mental Health, Substance Use, and Wellbeing
- Parks and Recreation
- Youth and Families

Prioritization Activity

At the Convening, community members participated in a prioritization activity called dot voting, a voting technique that allows a group of people to assess a large number of ideas and determine where they collectively stand on those ideas through the use of votes in a short amount of time without extensive group discussion or debate. The dot component refers to the use of dots to represent a vote. Community members visited each of the five categories, read the investment options under each category, and individually voted on the investments that they



considered would be the most beneficial to their neighborhoods.

There were five stations throughout the venue, each one representing one of the five categories:

- Station 1 = Community Infrastructure
- Station 2 = Housing and Homelessness
- Station 3 = Mental Health, Substance Use, and Wellbeing
- Station 4 = Parks and Recreation
- Station 5 = Youth and Families

The stations had large posters, one set in English and another in Spanish, with the investment options related to that category and a list of definitions to help community members understand the investment options that had unfamiliar or uncommonly used words. There were also two facilitators at each station, an English speaker and a Spanish speaker, who were trained to help community members complete the activity in their preferred language, including answering questions about the investment options. Community members were asked to stand in front of the posters of their preferred language and to ask the facilitators for help if they needed it.

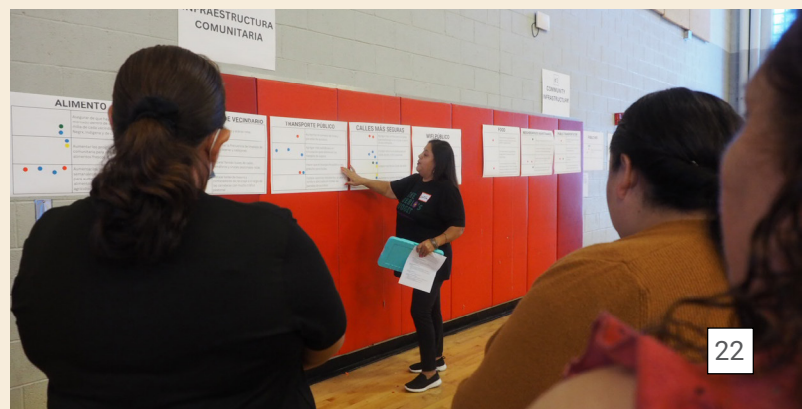
At the stations, community members received three to five round stickers that represented their votes (there were varying amounts of stickers at the stations because some categories had more investment options than others, and we wanted to keep the number of votes proportionate for each category). Community members were

instructed to place their stickers next to the investments that would have the greatest benefit to their neighborhoods. They could vote for an investment only once, and could choose to not use all their votes or to not vote at all.

In order to ensure that all community members visited each station once, everyone was divided into five groups by assigning each person to a group one through five. Their group was determined by the number on their name tag, which they received upon signing in to the event. The number indicated the station that they would be going to first.

At the stations, community members had approximately 15 minutes to read the investments and to vote. When time was up and community members had finished voting, the groups rotated to the next station. There were a total of four rotations to ensure that each group visited each station once. The station facilitators explained the category, answered any questions regarding the options, and assisted participants in the rotations.

By the end of the activity, we had a striking visual representation of the priority investments, which were those that received the highest number of votes.



THE PUEBLO'S

BUDGET

To begin building our budget, we reviewed the results of the prioritization activity. Our expectation prior to the dot voting activity was there would be several things that would clearly rise to the top of the priority list and we would be able to develop a budget with about 25 investments. While this was true to a certain extent, what became apparent instead was how severely under-resourced our neighborhoods are and how vast, and often simple, the solutions are because of this.

After reflecting on the results of the Promotores meetings and the prioritization activity, it was clear that all 62 investment options were non-negotiable for our people, and that **we deserve every damn one of them**. So we did not cut anything, and we actually added some. As we did further analysis after the convening, we landed on a total of 69 investments.

The following pages contain those 69 investments that make up our Pueblo's Budget. They are broken into the categories and subcategories we used at the Pueblo's Budget Convening. **The 20 investments that received the most votes during the Convening are italicized.**



COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE

\$51,000,000

Category Food	Cost \$2,000,000
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Establish weekly farmers markets that accept SNAP / WIC in BIPOC neighborhoods</i> • Ensure there is a grocery store within a one mile radius of every BIPOC neighborhood • Increase community gardening programs to increase access to fresh foods • Provide grants to existing farmers markets to increase their capacity to grow and sell seasonal produce • Increase the number and duration of stops by the mobile farmer's market in BIPOC neighborhoods 	
Category Neighborhood Maintenance	Cost \$6,000,000
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Increase the frequency of street, sidewalk, and alleyway cleanups</i> • Repair busted streets and sidewalks • Repair broken street lights, traffic lights, and crosswalk lights • Install trash cans and recycle bins along roads with high foot traffic • Increase the number of public restrooms in public spaces and leave them open 24 hours per day 	
Category Public Transportation	Cost \$30,000,000
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Make public transit free for everybody</i> • Increase the number of bus routes and bus stops • Add more buses in circulation to decrease wait times • Install heat resistant seating and adequate shade at all bus stops 	

Category Public Wifi	Cost \$4,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Expand free public wifi network to increase coverage in BIPOC neighborhoods</i>	

Category Safer Streets	Cost \$9,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Add more bike lanes that keep bikers safe from vehicles• Install more crosswalks on high foot traffic streets• Install more street lights• Increase the number of speed bumps	

HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS

\$138,500,000

Category Heat Relief	Cost \$11,500,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Increase free, clean, cool drinking water access in public places</i><ul style="list-style-type: none">• Increase the number of water fountains at parks and outside City of Phoenix owned buildings and spaces• Build more shade structures and plant more shade trees• Ensure every house in Phoenix has access to water and is safe from extreme heat<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Make 1,000 low income homes per year in Phoenix "heat ready"• End the practice of adding fines for late water bill payments	

Category Housing and Shelter Infrastructure	Cost \$105,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the number of affordable housing units in BIPOC neighborhoods • Increase the number of permanent, supportive housing units for people who do not have housing • Increase the number of shelter beds available in Phoenix and make them low barrier • Provide down payment assistance for poor, BIPOC families in Phoenix 	

Category Supportive Services	Cost \$22,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop an "Affordable Housing Navigator Program" to provide services to residents in need of stable housing • Cash assistance program to help residents pay for rent, utilities, food, medical bills, etc. • Create an Emergency Eviction Legal Services Program for people facing evictions or experiencing tenant rights violations • Know Your Rights workshops for renters regarding evictions and tenant rights in Arizona • Increase investments to the Equal Opportunity Department to enforce fair housing violations 	

LABOR

\$10,000,000

Category Pay And Benefits	Cost \$10,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase pay for all city employees, full time or part time, to a minimum of \$20 per hour 	

MENTAL HEALTH, SUBSTANCE USE, AND WELLBEING

\$34,500,000

Category Community Safety	Cost \$5,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Establish mental health crisis relief centers that people can go to voluntarily, with short term supportive housing and peer support</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish 3 peer led crisis respite centers in West and South Phoenix (1 for youth, 1 for LGBTQ+, 1 for general) • Establish neighborhood crisis response teams that don't involve police • Free de-escalation trainings in neighborhoods and schools to support community members in addressing conflict without police or violence • Reparations for victims of Phoenix Police violence 	

Category Substance Use Support	Cost \$9,000,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Establish 24/7 drop-in centers in BIPOC neighborhoods for people who use drugs that include low cost medication assisted treatment, tools and education for using substances more safely, community space, and connection to supportive services</i> • <i>Establish a healing center in West Phoenix with a voluntary 30 day program for people with problematic substance use that includes supportive housing, education, peer support, and connection to other supportive services</i> • Establish mobile syringe service programs for people who use drugs to reduce overdose, disease, stigma, misinformation, and death • Community workshops to reduce overdose, death, disease, stigma, and misinformation related to drug and alcohol use 	

Category Health Services	Cost \$20,500,000
Investments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Increase the number of free mobile health clinics</i> • Provide grants to facilitate partnerships between mobile health clinics and non-profit organizations and public schools to offer services on-site on a standing, weekly basis year-round, and to produce frequent community health events • Increase the number of BIPOC mental health providers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stipends for BIPOC providers getting education and training in the behavioral health field, extra stipend for youth providers • Stipend for BIPOC providers who commit to staying in Phoenix for at least 2 years • Increase the number of low cost therapy options <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Vouchers from the city to cover costs of therapy sessions for BIPOC folks and youth</i> • <i>Increase the number of community health workers</i> • <i>Provide grants to existing community health worker programs</i> 	



PARKS AND RECREATION

\$76,000,000

Category Parks	Cost \$30,000,000
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Create more parks in BIPOC neighborhoods</i>• <i>Increase the frequency of park clean-up and maintenance</i>• Fix broken playground equipment at parks• Install and maintain safe syringe disposal containers in public places• Increase the number of community centers• Install more benches, tables, and grills at parks• Keep parks open and accessible 24 hours a day	

Category Recreational and Outdoor Spaces	Cost \$20,000,000
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Install more lights along the canals</i>• <i>Offer more low cost recreational and sports programs for all ages</i>• Increase frequency of clean-ups and maintenance of sport facilities and recreation areas• Install additional walking paths and fitness stations at parks• Renovate broken fitness equipment, courts, and fields	

<p>Category Pools and Water Recreation</p>	<p>Cost \$26,000,000</p>
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Add more splash pads to parks without pools • Increase the days and hours pools are open, and open pools earlier in the year • Repair pools that are busted and clean them more frequently 	

YOUTH AND FAMILIES

\$155,500,000

<p>Category Education</p>	<p>Cost \$10,500,000</p>
<p>Investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide tuition assistance and living stipends for low income youth who want to attend community colleges and trade schools, with specific outreach and support services targeting BIPOC neighborhoods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand Route to Relief program and continue beyond 2024 • Provide low cost, low barrier adult education/career programs • Provide workforce development programs and tuition assistance for BIPOC youth, with a focus on construction trades, healthcare, and education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand the "Phoenix Youth RISE" program to be a 6 month program and increase the number of participants 	

Category Childcare	Cost \$115,000,000
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Investments

- *Increase the number of low cost and high quality early childhood education and childcare providers*
- Provide free transportation to all Head Start programs
- Provide monthly child care stipends to low income parents and caregivers

Category Youth Programs	Cost \$30,000,000
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Investments

- *Increase free mental health services for children and youth ages 5-24*
 - Establish a pilot program in schools to cover costs of more behavioral health providers
- Expand PAC (Phoenix Afterschool Center) to offer it at all low income schools and increase the number of stipends available
- Increase the number of free recreational programs for children and youth ages 5-24
 - Expand the "[Great Start Initiative](#)" to include ages birth-12
- Offer free tutoring programs for children and youth ages 5-24

TOTAL INVESTMENT
\$465,500,000

In addition to adequately funding these investments, they all have the following accessibility requirements:

“ the people who are in charge of providing services should be more accessible to the process. ”

Partner with trusted organizations and public schools for targeted outreach to historically abandoned neighborhoods and people: poor BIPOC, immigrant, undocumented, non-English speaking, youth, parents of young children, seniors, disabled, uninsured/underinsured, transgender and queer, homeless, victims of violence, recently incarcerated, veterans

“ Resources need to be more accessible and have fewer requirements ”

Simple application, registration, or intake processes with no or minimal documentation and eligibility requirements, quick response times, and culturally and linguistically affirming customer service

“ no discrimination because of being people of color or because of our immigration status ”

“ The resources that the city provides should be more accessible by being in Spanish, and easier to apply to no matter the legal status. ”

Interpretation and translation services as needed/requested by community members

“ if [resources] are there they need to be more advertised & accessible. ”

Transportation, as needed/requested by community members

“ I feel that the assistance, any type is always difficult to access, either because it's hard to qualify for them or simply because they are time consuming and take forever to approve. ”

This is only the beginning...

We know that the Pueblo's Budget is just a start to healing the harm caused by decades of systemic racism and organized abandonment in Phoenix. We also know that this world we are building towards must be free from policing and prisons, in all their forms. One step towards redressing the harms of the massive investment in policing is instead investing in community resources that have been clearly identified by the people. Because of this, the money for the investments in the Pueblo's Budget must be divested from the Phoenix Police Department budget.

Although the Phoenix Police Department is constantly reorganizing itself to avoid accountability and to become more efficient at harassing, surveilling, controlling, and incarcerating our people, there are a few places we know this divestment can start. **Police have no place in schools, youth programs, parks, libraries, homeless services, mental health services, and public transportation.** Police should not have a multi-million dollar public relations department and should stop producing edited videos of "critical incidents." They should end all forms of "community policing," as this does not increase the wellbeing of our communities, but rather creates more opportunities for cops to be in our neighborhoods and spurs a culture of punishment, isolation, and fear.

Every day the City waits to divest from police and invest in community safety is a day they

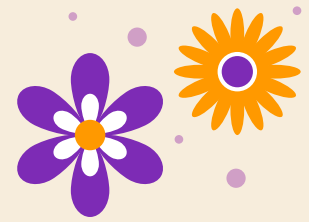
are putting the lives and wellbeing of BIPOC, immigrant, transgender, disabled, youth and poor residents at risk. And every day we expect the City to do the right thing is another day they are willing to leave us behind. We should not have to fight this hard to get our basic needs met, to be heard and seen by the City. It is time to fundamentally shift the way we determine how our communities are resourced.

We need sustained investment into our communities and we need a sustained divestment from and dismantling of the Phoenix Police Department if we want to permanently transform the damage and harm caused by decades of systemic violence at the hands of the City. We are done settling for crumbs. This fight is about radically changing the quality of life for people historically abandoned by the City of Phoenix and disproportionately targeted by the Phoenix Police Department. The Pueblo's Budget is a long-term commitment, rooted in deep love for our people. **We will not stop until every one of us is able to live long, healthy, joyous lives in thriving communities.**

IMPLEMENTING

THE PUEBLO'S

BUDGET



Building thriving, healthy, joyous communities does not happen overnight. It requires an active, intentional restructuring of society. **This is a call to action for decision-makers and stakeholders in government and non-government institutions to do better and follow the lead of their constituents and client populations, especially those most directly impacted by policing, systemic racism, and organized abandonment.**

We hold these institutions responsible for the socio-economic and health conditions of our people.

We have outlined concrete actions that can be done at governmental, institutional, and personal levels to decrease funding and reliance on policing and instead invest in practices, infrastructure, and resources to increase health, wellbeing, and healing in our communities.

Government and Elected Officials

There are several actions that the City of Phoenix, particularly elected officials, can take to work towards a future where we all can thrive.

- **Fund the Pueblo's Budget:** We call on elected officials to commit to funding the Pueblo's Budget.
- **Defund and Dismantle the Phoenix Police Department:** We call on elected officials to begin the process of decreasing reliance on, divesting funds from, and dismantling the Phoenix Police Department.
- **Reject Law Enforcement Organization Contributions and Endorsements:** We call on elected officials to reject all contributions and endorsements from law enforcement organizations, and to also reject donations to the Phoenix Police Department from law enforcement charities.
- **Public Police Negotiation Process:** We call on elected officials to implement fully public negotiations for law enforcement association contracts and to reject contracts that reduce accountability for cops.

- **Support the Family Bill of Rights:** We call on elected officials to support a Family Bill of Rights that guarantees rights and protections to victims and witnesses of police violence, and their families.
 - **Decriminalize Survival:** We call on elected officials to stop the collaboration between Phoenix Police and Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and to decriminalize poverty, homelessness, sex work, and drug use.
 - **Fund New Public Safety Strategies:** We call on elected officials to advocate for funding to research and implement community supported initiatives for public safety, violence prevention, mental health care, and drug use that do not involve police, incarceration, or involuntary confinement.
 - **Prioritize Those Most Impacted:** We call on elected officials to center the voices and experiences of people directly impacted by police violence, and to take the leadership of constituents in decision-making. We call on elected officials to stand with your constituents, even if it jeopardizes your political career.
- alignment with the Pueblo's Budget within your institution.
- **Cut Partnerships with Police:** We call on institutions to cut partnerships and relationships with the police to increase the safety of the people you directly and indirectly serve.
 - **Divest from Law Enforcement:** We call on institutions to closely examine where your financial investments are going, and to discontinue funding to law enforcement agencies and other surveillance-based entities (e.g., HomeOwners Associations, block watches).
 - **Examine Organizational Practices and Programming:** We call on institutions to reflect on whether your theory of change, operations, structure, and/or programs make you an active player in police violence, including determining whether your services and initiatives are truly addressing the needs of your target population, or are they entry points for interactions with police that decrease the safety, health, and wellbeing of your clients. This also includes identifying and making the appropriate changes to decrease, and ultimately eliminate, reliance on police and policing within the organization's functioning.
 - **Fund Alternatives to Public Safety:** We call on institutions to advocate for funding to research and implement strategies to increase community safety, violence prevention, mental health care, and drug use that do not involve police, incarceration, or involuntary confinement.

Institutions

There are several actions institutions such as nonprofit organizations, schools, and foundations, can take to support a safer future for all.

- **Advocate for the Pueblo's Budget:** We call on institutions to advocate for the Pueblo's Budget with elected officials, and assess where you can implement resources in

Personal Commitments

There are several personal actions individuals can take to support a safer future for all.

- **Advocate for the Pueblo's Budget:** Community advocacy for the Pueblo's Budget is essential to getting it implemented. We need all of us in this fight.
- **Build Relationships with Your Neighbors:** As individuals, we can build relationships with the people in our neighborhood and communities, including having conversations about what is needed to be safe and healthy. We can put the safety and wellbeing of others first by practicing alternatives to calling the police whenever possible.
- **Civic Participation:** We can advocate for solutions to public safety and community wellbeing that do not involve the police, and oppose increases to criminalization, policing, immigration enforcement, prisons, and jails.
- **Vote With Your Values:** For those of use who are eligible, we can vote for candidates and initiatives that prioritize people over police, property, and prisons, and mobilize friends and family to vote.
- **Share Resources:** We can exchange resources and skills amongst ourselves to strengthen our health, safety, and autonomy.
- **Center BIPOC Leadership:** We must follow and center the leadership of people directly impacted by police violence and people who are at the intersection of current and historical oppression.
- **Self Development and Education:** We must work on dismantling the patriarchy, white supremacy, and anti-Blackness within ourselves.





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